MONASH University

CELEBRITY AND *KOMUNITAS*: THE RISE AND FALL
OF THE JOGJA HIP HOP FOUNDATION

Edi Dwi Riyanto

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Anthropology

Social and Political Sciences Graduate Research Program

Faculty of Arts, Monash University

June 2017

Copyright notice

Abstract

This research is an empirical study of a music group, the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation (JHF), analysing it as an example of the Indonesian social form known as *komunitas*. The JHF *komunitas* demands scholarly inquiry because it united two seemingly contradictory elements: Javaneseness, distinguished by its politeness, softness, and conformity, and hip hop music and culture, which is famous for their noise and rebelliousness. In particular, this thesis sets out to understand the dynamics of this social form, through which the performers of JHF successfully presented traditional Javanese cultural elements in a contemporary context, using the brand 'Java Hip Hop'. The basic research question is: Under what conditions does Javaneseness ground cultural forms that are understood as contemporary, as opposed to belonging to the Javanese past?

The research used ethnographic methodology. Two fieldwork visits were made (April-June 2014 and March 2016) in order to observe the JHF performances and conduct interviews with JHF members and fans. These visits provided the main body of data used in the research. Other data includes the musical output of the JHF, and material published in newspapers and books in Indonesian and Javanese.

This study presents an analytical overview of the gradual development of the JHF *komunitas*, which was originally founded to create a social and cultural space for the performance of Javaneseness in a contemporary setting. This *komunitas* was characterized by equality, openness, egalitarianism, mutual support between members, and shared concern for Java Hip Hop.
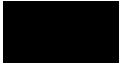
Various internal and external dynamics contributed to the birth, success and decline of the JHF *komunitas*. At all of these stages, the role of one person, Mohammad Marzuki, had been crucial. *Komunitas* JHF was successful in presenting Java Hip Hop as a coherent 'performance package' that was distinctly Javanese in its visual forms, language, and musical materials. It reworked and revitalized the shared memories of Yogyakartans about the distinctiveness of the city, and did so in forms that were highly appealing in the contemporary social and political conditions. The public appeal of the JHF led the Sultan to attempt to appropriate the group and its output.

However this success was temporary because of Marzuki's growing celebrity and itinerant character. These characteristics, essential traits of successful artists in the era of commoditised popular culture, were incompatible with the character and ethics of the *komunitas*, and led him into conflict with the bigger social-cultural structures of Javaneseness, especially the political institution of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. The research found that *komunitas* JHF empowered its members, enabling them to accumulate capital through collective processes of musical production. At the same time, *komunitas* members maintained loyalty to Javanese culture despite the rising national popularity of the JHF. Marzuki's growing celebrity and itineracy were part of an artistic persona that constantly sought new contexts. This created discordance with the spirit of *komunitas*.

The JHF *komunitas* is important on the national scene because it acted as a source of cultural legitimacy for the political independence of the Yogyakarta sultan. It illustrates the ways in which cultural production prevents direct and frontal conflict between traditional culture and the exercise of democratic governance. From one perspective, the JHF is an example of local cultural empowerment in the face of threats to local cultures from the open cultural competition emerging in post-Suharto Indonesia. From another perspective, the JHF is an example of how 'foreign' genres can revitalise local performance traditions.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature   :

Print Name   : Edi Dwi Riyanto

Date   : 10 -02-2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted beyond words to my mother, Tasriyah, whose support, encouragement, love and prayers have accompanied me every step of the way. Neverending prayers go to my late father, Warip, for being such an inspiring father.

Last but not least, all praise is to Allah, the Most Merciful. Without His will, I would have never achieved anything.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of tables

List of abbreviations

BKKBN   : Badan Kependudukan dan Keluarga Berencana Nasional

DIY   : Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta

DPMB   : Dua Petaka Membawa Bencana

FMF   : Forum Musik Fisipol

IFI   : Indonesian French Institute or Institure Francais Indonesia

ISI   : Institut Seni Indonesia

JHF   : Jogja Hip Hop Foundation

JNM   : Jogja Nasional Museum

KPK   : Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi

KTK   : Komunitas Tapal Kuda

MUHREC   : Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee

NFA   : No Frontin' Allowed

RM   : Raden Mas

RCTI   : Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia

SCTV   : Surya Citra Televisi

SPP   : Sumbangan Pembinaan Pendidikan

TVRI   : Televisi Republik Indonesia

VOC   : Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie

1
Introduction

1.1 A Surprise From The Kraton

More than five years ago, a news item about a special hip hop group from Yogyakarta caught my attention. It was in a blog named Hiphopdiningrat, where a letter from the Sultan of Yogyakarta expressing appreciation for the work of the hip hop group had been uploaded. This unusual posting made me think that this group must have been very special. Curiosity about it drove me to find out exactly what was behind the fact that the epitome of Javanese conservatism, the Sultan, had been willing to express appreciation for practitioners of hip hop, surely the most cutting edge and contemporary of popular music forms. What I most needed to understand was the interconnectedness of the seemingly unconnected; the sacred tradition of the Kraton and the music of the the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation (JHF), which was the group behind the Hiphopdiningrat blog.[1] It seemed possible that the group's creative energy had attracted the Sultan's gesture. And more importantly, I felt that there were important questions to be answered about the social forms for Javanese cultural production, which forms the subject matter of this thesis. Javanese culture is closely associated with venerated palace forms and village genres, but not hip hop.

The Jogja Hop Hop Foundation was founded in 2003 by Marzuki Mohammad, or Juki (aka Cebolang, aka Kill the DJ). It reached its peak in 2010-2014 because of their two most famous songs *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama*. Both songs were very much connected to the Kraton, as it seemed as if JHF was a mouthpiece for Kraton. Its popularity in Yogyakarta at the time that the city was struggling to maintain its status as a Special Region (*Daerah Istimewa*) prompted the Letter of Appreciation from the Sultan. In recognition of the group's two tours to several cities in the US, the Sultan also awarded JHF the Duta Nagari Award (Ambassador Award). In one decade, JHF attained local and global acknowledgement.

In 2011, when I encountered the blog posting, JHF consisted of five rappers (Juki, Anto, Balance, Lukman, and Mamok) who combined Javanese traditional cultural (e.g. music,

---

[1] The Palace or Kraton discussed in this thesis is the Kraton of Yogyakarta Hadiningrat, built in 1755. It is a complex of many buildings surrounded by walls. The inside area is called '*Jero Benteng*' ("*Jero*" means inside, "*benteng*" literary means fortress).

language, literature, fashion) and political elements with hip hop music. According to the contact address provided on its web page, JHF's homebase was the *kampung*[2] of Langenarjan, which is inside the walls of the Kraton. It was a house rented by Juki, the leader and frontman of JHF.

In order to meet this Juki, I made an 8-hour bus trip from Surabaya to Yogyakarta. My goal was to collect data to write a proposal for a small research project under my faculty research program. This was the start of my research on the JHF. The subsequent journey would lead to the deconstruction of my former understandings about Yogyakarta: that Yogyakarta was the centre of Javanese tradition and that only the Kraton was properly the place of traditional cultural activities.

The reason why I was so surprised by the asociation between JHF and the Sultan was that Yogyakarta has been considered as the 'sacred center of tradition and culture' of Javanese people (Daniels 2009). The government of the Republic of Indonesia confirmed this status in 2012 when it passed parliamentary Act number 13 of 2012. In this Act, Yogyakarta maintains its special status among Indonesian provinces, characterised by the automatic appointment of the Sultan to be the governor of Yogyakarta Province. The Act also guarantees special treatment from the central government of Indonesia such as the allocation of specific financial support to preserve and improve Yogyakarta's cultural heritage. The process of the negotiation surrounding the Act, which became the focus of a key political issue addressed in this thesis, is discussed in Chapter Eight.

The city's culture is inseparable from the Kraton as the centre of the city and its surrounding. It is the site of hundreds of annual rituals, some of them very popular amongst the city's residents, such as the *Gerebeg* festival that lasts for several days and commemorates the Prophet Muhammad's birthday.

The word kraton derives from *keratuan*, or the place where the king (*ratu*) resides (the *keratuan*). It is a complex of many buildings. The king and his family live only in select parts of the palace compound – the *kedhaton,* or Kraton Proper (Adam 2003: 26). As an architectural structure, the Kraton was originally regarded as a 'representation of the cosmos' and, metaphorically until now, it is sometimes still considered as such (Vetter 1986: 288). The Kraton is the living place of the king who is seen as a god-like figure who links

---

[2] I will discuss the importance of *kampung* in section 1.2.

the realm of the gods and the human world (ibid). This is a also a crucial context for understanding much of the music created and performed in the kraton: music is involved in the construction of the Sultan as supreme ruler.

Jaap Kunst was among the earliest musicologist who studied Javanese music. Spending almost three decades of research and ending with his admiration towards a visionary Javanese king, Mangku Negara VII (died 1944), his book (Kunst 1949) has been a very important part of Javanese music scholarship. Undoubtedly, as it was produced during the Dutch colonial period, Kunst's work reflects something of the Dutch interests towards its colony in South-east Asia. Moreover, the influence of the Dutch on Javanese cultural forms can be traced back to 1886, as seen in the attempts of converting the oral tradition of gamelan into written one (Becker 1972).

The mutually constitutive relationship between Yogyakarta traditional music and the Kraton has been explored in more recent research. Mantle Hood, for instance, traced it from the early history of Java through "periods of colonial exploitation" and "the modern arena of national and international politics" (1980: 9). Throughout those periods of time, gamelan has undergone changes and innovations. Hood devoted Book I and the first parts of Book II of his trilogy to providing the historical and cultural background of gamelan before discussing music in the latter sections of Book II. The three books explain the strong relationship between Javanese music and the political history of Javanese kingdoms. For instance, the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, which emerged in the 17th century, felt the need to have legitimating musical tie with its predecessor kingdom of Majapahit.[3] This was significant in asserting that the various gamelan ensembles were not only a form of entertainment for the kraton but also represented "aural and visual statements of the sultan's power and social prestige" in which music has been a state heirloom and a part of the "sultan's legitimacy as a god-king figure" (Vetter 1986: 286). Moreover, to reach the maximum effect of their 'symbolic meaning', those gamelan were played in specific events, ceremonies, and rituals (ibid).

---

[3] The Majapahit Kingdom (13th–16th century), was a Hindu Kingdom centred in East Java. It is considered as the largest kingdom known in the history of the Indonesian archipelago. The end of Majapahit coincided with the dawn of Islam in Java. For the sake of legitimacy, the Islamic Mataram Kingdom needed to connect itself with Majapahit despite their religious difference. In this case, royal lineage was more important than religious affiliation.

An example of the use of music to support the legitimacy of the Sultan can be found in the *Sekaten gamelan.* It is widely believed that the gamelan used for the *Sekaten* festival are heirlooms that extends back to Majapahit. Both the Gamelan *Monggang* and Gamelan *Kodhok Ngorek* "are popularly attributed to the last great Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit" (Vetter 1986: 134–5) via the Demak Kingdom. Although Vetter was not sure about the historical veracity of these ensembles, he agreed that the most important thing was the fact that "these associations are firmly embedded in present-day thought" (ibid: 135).

The *Sekaten gamelan* are played in the *Gerebeg* celebration, which has now become an object of cultural tourism. It includes the *Sekaten gamelan* ritual consisting of the *Gamelan Monggang* and the *Gamelan Kodhok Ngorek.* According to Scott-Maxwell, the *Gerebeg* commemoration and the performance of the *Sekaten gamelan* during the time of the 16th century Demak Kingdom were used to bring Javanese together and as a means of *dakwah* (Islamic propagation) (Scott-Maxwell 1993: 34). In more recent times, these rituals have also become tourists spectacles.

The presentation of these distinctly Javanese performances to tourists highlights the extent of their economic commoditisation bringing profits to tourism organisers as well as the marketing of Yogyakarta to the wider world (Daniels 2009: 33). They are presented as 'exotic' experiences "fetishizing cultural difference" between Javanese and tourists (ibid: 33). Daniels considers that the traditions also remind people about the centrality of the roles of the Kraton and the Sultan in Yogyakarta and the need to maintain the tradition itself (ibid: 30). In short, the artistic performances of the Kraton supported a social order in which the ruler is supreme over his subjects.

My own awareness of Yogyakarta culture had been strongly shaped by reading about the Kraton as the place of noble traditions. The music in this place was born out of and for the sake of the tradition. Peforming music meant performing and maintaining tradition. It was this disjuncture between the idea of Kraton as the centre of Javanese conservatism and the hip hop music produced by JHF that motivated me to make a study of the relationship between them.

1.1.1 *Komunitas* Inside The Kraton

As previously mentioned, Juki's rented house was inside the *Benteng Kraton*, that is the walls that enclose the Kraton and the surrounding neighbourhoods. At the centre of the Kraton is the Sultan who symbolically locates Yogyakarta as the center of Javanese culture.[4] The Kraton (palace) in which the Sultan lives, by extension, must be the very site of the traditional cultural preservation – at least, that was what I had thought. Consequently, the location of Juki's house inside the Kraton Walls really surprised me.

As I entered the house I saw a striking mural painted on the wall and immediately thought that it *could* not be in a house inside the Kraton Walls. The mural was an example of the street arts associated with hip hop culture characterised by artists aerosol spraying urban spaces such as walls, electrical posts and trains. The media as well as the paintings themselves deny the 'traditional values' of aesthetic production. The mural should have been somewhere else outside the centre of Javanese traditional power. But it was there. And it was meant to be there. And for the next five years I would spend my time searching for answers how this rebellious mural existed inside the Kraton wall.

Juki himself appeared simple and friendly. He apologised for shifting the schedule of our meeting because there had been a recording session. He asked me whether I had read enough from the internet and other information about JHF to avoid asking unnecessary questions. I was rather embarassed that I had not had time to browse for material about the group on the internet and, to be honest, I had not thought that the JHF was such a techno-savy music group.

The mural and techno-savy realities were indications that more complexities were coming. The mural in the house suggested that there was a diversity of art expressions inside the Kraton walls, not just traditional ones. For instance, on 25 April 2014, during my first field work, there was an event called "Rap of The Ring" held by the Hellhouse hip hop *komunitas*

---

[4] There have been two Mataram dynasties in Javanese history. Hindu Mataram controlled the area of present-day Central Java and Yogyakarta for about 300 years up until the end of the first millennium. From the beginning of the second millenium to 15th century, power resided in kingdoms based in East Java. The Islamic Mataram Kingdom was founded in the late 16th century in Central Java and was the last independent Kingdom in Java before ceding its sovereignty to East India Dutch Company, after which it was divided into four kingdoms. In Yogyakarta there are two Kratons or Palaces – the Sultanate Kraton, established in 1755, and the lesser Pakualaman, established in 1812. The other two are the Susuhunan and Mangkunegaran located in the nearby city of Surakarta (Solo). They are all connected and trace their descent to the Mataram Kings. This thesis is about the Sultanate Kraton of Yogyakarta. But in some cases I will mention Pakualaman, because they are in the same city and often in the same political contexts.

on Wijilan Street, while Shaggydog, a well-known Ska music group from Yogyakarta, has its contact address in Nogosari Street, both inside the Kraton Wall.

"Rap of the Ring" reflected many similar 'komunitas-based-events' that had sustained the rise and success of JHF. Indeed, komunitas is perhaps the most important conceptual term in this thesis (see Chapter 2 for detailed discussion of the term). This 'komunitas', which I understand to be a social form for cutural production, had a central role in the development of JHF. The term points to collective rather than individualised enterprise. The moment JHF was born it was claimed to be a 'komunitas'. This signified the fundamental contributions of the komunitas throughtout the history of JHF.

From preliminary observations I came to a conclusion that the best way to understand the JHF's life cycle was through this komunitas perspective, for it revealed the interconnectedness of its members and other stakeholders. In other words, through the social form that contributed to the process of the cultural production under the banner of Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. Thus, this thesis is about JHF as a komunitas dedicated to articulating Javaneseness in the form of verbal, sonic and visual expressions which are combined with hip hop music as the medium.

The two lingering questions I had concerned comprehending the ways a komunitas could succeed in presenting this underground and 'foreign' music inside the Kraton Wall, and how to explain the acknowledgement given by the Sultan to the JHF as one of those komunitas. The Sultan's acknowledgement not only reflected that the JHF existed but that it was also accepted and appreciated.

I carried out two periods of fieldwork in Jogya, from April to June 2014, and in March 2016, to observe and investigate the dynamics of the komunitas. These fieldwork trips included scrutinising the cultural products themselves. By doing so I hoped to be able to find answers to the main question: what constructions of Javaneseness ground cultural forms that are understood as contemporary, as opposed to belonging to the Javanese past?

To help arrive at answers for this question I needed to answer the following sub-questions, which underpin the empirical focus of the research:

1. Why and how did the JHF come about, achieve success and later decline?
2. What were the roles of komunitas in the lifecycle of the JHF?

3. How did the internal dynamics among each members of the JHF contribute to its development?

4. How 'remix' became the significant trait of JHF products?

5. What are the contributions of the bigger structures (such as Javaneseness, the Sultan's politics, and market mechanisms) toward the fate of the *komunitas* JHF?

During the time of the research, things happened that I did not anticipate beforehand. Most especially, the JHF reached its peak and then started to decline. This gave me a priviliged insight into the process of the decline, and particularly into how other social forms for cultural production clashed with the *komunitas* model. Juki became a celebrity, something to which the other members of JHF did not aspire. This development of becoming a celebrity would eventually lead Juki to carve out his own career away from the JHF, creating a sort of post-Juki JHF.

1.2 Yogyakarta: The Ambiguity Of Independence And Competition For Supremacy

Yogyakarta is *"negari merdiko yang tidak merdeka"* (an independent country which is not independent) (Soetarto 2009: 254).

Negeri paling penak rasane koyo swargo/ora peduli dunya dadi neroko/ning kene tansah edi peni lan mardiko (This most comfortable country feels like heaven/not caring if the world becomes like hell/here it is always beautiful and independent) (lyric of *Jogja Istimewa* song)

If being independent is something essential, then Yogyakarta has had a unique experience of this essence. It calls itself *merdiko* (Javanese, means independent), but in reality it has never been really independent. The historical facts indicate that since its birth Yogyakarta has had to recognise and submit itself to a higher and bigger power. But Yogyakarta speaks differently as can be seen in the song of *Jogja Istimewa* (Jogja Special) by the JHF.

The *Palihan nagari* (partition of the country) on 13th February 1755 was painful. Once the most powerful kingdom reigning over most of the island of Java, the Kingdom of Mataram suffered serious decline after the 1700s. The political complications and military conflicts involving the Palace, Chinese people in Java and the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) severely wounded the kingdom forcing the King, Paku Buwono II, to "[sign] a transfer of Mataram to the VOC in 1749" (Moedjanto 1986: 51). The transfer, however, did not end the

conflicts. Only in 1755 could peace be obtained, with the signing of Giyanti Agreement which divided Mataram into (Kesunanan) Surakarta and (Kesultanan) Yogyakarta.

This Agreement marked the birth of the Yogyakarta Kingdom. Knowing that the effort of unifying Javanese kingdom under his rule through military action was futile, Pangeran Mangkubumi signed the Agreement and made himself Hamengkubuwono I. He was not alone, however, as there was a rival Sultan in the city of Surakarta.

At the time the Giyanti agreement was signed Hamengku Buwono I's own son-in-law, Pangeran Mas Said led another rebellion which lasted for two years, Pangeran Mas Said agreed to stop his rebellion but, instead of submitting himself to Hamengku Buwono I, he chose to make an agreement with Pakubuwono III, thereby becoming another king in 1757 in Surakarta. The British installed a fourth king in 1812 in Yogyakarta, creating the Pakualaman. Through Dutch and British intervention there emerged 4 kings of Java, all descendants of the previous Kingdom of Mataram, all considered to be legitimate.

The existence of the 'real' power in the hands of the Dutch and the reality that there had been three other Javanese kingdoms put the Yogyakarta Kraton in a complicated political constellation. Under the Dutch, the kings "were reduced to sacred rulers of ceremonies and traditions" (Daniels 2009: 19). The kings turned inward and competed among themselves and "the royal family focused their energies inward, cultivating and refining art and culture" (Scott-Maxwell 1993: 22).

Two distinct political realities, therefore, surrounded the birth of Yogyakarta. The first is its dependence – it was never an independent and self-subsisting state. Second, the royal house of Yogyakarta was never the sole claimant to rule over Java. Thus, the Yogyakarta palace was built in 1755 by Hamengku Buwono I in awareness that the newly born kingdom was not and could never be the only kingdom in the Javanese realm.

It was also built out of awareness that although military efforts had failed, competition persisted in terms of who deserved more political and cultural respect. According to Sutton (1984), legitimacy very much depended on the king's ability to assert a 'court culture' through remarkable buildings, possession of *pusaka* (sacred heirlooms), conducting of elaborate rituals and the cultivation of arts, including puppetry, dance and gamelan (see also Scott-Maxwell 1993: 34).

In order to encourage cultural life and maintain dominance in prestige, the Sultans created special enclaves, sometimes called '*kampung*', to concentrate similar skills or occupations, especially inside the Kraton walls. The names of the enclaves or *kampung*s were based on the profession of the dwellers. Thus we know the skill-based or occupational-based *kampung* such as Kampung Siliran for those whose job is to take care the lights in the palace, Kampung Nagan for the musicians, Kampung Langenarjan and Langenastran for the palace guards, Kampung Gowongan for carpenters (Gunawan, 1993: 18–19).

Similarly within these *kampung* lived groups of specialised and skilled servants such as *Kemitbumen* (gardening and cleaning), *Siliran* (lighting), *Pesindenan* (singers), *Patehan* (tea makers) and *Nagan* (musician). For more than two centuries the growth of the population has led to development of their own social and cultural life, shaped by their physical proximity to the Sultan and their 'containment' inside the walls, which has arguably given them a special status within the Javanese cultural world.

The *kampung* occupants worked towards the glory of Javanese culture in order to be able to win the competition for prestige among Javanese people. As a result, distinct styles of artistic expression were created leading to, for instance, a clearly discernable Yogyakarta versus Surakarta styles of aesthetics, including gamelan (Sutton 2010). This is in line with Scott-Maxwell's argument that Hamengkubuwono I was very active in encouraging cultural activities during his reign not because of his personal interest in culture, but because he was very concerned with political competition. His nurture of music, dance and wayang was to improve his exaltation by showing his capability of patronising such arts (Scott-Maxwell 1993).

Citing Sullivan (1992:107), Guinnes described the general condition and the cherished values in *kampungs*, whether it be inside or outside the Kraton walls, were "social harmony", "communal calm" and "absence of overt conflict", all of which were "synonyms of civil order" to create "relatively uncoerced tranquillity of myriad small communities" (2009: 15). It is remarkable that these values, which reflected the spirit of life in the *kampung*, would later be promoted by the JHF in a cultural form way beyond the knowledge of the founders of the court tradition. And for a while, its creative leader, Juki, would produce musical performances that stuck to the 'rules of conduct' of true Javanese expression (Riyanto: 2016). That is the subject of this dissertation, namely the packaging of 'Javaneseness' in the forms of verbal, sonic, and visual imagery of hip hop.

This thesis is to scrutinise the meeting of this two seemingly incompatible cultural forces; traditional Yogyakarta and modern hip hop. On one level, the focus is on the individual dynamics and the social forms that turned the meeting into a cultural product. On another level, this thesis is to establish how the Kraton facilitated as well as capitalised on such a powerful blending to maintain its social, cultural and political standings.

As previously mentioned, there was much debate about the Act concerning the continuation of the status of Yogyakarta as a Special Region (*Daerah Istimewa*). Indeed, during 2010-2012 there were heated arguments between those who agreed with the maintaining of Yogyakarta's traditional special status against those who questioned and tried to abolish it. *Komunitas* JHF positioned itself to support the special status of Yogyakarta. The dynamics of the history of JHF led to the appropriation of the JHF by Sultan to strengthen the Sultan's cultural and political standing.

1.3 From Kampung Nagan To *Komunitas* JHF

It is central to the core arguments of this thesis that since its founding in 2003, the JHF took shape as a *komunitas*. It grew into a formidable cultural producer as seen from its success in receiving a Letter of Appreciation and the Duta Nagari Award. I have also mentioned that this thesis would focus on the social form of the *komunitas* JHF, which produced special hip hop music.

There is a sort of golden thread between the *kampung* of cultural production in the Kraton and the *komunitas* JHF in that both are social forms for cultural production that were mobilised for the interests of the Kraton. Yet the difference between them is significant and, in fact, forms the issue to be explored in this research. In this section, I trace the golden thread by making distinctions between the artisan *kampung* and the concepts of *nongkrong* and the *komunitas* JHF. I need to stress here that *kampung* refers to a territory or a place. *Nongkrong* and *komunitas* refer to a group of people or social forms. In Chapter Two, I will clarify my definition of *komunitas* as a social form, which is not based on territory. Here I will describe the development from a *kampung* with uniformed skills and occupations for its residents to a *kampung* with diverse ones.

From the beginning in 1755 *kampungs*, especially those inside the Kraton walls, were designed as enclaves for those who shared similar professions or skills. As mentioned,

Kampung Nagan and Pasindenan were for the Kraton's musicians and singers respectively. This skill based allotment within such close proximity of each other were under the same ultimate objectives to promote and to uphold their Sultan's status as the most prestigious King of the kings of Java. In their respective positions, the Sultan, as the patron and the artists, as the clients, worked to reinforce the cultural and social power structure.

Those who live in the *kampung*s are called *warga, masyarakat* or *penduduk* (inhabitants). In previous times there was considerable uniformity in that they shared similar skills or professions, and they were under Kraton patronage. Two factors, however, have impacted dynamically on this – the decrease of the Kraton's power and the increase in opportunities for individuals to improve their livelihoods through other occupations

During the course of the 260 years from the birth of Yogyakarta under the Giyanti agreement, the transition from Dutch colonial rule to Japanese domination and then to the Indonesian Republic there has been a great weakening of the Sultan's power. According to Scott-Maxwell, the Kraton effectively "lost its remaining political autonomy and much of its previous strength as an artistic patron" (1993: 3) in the early years of the Indonesian Republic. This brought about a gradual decline of power among the upper class (*bangsawan* or noblemen), which resulted in the decrease of support for those *kampung*s and associated inhabitants (Scott Maxwell 1993; Gunawan 1993).

There was also a 'differentiation' of opportunities that became available through education. Gunawan notes that modern education provided by the Dutch government made vertical social mobility possible through educational and professional routes. The 'modern' Dutch system of administration became an alternative route for advancement against that of favouritism by the Sultan. This development disrupted 'the order' of social class which gave way to a new route of social mobility through '*trah*' [5](kin-based social organisation) (Gunawan 1993: 6, 7). Using this route, an individual could bypass the social constraints previously operative on *kampung* subjects. Based on merit such as educational or professional capacity, someone might move upward leaving fellow inhabitants or neighbourhoods behind. As a consequence, there emerged one, two or several prominent *trah* or families in the middle of *kampung* inhabitants. Based on their own education, these emerging professionals had different skills or professions from the traditional professions

---

[5] Gunawan (1993: 6–7) noted that this vertical mobility is based an individual achievement or that of an agreed prominent ancestor.

historically embedded in a *kampung*, hence creating diversity and dynamism.[6] The process of mobility through educational achievement has taken place over many decades, resulting in gradual change. More recently, the changes highlighted in the first sections of this chapter have been much more accelerated.

I have described that those who lived in *kampung* inside the Kraton wall had uniform skills and professions. They constituted the first forms of social networks which was based on territory in the city of Yogyakarta. Gradually they changed. The uniformed skills and professions are no longer seen in those *kampung*s. As a result those *kampung*s now have diverse inhabitants with diverse skills and professions according to individual aspirations.

Over time, neighbourhoods consisting of inhabitants with uniform-skills are becoming rare. The lack of a patron means that pursuing a career becomes an individual enterprise without any need to conform to the collective consideration. People nowadays commonly travel to different places to find skills and education and to meet with like-minded people.[7] Those people with the same aspirations and concerns may get together, one famous social form for this case is *nongkrong.*

The term *nongkrong* means 'to squat' (see also Wallach 2008: 141). When taking the *nongkrong* position, Indonesians are able to squat for quite a long period of time. This position enables people to chat or socialise for much longer than if they were standing. And it is from this attribute that the current concept originated. When people *nongkrong*, they do not require seats. Instead, they can sit socialising by the side of the road, as Wallach (2008) observed. Indeed, in many ways *nongkrong* is a process by which space for socialising is

---

[6] An example from personal experience is the case of the late Professor Juhertati Imam Muhni, an expert in American Studies at Universitas Gadjah Mada, whose house was in Langenarjan, the *kampung* for members of the palace security force (Gunawan 1993: 19). During my undergraduate studies we visited her there and learned and experienced 'American Studies' under the guidance of her professorship. Her late sister, Professor Juretno Imam Muhni was also a prominent academic in the field of philosophy at the same university. The two outstanding figures are examples of social mobility, which diversified the makeup of Kampung Langenarjan. This is an example of how a family in the Kampung Langenarjan followed formal, modern educational routes and became prominent academics rather than maintaining the conventional skills of the Kraton's security officials, which had been the designated skill for this *kampung.*

[7] The emergence of social and cultural organisations that started in the early twentieth century can be seen as the embodiment of this search for like-minded people. The examples are Jong Java, Budi Utomo, and Sjarekat Islam. This need for Javanese people to 'search for others' and 'congregate' and then create 'organisations' outside traditional social and cultural order is a topic that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

constructed by those who do not have any 'proper' space for socialising either because of their poverty or their age.

A colleague of mine, Sulistiyo,[8] was able to give me a short recollection about *nongkrong* as he experienced it in a typical village setting. His illustration of his highly typical experience gives texture to my definition here. He spent his childhood in rural Wonogiri, in the south-eastern part of Central Java, in the 1980s. Sulistiyo spent his childhood at the time when 'home' entertainment was very limited. There was only one national state-controlled television channel, no mobile phones, and no internet. His recollection of his childhood in rural area in 1980s might reveal earlier development of *nongkrong* before it was transformed into such a significant activity in urban contexts.

He recollected that he would sometimes '*nongkrong*' with his friends at the main crossroad in his village. Sometimes he and his friends would '*nongkrong*' in the literal sense of squatting, while at other times they would stand, but most often they would move between the two positions. Some would find a place on which to sit, such as on big stones. Besides chatting, they played guitars or cards. Some of them would *nongkrong* through the evening, on any day, as long as the weather permitted. But Sulistiyo could join this activity during the weekends only, for he had undertaken study, and had homework to complete. His diligence paid off, now he is a high ranking officer in the Indonesian Air Force.

Sulistiyo's experience is very similar to mine. Both of us had to restrain our *nongkrong* because we were facing the struggle for education. Indeed, I moved to a city, 40 kilometers from my home village, to study in a high school. I remember clearly an uncle of mine who scorned those who like to *nongkrong*. He categorised such people as people who would have no future.

There are some elements of truth in my uncle's diasgreement with *nongkrong*. The people who would *nongkrong* for the longest time were those who did not do well at school or did not even go to school at all. Most of my peers in my village stopped attending school after finishing their Elementary School. This was in the 1980s and many of my fellow villagers could not afford to send their children to high school. When such children became teens, *nongkrong* was quite popular.

---

[8] Interview with Sulistiyo, 20 January 2017.

These people were no longer children, but they were not yet adults. They were no longer under protection of the 'home' with its rules. Yet, they were not yet adult enough to have their own space. They did not go to formal educational institutions to undergo formal learning. These teenagers would come together and try to make connections, learn more about their life and peers, and search for more possibilities.

In contrast, at that age, Sulistiyo and I did not *nongkrong* much. We went through formal education, considering it as a ladder to enable us to move upward, and to weave our own social networks. The result is that both of us became more or less disconnected from our hometown. After all, *nongkrong* stresses the importance of connectedness and communality.

A person's 'career' in *nongkrong* in my village usually ended when the person became 'serious' about their life, such as when they married or commenced a 'proper job'. They then transitioned from *nongkrong* into the more regulated 'neighborhood watch', which would require them to '*nongkrong*' in the neighborhood watch post. Still, some married and adult villagers would maintain their habit of *nongkrong* for different reasons, such as for the sake of playing cards, or chess. At this stage of the life-cycle, there was no significant need to improve one's social network or find new possibilities for the future. At that time, adults are more or less settled in their own spaces and roles in the community.

From the illustration above it can be argued that *nongkrong* has been an important part of social life especially for those who were not able to enjoy the formal route of education. It was the first chance for young people to move out of their comfortable homes, socialize among their peers, learn how to live, find a role and space in the community, but in a relaxed and often playful manner. Even when the *nongkrong* involves mere chatting, those who involved will exchange information and, at least, learn the vocabulary and language they need to survive. This kind of language and information was not availabl through their parents or schools.[9]

A city like Yogyakarta opens many more possibilities for *nongkrong*. There are more places and friends to choose and more reasons for getting involved in *nongkrong*. Compared to rural areas, a city has better lighting, more open spaces, and has more food and drink to

---

[9] In my own experience during *nongkrong* in my village I learned about the ghosts in my village, which usually dwelled close to or under big trees, bridges, and of course at the cemetery. I also learned about traditional herbal medicines. Another important subject of learning was how to deal with 'girls'. All this information was shared in a playful manner, and sometimes wwas enhanced by direct experience, such as when we visited 'haunted' places.

enjoy until late at night, and has more people from different backgrounds. Living in a city is more stressful and more competitive. These combinations make *nongkrong* a pleasure for many. Indeed, it is more than a pleasure. It is also a time to learn and open up to more possibilities. It is no wonder then, that *nongkrong* in big cities has attracted attention from many scholars, mainly because they consider it such an important site for the production of cultural expressions. In the following, I mention a number of scholars who have argued that *nongkrong* contributes much to the creative process.

Brent Luvaas (2009) dedicated a special chapter in his thesis about the Do-It-Yourself generation in the digital-age in Indonesia to discussion of *nongkrong*. He discussed the DIY process in several cities including Bandung and Yogyakarta. Interestingly, in the chapter discussing DIY in Yogyakarta, Luvaas concluded that "there is no 'doing it' oneself" (ibid: 134), as *nongkrong* occurs through the fundamental contribution of "social involvement" of others. *Nongkrong* "mediates all forms of production and consumption for participants" and it is the "site of cultural production" where "ideas are generated, group sensibilities are forged, and collective interpretations are developed" (ibid: 93). Luvaas has underlined that in *nongkrong* there appears collectivity instead of individuality as designated by DIY spirit, and that this plays a vital role in the process of cultural production (ibid).

Baulch (1997) and Moore (2015), who have observed the indie music scene in Bali, describe *nongkrong* as something that can make "solidarity", enabling members to "become embodied" (Baulch 1997: 148). This solidarity is vital for further and more productive activities. Moore understands *nongkrong* as a "socially embedded tradition" in which all other scene activities intersect (2015: 48–49). Thus, *nongkrong* is considered as part of the process of music production.

Wallach's (2008) study concerned *nongkrong* in street contexts in Jakarta. He proposed that "music making in such settings was intended … for creating an atmosphere of camaraderie and relaxation" (ibid: 153). He observed values in *nongkrong* such as tolerance, informality, harmony, reciprocity, equality, nonhierarchicalness and openness (ibid: 167). These values are also important for the creation of a *komunitas*.

These distinctions prepare the way for the notion of *komunitas* that is so essential to understanding the rise and decline of the JHF. I propose that *komunitas* and *nongkrong* are related, in that people who *nongkrong* are frequently motivated to make their engagements more formal in the form of *komunitas*. All those values mentioned by Wallach, Baulch and

Luvaas are also embedded in *komunitas*, as I will discuss in next chapter. In this section, I outline the distinctions between the artisan *kampung, nongkrong* and *komunitas*, all of which are central to my consideration of contemporary cultural production in Yogyakarta. *Kampung* accommodate those who live in the same area. Both *nongkrong* and *komunitas* are based on shared concerns, instead of territorial sameness. *Komunitas* shares the values of *nongkrong,* but *komunitas* is different from *nongkrong.*

In this thesis, I will discuss *nongkrong* and the social relations embedded in it based on the narrative of JHF. This involves giving attention to *nongkrong* in contemporary urban contexts, where different kinds of social relations to those encountered in the village can occur, and where *nongkrong* is not necessarily performed by squatting by the side of roads. *Tongkrongan* (the place for *nongkrong)* can be afriend's home, a caffe, hotel lobby, public parks, or else.

Komunitas is a noun and can be seen as a social relation forming between people with a "shared sense of identity" and "passion for and commitment to their art" (Hatley 2015: 28). In comparison with the older, artisan *kampung*s of the Yogyakarta Kraton, the JHF was not dedicated solely to the interests of the Kraton elite, but were to promote and perform Javanese hip hop in a wider political space, the Republic of Indonesia. But it nevertheless fulfilled, in important ways, the same functions as the artisan communities. I was to discover that the emergence, rise, and decline of the JHF reflected the ambiguity of the independence, the competition for supremacy and the fast pace of change that has happened in the Kraton of Yogyakarta.

In this introduction, I have gone back to the first moments of the birth of Yogyakarta in 1755. The Kraton of today clings to that tradition, but it exists in a wider field that has changed drastically. The JHF accommodated the Kraton, but it also found success in this new environment. Analytically, besides historical reflection, I needed something else to uncover the ambiguity and complications brought on by this new environment. For this I arrived at the concepts of celebrity and itinerancy. Both are the result of the inevitable global influence coming to Yogyakarta. These two had amplified the significance of the journey of the *komunitas* JHF in reflecting the potential as well as the limit of Javaneseness vis-à-vis global values. Thus, there are three keywords for this thesis *komunitas*, itinerant and celebrity, which I will explain in Chapter Two.

1.4 Method

1.4.1 A Javanese Doing Research On The Javanese

This research is about the Javanese and has been carried out by a Javanese. What I have been through in my life as a Javanese is not unusual in contemporary Java. I have experienced a horizontal mobility through many different kinds of Javaneseness. I am living evidence of the 'diversity of Javas'. For that reason, I acknowledge that there is a certain degree of bias since I am very much a Javanese insider. But I am also an outsider, especially where the Kraton is concerned and I will spend some effort here to outline the distance between my Javaneseness and the Kraton.

Java's kratons invite us to conclude that they form the centre of Java, but even within the sphere of the kraton there is no clarity about the centre. I have mentioned about the partition of the Mataram Kingdom into four almost equal kingdoms. All claimed to be the 'true heir' of Mataram, meaning the true 'Java'. Usually, the main divisions of the Mataram centres are between Yogyakarta versus Surakarta. In Surakarta the competition for prestige is more complicated than in Yogyakarta because, in the former, both the Susuhunan leader and the Mangkunegara are almost equal, while in Yogyakarta, the Pakualaman is often considered as lesser than the Kasultanan (Sultanate) Hamengkubuwono. Thus, it is easier for the Sultan and the Pakualam to be united under the leadership of the Sultan Hamengkubuwono. I will discuss some crucial examples of this union in Chapter Eight.

If there are four kraton in Java, each claiming to be the cosmological centre of the Javanese, then how are we to interpret their claims? This quandary was explored by John Pemberton in his seminal work *On the Subject of Java* (1994). His answer was to make a distinction between urban Java, where kraton form centres, and the other Javas of rural areas. Most of the time, following Pemberton's categories, I consider myself as a native of one of the 'other' Javas, the rural Java, residing beyond the boundaries marked by the mountains Merapi and Lawu (my home is in Bumiayu, a rural area near the border of Central and West Java, in which West Java is predominantly Sunda, not Java). Pemberton described this rural Java as having "pastoral images". It is "filled with spirits, black magic, and quirky storms" as looming threats ready to make any urbanites who dare to venture there become "disoriented", or simply make them "disappear completely" (1994: 237). This is in contrast to the glittering image of the Kraton. In Javanese idiom, my rural Java is called '*adoh ratu*

cedak watu' (far from a king, close to stones, means far from 'civilisation', close to 'barbarism').

Indeed, outside the Kraton of Solo and Yogyakarta, there are many other Javas. For example, based on dialects there are Cirebon, Banyumas, Tegal, Semarang and Surabaya to mention a few. In my own life I have experienced this diversity, having lived on the Sunda-Java border, in Banyumas, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya (Madura-Java border). In the following, I will describe my experience to illustrate the diversity of Javaneseness and my position among those Javanese. All in all, I would stress here that in the next chapters the Javaneseness represented by the JHF refers to Yogyakarta, a different Java from 'my' Java.

I am a Javanese, but not Yogyakartan. I was born near the border of Central Java and West Java. I spent my childhood in a hilly small town in which many of us speak both Sundanese and Javanese. For people originating from my town, it is a source of pride that we were never obliged to speak high register Javanese *(kromo)* to anybody in the village. Everybody spoke the low register *(ngoko)*, reflecting an ethic of equality in the village community.

In my hometown I was 'familiarised' with cross-border folk arts such as the musical tradition of *Tarling* (*Gitar* and *Suling* – Guitar and Flute) and *Sintren*, both from Cirebon, a city with half Sundanese half Javanese inhabitants. The most famous folklore in my hometown (including Banyumas) is *Lutung Kasarung* or *Kamandaka*, a prince from a Sundanese Kingdom who wandered around and entered our 'Javanese' Kingdom more than 500 years ago. I still remember well, that in my childhood in the mid 1970s, there used to be a wandering troup of dancers called *lengger* (sometimes called *tayub*). This happened usually during harvest time. I watched the *lengger* on the street or sometimes in the front yard of a rich man who had enough money to pay for the performance.

During my teenage years, I moved east to Banyumas, closer to Yogyakarta, but still too far from it. Banyumas has its own language and many styles of artistic expression,[10] which are different from the ones from Yogyakarta. The *Kamandaka* story has its centre in Banyumas.

Although I had lived '*adoh ratu cedak watu*', my late father opened up small windows to peep into the 'centre' of Javanese culture. We often read *Parikesit* (a Solo-based Javanese newspaper) and *Djaka Lodang* (a Yogyakarta-based Javanese magazine). During my high

---

[10] Banyumas has its own wayang style, see for example R. T. A. Lysloff (1993) Banyumas also has its own dialect, dialect 'Banyumasan' see for example Hadiati (2014)

school time in Purwokerto, Banyumas, I enjoyed *Kalangwan,* a canonical work about Javanese literature written by Zoetmulder (1985). I read it over and over again.

Then I moved to Yogyakarta to pursue my higher education at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM). It is located in the northern part of the city, indeed it is in the border of the city of Yogyakarta and Sleman Regency, so that physically and culturally there was a certain distance between campus life and the downtown of Yogyakarta city where the Kraton is located. My activities were campus-based. As one of the biggest, most popular, and oldest campuses, UGM made me develop more as an 'Indonesian' rather than as a 'Javanese'.

For decades I had considered the Kraton as strongly traditional and somewhat mystical. I had some exposure previously but only through readings, while in reality my origin was 'closer to stones'. The Kraton was something like an exalted shrine. There was an indescribable distance between me as a Javanese and the Kraton.

When I started to work as a lecturer at Airlangga University in Surabaya, I had all the reasons to maintain the distance. Surabaya is the centre of the 'other-Java-in-the-east'. It is only 30 minutes from Madura, a non-Javanese ethnic group with its own culture and tradition. Surabaya also has its own dialect and tradition.

Thus, culturally I have travelled from the western border to the eastern border, experiencing several 'Javas'. I know and have been living in 'different' Javanese environments. I am a Javanese, I am part of a different Javaneseness. Again, within this context, the Kraton was still at a distance. The Kraton seemed to be in a separate world which I would never cross nor understand. And I never had any intention to problematise this peculiar distance.

This distance has been commented upon by a number of scholars. The kraton has been seen as the center 'of 'the cult of the *adiluhung'* which 'idealizes a refined Javanese culture through the lenses of the "traditional" elite—that is the *priyayi* or neo-*priyayi* (Florida 1987: 3).' Florida observed that linguistic etiquette was part of this construction of a refined Javanese culture, something which is of course absent from my own egalitarian experience of Javaneseness. Florida called this "the myth of the *adiluhung*", which means "the beautiful sublime", and observed how its construction was very much influenced by Dutch philological scholars, and in this sense, it is a distortion of Javanese culture (ibid: 2,3). Hughes-Freeland (1997 : 473) clearly analysed the construction of 'Javanese ideas about aesthethic desirebility' which created 'the antithesis between refined and the coarse' by

giving examples of the Kraton dance (Bedhaya) and country dance (tayuban). Hughes-Freeland stated further that the fine art of *adiluhung* 'does not include tayuban'. As mentioned above, *tayuban* had been so popular in my village, Banyumas and its surroundings.

In this contemporary context the invented division between *adiluhung* and not-*adiluhung* is still very useful, for it still informs kraton reflections about Javanese culture. However, as seen in my own journey and the journey of JHF, people travel, not only geographically but also culturally. Furthermore, and most importantly, I wish to draw attention to JHF's successful experiments with 'remix', an ethic of cultural production that crosscuts the distinction between *adiluhung* and not-*adiluhung*, mobilising both in the same performance. I will discuss this 'remix' in Chapter II.

My own life includes 40 years of living in and experiencing many 'other Javas'. Now I am witnessing the complexity, ambiguity and fast changes that have occured in the 'center' of Java and its surroundings. The notion of remix is central to those changes. I contend below that the remix done by JHF has also been an enterprise of *komunitas*. Thus, this study of a group of musicians may provide a bird's eye view of the social form of the *komunitas* of JHF, its rise and its decline.

1.4.2 Data Collection

I started this research with adequate confidence because my research is to some degree about me, a Javanese in a quick-changing world. I also have spent more than 10 years in Yogyakarta And I always thought that I was quite familiar with Javanese culture. This did help me during the course of the research.

I found very little impediments during my fieldwork. From April through to June 2014, I stayed in Yogyakarta to observe the JHF closely. I met people from almost all walks of life. Being an insider to Javanese culture helped me in dealing with the language and other cultural barriers. I am also familiar with the city of Yogyakarta.

I received research ethics approval from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) on 4 April 2014. After that I made two fieldwork trips (April-June 2014 and March 2016) to do observations of the JHF performances and interviews with all JHF members and some of its fans to provide the main source of data. Other data includes

recordings of the music itself and some other relevant texts such as newspapers and Javanese literary books.

	Category	Occupation	Numbers
1	JHF members	Artists	5
2	JHF fans	Students	7
		Professionals/ workers	5
3	Observers 1:	Academicians/Intellectuals (some had direct exposures with Juki during their undergraduate study time at Universitas Gadjah Mada)	8
	Observers 2:	Professionals who had worked with JHF members (journalist, artists etc)	8
	Observers 3:	Members of *komunitas* JHF	5
	Observers 4:	Other: Government Official, artists	4
		Total	42

Table 1.1 Respondents

From my first and second fieldworks I divided the participants into three categories: the musicians, the fans and the observers. The first category of participants consisted of the JHF musicians: Lukman, Anto, Mamok, Balance and Juki. I met most of them in the JHF office located in the ex-Art Institute building complex in Wirobrajan Yogyakarta. More detail about them and their stories are described in the JHF profile section and other chapters.

The second category of participants are 'the fans'. There were eight JHF fans and two Jahanam fans. Some of these were musicians, including one member of Xmen, a new and active hip hop group, and one ex-activist of Mcity, a one time hip hop rapper and b-dancer. These two persons are categorised as fans because they follow the path of hip hop music. Basically there are two types of fans; the hard core ones are those who like Jahanam or Rotra and are 'true' hip hop lovers, the others are those who like JHF because they consider the JHF as representing their causes such as being a Javanese. Most of the second category are not really into hip hop music. From all of those fans the main information I got was that the JHF did represent their Javaneseness.

The third category consists of observers and others, which I divide into four groups. First, are intellectuals and academics, both those who were observers and those who had direct exposures to Juki. This includes one prominent Professor of Anthropology, a Professor of

Javanese Literature, a Professor of Indonesian History, three PhD students who were engaged with Juki during their undergraduate studies at Universitas Gadjah Mada and two NGO activists and researchers who also engaged with Juki during their undergraduate studies. Although Juki did not complete his high school education, he did manage to have intense interaction and strong networks with Universitas Gadjah Mada activists. The six observers provided descriptive accounts of Juki's journey as an artist as well as critical views of Yogyakarta socio-cultural life in general.

The second group are professionals who had worked with Marjuki. This includes one French born prominent journalist, four Garasi Theater actors and activists, and two Indonesian French Institute officers and ex-director. Apart from working as a journalist, Elizabeth Inandiak is also a writer who translated the *Serat Centhini* (The Book of Centini), a work of old Javanese literature, into French and then into Indonesian. She can be considered as Juki's mentor in understanding the *Serat Centhini*. The four actors of Garasi Theater have watched Juki's development as an artist. Another key artist I interviewed was Ki Catur Benyek, the master puppeteer of Wayang Hip Hop who worked with Juki since before 2000. The officers and the ex-director from the Indonesia French Insitute (IFI) provided a historical account of Juki's activities in his earlier career. I managed to interview the present director, Christine Moerman, and ex-director Jean-Pascal Elbaz (director of IFI in 1997-2002). From this group I was informed about Juki's development, including his views and artistic orientation.

The third group consists of those who belong to the *komunitas* JHF outside the five core members and are not the fans. This includes the manager of the JHF, Dita, and Alex Donnero, the video-jockey of the JHF who happens to be the founder and leader of Hell House hip hop community in Yogyakarta. I also had the opportunity to meet and talk to a pair DJ 'legends' in Yogyakarta, DJ Yudis and DJ Vanda, who now run a Yogya DJ School and a night club *Republik Positiva* in the Garuda Hotel, Malioboro. They are a husband-wife DJ team and an example of a DJ-ing success-story. Yudis's role in the JHF crews was as a sort of a 'mentor' and the DJ player in early times, before Vanda replaced Yudis. The final informant in this group is Chandra Hutagaol, the moviemaker of the Hiphopdiningrat documentary, who was not in the JHF management but had worked for the JHF. From them I collected data about the early development of Yogyakarta hip hop and also the managerial aspects of the JHF.

The last group of informants included Gusti Yudho, formally called KGPH Yudhaningrat, the Sultan's brother. He is the chairperson of the Yogyakarta Province Cultural Affairs. He represented the Kraton and government officials. From him I was informed about the contribution as well as the friction between Juki and the government, which was confirmed by Juki himself. I also managed to meet with some artists who graduated from the Indonesian Art Institute (ISI, Yogyakarta). From them I was informed about some perspectives on hip hop and music in Yogyakarta in general.

Direct observation has been vital in my research. During both fieldwork periods I attempted to divide my time among the three most important sites of observation: the performances, the office, and the '*kampung*'.

There were four public performances during the first period of 3 months fieldwork. Those were on Wijilan Street, the Alun-Alun Utara (North Square) of the Kraton, the parking area of the Mandala Krida football stadium and on Malioboro Street. The show in Wijilan was hosted by Helhouse, a Yogyakarta hip hop community. It was designed as a festival for the community, which provided insight into the nature of a *komunitas* performance. The other three Malioboro, Mandala Krida, and Alun-Alun Utara shows were performances dedicated not only for hip hop fans but also for public.

I managed to visit the office of the JHF in two periods of time, first in April-June 2014 and second in March 2016. There was significant difference between the two periods: the first was at the group's peak of popularity, while the second was during their decline.

My visits to the *kampung* of each of the JHF members highlighted their very diverse backgrounds. Balance Perdana Putra grew up and lives inside the Kraton complex, and finished his diploma in applied computing. Mamok was born, raised and lives in the well-known slum on the bank of the Code River, and dropped out of secondary school. Anto, the most senior member, is from the Regency of Sleman, 13 km north of the city, dropped out of English Teacher Training Program. Lukman is from Kalasan, 13 km to the east of the city. Balance and Mamok are from the central areas of the city, one from the Kraton (Balance) and the other from the slum (Mamok). Anto and Lukman are from suburbs outside the city but still inside the province of Yogyakarta.

In 2011 I visited Juki's rented house inside the Kraton complex, near Balance's place. In March 2016 I visited Juki's village at Kokosan, Prambanan, which is in Klaten, Central Java.

This is where he was born, spent his childhood and his present address. Of the five members, Juki is the only one who is not the subject of the Sultan, as he is a citizen of the Province of Central Java. He is also from a rural area, unlike the other four members who are all urbanites. These differences represent significant elements that have shaped the career path of the JHF and will be explored in more detail in subsequent chapters.

In addition to interviews and observations I also collected some JHF products. They include the JHF Hiphopdiningrat documentary movie VCD and soundtrack cd, poetry battle cd, numerous youtube videos, *Java Beat in the Big Apple* and *Semar Mesem Romo Mendem* books, merchandise (e.g. shirts, caps, flag). Other information was obtained from the Internet, which as noted played an important role in the group's career. Almost all of Juki's ideas are available on-line and he also writes in blogs, magazines and newspapers. Other supporting data included magazines and newspapers, books such as those produced by the JHF and the *Serat Centhini*, which was an important influence on Juki.

The huge amount of data is a blessing as well as a challenge, as it offers so many possibilities for analysis and insight into such aspects as language, music, politics, collaborations, fans and business side of culure.

1.5 Thesis structure

In Chapter Two I will present the literature review and theoretical framework focusing on *komunitas* and remix.

Chapter Three provides with an introduction to the JHF career trajectory from its birth to its decline. Important milestones will be discussed. This is to lay the foundations for the discussions in the following chapters.

Chapter Four deals with the history of the other four members, the convergence of their journey with Juki's which resulted in the founding of the *komunitas* JHF, their success and decline. This chapter explains the internal dynamics among the five members.

Chapter Five describes Juki's journey as an artist. Important points in this chapter include Juki's mobility from place to place and from one *komunitas* to others. It is his mobility and capacity to learn which made him capable of creating the *komunitas* JHF. However, the same

ability has added to his itinerancy and celebrity, which are essentially incompatible with *komunitas* itself.

Chapter Six focuses on Juki as a celebrity, how his celebrity status developed and the impact it had on the life of the *komunitas* JHF. This indicates the incompatibility between *komunitas* and celebrity, its cause, its process and its impact.

Chapter Seven is about Javaneseness. How Javaneseness is presented in the JHF music and performances. It also discusses how Javaneseness, as a locality, is seen and impacted differently on each of the five members. While Juki did not seem to embrace it totally, the other four members seemed more willing to do so.

Chapter Eight deals with the political contexts of the JHF. This chapter is a reflection of the JHF career from its birth to its last moments, which is summed up by 'from underground to Kraton'. The JHF started as an underground *komunitas* and ended in the hand of the Kraton. Along the way there were increasing friction between Juki and the Kraton, which ultimately led the JHF to the phase of post-Juki stage.

Chapter Nine is the conclusion.

LITERARY REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter moves deeper to provide greater clarification about *komunitas*, the concept that is the theoretical umbrella for the thesis. It has three sections. Section 2.1 is a literary review focussing on hip hop as a cultural form that seems to take a particular stance in relation to its surrounding environment. I first reflect on some writings on global hip hop as a background, then move to articles about rap in Indonesia in general and later about JHF. The connecting ideas are the essential character of hip hop as a communal form, and the way in which we find the same sense of collective action in many of the social forms for cultural production in Yogyakarta. Section 2.2 introduces the concept of remix as a new way of creating cultural production. Section 2.3. discuss about the concept of *komunitas*, reviewing the academic literature and providing a definition of this social form for the production of culture. I conclude by framing the core dilemma of the rise and fall of the JHF: the conflict between the ethics of *komunitas* and the itinerancy and celebrity that are central to the contemporary Indonesian media and entertainment market.

2.1 Hip hop, collective expression and political power

In this first section I discuss a number of issues surrounding hip hop production and political domination. In general hip hop music productions reflect efforts by marginalised communities to challenge the dominating power. In the Yogyakarta case, the relation between the Sultan and cultural producers have varied from time to time. As described in Chapter One, in the past the skill-based *kampung* were fully patronised by the Kraton. Although, over time, this patron-client relationship has weakened, there are ongoing attempts by the dominating power to appropriate the cultural products produced within its sphere of influence such as hip hop music.

From its birth, hip hop music has always voiced community concerns – mostly about economic disparity and marginality. Consequently, much of the literature about hip hop presents it as rebellious, critical, sub-cultural and outlaw in character. The expressions of hip hop are considered as representing the aspirations of certain groups of people who put

themselves in an oppositional stance against the dominating structures and make them "inherently 'political'"(Deis 2015: 193). From the streets of the Bronx, an underprivileged neighbourhood in New York, hip hop emerged as a means by which its exponents could question their fate and challenge the status quo. Gradually this spirit became global. The hip hop generation who "came together as a political force" emerged out of the "everyday struggles of ghetto communities around the globe" (Fernandes 2011: 6). This core character of articulating collective resentment has enticed young people around the world to raise their voices using hip hop.

Those who were eager to question the 'normal standard' of music making were the ones to welcome the arrival of rap[11] music in Indonesia. As a consequence, the early form of hip hop expressions in Indonesia were regarded as minority expressions from the margins. Probably the earliest account on Indonesian rap music is an analysis by Marina Henschkel as early as May 1991. She reviewed a number of articles and interview reports about music in Indonesia as published in *Tempo* magazine, including some about rap. Henschkel observed that in those writings rap was seen as as an 'infiltration' into the Indonesian music industry and was viewed much less favorably. Rapping was considered as '*ngomel*' (grumbling) or in the words of Iwan Fals "*cenderung terbawa*" (lit. taken along, meaning too heavily influenced by Western forms) (Henschkel 1991: 56). Henschkel criticised the articles for not acknowledging the use of local language and not paying sufficient attention to the local nuances of the music (ibid). Henschkel indicated that even in 1991 rap music was already a controversial issue in Indonesia.

Like its original form in the USA, hip hop in Indonesia has voiced communal resentment and been positioned as oppositional and critical against the hegemonic power, that is, the New Order regime of President Suharto. Bodden suggested that at that time Indonesia's "urban middle classes were becoming increasingly critical of, and vocal about, the shortcomings of the New Order" (Bodden 2005: 6). They used this global medium of expression to channel their dissatisfaction. According to Bodden, however, it came at a high price of the "erasure of local variety" of Indonesian cultural richness (ibid: 1).

---

[11] Throughout this thesis I use 'hip hop' to refer to the street culture known as hip hop. In the meantime I use 'Javanese Hip Hop' and 'Java Hip Hop' to refer to those special music produced in Yogyakarta. Hip hop is more than just music, it has been considered as 'culture' (Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook ed. 2009 and Williams 2015). Rap or rapping, sometimes called MCing, is one of the four original elements of hip hop. The other three are break dance, graffiti, and DJing (Williams 2015: 3).

This spirit of communal resentment was also seen in the early history of Javanese hip hop groups as marked by the establishment in 1996 of G-Tribe, the first Javanese rap group. This was the result of a collective endeavour under the auspices of the Geronimo Radio Station. Although Henschkel was writing about rap in Indonesia as early as 1991, I have found no evidence of Javanese rap before 1996, except for the fact that G-Tribe was inspired by a radio listener who rapped in Javanese[12], an indication that rapping using Javanese language might have been done earlier.

Research publications about hip hop or rap music in Yogyakarta are scarce, partly because they are found within reports of broader developments. This situation is probably caused by the rich and highly diverse music scenes in Yogyakarta, that offer many 'bigger cases' for researchers to focus on. Another reason is probably because the JHF is a relatively new and still progressing case. Furthermore, Yogyakarta is famous for its refined culture so that reports on musical activities also reflect this image. I will mention some of them in the following and seek to contextualise the JHF case within this wider focus on traditional or popular performances.

An essential quality that emerges in the history of the JHF, as well as the academic accounts of cultural production on Yogyakarta generally, is the collective spirit of working as a community. An example is a comprehensive and wide ranging book about Javanese performances, from traditional to modern ones, by Hatley (2008). Although Hatley does not discuss hip hop in Yogyakarta, her book provides an important overview of the performance trends in Yogyakarta for four decades since the 1970s. Hatley argues that a community ethic and collective commitment are critical in understanding the period. Having observed the performing arts, especially in Yogyakarta, over such a long period, Hatley is able to present very clearly the underlying dynamics and contributing factors such as *komunitas* to the history of Javanese performances. Through collaborative and communal processes for cultural production, Yogyakartans are seen as always capable to find ways to negotiate outside influences. Under heavy and continuous 'attacks' from globalisation such as in the media and economically, group membership has been critical, according to Hatley, for the maintenance of local identity, enabling cultural producers to succeed in "adapting to but not [being] swamped" by those influences (2008:7).

---

[12] More information is available in Chapter Five which describes the history of Java and Javanese Hip Hop.

Similarly, Richter (2012) asserts the importance of communality in music and art production in his work on the internal dynamics of community in music making and music appreciation. Using a limited adoption of Bourdieu's concept of 'capital', Richter describes in-group and inter-group social capital as determinants in music production and appreciations in the Yogyakarta scenes (Richter 2012: 37). In-group social capital divides those who follow local music scenes from those who follow global ones; those who enjoy local music cannot enjoy global music and vice versa. Although they may live in the same street, they have their own world of music. Inter-group social capital provides a bridge among different groups (ibid). This bridge emerges, for example, from national music which is not Javanese and which serves the tastes of different groups.

This in-group capital is vital for the community on the streets in producing or appreciating music. However, there is a touch of irony in the fact that many of the members of those groups are from different places outside of Yogyakarta. They came to Yogyakarta, 'congregated' there, and relied for their livelihood on the providence of the streets by working as guides, *becak* (pedicab) drivers or sex workers. Yet they accumulated their capital[13] and built a sort of *komunitas* on those streets.

The theme of collective endeavour emerges also in a number of works discussed in Chapter One, although these present a slightly different perspective on participation because of their focus on the Kraton (Daniels 2009; Hood 1980; Vetter 1986; Scott-Maxwell 1993). They provided a foundation for understanding the persistence of the domination of the Kraton, to maintain the status quo by promoting traditional music and performances. In other words, cultural production was not the 'business' of an individual or a group of people, but it was the 'business' of the state or the kingdom.

In light of the foregoing discussion, in the contemporary world, a *komunitas* can be created by like-minded members regardless of their place of origin. Travelling, finding, residing and working with persons with similar interests constitute important stages in creating a *komunitas*. The travels can be very short or return journeys. The key idea is that there is a certain level of mobility in order to be able to commune with like-minded artists having the same spirit of doing it together. Furthermore, it is not only people who travel but also skills and ideas. Thus, there is a certain level of acceleration or empowerment or a 'career

---

[13] I use capital here to refer to the concept of social capital formulated by Pierre Bourdieu (1977).

development' when an artist 'travels' correctly, meaning that they make the right connections at the right moment in order to develop skills and networks.

This communion between like-minded artists has been documented by Varella in an article about Wayang Hip Hop (2014). Wayang Hip Hop is a "result of collaboration between *dalang* (master puppeteer) Ki Catur 'Benyek' Kuncoro and a host of invited musicians, dancers, and performers" involving "interaction of Javanese heritage and global youth music" making use of "Javanese ethics and aesthetics" and combining them with hip hop music (Varela 2014: 482). In Wayang Hip Hop the traditional form of *wayang*, which usually uses specific traditional canonical stories, makes use of urban stories and contemporary changes (ibid). Catur Benyek had collaborated with Juki before the formation of the JHF as well as after the group was formed. He performed with JHF at the Newyorkarto show in April 2012 and the show in New Caledonia in September 2016.

Varela's article is useful also for understanding the JHF's collaboration with Catur Benyek Kuncoro which display values of connectivity and collaboration that, I argue, are characteristic of *komunitas*. Moreover, these values or spirit characterise the JHF as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters. Varela was also able to highlight the seemingly contradictory nature of Wayang Hip Hop, that is, criticising certain socio-cultural practices yet reinforcing Javanese values (Varela 2014: 497–408).

I have referred to the literature to point out global hip hop's tendency to express marginalised voices and have highlighted the communal and collective value underpinning much of Yogyakarta's cultural production. These features seem to point to a certain incompatibility with the tendency of the Kraton to play a dominating role by seeking to exploit cultural productions for its own benefit, as discussed in Chapter One. If hip hop is an 'outlaw' form of expression, how is it to be accommodated within the processes of appropriation that the Kraton – a dominant political presence – seeks to mobilise for its own legitimacy?

It needs to be pointed out that as hip hop has already been publically appropriated in Indonesia, there is need to qualify its outlaw status. For instance, the national office of BKKBN (National Family Planning Coordinating Board) has held its 'National Rap Competition' annually for almost a decade.[14] The rappers would promote Family Planning programs and a 'healthy' life style such as not using narcotics or engaging in pre-marital

---

[14] See CERIRecords (2015) and Kojek (2010) for some videos on this.

sex. This event also encouraged local identities to be contested 'artistically' on stages (Nugraheni 2014: 9–10) as each participant represented their own province. In this way, rap music has been used to promote local identities and the state's programs (ibid: 7). During the event in Yogyakarta in 2015, Jogja Hip Hop Foundation was one of the guest performers (Belianti 2015).

The Indonesian public seems to respond positively to the promotion of government programs and provincial local identities through hip hop music. In fact, the Sultan's explicit support for the Javaneseness performed by JHF was to be one of the keys to its success (Riyanto 2016). This requires us to reconsider hip hop's outlaw status in the Indonesian context. Although the question is outside the scope of this research, it is possible that the passage of time has softened hip hop's cutting edge. Only a decade ago, Bodden noted the outlaw spirit of anti-establishment rap (Bodden 2005). The contrast between this outlaw spirit and the promotional spirit, as argued by Nugraheni and Varela, may be explained as responses by different groups to social and political conditions of different eras, namely the New Order era versus *reformasi*.

In the case of Yogyakarta, the nexus between the Kraton and cultural production has a distinctive reasoning. As discussed in Chapter One, according to Sutton (1984) and Scott-Maxwell (1993), there has been historically a competition for supremacy as to who has the right to be called the 'true' and 'better' Java. This competition is manifest in a dominating-dominated relationship between the Kraton and the *komunitas* as well as rivalry between royal palaces in Java.

The importance of community enterprise for cultural production is evident in the environment of Yogyakarta. The relations between the social forms for cultural production and the dominating power have proven to be vital drivers for music production. In some cases these forms of relations have determined the content of the music production whether it be supportive, critical, or subversive. The form of the relationship itself is dynamic and changes over time and with context. As noted, nowadays it is not only the traditional patron-client relationship which characterises life within the Kraton's sphere of influence, but also individual artists finding the right people with whom to work. Moreover, the elements that contribute to creating these new social networks in the form of *komunitas* are not only individuals, but also skills, ideas, history and memory, all of which will be discussed in subsequent chapters

This dissertation focusses strongly on the Kraton, which sits at the top of Yogyakarta socio-cultural order, and would prove to be of critical influence in the journey of *komunitas* JHF. At one time the relations were very much supportive as symbolized by the Duta Nagari Award and the Letter of Appreciation. At another time, the political gestures of the Kraton to come back to its role as 'contemporary patron' (I would use the term 'appropriation') had created discord between JHF and the Kraton and a split among the members of JHF as such that JHF should go through a post-Juki phase.

It is hoped that this thesis would contribute to the body of knowledge regarding music worlds in Yogyakarta. In a more specific way, this thesis offers a case study of a *komunitas* in its almost full cycle life history. By doing this, factors that determine the birth, rise, and decline could be identified.

2.2. Remix, a new ethic for music production

As discussed in Chapter I, this research involves a number of deconstructions of conceptions of Javanese culture, mostly concerning the 'culture' of the Kraton. The underlying premise for this deconstruction was the unexpected meeting between the kraton and JHF around a number of their cultural expressions. I have also drawn attention to the need to go beyond the conception of *adiluhung* and not-*adiluhung*, for Java Hip Hop was the result of a 'remix' ethic of cultural production. It does contain some *adiluhung* elements, but it is not only about that. Moreover, the remix approach involves collectivity and pluralism in the process of production as well as in the content of the expressions themselves. Java Hip Hop was a collective endeavor supported by many different peoples and institution. I will discuss more about this process of production in Chapters Three and Seven. Java Hip Hop is more complex than the binary opposition of *adiluhung* and not-*adiluhung*.

Hybrid is a related concept to remix. In his article discussing the centuries old history of mixing in Indonesian music, especially Java, Sutton defined hybrid as characterized by a process in which "at least somewhere in the process of creation/production, and perception/reception, the mix, however fused or separately perceivable the constituent elements, must be evident as mix." (Sutton 183). Sutton stressed that this 'mix' should be 'evident', 'foregrounded', 'dominant', and becomes a 'trait.' (ibid). Sutton explained the hybrid in Javanese music history starting from gamelan to campursari and Jazz. From those

three cases, real instruments were involved and became a marker of the hybrid; e.g. Javanese gamelan combined with European drum and guitar. For this research, the concept of remix is specific and detailed enough to capture the complexity of the contemporary cultural expressions made by the JHF. This is because 'remix' focuses on 'quoting' or 'sampling', a specific part of the process of JHF production.

In its simplest definition, music-makers undertake a process of remix when "they remix, or quote, a wide range of "texts" to produce something new" (Lessig 2009 : 93). Using technology, the remix "happens at different layers", for example it "may quote sounds over images, or video over text, or text over sounds (ibid)." Lessig gives an example of a remix quoting many different images of President Bush and Prime Minister Blair, which are arranged together in a particular way, then layered over with the sound of Lionel Ritchie's *Endless Love*. These were mixed into one new video clip lasting for less than 2 minutes, but which attain a memorable status because of the famous personas involved.

In this *Endless Love* case, there were at least three different "texts": images of President Bush, images of Prime Minister Blair, and the sound of the music of the song itself. A closer look at the clip will reveal that the images of both persons were taken from many different occasions. They had been cut, copied, and pasted. This necessitated a technical competency to deal with technology.

Such technology has been an essential part of Hip Hop history. Although Lessig did not specifically discuss Hip Hop, it is known that sampling is the core of the hip hop music production and the development of digital technology has accelerated the sampling process in unprecedented way. Sampling is similar to 'quote' mentioned by Lessig.

Tonya M. Evans stated that digital sampling has been 'an essential and integrated component to create Hip Hop Music (2011: 856)'. Using digital technology, all digitalized sounds can be captured and it 'lets the engineer appropriate any sound and bend and twist it to fit onto a new record (ibid)'. Evan continued that the technology 'can take any "sample" of recorded sound, convert it into a series of numbers and manipulate it in virtually limitless ways by changing the numbers'.

Arguably, the key feature that distinsguishes a remix from a non-remix hybrid is the vital role of the application of the technology to cut, alter, copy, paste, and then mix. To illustrate the difference, let us take an example of the hybridity mentioned by Sutton. Sutton was

talking about hybriods produced through the playing of musical instruments. In the case of remix, the process of production can, and usually, unfold without involving any 'real' instrument. All of the sounds are prerecorded and then stored in the form of coded messages in digits (digitalized). Thus, as can be illustrated by the case of JHF in later chapter, music making is done inside a studio full of computers and mixers without any instrument at all.

Quite often, those pre-recorded sounds often are in the form of finished and published songs that are subject to copyright. This signals the tension that remixing has brought to the relationship between copyright and creativity. Having a strong background in the legal and justice field, Lessig discussed remix more from a legal point of view as well as cultural and economic implications. Indeed, Lessig stated his stance to promote the 'remix' ethic against those in a favor of copyright over creativity. He suggested that the copyright regulation should be revisited. Evan followed Lessig in taking a stance for creativity against the shackles of copyright law. Both realized that the law should accommodate new ways of creativity, which in turn means new ways for the future.

In the case of Java Hip Hop, the process of digital music making by sampling or quoting has also been essential. Their remix brought on a dispute between Juki, the leader of JHF, and the government of Yogyakarta, which will be discussed in later chapters.

Perhaps the most significant element of remix for the purposes of this thesis is connected with Java Hip Hop's character as a collective enterprise. Java Hip Hop has consisted of cultural expressions which have been 'remixed' from many different texts, produced by many different persons and groups of persons in many different contexts. Thus in this thesis I would like to draw attention to remix as a process of production, both to help explain the collective nature of the JHF enterprise (pluralism in term of producers) and to challenge the binary construction of *adiluhung* versus non *adiluhung* (border crossing in term of content). One of the ways to scrutinize the collectivity is by seeing their relational connections in the form of *komunitas*.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

In Chapter One I introduced *nongkrong* and its difference from *komunitas*. In what follows, I extend this discussion to the connections between the two concepts. In this section I discuss *komunitas*, which is the core concept of this thesis in three main sub-sections. First I will define *komunitas* which, in this sense, is different from 'communitas' as proposed by Turner

(1986). Instead, the closest notion is 'scene' as described by Straw (2006). Most parts of this sub-section will be derived from the usage of the term *komunitas* in Indonesian cultural productions. After that I will present *komunitas* within its wider contexts. This is imporant to lay the foundations for seeing *komunitas* in a macro perspective within which a *komunitas* and its contexts influence each other.

2.3.1 Defining *Komunitas*

Indonesian *komunitas* is an adoption of the Dutch word *communiteit* which means community in English. *Komunitas* is defined in the dictionary of Bahasa Indonesia as :[15]

> *komunitas* (read ko.mu.nee.tas) means (noun) a group of organisms (people etc) who live and interact with each other in a certain area, *'masyarakat'; paguyuban.*

In many cases, *masyarakat* in the sense of a group of people in the widest sense of meaning who are bound by one similar culture can be used interchangeably with *komunitas*. Similarly, *paguyuban*' is defined as "a group of people based on '*kekeluargaan*' (familial relation) who have similar ideas (or family relation) to foster unity among its members".[16]

In contemporary Indonesia, the term is used widely to describe collectives of like-minded individuals. For example, *Komunitas* Hipwee, is a very active *komunitas* in Yogyakarta that sometimes organises *komunitas* gatherings such as on 28 August, 2016 (Hipwee community 2016) when it invited 100 *komunitas*, of which 70 attended the event. Another example is the extensive listing of thousands of Literary-focussed *komunitas* in the book *Komunitas Sastra di Indonesia: Antara Asap dan Cendawan* (Literary *komunitas* in Indonesia: Between Smoke and the Mushrooms) (Gunadi 2012). More than one hundred pages were dedicated to list the Literary *komunitas* and, according to the author, more pages would have been needed to list those undetected (ibid: 254).

The use of the term in the Indonesian context is very different to Victor Turner's (1986) concept of 'communitas', which he viewed as an "extra-structure structure" that manifests itself in three situations: liminal (betwixt-and-between), marginal (on the periphery), and inferiority (of the lowest status) (Turner 1986: 128). For Turner, although communitas is not

---

[15] http://kamusbahasaindonesia.org/*komunitas*
[16] http://kamusbahasaindonesia.org/paguyuban

the structure, it breaks in through the interstices of structure and it is needed to make the structure exist.

Perhaps the term which most closely defines *komunitas* as explored in this thesis is that of 'scene', which Straw (2006) contrasts with the term of 'musical community'. According to Straw a musical community is "a population group whose composition is relatively stable" and tends to explore "one or more musical idioms said to be rooted within a geographically specific historical heritage" (Straw 2006:373). However, as the *Komunitas* JHF likes to cross borders and collaborate with others, the stability of a 'musical community' does not capture the dynamism of the JHF.

By contrast, Straw defines 'scene' as a "cultural space" where "a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization" (ibid). Instead of one uniform group of people dedicated to one specific style of music, as in a musical community, there are various mutually-supportive music practices. Interestingly, Straw acknowledges that the aim of those musical practices is "to produce a sense of community within the conditions of metropolitan music scenes" (ibid).

Scene is also seen as a context "in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans collectively share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others" (Peterson & Bennet 2004: 1). Similarly, Anderson focuses on a scene as a collection of the people and institutions involved such as agencies, groups, cultural products (e.g. music), venues, media, and communication outlets (Anderson 2009: 14). Both articles shares the idea that a scene is a space of musical production.

The term also conveys a sense of resistance against mainstream market mechanisms. Those who produce music in a scene "contrast sharply with that of the multinational music industry, in which a relatively few people create music for mass markets" (Peterson & Bennet 2004: 3). It is because it "is largely the domain of small collectives, fans turned entrepreneurs, and volunteer labor" (ibid 5).

A scene, therefore, is a cultural space involving many actors who have a sense of 'community', are mutually-supportive of each other, engage in border crossing and are different from the mainstream. All of which, I argue, characterise the JHF.

In most cases Indonesian writers adopt the concept of 'scene' and translate it as '*skena*'. For instance, Renaldi (2001) wrote "*kredo dan semangat DIY tentu tak pernah lepas dari skena musik indie*' (the creed and spirit of DIY is, of course, always embedded in the indie music scene). Juki also used the term in one of his blog pieces (2013) "*Lockstock ... sebagai wadah yang mampu mendukung kemajuan skena musik independen di Yogyakarta* (Lockstock ... as a space to support the progress of the Yogyakarta independent music scene). Numerous examples can be found in magazine and newspaper articles.

The examples indicate there is an awareness among Indonesian writers about the word '*skena*' and they use it to refer to something different from *komunitas*. In general, based on the usage of *skena* and *komunitas* in Indonesia, especially in Yogyakarta, the main difference is in term of scope. *Skena* is wider in scope than *komunitas* which is quite specific. *Skena* is more or less in accordance with Straw's definition of scene, which refers to a non-geographical space of cultural production. The connections among those who participate in a *skena* are not as close as those in a *komunitas*, as being there and participating in the cultural production is enough in terms of a *skena*. The forms of interaction with other participants in the same *skena* are not a matter of scrutiny. By contrast, in a *komunitas* being present and parcitipating are combined with collaboration, equality and shared interests.

A recent collection by Barbara Hatley and Brett Hough (2015) sought to conceptualise and understand *komunitas* as a social form underpinning many 'community-based performances' from street parades, ceremonies, to audio visual arts. This book was based on a workshop dealing with art performances and *komunitas*. Hatley notes that Halim HD, who was one of the speakers during the workshop, described "*komunitas*, community, as just one of a series of fashionable terms, now applied so widely that it could 'apparently … be used for anything' (Hatley 2015: 31). The important point from Halim's comments are that he could not come up with a concrete definition of the term.

Hatley also paired *komunitas* side by side with the English 'community', presenting the pair on two occasions (ibid: 28, 31). This pairing shows that for one thing, community might be the best English translation for *komunitas*, but at the same time, the fact that she would not omit the Indonesian term indicates that the English term does not convey accurately the sense of the Indonesian concept. In her contribution Alexandra Crosby states that as "the term community or *komunitas* is widely used … brings its own set of ambiguities" In particular, Crosby notes the way community is used to analyse *kampung* (neighbourhood),

something which is strongly related to a territory while sometimes there are *komunitas* of people who are not bound to a territory but may come from different areas because of similar learning or aspiration (Crosby 2015: 73– 4).

Apart from the 'ambiguity' of the term, what is more important is that both Crosby and Hatley offer two ways to understand '*komunitas*': first as a 'local neighborhood' and second as a 'group of artists'. An example of *komunitas* referring to a local neighbourhood is in Murti's (2015) chapter regarding a revitalisation of nine *kampung*s in the city of Yogyakarta. Murti used the word '*kampung* communities' (ibid: 53) which can be translated in Indonesian as *masyakarat kampung*. In Murti's article, those nine *kampungs* are the site of projects to rewrite their own history in order to "position themselves between state narratives and their everyday knowledge and practices" (Murti 2015: 45). Murti believed the importance of the narratives emerged from the *komunitas* itself to build a healthy and strong *kampung* instead of those narratives implanted by the state. This meaning of *komunitas* refers to people who live in certain neighborhood or *kampung* with clear physical and territorial boundary, and in Murti's case with certain narratives which might be helpful to revitalise their life.

The second meaning of *komunitas* refers to a group of artists (or any people) having a unifying idea of "a shared sense of identity and commitment to their art, and local neighbourhood groups" (Hatley 2015: 31; Crosby 2015: 73–74). A similar definition is given by Ariel Heryanto who used the word *komunitas* and explained the reasons of its popularity in Indonesia. For him "*komunitas* carries sentimental meanings of face-to-face and authentic social interaction" and brings about the comforting feeling that "we belong to each other" (Heryanto, Huat, & Varney 2015: 255). Yet when he tried to produce a definition, he used 'community' and explained it as a "non-hierarchical and also organically linked" and "promises the idea of egalitarianism" (ibid : 254).

Heryanto's reinforcement is in the importance of sentiment and feeling in the formation of a *komunitas*. In this case, territorial boundaries are no longer the basis of creating a social network or relation. Rather, what is important is a sort of abstract motivation. People may come from various places to form a *komunitas* to share the ideas of aesthetics, egalitarianism, identity and belonging, among others.

This has been proven by Hatley who observed that many groups adopted the term *komunitas*, indicating a body of people with a shared sense of identity, grounded in their passion for and

commitment to their art (Hatley 2015: 28). What binds these people together is usually a shared concern about one or more broad artistic and/or social issues, such as contemporary Indonesian art conventions, television and consumer culture, local development and the education system. This abstract motivation is given greater clarification in the comprehensive definition of *komunitas* provided by the prominent cultural activist, Acep Zam Zam Noor.

In his article about literary *komunitas* in West Java Noor (2012) proposed that a *komunitas* constitutes an "infrastructure" in the form of a milieu which is supportive for creativity and healthy competition. It is where artists communicate to each other and showcase their art products. The spirit of a *komunitas* is restlessness, intensity, healthy competition and struggle to be different from yet supportive to others. Those involved in a *komunitas* are not only the 'members' but also the public or those who are interested in the arts. Thus, in a *komunitas* we can find works of art, artists, consumers of the arts and observers. *Komunitas* is also characterised by its non-profit activities (Gunadi 2012: 3). Juki (2010) himself often described the *komunitas* JHF as '*ruang tanpa tembok*' (a space without walls) to promote Java Hip Hop (see Chapter Five for further discussion). This space without walls is Noor's infrastructure in the form of social and cultural milleu.

For this thesis it is important to consider this infrastructure as an 'empowerment setting' because of the shared intention to support and promote the artistic life of its constituents. Thus, a *komunitas* is a social form intended to be an empowerment setting for its adherents who have similar or the same shared ideas. It provides an alternative and informal educational space both to acquire skills and to build and enlarge a network by creating and maintaining more connections and supporters. The spirit of this infrastructure is collective, egalitarian and open.

The following two section will contextualise the *komunitas* JHF in the complexity of the historical and cultural background of Yogyakarta. This context has contributed significantly in shaping the group and its performance style and has provided support as well as limitations upon their creative enterprise. This is discussed in section 2.2.2, in which I will also discuss the tensions between the idea of *komunitas* and the development of an individual's artistic trajectory in the age of the commodification of artistic production. This tension is a very important part of this thesis research, particularly as it relates to the career trajectory of Juki, the most prominent member of JHF, as discussed in section 2.2.3.

2.3.2 *Komunitas* and context

Since the birth of Hip Hop, 'the street' has played a key role. According to Keyes (2002: 67), it was "the primary context in which street DJs with massive sound system experimented with sound production using two turntables". The strong relationship between Hip Hop and the streets in the Bronx as the place of birth has been likened by Samy Alim to a mother and child in which "the streetz iz a mutha" (Alim 2006: 1). He continued that among the "blackest thing" was to "stay connected to the streets (ibid: 125). The street as the mother of hip hop was not an empty space but it has its own culture, history, and tradition (ibid: 3).

Music has been used as a tool for 'narrativisation', that is, to characterise the relationship of people and their environment; both by creating and by consuming music (Whiteley 2004: 2). Whiteley continues that musicians' creativity and sensitivity divulge local narratives which then compel "collectively defined meanings and signification of space" (ibid: 30). Music is also seen as having an important role in the expression of the "notions of community and collective identity" (ibid: 3). An example of this relationship between music and place already mentioned is the National Rap Competition conducted by BKKBN in which participants perform their respective provincial identities.

In terms of space, it can be collective or personal. For Berland, music creates an imaginary connection between an an individual's internal emotion, aspiration and hope with social 'external space' (Berland 1998: 131). In this case, music mediates between the personal and the social. When someone feels frustrated, for example, and listens to rebellious music, there is the possiblity of creating a 'space' connecting individual frustration with that of 'others'; a connection which may lead to relief in knowing that the experience is shared, or else a connection leading to more anger as the result of the 'provocation' of the music.

In relation to rap music, Whiteley suggests that "the concept of community and cultural identity" has been an essential part of the history of hip hop and rap (ibid: 15). Moreover, Whiteley asserts that for those who are politically marginalised, rap and hip hop has proven themselves as a "form of cultural resistance" and that these forms of music help the community generate "ethnic and geographic identities" as well as constructing "spaces of freedom" (ibid: 8). Whiteley regards place as two dimensions, consisting of physical geographical locations as well as imaginary spaces in which people are free to express

themselves. Indeed, music can maintain localities that constitute geographical boundaries, social networks, history and 'opposition to other localities' (Kruse 2010: 628).

Juki's "*ruang tanpa tembok*" (space without walls) can be imaginary or real. It is imaginary because ideally it may expand outwards to be embraced by ever-increasing numbers of hip hop artists in Yogyakarta. This characteristic of an imaginary 'space without walls' characterised the JHF *komunitas*, with hip hop being the vehicle for the shared imagining. Java Hip Hop materialised this shared imagination. This is the basis that attracted and bound performers and listeners to create this very *komunitas*. Moreover, the physical reality of Yogyakarta was critical to this shared imagination through hip hop. For instance, the special (*istimewa*) status of Yogyakarta in history and contemporary life provided the content and context for the JHF's most popular song *Jogja Istimewa*. As mentioned in Chapter One, this song was very popular and was considered to have helped mobilise Yogyakartans to support the 'Jogja is Special' cause during the political negotiations with Jakarta. Another example is the imagination of being *merdeka* (independent), something which is claimed and re-claimed for example in the second popular song 'Song of Sabdatama'. The cultural and heightened political contexts within which these songs were produced are further discussed in Chapter Seven (Javaneseness) and Chapter Eight (the political contexts of the JHF music). These songs reveal how the history, complexity and culture of Yogyakarta itself have determined the JHF's output, and provide the backdrop for understanding the career of *komunitas* JHF.

2.3.3 *Komunitas* and individual

This subsection contrasts the *komunitas* ideal with the values underpinning cultural production in the era of mass production. I argue that global, market culture conflicts with the egalitarian and open spirit of *komunitas*. As described in section 2.1, *komunitas* is a setting which empowers collectively. It is an open and egalitarian extra-structure.

Komunitas and music have a strong relation with place. If global hip hop refers to the streets of the Bronx as its 'mutha' (Alim 2006) or 'mother', the JHF has categorically associated itself with Yogyakarta. However, this locality may not bind everybody, or at least bind one person differently from others. One possible cause is a "contradiction between two opposing facts: the blurring of the borders and the growing importance of the idea of distinctness of a place" (Gupta & Ferguson 2008: 10). In the case of Yogyakarta, it desperately needed to re-

proclaim and maintain its specialness, yet one of the most prominent champions was Juki who came from Prambanan, a city outside Yogyakarta. Juki has crossed from Prambanan to Yogyakarta, only to cross back to Prambanan later on. For Juki, the border is blurred. Ironically, it was Juki who founded the JHF which promoted the locality of Yogyakarta.

Another factor is that tension between the global and the local creates a situation in which the local is frequently both a refuge from and a reaction to the global (Ferguson 2012: 132). Maintaining Yogyakarta's specialnesss may mean both. It creates a safe haven from the danger of the incursion of global values such as democracy (launched by Jakarta) and individuality, in the case of Juki. In the case of Juki, for instance, he demanded acknowledgment of copyright for his works, which went against the norms of Javanese locality and the socio-cultural suzerainity of the Sultan. This "proliferation of individualized values", which originated from the West, is "part of the impact of globalization" (Chase-Dunn 2003: 375) and is against the Javaneseness as the heart of the *komunitas* JHF. Yet for Juki, with his awareness of individual copyright and market mechanisms, it was not acceptable to allow playing of the song 'Jogja Istimewa' in a tourism location without proper negotiation of royalty. However, as this demand for payment did not fit into an attitude of a good subject of the Sultan, it ended his relationship with the Sultan. (See Chapter Eight for further discussion).

Although the *komunitas* JHF has relied so much on locality, it has also had to contend with a translocal and transnational individual, in this case Juki as the founder, who did not totallly submit himself to one locality. Someone like Juki is constantly in a state of movement, moving from one place to another. The process of voluntarily or forced movement from one place to another is called itinerancy. For a person in this situation, determining borders is not easy.

Juki had shown a capability to enter and exit a *komunitas* as well as create them, and in that sense, he was not totally supportive of the *komunitas* ethic. Juki seemed to be borderless. He comes from Yogyakarta but was not from the iconic neighbourhoods of the city. He is "simultaneously 'inside' and 'outside' the situation at hand, living at the intersections of histories and memories, experiencing both their preliminary dispersal and their subsequent translation into new, more expensive, arrangements along emerging routes" (Chambers 1994: 6).

Besides itinerancy, the status of celebrity is also a threat to *komunitas*. Once again, it was Juki whose individual life trajectory was to depart from the ideal. A celebrity "refers to individuals who has achieved widespread renown, either by merit, accident or notoriety" (Lai 2006: 229). Celebrity culture emerged in the "rise of a money economy and the growth of populations concentrated in urban-industrial locations" where "the individual is uprooted from family and community and relocated in the anonymous city, in which social relations are often glancing, episodic, and unstable" (Rojek 2001:74). These last three adjectives are relevant to this discussion for they capture the contrasting sociability involved in *komunitas*, with its constant face-to-face contact between subjects and the passing sociability of the celebrity system.

Juki's status as a celebrity has come about through his own achievements. In other words, he acquired it from his "perceived accomplishments [as an] individual in an open competition" and has subsequently been "recognized as an individual who possess[es] rare talents or skills" (ibid: 18).

The signficance of both Juki's itinerancy and achieved celebrity status is to the ultimate threat it posed to the limits of *komunitas*. The locality of *komunitas* JHF could not be maintained by an itinerant, nor by a high aspiring individual seeking personal achievement. In essence *komunitas* is a social form underpinned by the spirit of collectivity, equality, solidarity and mutual support. The conflict between these opposing characteristics is explored further in subsequent chapters.

3
THE JHF TRAJECTORY

This chapter provides an empirical overview in chronological form of the JHF, focussing on its commencement in the form of *komunitas* and the ways in which this form was to come under pressure. In the next chapters I provide more detail about both the internal and external dynamics contributing to the course of the JHF trajectory.

The first part of the chapter discusses the creation by the JHF of the brand Java Hip Hop, which it differentiated from Javanese Hip Hop. Although the terms might seem very similar, the former refers to how the JHF took Javaneseness to a new level, particularly in terms of content (see Chapter Seven). It also branded this distinctiveness in a way that gave it political and popular appeal. The second part of the chapter describes the journey of the JHF noting the important milestones along the way. In particular, the discussion highlights the points at which the *komunitas* could not contain the enterprise that it had commenced.

3.1 Javanese Hip Hop versus Java Hip Hop

The Jogja Hip Hop Foundation did not emerge out of nothing in 2003, as there had been an active hip hop scene in Yogyakarta before it was founded. Moreover, when the JHF later claimed Java Hip Hop as its product, it was not something entirely new either. The JHF has made use of the Javanese Hip Hop tradition of combining hip hop music with Javanese culture and extending it. Putting it simply, Javanese Hip Hop constitutes all hip hop music which is combined with Javanese cultural elements such as the language, sound and themes. Javanese Hip Hop had started to emerge in 1996 with the birth and success of G-Tribe, which launched its first and the only album *Merangkak* (Crawl). Many of the songs used Javanese language[17] with themes of day-to-day Javanese life. The initial "G" refers to Geronimo, the radio station which initiated, nurtured and acted as the patron for G-Tribe. (See Chapter Five for more discussion of this topic).

From the outset, the JHF positioned itself as practitioners of Java Hip Hop. When it was founded in 2003, the JHF was intended to be a *komunitas* for Yogyakarta hip hop artists.[18]

---

[17] Among the songs with Javanese titles on the albums are: *Jogo Parkiran* (Watching Over the Parking), *Jarene Murite* (According to the Students), *Penek Jambe* (Climbing a Betel Nut Tree), *Ora Iso Turu* (Cannot Sleep) and *Dolanan Jelangkung* (Play with Jelangkung). *Watch Out Dab* (Watch Out Guys) is a combination of an English phrase and a Javanese slang term.

[18] Interviews with Anto 6 June 2014 and with Balance 13 June 2014.

The main reason for creating the *komunitas* was because Juki saw great potential in the Javanese Hip Hop being performed by Yogyakartan rappers and Juki wanted to 'produce and promote it to a higher level'.[19] According to Juki, he "founded the JHF in 2003 with a simple dream, to help Yogyakarta rappers improve and exist in the right art context and discourse" and so far he 'felt successful about it'.[20] The context and discourse was that the Javaneseness in the forms of language, sound and visuals was to be revisited, reworked and revitalised, and presented in the contemporary cultural context.

Thus, the goal of founding the JHF was to promote Javanese Hip Hop to a higher level. In other words, Juki understood that Javaneseness provided a potential to be exploited and mixed with hip hop music to become more than just Javanese Hip Hop, as he saw it in early 2000s. He wanted more than just talking about the world of hip hop in Yogyakarta:

> *… anak-anak hip hop cuma ngomong tentang dunianya sendiri, cuma ada di lingkaran hip hop itu sendiri, kurang berani bersinggungan dengan hal lain.* (Juki in Nismara 2014: 15)

> (… hip hop artists only talked about their own world, they existed only in their own hip hop circle, and did not have courage to deal with anything else)

Juki brought an expansive and entrepreneurial spirit to the JHF. It was to seek alliances with others, cross borders and to express more than just hip hop life in a narrow sense. One of the most significant moments for the JHF occurred when it began to express its political views regarding Yogyakarta's specialness. This would make the JHF's new Javanese Hip Hop something different from 'other Javanese Hip Hop'. The JHF needed to state and communicate its intention of making a new kind of Javanese Hip Hop and to make it unmistakably its own brand.

Historically, branding started with attempts to distinguish the ownership of livestocks with a branding iron (Pike 2015: 4). Gradually the word 'brand' was used to define 'a type of good or service from a specific company sold under a particular name' (ibid). At present the process of branding relates to efforts 'to articulate, integrate and enhance the attributes embodied and connected in brands in meaningful and valuable ways' (ibid : 5). Thus, by branding its product as the Java Hip Hop, JHF would seek for more attributes of

---

[19] Ibid. The higher level means hip hop which had a wider audience other than only for 'internal consumption' among Yogyakarta hip hop lovers themselves.
[20] Interview with Juki, 17 March 2016

Javaneseness to be articulated, integrated, and elevated in such a way that the embodiment of the articulation will be unmistakably received by the audience as the Java Hip Hop.

Among the efforts was the creation of the logo, which identified the JHF as the 'sole' owner of the brand. The visualizations of Javaneseness in the JHF merchandises, such as t-shirts and baseball caps, is another efforts. More on the attributes of the Javaneseness will be discussed in depth in Chapter Seven.

The branding was part of Juki's larger scheme to promote Java Hip Hop. For Juki, besides producing good music, the group was to pay attention to many related practices which required a special 'mindset'.

Figure 3.1. The JHF flag hanging on the wall inside the JHF office. Photo was taken by Riyanto (2014)

Setiap seniman itu produk, bukan hanya musiknya. Pemahaman-pemahaman bahwa kita adalah bisnis, bukan business-man, butuh mindset; bukan cuma omongan dan memang harus punya pengalaman serta perlu proses. (Juki in Nismara 2014: 13)

(Each artist is a product, not only his music. The understanding that we are the business, not business-men, needs a mindset; not only talking, and it necessitates experience and process.)

From the outset Java Hip Hop was designed to be outstanding and widely recognised. For that reason JHF has its own official website and fanpage in facebook. Most videos are accessible in YouTube. Juki's competencies in writing and networking also helped the plan to come to fruition. Juki habitually writes in newspapers and blogs, and by doing so creates many networks across ages, genres, nations. More about Juki and his competencies will follow in Chapter Five. The result is that JHF was able to produce hits, create stars and receive awards.

However, I may argue that the integration and the articulation of the Javaneseness attributes should not be seen as an attempt to define Javaneseness itself. The group was not attempting to convey one impression above others. Thus the brand 'Java Hip Hop' should be seen as a bird eye view, visualising Javaneseness from the point of view of JHF. Moreover, with the technique of remix, Java Hip Hop quotes samples of Javaneseness and mix them in such a way that suits JHF. A deeper analysis on this will be presented in Chapter Seven.

For now it is sufficient to emphasise that Javanese Hip Hop was different from Java Hip Hop. Both presented Javaneseness, but the JHF was to pay greater attention to the branding.

3.1 The Course

This section provides an illustration of the JHF trajectory in the form of a graph (Figure 3.2). The phases and individual items in the graph will be explained in the following. The vertical axis is the level of success – as it is not calibrated to any numerical value, I have left it out.

In its initial stages, the Javaneseness of the JHF was not prominent. As a new cultural product, it needed some time to develop its distinctiveness and to find an audience. It gradually took shape some five years after its emergence (2007-2008). A few years later, Java Hip Hop found its fullest form and reached its peak, after which, in the wake of Juki's withdrawal, it has remained at a plateau. As seen from the graph, there are stages of Birth, Rise, Peak, Decline and Plateau. In my analysis these stages touch on the major features of my theoretical approach in this thesis. They all relate to the social form of *komunitas* and the relations of power within which Javanese cultural production occurs. In other words, the five stages of the JHF's rise are the foundation of my theorising about the social forms for

Javanese cultural production in contemporary Indonesia. In what follows, I also use some visual images as a supporting reference. The trajectory of the JHF is about more than sound, for the mobilisation of visuals that convey Javaneseness are important to the trajectory, especially in clothing and Javanese symbols. Furthermore, photographs reveal the changing relationship between audience and performers that reflects the dynamics of the course of the *komunitas*.
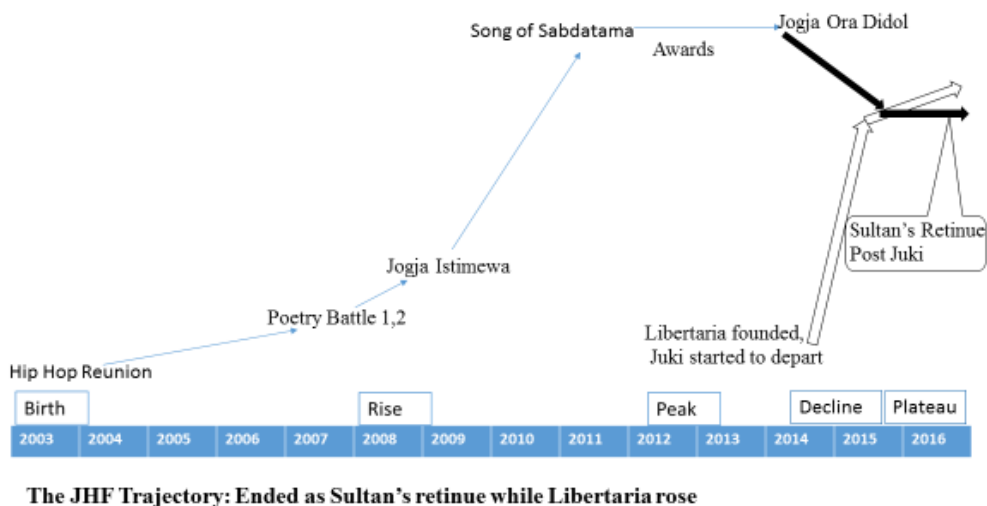
Figure 3.2. The JHF Trajectory

3.2.1 The Birth

It is critical to note that the JHF was born as a *komunitas* which provided an empowering setting for Juki to implement his vision for the group. It started with an after-show-*nongkrong*. Before 2003 Juki was an electronic music artist who was very active holding music events. In 2003 he organised a Hip Hop Reunion event. At that time, hip hop was an underground activity with the scene spread over a number of spheres of activity. At the end of the event, Juki began to socialise with a group of rappers (*nongkrong*) and proposed a more consolidating body to energise the existing Yogyakarta hip hop life. This was to be a *komunitas* and it was to provide a sort of incubation, both for the birth of the idea of Java Hip Hop and for the possibility of the idea to live and grow.

In this way, during the period of 'birth' in 2003 – 2007, the JHF's 'Java Hip Hop' began to take shape from one event to the next. The JHF itself was still in a form of 'communities without walls'. In terms of the definition of *komunitas* by Acep Zam Zam Noor, all the

characteristics of that social form were present. It was open, its members were equal and mutually supportive, committed to an idea, shared similar imagination and empowered each other.

Figure 3.3. Poetry Battle 1 – Love Tuesday 26 June 2007 at Vrederburg Fort, Yogyakarta. The figure was taken from http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2007/06/poetry-battle-1-%E2%80%93-love-2/enter-your-headline-here-18/

Figure 3.4. Poetry Battle 2 – The others, Wednesday, 16 March 2008 at the Bentara Budaya Yogyakarta. Picture was taken from http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2008/03/poetry-battle-2-%E2%80%93-the-other-2/_mg_1921/

It is important to point out that in Figures 3.3 and 3.4 there are no overtly visible signs and symbols of Javaneseness. The overall impression is of young people gathering and enjoying music, as evident from the gestures of their bodies. Although there is a DJ in the back, which could conceivably suggest another genre than rap such as house, the street art or graffiti on the screen background suggests it is hip hop. Importantly, both pictures show the closeness of the *komunitas* gathering as there are no significant barriers between the performers and the audience. There appears to be a sort of equality between both.

An important moment was the holding of the Poetry Battles 1 and 2 in 2008 and 2009.[21] These were documented in the form of albums with the same titles. These were successful recordings at the underground level. It is significant that Javanese language was used in many of the songs on the album. Sindhunata's poems were sung by Jahanam and Rotra – later to become core JHF members – which pointed to what would become the next stage of the JHF's career. This can be seen as a strong statement of commitment to produce Javaneseness as seen in the opening statement of the video of Poetry Battle 1.

> Poetry Battle is an album that aims to document the first occasion of this kind happening in Indonesia, the convergence of hip hop community youngsters with poets, needless to say, with all their contradictions of attitude, fashion, thoughts, and ideology. [22]

The Poetry Battles produced excitement and the sense that something new was being created.[23] In terms of the rappers, they began to know each other closely and understood that they had potential. There was a positive reception with more and more 'orders' for Java Hip Hop. There was widespread support such as from the media, poets (such as Sindhunata and Saut Situmorang), other artists (such as Butet and Djaduk) and sponsors (such as Djarum, the cigarette company) all of which aided the rise of Java Hip Hop.

---

[21] Poetry Battle 1 and 2 were conducted together by the JHF and the IFI (Indonesian French Institute). For the IFI, it was part of the annual festival of Le Printemps de Poètes, which was conducted internationally. More on Poetry Battle 1 and 2 is described in Chapter Four.
[22] See the video uploaded by Marzuki Mohamad (2010) https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=VdBnyQvWYMs
[23] Interview with Balance 13 June 2014.

3.2.2 The Rise

The character of *komunitas* is strongly evident in the Angkringan Hip Hop events. An *angkringan* is a popular foodstall usually on pedestrian walkways throughout Yogyakarta, usually open from dusk to late at night. People come to an *angkringan* to eat, drink, and socialise, sometimes for hours with minimum spending.

For decades, *angkringan* has been an important scene for Yogyakarta night life, creating meeting spaces for common people without the need to spend too much money. The JHF would invite food sellers to gather together at a public space where Javanese hip hop would be presented.

Figure 3.5. Rotra in Angkringan Hip-hop 2. Sunday, 3 May 2009 in the backyard of Whatever Shop. Picture was taken from: http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2009/05/angkringan-hip-hop-2/dsc01887/

Figure 3.5 shows a scene from Angkringan Hip Hop 2, held on 3 May 2009 in the backyard of Whatever Shop, a fashion shop owned by Kill the DJ/Juki. *Angkringan* Hip-hop is an event organised and funded by the Jogja Hip-hop Foundation as an open platform for local hip-hop performers and crews to express their creations. During this event, anybody could be the DJ, the MC, the breaker, the graffiti artist and whatsoever; the only rule is 'to respect

each other'. The collective element of *komunitas* was expressed in a poster for this *angkringan* hip hop event, which was posted by Juki on the message application called Yuku[24] and stated:

> *program reguler Jogja Hip Hop foundation untuk merekatkan persaudaraan komunitas hip hop di Jogja. sebuah undangan terbuka untuk siapa saja.*
>
> (a regular program from the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation to strengthen the kinship of the hip hop community in Jogja. All are invited free of charge.)

Jogja Hip Hop Foundation was mentioned as the host, but was not on the list of the performers. The order of the line up was Rotra, Jahanam, Kontra, Kill the DJ along with another 27 groups. It is understood from the invitation that JHF tried to embrace all groups in Yogyakarta hip hop community by inviting everyone freely. It is also understood that JHF was not a music group. It was the host who organised this event. It was the *komunitas*.

The sense or atmosphere of a *komunitas* was also visible from the openness or the absence of border between one group of performers and the others as seen in Figure 3.5. They looked intimate as seen from the proximity between performers and audience. Graffiti is visible on the backdrop, characteristic of this type of *komunitas* event. A sense of equality is clearly evident. In the foreground, Anto looks very expressive, holding a microphone with his left hand and gesticulating with right hand, as if going to crush something with his fingers. To the right, Lukman is also moving his body while holding his microphone close to his mouth. On this occasion, they are seniors, because Anto is among the first Yogyakarta rappers and first Javanese rappers who started to rap with his G-Tribe group 13 years prior to this *Angkringan* Hip Hop event.

Already at this stage Juki was standing out as organiser and performer. Being a natural leader, he became the front man for the collective. He was the contact person for the JHF and had the capacity to connect the various members and groups who joined the collective. He also handled sponsors who came on board, along with the JHF's media releases.

The rise of the JHF saw the performances of Javaneseness become the core characteristic of Java Hip Hop, as the JHF deployed more elements of Javaneseness, including visual ones. Anto and Lukman, who had been members of Rotra, had always rapped in Javanese

---

[24] http://hiphopindo.yuku.com/topic/4744/t/ANGKRINGAN-HIP-HOP-2.html#.WBg9nNV96Ul

language, but they also began to visualise the Javaneseness through wearing *batik.*[25] At this point Lukman and Anto used both their bodily and sonic mediums to state their Javaneseness.

In Figure 3.5, Anto and Lukman are the only two wearing *batik,* which visually sets them apart from the crowd of young men wearing clothes universally identifiable as hip hop clothes. The person in the white T-shirt behind Anto is Donny *Salah Paham* (Donny the Misunderstood). The way Donny moved, his hat, his rolled blue jeans contrasted with Anto and Lukman. Donny, Juki – in the orange shirt and a white head cover – and other members seen in the picture, are representative of young 'men' of the urban music scene.

Gradually, the style of Anto and Lukman would become a prominent feature of the JHF stage presentation. Javaneseness would take over the performance. Borrowings from Javanese literature would also appear. As noted, this was the product of branding decisions taken by Juki that enabled the JHF to stand out from the crowd.

When Juki was asked by a *Rolling Stone* Indonesia journalist (2014) about the reason for maintaining the name of Jogja Hip Hop Foundation for the newly formed, but loosely constituted, group of five rappers, Juki answered:

> *Pasar. Pada akhirnya semua pasar yang mengundang kami, misalnya mengundang Rotra dan Jahanam bareng, nggak akan menaruh nama Rotra dan Jahanam secara terpisah, tapi Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. Pasarlah yang akhirnya memutuskan agar kami seperti ini*. (Juki in Nismara 2014: 14)

> (Market. In the end, it was the market which brought us together, for example which brought Rotra and Jahanam together, both names wouldn't be separately displayed, but rather as Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. It was the market which decided to make us like this.)

Juki was upfront about the fact that 'the market' had driven the transformation in the JHF and provided the impetus for Juki to make some improvement from Javanese Hip Hop into Java Hip Hop. However, this was to come at a cost to the *komunitas* ethic. The barrier-less relation with the audience began to disappear as the group performed on more and more

---

[25] *Batik* has been known as traditional clothing of Java. It was produced using the technique of wax resist. However, it has a long history. Discussing about the cross-culture identity as seen in the 'Dutch-*batik*' Hochstrasser (2011) noted that *batik* originated from "China as early as the 6th century, and travelled to other parts of Asia" which later on arrived and were developed in Java (p. 150).

stages. The cost was the eventual separation between the performers and the crowd. The more prominent the performers, the clearer the separation became. Slowly, the performers consolidated themselves and made themselves a music group.

Figure 3.6 reveals such a separation. This shows a discrete group of performers called the JHF, in contradistinction to the previously undifferentiated *komunitas*. This performance was in response to an invitation to perform in the capital, Jakarta. Here a distance between performer and audience is clearly visible. All the members are wearing Batik shirts, thereby clearly and loudly asserting their Javaneseness.

Figure 3.6. JHF performed at Jogja Hip-hop Foundation's concert at the American Cultural Center, @america, Pacific Place, Jakarta, Friday, 24 December 2010. Photo was taken from **http://www.hiphopdiningrat. com/wp-content/uploads/ 2011/04/DSC06146.jpg**

At this point of the group's development, the JHF had begun to crystalize and move to 'professional stages'. In the process it began to perform and visually package the Javanese brand for consumption, thereby differentiating it from other hip hop 'products'. Although many other rappers might have sung 'Javanese Hip Hop', it was only some who claimed that their output was 'Java Hip Hop".

As the songs oriented to Javaneseness gained popularity, the JHF took advantage of a political coincidence. Huge political rifts arose in 2010 between Yogyakarta and Jakarta in relation to the special (*istimewa*) status of Yogyakarta. In that year, the JHF launched *Album Kompilasi Jogja Istimewa 2010* (Special Jogja Compilation Album) that led to a sort of 'mutually compatible alliance' between the JHF and Yogyakartans. In the alliance the JHF showed their political support for the Sultan and then in return received support from the Sultan such as in the form of the Letter of Appreciation and the Duta Nagari Award (Ambassador of the Country Award). As mentioned before, the Letter of Appreciation was given because the song of *Jogja Istimewa* was considered as being able to mobilise Yogyakartans to support the cause of Yogyakarta's Special Status. The Duta Nagari Award was awarded because the JHF was considered to have acted as cultural ambassadors of Yogyakarta during their tour to the US (Figure 3.7).

This phase of the group's rise necessitated a process of adjustment from having the characteristics of a *komunitas* into a more competitive and market driven music group. Without this transformation the JHF would most likely have remained 'dormant' in 'underground' territory. Initially, the process entailed selection of personnel, followed by better production and branding. The significant external factor was the issue of Yogyakarta's special status.

3.2.3 The Peak

The group was also receiving accolades in the mainstream press. Numerous publications also mentioned the striking features of Javaneseness performed by JHF. One example is the Special Collectors Edition of *Rolling Stone* Magazine Indonesia, which in 2014 dedicated a whole issue to the JHF. A special edition of *Rolling Stone* Magazine Indonesia dedicated to one group is adequate proof of the JHF's success

As mentioned, there was a gradual separation between the performers and the 'crowd'. In its earliest stages, the crowd and the performers were united and almost indistinguishable. Eventually, the performers (JHF) became more prominent and gained more popularity. The five individuals came to constitute the group, in contrast to the equality of participation in the earlier *komunitas*.

The tour in the US in 2011 is a noticeable example of the separation. The JHF as a group was acknowledged and invited to perform in several cities in the US. The main reason for

this was that JHF had been able to show their formidable results of reworking and revitalisation of Javaneseness in a package of Java Hip Hop performance. The JHF had reworked not only Javanese language and music but also expressed its political aspiration loudly. Figure 3.7 encapsulates the political mission of the JHF during the U.S. tour in 2011. The JHF was posing on Wall Street showing sign of support for the Special Status of Yogyakarta in which '*penetapan*' (automatic appointment) was a vital issue. By doing so the JHF had brought the subject matter onto the international stage. This picture represents a strong statement of the JHF's political stance regarding the debate about Yogyakarta special status.

Figure 3.7. On Saturday, 14 May 2011 JHF during the JHF tour in the US. Photo was taken from http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/06_resize.jpg

Yet the dominant condition of success was the changing implications of Javaneseness. The JHF had become the business of the 'state', in this case the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Although it had started in the form of *komunitas*, the group's success was appropriated by the Kraton. The JHF were recognised as cultural ambassadors and, according to the Sultan, its music became the soundtrack of the Yogyakartan struggle (Prass, 2014: 4) to maintain its special status.

Indeed, the political context has been a vital factor that made JHF rise to its peak. The JHF became very close to the Sultan, which was reinforced by taking part in the commemoration activities for the late Sultan IX (Figure 3.8). The location and the event signified a strong message that the JHF 'belong' to Yogyakartans. Moreover, the picture shows the JHF's interaction with some children on the stage, demonstrating the extent of acceptance by various age groups.

Figure 3.8. On 12 April 2012 the JHF performed in the Pagelaran Kraton Ngayogyakarta to commemorate a Century of the late Sri Sultan HB IX. Photo was taken from http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07 /DSC04304.jpg

During this phase of their development, visual and physical elements of Javaneseness were strongly visible in the form of the outfits, the visual video background, traditional Javanese dancing and, sometimes, actual gamelan instruments were brought onto the stage. This made Java Hip Hop, the branded the product of the JHF, very perceptible.

The JHF had been able to articulate a kind of Javaneseness and then rework, reproduce and package it in its performances. During its emergence, the JHF needed texts and contexts to be 'reproduced'. They utilised works of Old Javanese literature such as the *Serat Centhini* and worked together with Sindhunata, a poet. The focus on Javaneseness, inevitably facilitated the groups's involvement with the Kraton as the socio-cultural centre of Javaneseness, especially during the political dispute between Yogyakarta and Jakarta.

As previously noted, the bestowing of awards by the 'centre', not only represented a gesture of appreciation, but was also a process of appropriation. The Sultan's acknowledgment effectively demarcated the JHF as one of the Sultanate's instruments to maintain its authority. The significance of the appropriation for the JHF was its metaphoric arrival at a boundary. The JHF could not step up further or higher because it was already with the supreme authority of 'Javaneseness'. The question it posed for the brand of Java Hip Hop was, if this was the ultimate achievement, where could it go from there?

At this time, the group produced *Jogja Ora Didol* (Jogja is Not for Sale). This song criticises the way development in Yogyakarta was implemented as it was considered to be too capitalistic. This song marked the end of the JHF's peak. From this moment on, the group began to decline in popularity. According to Balance,[26] the request for performances decreased quite drastically, especially those from government institutions. Moreover, Juki's disappointment at the way Yogyakarta was managed did not end with the launch of the song, but continued with his disagreement with some aspects of the Kraton's way of ruling Yogyakarta.

3.2.4 The Decline

This decline stage exhibited the incompatibility between the spirit of *komunitas* against the values of individuality that had since the beginning been part of Juki's artistic sensibility. In other words, the relationship of cooperation in a network of equals ultimately lost out to the momentum of Juki's individual progress. To make matters worse, the appropriation by the Kraton contributed to the alienation of Juki's individuality from the *komunitas*.

Juki had acquired enough capital to be considered a celebrity. Some of the relevant characteristics associated with the making of celebrity status, according to Rojek (2001), include the centrality of media, elevation, surface relations, uprootedness, relocation and recognition despite anonymity. Juki can be categorised as a 'self-made-celebrity' (discussed further in Chapter Four and Six). It is clear from Juki's biography that he has been working with media since he was in Senior High School. He is a multitalented artist, having worked in graphics, installations, as well as music. He had been involved in several *komunitas* such as Garasi Theatre and Tapal Kuda.

---

[26] Interview with Balance 14 March 2016.

The incompatibility of Juki's progress towards becoming a celebrity had significant effects on the developments occurring within the JHF, not least among them was Juki's departure from the group. Overall, the decline of JHF can be attributed to the decline of their collective productivity, the split within the group and Juki's career changes. The split happened largely due to the differences between Juki and the 'Sultan' (or the Yogyakarta government). The career change was Juki's decision to create a new group, Libertaria (further evidence of the conflict between individual progress and the spirit of equality in a *komunitas*). This was characteristic of Juki's individual capacity to be different from the other four members.

The productivity decline was evident with the November 2014 release of *Semar Mesem Romo Mendem* (Semar Smiles, the Priest Gets Drunk). This was a sound recording combined with a book of poems by Sindhunata. *Semar* is a famous character in Javanese Puppet tradition. *Romo* is a Javanese term to refer to a Catholic priest. *Semar Mesem* is also a popular name for a spell to enchant a woman. *Semar Mesem Romo Mendem* was not a great success because many of the songs on the album had already been released. More problematic was the fact that the songs were all written by other people, not by the JHF members themselves. The fact that the songs were all written by Sindhunata questioned the 'capability' of the JHF to produce its own songs. Although individually the JHF members might still be very productive, they were not producing songs under the JHF banner.

Juki's split with the Sultan seemed to reach its peak in June 2014 with the JHF publishing a special statement demanding better development management in the Yogyakarta province. The statement accompanied the release of *Jogja Ora Didol* (Jogja is Not for Sale), which expressed the disillusionment of some Yogyakartan people against the way the Sultan managed Yogyakarta. Juki became even more disappointed at the way the Sultan resolved the issue of royal succession. Although Juki did not disapprove of the fact the Sultan had appointed his daughter as successor, he did not like the heavy-handed way in which the Sultan had asserted his authority in the process. In respect of the special status of Yogyakarta, once it had been successfully affirmed in 2012, Juki and his friends seemed to withdraw from their former enthusiastic approval for the Sultan. For this reason Juki decided to perform the Javanese ascetic practice of *tapa bisu* (to remain mute in reflection). This practice is familiar to Javanese people. For instance, one of the most famous *tapa bisu* traditions is seen during the New Year's Eve celebrations according to the Islamic calendar. On this occasion people march around the Kraton walls without saying a word as a means

to remind participants about the importance of contemplation and introspection (Purnandaru 2016). In 2014, when Juki announced *tapa bisu*, he meant specifically that he would thenceforth refuse to continue rapping the *Istimewa Song* and the *Song of Sabdatama*.

The split was visualised in the logo of the song of *Jogja Ora Didol*. A careful observer will see that the logo is a visual alteration of the Kraton's symbol (Figure 3.9). Compared to the Kraton's symbol the poster for the song shows a defiant attitude by incorporating a smoking bottle. This bottle can be considered as the symbol of drinking alcohol.

Figure 3.9. The logo of the song 'Jogja Ora Didol' which is very similar to the logo of the Kraton. Picture was taken from https://soundcloud.com/antogantazz/jogja-hip-hop-foundation-jogja-ora-didol

On top of all this, Juki decided on a career change. In his evaluation, the JHF and Java Hip Hop had become stuck in a groove which prompted him to make a career change by leaving hip hop. On the basis that 'he, himself, is the business' Juki created a new group, Libertaria. In this Libertaria, Juki combined Dangdut with electronic music, branding it as *post-dangdut elektronika*. Here Juki replaced hip hop with something new. In summary the 'abandonment' of the Java Hip Hop brand started to become visible with the launching of the song of *Jogja Ora Didol* and was followed by Juki's founding of Libertaria.

The smoking bottle image is clearly seen in the poster for the *Kewer-Kewer* album produced by Libertaria (Figure 3.10). In this poster, and indeed inside the album, Juki promoted drinking as an example of the freedom he was fighting for. With the founding of Libertaria in 2015, a Post-Juki JHF became inevitable.

Figure 3.10. Libertaria poster for the album of *Kewer-Kewer*. Picture was taken from
https://killdblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/artwork-libertaria.jpg

Figure 3.11. The performance of Black Lab, August 2015. Picture by Suryono (2015)

As seen in Figure 3.11 and 3.12, Javaneseness was no longer in full deployment. Some symbols were still used such as the *gunungan* (symbolic mountain), the wayang, and the logo. But the outfits were no longer *batik*. More than that, the logo of Java Hip Hop was no longer attached with Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. More significantly, the word Jogja Hip Hop Foundation did not appear in the flyer (Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12. By August 2015, the group was using the label Java Hip Hop in place of the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. Picture was taken from https://pamityang2an. com/axe-blacklab-tour-2015-yogyakarta/

3.2.5 The Plateau

In terms of social relations, the JHF has secured its place. It had its fame. The Sultan had acknowledged and appropriated the JHF's achievement. Patron-client relations had been

established. However, one member defied the establishment and chose his own path. His departure had significant effects. Bookings of the group were cancelled once the group's most recognisable member was no longer performing. There were flow-on financial consequences of this, compelling members to reconsider their futures. Furthermore, the group lost its most creative member.

Although there is a possibility that the JHF might be forgotten as time goes by, the Sultan has realised the capability of the JHF as an ambassador to spread good news about the Sultan and Yogyakarta and continues to utilise the group's services even without Juki. For instance the group performed without Juki in New Caledonia on 3 to 4 September 2016 as part of a cultural mission lead by the Sultan (*misi kesenian yang secara khusus dibawa* Gubernur DIY, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X) (Prayitno 2016) consisting of rappers, dancers and puppeteers. The theme of the performance was the Sacred Mantra from the Motherland. The context of the performance was a commemoration of the 120 years of the first arrival of Javanese migrants in New Caledonia (Figure 3.13).

Figure 3.13. The JHF with other artists performing in the commemoration of 120 years of Javanese first arrival in New Caledonia. Picture was taken from http://kemlu.go.id/noumea/id/berita-agenda/berita-perwakilan/Pages /AB160908HIP.aspx

The JHF was brought by the Sultan to promote Javaneseness and constituted a part of his retinue. However, Juki was not there, as only the other four members of the group were willing to 'submit' themselves to the Sultan's authority.

In the post-Juki split period, the JHF is still active, but is probably past its peak. While each of the remaining four members are committed to the continuation of the group, they also

have their own activities. Anto focuses on his stationery shop. Lukman takes care of his gadget business. Balance occasionally helps Juki in Libertaria, and on a day-to-day basis produces as much music as he can. Mamok sometimes joins with Balance, in the group Jahanam, but also is involved in a new and much more energetic group DPMB with Alex Donnero. It is evident that each of the JHF's members have found their own way, yet still have the option of working together as the JHF, especially as the Sultan might need their services from time-to-time.

4
SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND
RELATIONS OF THE *KOMUNITAS*

It has been described in the previous chapter that Juki converged with Yogyakarta rappers as all of them were active agents with similar interests and concerns. This was the basis for the making of the *komunitas* JHF. However, due to the unique combination of Juki's celebrity status and character as an itinerant, he converged with them and later was the one who chose to move away. This chapter is an attempt to present a chronological account of the gradual changes of social relations among these Javanese rappers. It looks at both the broader scene that emerged as the JHF *Komunitas* as well as focuses on the journeys of Anto, Lukman, Balance and Mamok before and after they became core members of the JHF.

This chapter is divided into two sections. Section 4.1 describes the JHF office based on visits during my two fieldwork trips. Over the period of visits I was able to witness the transformation of the office oriented to the JHF as a *komunitas* into one focussed on a commercially-oriented operation. This transformation is important to understanding the trajectory of the JHF. Section 4.2 describes the history of the four rappers starting from the emergence of the first Javanese Hip Hop group. From their story we learn the importance of the sophisticated intertwining of social relationships in Yogyakarta hip hop music making.

4.1. Two Snapshots of the JHF Office

This section presents the JHF office at two different periods – May-June 2014 and March 2016. Over the intervening twenty months significant changes occurred that differentiated the two periods; the former reflected the peak of the JHF and the latter its decline. In 2014 I observed a range of activities taking place in three areas of the office: the store, the managerial office and the studio. In 2016 the same spatial arrangements of the office were evident but somewhat devoid of activities and merchandise – the racks were empty and there was very little management or marketing taking place.

During my first fieldwork trip in May to June 2014 I visited the JHF office on many occassions and intentionally did so at different times in the morning, afternoon and night. Usually, the office opened at about 10 or 11 a.m. The management had created a roster to ensure that at least one person was in the office during working hours. At night, it was Balance who usually spent his time alone in the attached studio to make beats.

The physical location of the office is in a complex of ex-ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia – Indonesian Art Institute) buildings at Wirobrajan. At present, some of the buildings in the old complex have changed their functions. For instance, in one building there are private primary and secondary schools. In the same building there is a room for displaying musical instruments and other pop art products. The auditorium still functions as the site for art performances, as do the yards. There is another building for exhibitions. There is a children's playgroup (Komimo), which Balance uses for his children on weekdays. The JHF office is located on the second floor of the Situs Kriya building, next to the Yogyakarta electronic magazine. Directly below on the first floor is a canteen.
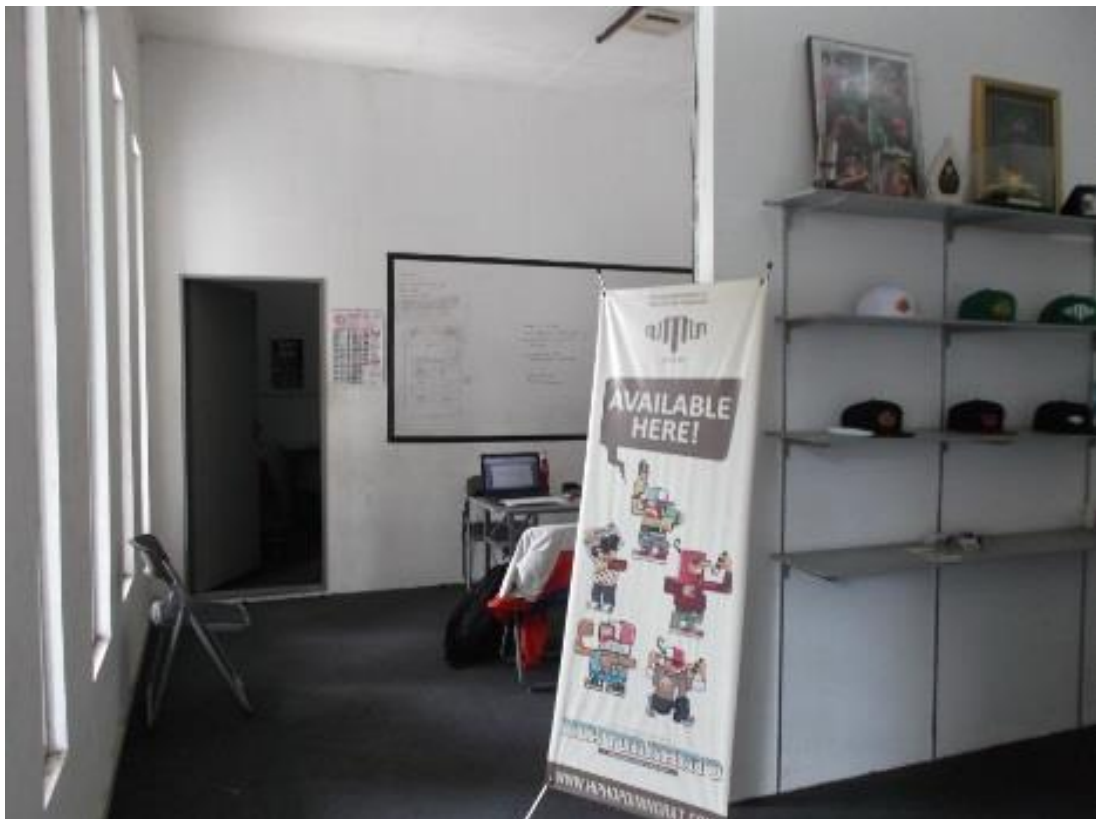
Figure 4.1. The three-in-one space in the JHF office from right to left: store, office, studio. Photo was takne by Riyanto (2014)

Inside the office (Figure 4.1), there is an office area (Figure 4.2) and a small store (Figure 4.3) occupying the 5 x 6 meter space and separated by a 2-metre wall. There is a door at the end of the room leading to the recording studio, which measures about size 3 x 5 metres. This studio (Figure 4.4) is divided into one control room and one vocal booth. In the store there is a glass box (1 m high and 1.50 m wide) displaying the merchandise such as t-shirts and CDs.

Figure 4.2. The view of the 'office'. Photo was taken in May 2014 by Riyanto

Figure 4.3. Angga, the merchandise officer, is working with invoices. Photo by Riyanto (2014)

Figure 4.4. Inside the studio. The writer is flanked by Balance (white t-shirt) and Alex Donnero (standing). On the screens of the computer are seen the beats under construction by Balance. In the far background is the recording booth. Photo by Angga (2014)

On the left, there are some t-shirts hanging on the wall. On the right, there are four racks, with the middle two used to display the caps and the top shelf used to display the awards received by the JHF. Among them are the Duta Nagari Award, the Letter of Appreciation from the Sultan and an award from UGM for being active in programs supporting religious and civic plurality.

In the following I provide a glimpse of a visit on 4 June, 2014. I arrived at the office at 11.10 am. Although the sign on the door read 'closed', JHF's road manager, Alex was inside. I entered the office and found Alex, who was wearing a red t-shirt and a black baseball cap, busy in front of his laptop preparing the materials for the DJ Beatcamp workshop. Alex told me that the workshop had been delayed until 11 June. Participants of the Beatcamp were informed via social media (Twitter, Facebook) and radio (Geronimo). Alex was not a JHF rapper but performed different roles in the office. For instance, he was the leader of the

Hellhouse community, which was going to host the DJ Beatcamp workshop, was a video back up jockey and a road manager for the JHF performances and was a media manager in the 'structure' of the JHF management.

At 11.50 Angga, the manager of the merchandise, arrived drinking a soft drink. Soon he was busy doing a stocktake in the store. At 12.10 Mamok arrived and immediately joined Alex in the studio to finish their new song under their group, the duo DPMB (Dua Petaka Membawa Bencana – Two Disasters Brings a Calamity). The door of the studio closed.

At 12.07 Balance's son arrived followed by Balance and his daughter who attended the Komimo playgroup next to the JHF office. Talking about his last song *Bersatu Padu Coblos Nomor Dua*' (Stay Together and Vote Number Two)[27] Balance said that it was made by himself and Juki the night before in only 4 hours. Although he actually did not like creating political songs, he saw the presidential election as something 'terrifying'. He considered Prabowo as a possible threat to his creative future by dragging Indonesia back to the era of Suharto in which censorship had been common.

At about 12.45 Mamok took a coffee break. At 13.00 Dita, the manager arrived, followed a few minutes later by Anto and Lukman. There was a JHF 'family day[28]' scheduled, to disucss JHF matters.

This 'family day' is usually scheduled once a month. The venue is not always in the office, sometimes it is in one of the 'family' members place. The term family here means all five JHF members (Juki, Anto, Lukman, Balance, Mamok) together with Dita the manager, Alex the social-media manager and Angga the store manager. Once a year, there is also a 'family' gathering to reflect upon the past year and discuss plans for the coming year. The 'head' of the family is Juki.

The spatial arrangement of the office reflects the different kinds[29] of social relations and activities inside it. The merchandise shop at the entrance is available for the 'mundane' activities of buying and selling merchandise. The main social actors are the merchandise manager and buyers. There is no seating in the store. Thus, in order to chat with the artists

---

[27] During the presidential election in 2014, number two referred to Jokowi while number one to Prabowo. Juki was the first to create and launch a song including this reference as it was produced and launched just hours after the announcement of the candidacy numbers.

[28] Family here is just a term to tie the members closer, it is not a family consisting 'parents and children'.

[29] It should be note that JHF is not a rigid organization. The division among the three function is also quite soft.

or engage in more intense interactions, a visitor needs to move 'deeper' into the 'office' next to the store.

In order to step into the office, a visitor must have 'closer ties' with the JHF or have a specific intention such as to interview or to sign a contract. The office reflects a middle space. This is where 'meetings' occur and the 'stakeholders' negotiate. It is also where Dita, in his role of the manager, has the power to impose regulations such as creating a roster, allocating the furniture and making the JHF musicians listen to the managerial teams and other stakeholders such as guest and potential sponsors.

The studio is the production section and is totally under the control of the musicians/artists. It is the place of the meeting of creative minds and machines and is utilised in accordance with the 'call' and needs of each artist. Balance, for instance, tends to work until late at night, whereas others come throughout the day. It is also available for collaborative work.

There are several layers of relations evident with these personnel. The five members are the nucleus with Juki as the leader. Dita and Angga are the administrators and Alex is the technical support and a collaborator with Mamok. These three 'layers' care for the internal members because they are the ones who regularly attend the office. There is even a roster for them. The closest 'outer layer' consists of those who often come to the office to collaborate for certain projects such as the members of the Begundal Clan who were in the office during my visit. The next layer consists of fans who come to visit and chat or to buy merchandise.

Dita is the one who manages and organises the group's activities both inside and outside the office such as booking flight tickets and talking to sponsors. Dita also played an important role during my first fieldwork trip. Although I had known Juki since 2011, I was advised to talk to Dita about the technical and logistic details of obtaining access for interviews with the members. Dita acted as the intermediary between me as a researcher and the JHF artists as subjects. Nevertheless, she had been a great help for this research.

However, the division into three spaces was not rigid. During this first fieldwork I also managed to visit the office several times at different times; afternoons, evenings, and nights. During evening and night visits I met non-JHF members in the office and even in the studio. Once I met a fan of Balance who just arrived from outside of Java. Once I also met Rio Priambodo a.ka. Destroyer 1, the frontman of Begundal Clan hip hop group. He was there

to finalise his first album *Dirty as Begundal*. From my observations at these times, I could see that there was a flexibility around the opening hours and activities of the office. A sort of *nongkrong* was going on.

Nevertheless, the office was not the space wheremembers of JHF chose to *nongkrong*. The management, Dita, even had to make a roster and a schedule for 'family meetings' in which all members were supposed to attend. There are two main reasons for this lack of sociability. First, there were many chances to *nongkrong* outside the office. The second reason was that the members of JHF were busy with their own networks. Moreover, Kill the DJ (Juki), Rotra (Anto, Lukman), and Jahanam (Balance, Mamox) had their own fans[30] who were always ready to wait, welcome, and accompany them during after-show *nongkrong* sessions. It might well be that the separation of the *nongkrong* of these key actors was a reason behind the decline of JHF. This especially evident in Juki's case as discussed in Chapter Five.

On my last visit to the office during my second period of fieldwork on 13 March 2016, it was evident that a significant change had occurred. There was no one occupying the 'middle space' as manager and the 'front space' as merchandise operator. I decided to make direct contact to Anto and Lukman who suggested visiting the office in the evening.

I arrived at 7 p.m. to find that, although the door was open, there was nobody in the store nor in the office. The store had less merchandise than previously and the 'office' had lost some chairs and seemed devoid of activity. There was a sense of emptiness. I walked to the door connecting the office to the studio and called out to see if there was someone inside. Balance was there in the studio making beats, as he always does. (His house, which is located in the Kraton area, is closest to the office),

Soon after Alex arrived. The three of us talked for a while before Mamok and Lukman arrived. I left after Balance, Lukman and Mamok went inside the studio to practice for a performance at the Hotel Tentrem as part of an event organised by a Bank. For this occasion, only three of them would perform.

Indeed, in 2016, there was still a significant energy felt in the studio, where the artists did the music production. But the middle space for administrative purposes and the front space

---

[30] In the Rap of the Ring Wijilan Show March 25, 2014, I managed to talk to some fans such as Boim and his friends who specifically preferred Mamox from Jahanam. They were willing to wait until other fans subsided in order to be able to approach Mamox freely. A closer connection can be seen from Yudi's case who invited Anto for *nongkrong* in many occasions, some of which were to show his on-stage photoshoots (interviews with Yudi, 22 March and 5 April 2014).

for the store were void. The empty racks and the months-old notes on the whiteboard were evidence of the decline. The remaining activities were about music productions.

To comprehend the change, it is necessary to trace the way the JHF *komunitas* emerged and grew, starting with Javanese Hip Hop as its precursor.

4.2 The Precipitation of the *komunitas*

In what follows, I give a map of the complex connections that preceded the JHF *komunitas* and the contributions of *nongkrong* to the dynamics of the connections. The description entails detail of individuals moving from group to group as this is indeed the texture of the cultural scene. The main aim is to map out as well as trace the flow of social relations from the beginning of Javanese Hip Hop in 1996 to the emergence of Java Hip Hop in 2003. The other aim is to introduce the themes expressed in Javanese Hip Hop. Both the social relations and the themes would come to fundamentally characterise *komunitas* JHF. In Chapter Two, it was highlighted that, in most cases, hip hop music has proven to be a product of collective efforts. In its place of origin – a disenfranchised neighbourhood of the Bronx, New York – hip hop was born out of collective poverty and soon became a collective expression of struggle. In the early history of rap in Indonesia it was also an expression of resentment. The early history of Javanese Hip Hop in Yogyakarta, however, proved a different reality. The following is a summary of that period. Some parts, especially for the earlier period, are based on interviews during my fieldwork due to the lack of written documentation. In some cases, information from the interviews correlated with that on blogs, in news reports and in the *Hiphopdiningrat* documentary.

The opening scene of *Hiphodiningrat*[31] starts with a zoom out of the Bronx which is followed by a global map. Out of the dot of the Bronx arises a dashed line which moves across the globe to arrive at Yogyakarta acknowledging that hip hop culture began in the Bronx in 1973. "As the story goes, hip hop began in the Bronx on August 11, 1973, when Cindy Campbell, sister of Clive 'Kool Herc' Campbell, threw a block party, where a new music culture was born" (Hess 2010: xi). This connection of place and music has been a vital characteristic of hip hop. Hess puts the geographical location as "one marker of authenticity along the continuum of tradition and innovation" of hip hop. In hip hop, small

---

[31] *Hiphopdiningrat* is a documentary movie about the journey of the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation, produced by Marjuki Mohammad and Chandra Hutagaol. The JHF also launched www.hiphopdiningrat.com as one of its mouthpieces.

'items' such as building numbers and street corners provide territorial marks (ibid: ix–x). For Keyes, hip hop is a youth art mass movement that evolved in the Bronx and was fundamentally located in the street as its territory (Keyes 2002). The strong relation with the space as the defining trait of hip hop would also characterise the JHF. Whereas Keyes mentioned the street as the territorial consciousness of American hip hop, JHF would rely on Yogyakarta as its place of belonging.

Hip hop in Yogyakarta started about one decade after the global spread of hip hop music in the 1980s, especially through cable and satellite television (Fernandes 2011: 9). Initially, due to the limited availability of the technology outside the US and the fact only the "mostly privileged youth" could enjoy it, it "was not always true that the oppositional ideas of rap spread automatically from one marginalized segment of youth to another" (ibid: 8). However, after more than a decade of exposure, the 1990s was a period of emergence for local hip hop scenes by the creation of adaptations using materials from their surrounding environments (ibid: 9). At this stage, hip hop can no longer be viewed "simply as an expression of African-American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world" (Mitchell 2001: 1–2).

The history of hip hop music in Yogyakarta began in the 1990s with Yogyakarta rappers using Indonesian or English. In 1996 a few of them started to use Javanese marking the birth of Javanese Hip Hop. In the early 1990s Geronimo Radio Station was very active in seeking and promoting hip hop as a new music trend. The role of radio stations in promoting foreign music was still dominant although Indonesia state television broadcaster (TVRI) has been rivalled by new broadcasters such as RCTI, (November 1988), SCTV (August 1990) and TPI (January 1991). The case was even more evident for 'underground music' such as punk, metal[32], and hip-hop.

One of the special programs was Agogo (*Ayo Goyang Goyang* – Let's shake) hosted by DJ Yudhis. [33] Although this program had shaped a cohort of hip hop fans, they were not as yet Javanese Hip Hop fans. In order to bring the fans closer to hip hop music, Yudhis and Raras

---

[32] Baulch (2007) has noted, for example, that Yudha radio station was very important for the development of Balinese metal.

[33] Interview with DJ Yudhistira or DJ Yudhis, July 4, 2014. DJ Yudhis is among the most consistent DJ in Yogyakarta. He came to Yogyakarta in 1990s, worked in Geronimo and music clubs and now owns the Yogyakarta DJ School. He worked with Juki on many occasions when both of them were still in electronic music. DJ Vanda – who is DJ Yudhis's wife and one of his ex-students – is the only woman to work with the JHF as a DJ.

from Geronimo held a rap competition in Yogyakarta sponsored by Yamaha. The Yamaha Rap Contest held in the Mandala Krida Stadium in 1994 illustrates at least two facts: there were already several hip hop groups, as seen from the number of participants in the competition; and the role of Geronimo radio station was more than just broadcasting music, but also nurturing talent by organising events. Geronimo not only provided space outside its building, but also made itself the 'nest' for the birth of Java Hip Hop.

In the contest, one of the participants was NFA (No Frontin' Allowed) consisting of Anto, Iqbal and Tomy who performed MC Hammer and Vanilla Ice songs in their original English texts.[34] NFA was one of the winners and was considered the most talented of the participants. Anto and Iqbal would go on to help shape the JHF. Anto would remain the main rapper for various groups until 2016, a dedication of twenty years in artistic activity. Iqbal's influence shaped Jahanam, a member of the JHF.

After the competition, Anto, Iqbal, Tomy and other winners were recruited to be part of the the Geronimo Rapper Crew. At first, there were 12 members, but only 5 survived, including Anto and Iqbal. An improvement program was made and the name was changed into G-Tribe (Geronimo Tribe). Up to this point, whether it be in Yamaha Rap Contest, Geronimo Rapper Crew or even G-Tribe, there was as yet no indication of the usage of Javanese in hip hop.

The inadvertent trigger for the birth of Java Hip Hop was a listener to a Geronimo radio broadcast.[35] Among the tasks of the Geronimo Rapper Crew was to accompany DJ Yudhis in hosting his hip hop program by mixing and matching the beats and filling the 'beats' with their own freestyle lyrics. Once in a while, the listeners were asked to participate. It was at this moment of jamming with DJ Yudhis that one audience member freestyled using Javanese, and Anto and his friends were amazed. This moment of amazement inspired the crew to produce Javanese Hip Hop.[36] G-Tribe was born as the means to pursue this inspiration.

Immediately G-tribe produced the first Javanese Hip Hop album called *Merangkak* (Crawling). The album was widely popular among Yogyakarta hip hop lovers. Many of the

---

[34] Interview with Anto, June 6, 2014
[35] ibid
[36] Interview with DJYudhis July 4 and Anto June 6, 2014

album's eleven songs were successful such as *Jogo Parkiran* (Watching Over the Parking)[37] and *Menek Jambe*[38] (Climbing a Betel Nut Tree), *Jaelangkung*[39], and *Watch Out Dab* (Watch Out Guys). As these songs are all set in local contexts and describe daily activities, they are very familiar for the local audience. The album was released at a time in the mid-1990s when the use of local language or *bahasa daerah* for underground music was still considered unthinkable (see for example, Wallach 2003).[40]

G-tribe did not survive for long and broke apart in 1998. The end of G-Tribe was disappointing for Anto and led to inactivity not only for Javanese Hip Hop but also for Yogyakarta hip hop in general for about five years.[41] During this period of time, Indonesia was also in turmoil caused by regime change. It seems that all the resources of resistance that had been united and mobilised had peaked with the end of the Suharto era in 1998. In the following years, Indonesians worked hard to adjust their lives to the realities of a post-Suharto Indonesia, which led to a lull or vacuum in activism after more than 30 years of opposition. This situation may also explain the vacuum of hip hop history in Yogyakarta during this time.

After G-Tribe dissolved in 1998, only Anto and Iqbal stayed. Then Anto, Iqbal and Lukman founded Calludra to replace G-Tribe. In this new group both Anto (Figure 4.5) and Lukman (Figure 4.6) produced the beats or songs. Although the group was quite successful, and had

---

[37] Parking cars and motorcycles is a huge issue in many big cities in Indonesia. According to Cindarsatio, a citizen of Yogyakarta, in general there are four kinds of parking 'systems': large and modern buildings such as supermarkets and banks have modern parking system; formal and more 'traditional' buildings such as local markets and local shops usually have uniformed parking officers under the management of local government administration; local 'traditional' buildings which are not lucky enough to have official parking officers must employ unofficial parking attendants; and the last are the 'accidental' parking events such as at performances and religious events, in which case the parking attendants are usually local and unofficial. It is likely that Anto's song refers to the use of informal and local attendants as an important means of alleviating the high level of unemployment.

[38] A Betel Nut tree has no branches and a 15-20 cm diameter and may reach more than 20 metres in height. One of the activities in many Indonesian traditional festivities is to try climbing a greased betel nut pole to retrieve prizes placed at the top. Contestants struggle to reach the prize and have to scramble over each other. Their efforts are hilarious to watch and it is often only those who work as a team that are successful.

[39] Playing Jaelangkung is a traditional Javanese pastime that uses some traditional tools and a special mantra, to invite the spirits of dead people.

[40] Almost one decade later in 2003, Jeremy Wallach wrote in his book *Goodbye My Blind Majesty* (University Press of Mississippi) that *bahasa daerah* was 'generally not used for underground song lyrics' and the synthesis between 'Indonesian' and 'Western' music was still very far (p. 80).

[41] This period of vaccuum from around 1997 to 2002 was confirmed in interviews with Balance (13 June, 2014) and Anto (6 June, 2014).

been invited to perform in Singapore, Anto and Iqbal eventually decided to go their own way. The end of Calludra resulted in two paths that would later be 're-united' in the JHF.[42]

Figure 4.5. Janu Prihaminanto or Anto a.k.a Ki Ageng Gantas. Photo by Riyanto (2016)

Figure 4.6. Lukman Hakim, a.k.a Rajapati and his son Photo by Riyanto (2016)

The first path entailed Anto joining Rotra, the group of one of his fans, Lukman. If Anto started his career as a rapper by joining a rap competition back in 1994, Lukman started his own from becoming a fan of Anto. Inspired by G-Tribe Lukman, along with his friend Adhitama, created Rotra. Being a fan, Lukman followed Anto wherever he performed. Over time he got to know Anto through the 'after show' *nongkrong* sessions. This interaction eventually led to transforming their artist-fan relationship into an artist-artist one through inviting Anto to join Rotra. The invitation proved to be a lifeline for Anto, enabling him to continue to be active in the world of Yogyakarta hip hop. Rotra continued the history of Yogyakarta or 'Java' Hip Hop to its second generation.

The second path is the direct involvement of Iqbal in the creative process of Jahanam.[43] Muhammad Iqbal (aka Iqbal, aka 8Ball – not to be mistaken with 8Ball & MJG from Memphis, USA) now has his homebase in Bali. He was born in Malang and developed his hip hop career in Yogyakarta by founding the NFA with Anto. He worked with Anto until the break up of Calludra. Iqbal then soon got close to Balance and friends (Figure 4.7). Knowing the potentials of Jahanam, Iqbal was willing to be the producer of Jahanam's first album *Jahanam Su!*, recorded in Iqbal's bedroom. The album was a success with their most

---

[42] Interview with Lukman May 19, 2014

[43] The stories related to Iqbal are based on interviews with Balance 13 June 2014 and with Anto 6 June 2014.

famous song 'Tumini'.[44] In 3 months they sold 20,000 copies in the form of cassettes (excluding pirated ones).

Figure 4.7. Balance Perdana Putra a.ka. Ngilazbeat is showing a metal greeting as well as his 'inked little finger' meaning that he had voted. Photo was taken by Riyanto (2014).

In my discussions about how Jahanam emerged as a distinct group in the Yogyakarta hip hop world and how Iqbal was accepted into this younger generation of rappers, my correspondents frequently described processes of *nongkrong*. During an interview, Balance recalled that in one night more it was not uncommon for more than twenty young men to *nongkrong* in his house.[45] One of those regulars was Mamok. With some of their *nongkrong* friends, Balance and Mamok had tried grunge music, then punk, but in the end they moored themselves to hip hop. Their first hip hop group was Got Me Plan and took Rap and Hardcore as their music genre using other people's music.[46] The group was very short lived as they created a new band called the South Center Rhyme Syndicate in which Balance and Mamok started to produce their own songs. The band consisted of 9 members. In 2002 they changed

---

[44] Tumini is a common name for a lower class Javanese girl, usually from a rural area. This song focuses on how a rural girl Tumini is urbanised, as shown from her overly use of cosmetics. She becomes the subject of mockery for urban boys.

[45] Interview with Lukman on 19 May 2014 and with Anto on 6 June 2014.

[46] ibid

the name into Jahanam and became a Javanese Hip Hop group and were to achieve unprecedented success under Iqbal's tutelage.

It is clear that throughout all these evolutions, the practice of *nongkrong* was an important part in building the connections among artists, artist-to-be and fans. It is possible to see two forms of *nongkrong*. The first form is the after show *nongkrong* which corresponds in large part to the cool-down and aftermath sequence of a performance, according to Schechner (1985: 16). The cool-down sequence happens directly after the show finishes and usually entails eating, drinking, talking and celebrating. The aftermath sequence takes a longer period of time to happen (ibid: 19). Quite often the artists and a selected few of the fans come for a small 'party' celebrating the show. For instance, Aji, a fan of the JHF, loves to hang out and 'drink' together with the artists, especially Anto, frequently until drunk. Juki has also publicly stated at times that he loves to get drunk. In some ways this 'getting drunk' together may boost their comradeship. Similarly, in my interview with Willy,[47] a member of the Xmen hip hop group, he revealed that for the Xmen members the after-show interaction is very important to create or strengthen networks. An activity as simple as having tea together may provide the opportunity to receive feedback on the just-finished show to use for the betterment of future ones. Overall, this first activity of *nongkrong* functions as a means for networking, strengthening of connections and assessing a performance.

The second activity of *nongkrong* is the more domestic one, performed at any time in intimate space, such as occurs when Balance is at home with friends. The relationship among them is very casual and egalitarian in which artists "*nongkrong sama temen-temen*" (hang out with friends).[48] This *nongkrong* is done for the sake of friendship; music making is a by-product. This is very much similar to Sulistiyo's and my own observation in which nongkrong was an activity to socialize among peers, to learn how to live, and find a role and space in the community in a relaxed and often playful manner. Although casual and playful, these form a learning process which sometimes leads to productive activity. This is also in line with the previous discussions (Luvaas 2009; Wallach 2008; Baulch 1997; and Moore 2015) that *nongkrong* plays an important role in the production of music as well as in building 'ethics' of the solidarity and equality among those involved.

---

[47] Interview with Willy, 25 April 2014.
[48] Interview with Balance, 13 June 2014.

The narratives of Rotra and Jahanam reveal the very unique connection between generations. Although some of the members leave and disappear from the scene, others stay to ensure that the connections remain. It is also evident that the journeys have been collective rather than individual with someone always there to offer support and input. This is perhaps one way to understand Juki's use of the term *habitat* in which an artist can immerse himself to learn and develop with the support of like-minded others. This is a spirit of communality consisting of organic connections which infuses the atmosphere of learning in Yogyakarta and is evident in the practice of *nongkrong*.

By learning in such a supportive environment, the four rappers developed their artistic careers, accumulating capital and gradually strengthening their sense of agency. In the previous chapter, it was noted how the four of them had successfully managed to negotiate with Juki's agency and to pursue their individual paths. Each proved capable of producing their own albums, which were accepted by the audience, Most of all, they had chosen to produce a specific kind of hip hop, Javanese Hip Hop which enabled them to converge with Juki in the form of the *Komunitas* JHF.

For now it is adequate to conclude that in this early chronicle of Javanese Hip Hop in Yogyakarta there is an evidence of strong collective enterprises to produce Javanese Hip Hop music. Different groups of people and institutions collaborated by contributing their specific skills and professionalism such as DJ Yudhis (the Jakarta-educated DJ) and Geronimo Radio Station (the long-established radio station officer), Anto (a Catholic) and Lukman (a Muslim).

In terms of content, I argued in Chapter 2 that their music did not express rebellion against dominating groups. This is in contrast to Bodden (2005) who noted that the emergence of rap music in Indonesia was an expression of discontent against the New Order regime. Moreover, my findings contrast with another of Bodden's assertion that hip hop music was detrimental to traditional artistic expressions (2005: 1). Neither rebelliousness nor being an outlaw are characteristic of Java Hip Hop. On the contrary, there is a strong indication of submission and support towards traditional values, certainly in the case of the JHF. (See Chapter Seven for further discussion).

4.2 The *Komunitas*

This section is about JHF as a *komunitas* especially from the perspectives of Anto, Lukman, Balance and Mamok. As a social form a *komunitas* is dependent on maintaining balance between the spirit of individual creativity and supportive collectivism, between individual struggle for achievement and collegial endeavour. Maintaining the balance is very much contingent on 'membership' which is itself very dynamic and reflects ever-changing social relations. These dynamics played out in both the establishment as well as de-establishment of the JHF as *komunitas*.

The beginning of the JHF as a *komunitas* started with the point of convergence between Juki and other Yogyakartan rappers. In the case of Juki, he arrived at the point of convergence through his itinerancy and agency, which had led him to the Yogyakarta hip hop scene. In the case of Anto, Lukman, Balance and Mamok they were already leading figures in the scene. But what made their agency compatible with Juki's agency was their commitment to Java Hip Hop.

Initially the JHF was an 'institution without walls' that allowed anyone to join. As an open and borderless *komunitas*, at one time it members had reached more than 50 hip hop groups. There were, however, no written records about membership, as the intention was for it to be fluid and open and to provide a 'space' for Yogyakarta hip hop groups to share 'everything' related to Java Hip Hop. Eventually the JHF *komunitas* evolved from a fully 'open' social networking into an organised unit of music production under a special management, as previously described in this chapter.

In simple terms, the transformation entails moving away from a pure *komunitas* open to any exponent of Yogyakarta hip-hop music to one that consisted of the five 'rappers', who constituted a 'declared' music group, known as the JHF. Another way to view it is in terms of a transformation away from 'events' in the beginning to an 'office' at its peak (which was discussed in Section 4.1 in respect of how the social relations were reflected in the spatial conditions of the office).

In its early stages, events were the loci of the *komunitas*. There was no fixed spatial territory to be claimed. They were mobile with the aim to create successful events. Among the events were *Angkringan Hip Hop*, performed bi-monthly behind the Whatever Shop in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta. There were also the Hip Hop Reunion 1 and 2, and most importantly the Poetry

Battle 1 and 2. It was the time for all members to gather around, perform and make their mark. It was in those events where the 'members' could contribute, usually by performing, and *nongkrong*-ing after the performance.

These events provided opportunities for Yogyakarta rappers to meet and get to know more about each other, including their characters and productivity. However, as they got to know each other better, came the realisation that maintaining the balance between individual struggle and collegial endeavour was increasingly difficult at the level of the entire 'membership' of the JHF *komunitas*. As producers of Java Hip Hop, their capability and consistency varied. Eventually Anto, Lukman, Mamok, Balance and Juki decided to create a more cohesive relationship among themselves.

The main reasons for this transformation are consistency and compatibility.[49] The five members, or three groups (Kill the DJ, Jahanam, Rotra), were the most consistent groups in producing and performing Java Hip Hop. This consistency brought gradual solidity among them. The longer they worked together, the more they felt that they could prove Java Hip Hop was 'something' to be acknowledged and appreciated. However, it required concerted effort and team work. In a sense it was a process of natural accretion among the more than 50 hip hop groups in Yogyakarta in the mid-2000s. By 2008 they were ready to transform the JHF as a *komunitas* into a production unit consisting of Kill the DJ, Jahanam and Rotra.

Another way to look at the gradual transformation is by observing the contributors to their three albums (*Poetry Battle I*, *Poetry Battle 2*, and the *Album Kompilasi Jogja Istimewa 2010*). The number of the contributors were 9, 12 and 10 groups respectively.[50] On the first and second albums, Juki, Jahanam and Rotra separately represented their own groups. Separately they were equal with other groups as members of *Komunitas* JHF. On the *Poetry Battle 2* album Rotra, Jahanam and Kill the DJ sang *Ora Cucul Ora Ngebul* (Without Working, There Is No Eating), *Jula-Juli Jaman Edan* (the Chants of the Crazy Times), and *Asmaradhana 338* (from the *Serat Centhini*) respectively. This reflected the reality that Rotra, Jahanam and Juki still produced and performed their own songs and under their own names, although they were 'members' of the Komunitas JHF.

---

[49] Interviews with Anto 6 June 2014 and with Balance 13 June 2014.
[50] *Poetry Battle I* contributors were Rotra, Kontra, Gatholoci, Kill the DJ, Jahanam, Nova Twin Sista, Robot Goblok, MC Sabda, and U-Go. *Poetry Battle 2* contributors were Kill the DJ, Kontra, Gangsta Lovin, Shaxied, Zapista, Trio Gudel, Jahanam, Rotra, Gatholoco, Robot Goblok, Dubyouth, and DPMB. The *Album Kompilasi Jogja Istimewa 2010* contributors were Ki Jarot (Jogja Hip Hop Foundation) and other groups.

In 2010, the third album produced by the Komunitas JHF, *Album Kompilasi Jogja Istimewa 2010* was launched. There were 10 songs sung by 10 groups, including Frau and Dubyouth. It was on this album that Rotra, Jahanam and Juki united to sing the song *Jogja Istimewa*. On the album sleeve *Jogja Istimewa* was credited to Ki Jarot (Jogja Hip Hop Foundation). Ki Jarot is an acronym for Juki, Jahanam and Rotra. It is significant that the word Ki Jarot is followed by the words Jogja Hip Hop Foundation in brackets, as it indicates the gradual binding together of the three 'groups', but also the fact that the name Jogja Hip Hop Foundation was still relatively unfamiliar. Jahanam and Rotra, by contrast, were highly esteemed in the world of the Yogyakarta hip hop scenes. Placing the two names together was another way to announce the existence of the JHF as well as introduce its members. Finally, the announcement excluded other groups from trying to join the JHF. Adjustment to external expectations also contributed to this crystallisation process. The association of the two suggested that in all likelihood by contacting the personnel of Ki Jarot would lead to the JHF as well.

This association on the album sleeve was very much reinforced by the reality of the success of 'Jogja Istimewa' and the rise of the popularity of Ki Jarot. The success added to their accumulated social and cultural capital and ultimately brought financial rewards as well. Although popularity and financial success represent for many the peak of their creative endeavours, in the context of *komunitas* it also highlighted the tension between the financial success of individual achievement versus collective struggle. Ultimately, success of the few necessitated leaving the rest behind. In other words, this is the monetisation of the cultural product of Java Hip Hop in which JHF would select and decide that only a few of 'champions' could become the 'member'.

By this time the JHF was not only becoming narrower in its membership. It had also established a management and set up an office (as described in Section 4.1). The 'office' consisting of the physical location and the related administrative and managerial activities became the locus for the JHF. Effectively the office added to the 'categories' of people who were brought into *komunitas* surrounding the JHF. This led the JHF to take forms that could no longer be described as *komunitas*. The success of the JHF was accompanied by the development of managerial works such as bookings, meetings, ordering and retailing. As it turned out, this form did not last long. There was not sufficient income over a long period

to enable this management structure to survive, and the organisation fell back to forms more suitable to the *komunitas*.

The importance of individual agency emerged as one of the difficult elements to 'manage' within one rigid and uniform framework as applied during the peak of the JHF's success. From interviews with Balance and Lukman, for instance, there was disagreement about an ongoing project of the JHF initiated in 2013. According to Balance, who was the main beat maker, he considered he had produced music according to the previous agreement, even though other members of the group complained about his output. Lukman confirmed Balance's account of the dispute. As they could settle their differences, the JHF decided to stop the project in 2016.

This failure to produce an album shows two important characters of the Komunitas JHF: first, it has always been a collective enterprise involving many parties and, second, the importance of individual agency. So far, the JHF has produced 4 albums (*Poetry Battle 1*, *Poetry Battle 2*, *Album Kompilasi Jogja Istimewa 2010*, and *Semar Mesem Romo Mendem*). Not one of them was produced by only one group, but involved many groups and many parties; in short there were products of a *komunitas*.

Second, despite their failure as a 'group', the JHF members were individually very active and productive. In fact, the JHF was put under strain by the success of its individual members, especially Juki. Juki's individual achievements, for example, in his new group Libertaria were of course the primary example of how the individual agency was exercised not for the benefit of the group. Balance also displayed the same tendency becoming highly productive under his own name at the same time the JHF was becoming unproductive. He utilised the studio of the JHF, yet he did so under his own name. Similarly, Mamok was active with Alex in DPMB and also used the studio to make their recordings.

In practical terms, Anto decided to step away from the JHF to focus on earning a living by running a stationery shop with his uncle. The decision was prompted by the need for financial security as he has a child from his former marriage and the JHF was no longer providing enough income. He has not ruled out the possibility of performing with the JHF, particularly if the performance is on a weekend. This situation was confirmed during my interviews with Juki, Anto, Lukman and Balance in March 2016.

By this point the JHF seemed to have effectively lost the 'balance' between individual achievement and collegial endeavour. Although up to May 2016, the JHF was still performing, it was clear that its collective and collegial spirit was very low. 'Individual' calls weighed more than collective duties. There was of course Juki's itinerancy and celebrity status, which has already been highlighted as the main contributor to the decline, and the lack of productivity among the JHF members to produce songs which could be labelled as the product of JHF.

During my last visit in March 2016 I witnessed a shrinking of the JHF. Conversations with Lukman, Balance and Juki in their homes, with Anto in a restaurant and with Alex in the JHF office revealed that the JHF probably was coming to its end, particularly as it now consisted of only Lukman, Balance and Mamok (Figure 4.8) after Juki and Anto decided to leave the group.

Figure 4.8. The last three rappers of JHF – Balance, Lukman and Heri Wiyoso a.ka. M2MX or Mamok with the writer in the middle. In the background is seen the Logo of JHF. Photo was taken inside the JHF studio by Riyanto (2014).

5

JUKI: AN ITINERANT AGENT

In the previous chapters I have introduced *komunitas* as a social form for cultural production, and traced the trajectory of the JHF as an example of that form. I have argued that one of the characteristics of *komunitas* is that an individual may travel to several places to find like-minded persons and to form *komunitas*. This constitutes an important meaning of *komunitas*, and points to the fact that it consists of a group of like-minded artists rather than a neighbourhood in a geographical sense. In reality, an individual may travel extensively with special patterns of travel and become an 'itinerant'. The term itinerant means the act of travelling from place to place or a person who travels from place to place.

This chapter is a description of the process by which Juki became a cultural producer who was not just an itinerant, but who was an 'itinerant agent', that is, a person who causes something to happen.[51] Sherry Ortner (2006) describes agency as "virtually synonymous with the forms of power people have at their disposal, their ability to act on their own behalf, influence other people and events, and maintain some kind of control in their own lives" (143–144). Thus, an 'itinerant agent' not only moves from one place to another but also makes changes along the way.

First I will trace the development of Juki's itinerancy, which can be considered his natural state as he likes to wander around. Then I will illustrate that as he moved from place to place he accumulated capital until he was able to reach the capacity of agency. Later on he gradually built up his popularity and became a celebrity. Overall, these three characteristics – itinerant, agency and celebrity – form the core of his personal make-up. It was his agency that came to the fore as he converged with other Yogyakartan rappers.

This chapter is important background for the discussion to follow in later chapters. Itinerancy is a quality to be found in many participants in *komunitas*, but agency and celebrity are values that, as it turned out, conflict with the values of that social form. Before narrating Juki's evolution through a series of *komunitas,* I want to first emphasise his itinerancy. The following section is to give a preliminary illustration about Juki's mobility.

---

[51] This definition of 'itinerant agent' is based on definitions taken from the *Merriam Webster Dictionary* and the *Oxford Dictionary*.

This chapter is also to show that there is a kind of 'reciprocal' influence between Juki and the 'places' where he stays. While the 'places' are plural and diverse, so have been the influences of Juki on the 'places' and vice versa. Moreover, as the JHF has been only one of Juki's many 'places', the JHF is also only a part of the history of Java hip-hop in general. This nature of these reciprocal influences will be illustrated in section 5.3 by case studies of two *komunitas*.

Throughout Juki's journey the activity of *nongkrong* has played a significant role in shaping Juki's trajectory. Indeed, Juki has successfully exploited *nongkrong* above the route of formal educational in developing his skills and knowledge.

5.1 Tracing the Itinerant Juki

Juki's connection to a 'home' is a bit complicated. His spent his childhood in a village in Prambanan, which is located in the Province of Central Java (Propinsi Jawa Tengah). He has recently returned to live there once more. The Prambanan complex of temples is located on the border between the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta) and Central Java. Kokosan village, in which Juki was born and brought up, is under the sub-district of Prambanan that comes under the administration of Central Java. There is also another sub-district of Prambanan that is administered by the Yogyakarta Special Region.

Juki spent many years in the city of Yogyakarta. As previously mentioned, although it has the equivalent administrative status to a province, as a special region (*daerah istimewa*) it is governed by the Sultan without any process of election. By contrast, all other provinces are governed by a democratically elected governor. This 'special status' would play a vital role in the journey of the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation and Juki's own journey as an artist. In terms of his birth place and early formative years Juki is actually an outsider in Yogyakarta. Yet, since his young days, he has displayed an itinerant disposition, which makes it hard to say where he actually 'belongs'.

The following describes three very different settings in which I met Juki, which together provide an impression of his itinerancy and a sense of the spatial or geographical environments that have influenced him. The first site was the rented-house inside the Kraton complex in 2011, before his rise to celebrity status. The second site was at a voting booth, also within the Kraton walls, during my first field trip in 2014. The third site was at his parent's home in Prambanan in 2016.

In the Introduction I have already mentioned my first meeting with Juki in 2011. At that time I was writing a short paper about the JHF and collecting some material for my teaching assignments. I found the JHF's address on the letter of the Kraton[52] to the JHF which was uploaded to the group's website. As the address was close to the Alun-Alun Kidul (South Square) inside the Kraton complex, it was easy to find. After meeting we had a more or less warm conversation for about an hour. My first impressions of Juki were that he was of average height with somewhat lighter skin colour compared to other Javanese. He liked to talk and write. He was skinny, yet I could sense that he stored a powerful energy.

Apparently Juki had been granted a local identity card, meaning that he was legally a citizen of Yogyakarta who resided inside the Kraton complex. This 'official' residential status meant that Juki could not only vote there for the presidential election in 2014 but, more importantly, could legitimately 'represent' Yogyakartans.[53] This can be seen in his songs and articles criticising the way the city was administered.

During my first fieldwork in April-June 2014 Juki hardly had time to meet, as he had offered his services as a volunteer for the Jokowi-Kalla campaign for presidency and was pressed for time (Figure 5.1). He used his rising fame on the basis of the song *Jogja Istimewa* as capital to mobilise young and undecided voters to choose Jokowi-Kalla. I had to 'tail' him whenever he performed. I met him several times in the JHF office, but he was always at work. I watched him four times during performances. But the only time I could talk to him was for a few minutes during the voting hours.[54] That was the experience of looking for Juki during the peak of the JHF success.

Fortunately, Juki is fond of writing so that many of his thoughts can be read in his articles, as well as in numerous news items and interviews in magazines, newspaper and blogs. Besides observing him during performances, precious information could also be gathered from his homebase, the JHF office at Wirobrajan, Yogyakarta.

---

[52] Juki uploaded the Kraton's Letter of Appreciation to his blog https://killtheblog.com/page/7/. The letter was dated 13 February 2011 and I met Juki on the following day.

[53] An example of how he chose to represent Yogyakartans comes from a meeting with the Sultan in which Juki used the low register of Javanese (*Ngoko*) to talk to the Sultan. According to Javanese socio-cultural etiquette, use of the lower register by a commoner to the Sultan or those of noble birth is usually forbidden. Juki said that he used the lower register as he considered it was a meeting of a governor and the citizens, not a king and his subjects. This occurrence was confirmed in interviews with Anto (6 March 2016), Lukman (8 March 2016) and Juki (17 March 2016).

[54] Juki's role was to move around to monitor the voting process to make sure that the voting was fair and just.

Figure 5.1. Juki casting his vote in 2014. Photo was taken by Riyanto.

In early 2016, I carried out a second period of fieldwork. I sent an email to Juki one week before I departed to Yogyakarta, with the hope that he would be willing to give me time to interview and explain what was going on with the JHF. However, until I departed there was no answer from him. It was only upon arriving in Yogyakarta I heard the surprising news that the JHF was coming to its end, or at least that there would be no significant activities until further notice. Juki had withdrawn himself from the position as rapper because he has been busy with his new project, *Ada Apa Dengan Cinta 2*, a sequel to the much acclaimed *Ada Apa Dengan Cinta*, which broke box office records in 2001. Juki contributed a song *Ora Minggir Tabrak* (Step Aside or I Will Run Over You). As Juki was working with Mira Lesmana, Dian Satro and Nicholas Saputra, who are all top Indonesian film celebrities, I thought there was probably little chance of organising an interview. I was fortunate to unexpectedly meet Juki in the frontyard of the JHF Office on my way home after a visit there. We talked briefly and Juki agreed to an hour-long interview, which would be held at his home village.

The following Thursday, 17 March 2016, I arrived at Kokosan village without knowing the exact location of, Juki's house.[55] Because I still had about an hour before the appointment, I dropped by at local *warung* (food shop) for a drink, a chat and to ask for directions. The female seller indicated the house was in another hamlet about 2 kilometres away (Figure 5.2) and that one of her family members was employed in maintaining the house. She also knew that the house was being renovated by one of the sons (i.e. Juki) and that one of the sons was a "singer" (she was not familiar with hip hop, all she knew was "singer"). This level of information reflects life in a rural context in which almost everybody knows everybody else or are all connected in one way or another. For this woman, Juki has always been the son of the late Haji Supartijo, a well-respected religious leader.

Figure 5.2. A country road in the Village of Kokosan that leads to Dukuh Banjarsari. Photo was taken by Riyanto (2016).

The complete address for the location of Juki's parent's place is Dukuh Banjarsari, Desa Kokosan, Kecamatan Prambanan.[56] I arrived at Juki's house located at the hamlet's

---

[55] To find an address in rural areas in Indonesia it is common to have to ask for more specific directions after arriving at the village or hamlet, which is often the only initial information available.

[56] Many of Javanese villages consist of clusters of houses surrounded by rice fields or vegetable fields. A 'proper' village (*desa*) administration will have one *Kepala Desa* or Village Head. This is the lowest unit of administration in the Indonesian government. Many of clusters are just too small for a village. In this case, the

crossroads at about 11 am. In the front yard there is an internet tower. Juki later said that he always welcomed neighbours and friends to connect to the internet via his link. After waiting for about 30 minutes, Juki came out to see me on the verandah and we talked for about 100 minutes (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3. Juki and the writer in the verandah of Juki's house. Photo was taken by Koesworo (2016).

Juki confirmed that there were only three active members of the JHF, as he and Anto might not join in any future performances. Juki explained that his reason for leaving the JHF was that he could no longer sing *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama*. In May of 2015, following the appointment of the Sultan's daughter to be the heir apparent, Juki had expressed his bitter disappointment in the Sultanate. Since that time he had no longer wanted to sing the *Jogja Istimewa* song and had decided to undertake *tapa bisu* (DJ 2015), as described in Chapter Three. Moerover, for Juki, the other members of the JHF seemed to be

cluster will be called a *dukuh*. One *desa* administration will manage a population of between 2,000 to 5,000. If a cluster has less than one hundred inhabitants it is likely to be called a *dukuh* (hamlet).

reluctant to change and move forward, seemingly happy in their comfort zone. His view echoed those he put forward in a piece on the *HAI* online website in which he stated that due to their reluctance to embrace change, the hip hop artists of his generation may have to give way for a newer generation (Mohammad 2016).

In late 2015, Juki and Balance had started a duo called Libertaria. Their single *Ora Minggir Tabrak* (Step Aside or I Will Run Over You) is about the inevitability of change and the need to follow the change or perish. In May 2016, Libertaria launched a *Post Dangdut Electronika* album called *Kewer-Kewer* ('hung over' or 'getting drunk'). This album encouraged light heartedness in navigating the 'crazy' and unavoidable dynamics of life.

Juki seems to be someone who enjoys putting himself in changing situations. He embraces change, though it never allows him to settle down. Although he is an itinerant, there are two seemingly contradictory characteristics to his itinerancy – individuality versus collectivity. Itinerancy requires solo journeys to whatever destination is desired; it is an individual quest. However, in Juki's case, his itinerancy had led him to engage with many collective groups (discussed further in Section 5.3). Furthermore, his itinerancy has not only connected him to various *komunitas* but has also facilitated his creating and maintaining of those *komunitas*, albeit on a temporary basis.

5.2 The Layers of Culture

The focus of the previous section was on Juki's spatial movement; this section will introduce Juki's cultural movement, that is, the extent to which Juki influenced and was influenced by the surrounding people and social environments. Moreover, Juki's pursuit of his own education outside of formal schooling has allowed him control over what, how and when to learn. In other words, he has been able to decide what layers of culture he wants to add.

From his early life he had been exposed to at least two different major cultural heritages; the present dominant culture of Islam and the Hindu heritage that remains part of Javanese life. Mohammad Marzuki was born into a devout Muslim family on February 21, 1975 in the village of Kokosan, Prambanan, just a few kilometres north of the famous Prambanan Hindu temple complex. Although Islam has long been the dominant cultural influence in the Prambanan area, Juki seems to have been more interested in exploring the still present pre-Hindu traditions.

On the 'official' blog of the JHF, Juki stated that he is a follower of *animisme progresif*[57] (progressive animism), which does not fit into the Islamic teachings into which Juki was born. However, such an embracing of pre-Islamic traditions is not unusual in the surrounding rural context of Prambanan. Thus, from the beginning, Juki moved from one layer of culture to another layer.

Actually, Juki has a strong Islamic background, as his early childhood was filled with the routines of life in an Islamic school. Marzuki's father, H Soepartijo was a local religious leader who ran an Islamic religious school in the village. His father had also at one stage been the chief of the local Muhammadiyah[58] branch in Prambanan. Most of his family members are strong supporters and activists of the *Partai Kesejahteraan dan Keadilan* (The Justice and Prosperity Party – PKS), a new political party in Indonesia based on Islamic ideology.

With such a strong Islamic background, it is no wonder that Marzuki entered the Islamic Junior High (MTS, Madrasah Tsanawiyah) close to his home. During his mid-teenage years, his father enrolled him in the Madrasah Aliyah Negeri 1 (MAN 1) in Yogyakarta.[59] If he had followed the path set out for him, he should have finished his secondary schooling in 1994 and prepared to enter tertiary education.

However, since childhood he knew that he liked both Islamic music and Javanese traditional music. He also knew that he was good at painting.[60] These artistic interests would lead Juki to leave his family traditions to embark upon a lifestyle and ideology that would often be contradictory to his family values. He chose to leave the 'formal' system of Islamic education. Later on he made a public proclamation that he was an *animis progresif* and chose

---

[57] http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/about/. Although on the blog *animisme progresif* is not clearly defined, it is evident that the important consideration is his rejection of established religions, especially Islam. In the blog posts, for instance, he highlights practices such as the holding of a ceremony for the spirits before harvest time and the promotion of drinking alcohol, which are prohibited by Islamic teachings.

[58] Muhammadiyah is the second largest mass organisation of Muslims in Indonesia dedicated to the principle of purifying Islam of local heresies and cultural accretions.

[59] In the Indonesian school system, there is a regular system of schooling under the Ministry of Education and a special system of schooling under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In the latter system, a *madrasah* is equivalent to a school. The Madrasah Diniyah covers the primary or elementary levels. The Madrasah Tsanawiyah teaches at the junior high school level (years 7, 8, 9), while the Madrasah Aliyah Negeri offers instruction at the senior high school level (years 10, 11, 12). It is among the best and most preferred religious schools in Yogyakarta. Another important feature of MAN 1 is that it is located just a few metres away from Gadjah Mada University (UGM). Many MAN 1 students who come from areas outside of the city will often seek accomodation in the same neighbourhoods in which many of students of UGM rent rooms. In the case of Juki, he came into contact with UGM students and considered the campus as his 'playground'.

[60] http://www.rudolfdethu.com/2010/09/14/rock-n-roll-exhibition-marzuki-mohammad/

not to be associated with any religion, including Islam. He joined with other restless young people during the peak of the anti-Suharto era, which would shape and consolidate his future artistic ideas.

These developments mark the beginning of his journey to find his 'true place of belonging'. In a reflection on his own past expressed during a 2011 interview, Juki explained his reasoning for dropping out of high school.[61] Realising that his call was to be an artist, he assessed that formal education was not the right route. At the same time he knew that Yogyakarta offered plentiful opportunities to learn and grow with ample room for freedom and had a diversity of creative fields. For someone with goals and abilities in the arts, finding the right *habitat*[62] was the only challenge. In other words, in Yogyakarta, for an artist with the right sense of purpose and adequate skills there are a number of opportunities for joining and learning with others, individually or in groups, to develop skills as well as to find a career pathway.

Yogyakarta is full of opportunities for those willing to actively locate themselves into social networks. It enables artists from various backgrounds to get together to *nongkrong.* In a relaxed and playful manner, a newcomer may build his/her rapport in front of others. This might start by showing up to an after show *nongkrong.* Or the city provides more 'serious' possibilities, such as attending discussion forums to exchange ideas.

Yogyakarta has long attracted aspiring artists hoping to accelerate their skill development as well as their careers. Many artists in Yogyakarta affiliate with a number of other artists or groups, creating affiliations that often overlap with several groups, sometimes simultaneously. The more 'habitats' engaged with, the faster the process of learning and achievement of success. Not many artists, however, are able to do this successfully, yet Yogyakarta provides a conducive environment for those who are able to see and exploit opportunities. Juki is among those who has been able to so so. The footprints of his many 'habitats' can be seen from a number of his groups such as Performance Fucktory, Whatever Shop, and Kebon Binatang Art.

---

[61] Juki was interviewd by Rheza Ardiansyah as reported in Ardiansyah (2011).
[62] Habitat was Juki's word to refer to 'community' or social-cultural network. Interview, March 17, 2016.

5.3 Two *Komunitas*: The Making Of An Agent

It is the argument of this section that Juki's movement from one *komunitas* to the other enabled him to accumulate capital that enabled him to develop his agency up to the point where he could develop his own brand. The quality of his agency was very much shaped by the quality of the journey he had been through. Along the way he was supported by the readily available socio-cultural wealth of Yogyakarta. In other words, Yogyakarta as a city organically provides supports for the career development of an artist as long as the artist knows the route and is capable of exploiting them. *Komunitas* is among the most important organic supports for such a route.

As discussed in Chapter Two, *komunitas* is a social form intended to empower its members to produce artistic expressions. Adopting Noor's accounts on *komunitas* (2012), it constitutes 'infrastructure' in the form of a milieu which is supportive for creativity and healthy competition. It is where artists communicate to each other and showcase their art products. Juki and his friends created a space of their own to learn and grow in the form of a *komunitas*. In those *komunitas* they encouraged each other to develop their skills and creative productivity and in them Juki learned the ropes of being an artist in Yogyakarta.

His first experiences were in the mid-1990s, when student activists were united against one single common enemy, the three decades old Suharto New Order regime. Their main concern was how to 'mobilise' themselves and the people to end the regime. This could be seen in many of their artistic performances, particularly with Teater Garasi. In Teater Garasi performances Juki contributed his graphic skills for example by designing the stage sets, as creating brochures, pamphlets and other graphic arts was his expertise.[63] He also did some installation arts such as 'I am sorry, I am so Fucking Sorry'.[64] He also paved a way for his talent in electronic music to develop.

He then moved on to more substantial involvement in two subsequent *komunitas*, starting from Komunitas Purnaman (The Full Moon Community), after which he extended his reach by joining a bigger entity, Komunitas Tapal Kuda (The Horseshoe Community – KTK). The two were not strictly separated, as some artists were active in both communities. The main

---

[63] Interviews with Yerru Ariendra, 25 June 2014 and personal communications via Facebook chat with Yudi Ahmad Tajuddin, September-October 2015.

[64] In this 'installation' performance, Juki electrocuted himself (interview with Pascal, 10 July 2014). Elizabeth Inandiak's impression was that Juki was expressing his suffering under the New Order (interview with Elizabeth Inandiak 13 June 2014).

difference between the two is that Purnaman was outside the campus while KTK developed inside the campus of Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Purnaman, operating throughout the 1990s,[65] was a kind of rigorous theatre forum for young artists. It was the product of an 'allied project'[66] between Teater Kanvas, Teater Garasi, and Sanggar Anom.[67] Juki and Hanung Bramantyo were from Teater Kanvas and Yudi Tajudin from Teater Garasi. Yudi and Juki created the Purnaman newsletter. It was in this forum where Juki met and interacted extensively with other talented artists.

Yennu Ariendra explained to me that their monthly activities consisted of workshop sessions in which they were free to do almost anything.[68] Some of them played music, others read poems, recited monologue, acted scenes, or just sat and had a chat. According to Yennu, Purnaman provided a strong magnetic field for those involved to activate and nurture their creative energy.

Yudi referred to Purnaman as a kind of *komunitas*,[69]while Yennu called it a *sanggar*.[70] The latter refers more to a place to learn whereas *komunitas* refers more to the people and their activities. This was the first time Juki had experienced such an environment and it would be an important influence on his later journey. The *komunitas* helped Juki to build a network, to boost his knowledge and skills and to have a place for his experiments. It is as if the *komunitas* gave Juki a place in which he could belong, grow and exist. Here, Juki found some long-term friends. From here, Juki was drawn to Komunitas Tapal Kuda, which was bigger, wider in scope and more diverse in activities. His career was about to take off.

The name of the Komunitas Tapal Kuda comes from the horseshoe shaped bench in the yard inside the complex of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of Universitas Gadjah Mada[71]. The location of the yard was strategically almost in the middle among the students' activity centres comprising journalism, arts and sports among others. The bench was a place

---

[65] Interview with Yennu Ariendra, 25 June 2014, at Teater Garasi homebase, Bugisan
[66] Web chat via Facebook with Yudi Tajuddin, September-October 2015
[67] Sanggar Anom (freely translated as the Workshop for the Young) founded by Genthong Hariono Seloaji, a senior actor and director, who loved to work with young talents.
[68] Interview with Yennu Ariendra, 25 June, 2014, Teater Garasi homebase, Bugisan
[69] Web chat via Facebook with Yudi Tajuddin, September-October 2015.
[70] Sanggar is a Javanese word which means a place to learn, usually informally. Sometimes it is used explicitly in reference to specific activities such as in 'Sanggar Kesenian', 'Sanggar Tari', 'Sanggar Belajar', but most importantly it refers to a place.
[71] Interview with Nanang, a PhD student at Victoria University who is also a lecturer at Universitas Gadjah Mada and was an activist in Komunitas Tapal Kuda, (12 March, 2014).

students sat together to talk about anything from the silliest to the most serious subjects. It was a perfect place to *nongkrong*.

The *nongkrong* users of the bench belonged to two main groups.[72] The first group consisted of those who sat there in the morning and afternoon, and the second were those who were there from evening to late at night. Three members of these groupings during the early 1990s were Nanang, Bambang Wahyu Sumirat and Sadat. Nanang and Sadat[73] considered themselves as part of the morning-afternoon members of KTK while Sumirat[74] tended to be an evening-night one. The first group had a strong leaning to theoretical, academic and philosophical issues. They were 'serious' and more 'intellectual'. The second group were more relaxed and 'rough'. It would have been very hard for non-students to join the morning-afternoon group, whereas the evening-night group was more open. Consequently, some morning-afternoon group members would often stay until late and join the other group. The openness of the group created an opportunity for non-students to come and join, including Juki and Clink Sugiarto.

The product of the morning-afternoon discussions was *Sintesa*, a journal published by students, while the product of evening-night hangouts were the Forum Musik Fisipol (FMF), the Melancholic Bitch Band, and Teater Garasi. It was in the FMF and Teater Garasi where Juki dived deep into the activism of Yogyakartan students at Universitas Gadjah Mada, one of the biggest universities in Indonesia, even though he had not finished his high school education. Soon, he would be the leader of the Yogyakarta electronic movement with his Performance Fucktory. This would bring him into the circle of the Yogyakarta hip hop world and eventually lead him to establish the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation.[75]

I shall propose here that these two *komunitas* (Purnaman and Tapal Kuda) had been sites of empowerment where Juki learnt to grow[76] and gradually become an agent. He was ready to exert influence on others having learned the ropes of the performing arts, politics and culture

---

[72] ibid

[73] Interview with Nanang on 12 March 2014 and interview with Sadat on 22 June 2014.

[74] Interview with Sumirat on 22 June 2014. Sumirat recalled his first impression about Juki was that he looked like a more senior student than Sumirat himself. Juki looked very much like a troubled young person, wearing long-short pants, uncombed long hair and skinny body. He tended to come in the evening and stay until late.

[75] This 'convergence' from two 'routes' consists of Juki's journey, as discussed in this chapter, and that of the other four members of the JHF, discussed in the next chapter.

[76] As previously noted, Juki considers Yogyakarta as a city which has a very accommodating culture for an artist to grow. There is little gap between established and emerging artists, as evident in *komunitas*. For instance, Juki – while still in his early thirties – was asked to direct Butet Kartaraharja's monolog show.

from his student and artist friends. Juki had widened his network from his local neighbourhood of Kadipiro to Yogyakarta as a cultural hub (especially in Komunitas Tapal Kuda) and even to the international level (discussed in Section 5.4). Juki was able to survive and earn money from his works as an artist. The accumulation of these skills and competencies established Juki as an influential artist.

Juki enjoys recording and documenting almost all of his activities and using them to articulate his personal and artistic experiences. This practice has enabled him to collect and convert his experiences into cultural and financial capital and create 'landmarks' to identify important moments. An example of this self-documentation is evident in the manner in which he named himself in an article published in (2007), which read as follows: Mohammad Marzooki/Kill the DJ/Chebolang, Founder of Performance Fucktory, Parkinsound, Whatever Shop, Jogja Hip Hop Foundation, United of Nothing. This reflects his learning process as well as his capability in implementing what he has learned. Those names are very clearly signifying his itinerancy as well as his agency.

5.4 Going Global

Paradoxically, it was in the global scene when he was reminded about his place of origin, and that he was an itinerant. Yogyakarta had provided enormous resources for Juki, mainly concentrated in several *komunitas*. His decision to choose informal-educational-institutions in the forms of *komunitas, forum* and *sanggar* seemed to be fruitful. In these *komunitas* Juki found 'empowering sites' to support what he wanted to be.

In addition to *komunitas*, Yogyakarta is the site for many internationally-connected institutions, several of which are dedicated to cultural affairs. Through his involvement with some of these institutions Juki was able to make global connections, which both expanded his reach but also forced him to confront questions about his identity.

According to Yuli Andriani, a librarian in the Institut Français Indonesia (IFI) Yogyakarta "[Juki] was born here, I mean as an artist".[77] While Juki himself might not agree with her

---

[77] The Indonesian French Institute has been in Yogyakarta for decades. Its main services are offering French language courses and providing venues for cultural events. Both are aimed at enhancing Indonesian-French relations. In Yogyakarta it is located about 1km away from UGM. According to Yuli Andriani, the IFI commitment to boost Indonesian-French cultural ties are through conducting workshops, exhibitions, shows and performances. The IFI not only invites French artists to work together with Yogyakartan artists but also

claim, it does show how deep the institution was involved in Juki's development to become an artist. Yuli Andriani first knew Juki as one of the members of Teater Garasi. Another person who associated Juki with his appearances at the IFI is Monika, who was an activist in the UGM student press. Monika explained that Juki was quite admirable among 'culturally aware' students because he was the product of an 'alternative system' of learning.[78]

By contrast, the initial impression of Juki by Jean Pascal, who was the IFI director at the time, was not positive.[79] He observed Juki as a young man who was messy, stuttered and spoke in unintelligible sentences. It was only due to Juki being accompanied by Landung Simatupang and some others from Teater Garasi that convinced Jean of Juki's potential. Jean Pascal's initial assessment of Juki as someone lacking in adequate credibility, yet having important connections, is revealing of the importance of 'social capital', both to Juki's career path but also more generally to providing support to emerging artists.

The first opportunity given by Pascal to Juki was the reading of a poem by Kahlil Gibran. Juki worked hard to show his merit. Gradually, Juki was accepted and given many more opportunities to grow. In a very short time, Juki was able to accrue sizable capital, thanks to his learning ability. His 'non-art' background helped Juki to be open. Soon, Juki became part of several young Yogyakartan artists who worked closely with the IFI. Juki's skill in graphic design enabled him to work as the *design et mise en page* artist of *La Revue* journal published by the IFI. Thus, Juki was not only a 'guest artist' but also a contributor for the IFI.

Pascal and the IFI had opened the doors for Juki to learn, experience, experiment and collaborate with artists, especially from France. One example is the '*nouveau cirque*'[80] a five artist collaboration in which Juki was the only Indonesian. The backgrounds of the other four artists were circus, music and photography.

---

sends Yogyakartan artists to France. Juki was one of those artists. Interviews with Yuli Andriani and Reno on 26 June 2014.

[78] As a journalist Monika was familiar with many groups and individuals from the Yogyakartan student activists who were critical against the New Order regime. For those activist at the time, Juki embodied the inspirational 'other' to the existing formal education system. Interview and personal communication with Monika Widyaningrum, 13 March 2014)

[79] Interview, 10 July 2015, at the Indonesian French Institute, Sagan, Yogyakarta

[80] This project resulted in a performance after ten days of 'research' and 'collaboration' among Caroline Obin (circus artist), Jerome Lapierre (musician), Pierre-Yves Lawrence (musician), Clothilde Grandguillot (photographer) and Juki himself. The performance was called '*sirkus baru*' showing music, acrobats, contemporary arts, clowns and others.

Juki was grateful that he lived in the milieu of Yogyakarta's art world, which was familiar with international networking.[81] The IFI had been a 'home-base' for Juki for several years. It solidified and expanded Juki's 'local' network and it opened Juki's global reach, providing a 'launching pad' for Juki to engage with international networks of artists.

In 2000, Juki was given the opportunity to visit Paris as a resident artist funded by the IFI. It was in Paris that Juki realised he needed a 'clear identity', prompted by being so often asked 'where are you from?'. Later he realised that this question is almost a 'standard' one whenever he goes to a foreign country. He wrote, "Sorry, in this global world people still ask you; where do you come from?".[82] Since that time he realised that knowing one's own identity is important, even though he found it difficult to define.[83] As a consequence, he turned his attention to his Javanese roots.

Back at the IFI Yogyakarta, Juki met Elizabeth Inandiak,[84] a French born journalist, who dedicated some years of her life to one of the most important works of Javanese literature, the *Serat Centhini*[85] which was written in 1814-1823 under the coordination and patronage of the then King Sunan Paku Buwana V (Paku Buwono V 2010). In the mid-1990s, Inandiak was assigned to translate the *Serat Centhini* into French. She fell in love with the work and decided to live in Yogyakarta from then on. The *Serat Centhini* is a collection of Javanese lyrical stories, which taught Inandiak about the Javanese 'sounds of literature'. Later her involvement with the work and her understanding about Javanese literature were important for Juki, leading him to take one of his stage names from one of the characters in the work called Cebolang.

The main story of the *Serat Centhini* concerns the aftermath of the attack of the Mataram kingdom on the Giri Islamic school building complex. Upon the total destruction of the complex, the three children of the Giri family escaped the calamity. But they were separated and did not know other's fate. The story began with the wandering around of the children. The narrative of their travels includes descriptions of many important places and their

---

[81] *Voice+ Magazine*, Vol 11 pp 32-38, PT Swara Inspiratif Indonesia, Jakarta, June 2013.
[82] Marzuki (2007b). *Anak Singkong Belajar Disko*, *Kompas*, 27 July, 2007.
[83] *Anak Singkong Belajar Disko* is an important example of this effort to define his identity. Here Juki uses a country boy who learns to dance disco as an illustration of the meeting of tradition and modernity.
[84] Interview with Elizabeth Inandiak on 13 June, 2014.
[85] *Serat Centhini* now can be accessed in many different translations or versions. From my interview with Professor Marsono (1 Juli 2014), a Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) team of translators under the coordination of Professor Marsono translated volumes VI until XII adding to volumes I, II and III that had previously been translated by Balai Pustaka. For the UGM translation version see Marsono (2010). Inandiak has her own translation versions (2005 and 2008)

culture and history. One of the narrative strands concerns the fate of the youngest sibling, a girl, who arrives at the Pesantren Sokayasa. The family in Sokayasa were still grieving the disappearance of Cebolang, their only son. Not long after the girl's arrival Cebolang also re-appeared and married the girl. The sub-story of Cebolang's adventure is full of 'profane' matters recounting his experiences with kyais, local leaders, prostitutes, gamblers and other characters from daily life. It may have been the 'truth-seeking' spririt of Cebolang that inspired Juki to adopt the name as one of his aliases.

Elizabeth Inandiak has been Juki's friend and 'teacher', revealing to him the importance of the *Serat Centhini*. In the *Hiphopdiningrat* documentary, she explains that the *Serat Centhini* is now a part of world heritage, surpassing Javanese local ownership. Inandiak played a vital role in both proving that a Javanese literary work could become a global legacy and helping Juki find the best parts of it to be incorporated into hip hop. The results were the adaptation of verses written in the traditional Javanese metres of *Dandanggulo* and *Sinom*, as well as the adoption of the name Cebolang. Inandiak has been the bridge between Juki and the Java of two centuries ago.

The 'one-on-one' process between Juki and Inandiak is part of a much bigger process, the 'nurturing' of Yogyakarta hip hop life under the IFI programs of *Printemps des Poètes* (the Spring of Poets). The program facilitated the Poetry Battle I and II events[86] and provided the context for Juki to perform *tembang* (traditional Javanese verse). These two Poetry Battles had enormous impact on the revitalisation of Yogyakartan hip hop with the founding of the JHF. For Juki himself, these two events pulled him totally 'inside' the hip hop world. From this point on, most of the history of Juki merges with the history of the JHF.

At this point Juki had accumulated adequate artistic and cultural capital to exert his agency. He had acquired power in the form of artistic skills and knowledge and the capability to build, maintain and exploit networks. He had shown that he was capable of acting on behalf of himself and he exerted full control of his own life. It was on the basis of this agency that Juki converged with other Yogyakartan hip hop artists.

---

[86] This is an annual international program organised by the French government. The main idea is to read poetry accompanied by any media. In both Poetry Battle I and II, the IFI worked together with Juki and his friends to use hip hop as the main media in reading Indonesian poetry.

5.5 Points of Convergence

It was around 2003 that Juki met like-minded artists in the persons of those Yogyakartan rappers who were willing to improve their hip hop performance. They met as equals and shared similar interest and imagination. By this time Juki was a confident operator having benefitted from his itinerancy, his willingness to join with other groups of artists and his desire to learn. Although the other rappers with whom he would join in the JHF were also artistic agents in their own right, they did not possess the same quality of agency as Juki.

As already described, Juki had visited and inhabited many places; learned, worked, and collaborated with many different people; and created many events. He liked to try new things, to cross borders and to experiment. By doing so, he amassed capital and had opened up a lot of possibilities and opportunities for himself and for those who worked with him. Juki arose as a prominent exponent in the world of Yogyakarta and led the hip hop community to create a *komunitas.*

Moreover, Juki's global experience had awakened his local identity as a Javanese. His intense dialogues with Elizabeth Inandiak had helped him find ways to go back to his Javanese roots. Now Juki was struggling to find the best place to accommodate his creative impulses and channel his global-local vision. The nexus of the convergence was his 'Javanese' identity.

During Juki's time in Paris in 2000 he attended workshops, worked on exhibitions and other projects. As he was sent there as an 'electronic music artist', most of what he did was within that field. On his return to Yogyakarta, he worked hard to channel his ambition to develop electronic music. In a very short time he became the 'leader' of the Yogyakarta electronic music movement. Once he was called 'perfuck'[87] because of his projects called 'Performance Fucktory' which he started before he went to Paris. Indeed, in 1999 he already held the first 'Parkinsound' event which was then held annually until 2003. Juki claimed that 'Parkinsound: Electronic Music Festival 1999' was the first of its kind in Indonesia.[88] It was in these events that he met Yogyakarta electronic music followers, including some prominent DJs such as DJ Yudhistira and DJ Vanda along with numerous rappers.

---

[87] Personal contact with Yudi Tadjuddin via webchat, September-November 2015.
[88] Juki's note on *It's Hip Hop: Poetry Battle*, Jogja Hip Hop Foundation album cover, produced by the Performance Fucktory, 2007.

The results of these intense contacts were 'It's Hip Hop Reunion I' and 'It's Hip Hop Reunion II' events. It was during these events that Juki proposed to create a loose community called the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. The subsequent Poetry Battles marked a very important moment for Yogyakarta hip hop in general and the JHF in particular. The events opened up new possibilities for new kinds of exploration or experiments of hip hop. Yogyakarta rappers and hip hoppers celebrated the music. Poetry Battle 1 and 2 can be considered as the 'grounding-of-hip-hop' in Javanese culture. Although the first Java hip hop song was launched more than a decade prior to this, it was in the Poetry Battles when 'Java' as a text and a context were seriously studied and performed in the form of festivals. (See Chapter Five and Eight for analysis of this 'Java' as a text and context).

These two events involved quite a few artists and rappers singing not only about daily life and 'light' themes but also much heavier topics such as philosophy. In the Poetry Battle 2, Ki Jarot – the name of the alliance between Juki and the groups Jahanam and Rotra – presented the song *Jogja Istimewa*, which would later lead the five members of Ki Jarot[89] onto the national and international stage as the JHF. Although the JHF represents a convergence of complimentary creative actors, there was, in hindsight, already a question mark over how long Juki could stay 'converged' due to his itinerant and celebrity character. His willingness to cross borders at any time that led him to engage with the Java hip hop scene would also spur him to leave it behind as subsequent developments confirmed.

5.6 A Restless Celebrity

This final section focuses on Juki's celebrity status and his innate restlessness, which connect his past with his present. In the present, he is clearly a celebrity; what is interesting is how as a celebrity he has displayed great restlessness. Juki's restlessness seemed to propel his urge to search and experiment, often in opposition to mainstream ideas such as capitalism, Islam and formal education. In doing so, he shows a high level of self-awareness, as well as an awareness of the mediatised environment in which he lives.

As previously noted, in 2007 Juki gave his names as: Mohammad Marzuki/Kill the DJ/Cebolang. Those three names were then followed by: Founder of Performance Fucktory,

---

[89] More on Ki Jarot and the JHF is presented in Chapter Five.

Parkinsound, Whatever Shop, Jogja Hip Hop Foundation, United of Nothing.[90] His latest blog shows still more names: Kill the Graphic, Kill the TV Channel, Kill the Link http://killtheblog.com/. On Kill the Graphic page Juki presents his graphic artworks[91] while on the Kill the TV Channel Juki shows some of his videography.[92]

Why this prominence of the word 'kill'? The inspiration for adopting Kill the DJ as a stage name was triggered in a small music club in Paris.[93] It reflected Juki's critique against the roaring rave culture in the 1990s. Juki wrote that the young people who adored music or DJ-ing had alienated themselves from their surrounds (DJ 2007b). He gave an example of a rave party in the middle of agricultural environment. He considered that the 'dishonest bodies' had betrayed their roots and their environment, as the sounds and dance movements of the rave scene were too alien for Indonesian social and cultural life. Moreover, the DJs were too dominating and their control needed to be reduced to give way for the participation of other members of the society as well as to facilitate the social and cultural contextualisation of the 'new' culture into its host.

Juki's restlessness is the result of his reflexivity. This explains his tendency to be critical. His being critical has been facilitated greatly by his capability in dealing with various form of creative media. For instance, since childhood he has liked drawing, which he later developed into graphic arts. In his high school he brought success for his school magazine by being a graphic artists and the chief editor. It is this very artistic calling that pulled him away from the school. Later on he used his capability in graphic arts and media to create the Purnaman newsletter. Rapidly he gained more popularity. He worked as graphic designer (*design et mise en page*) for *La Revue*, published by the Indonesian French Institute. He also worked for *Latitude* magazine. Those are just some examples of his graphic career path. Juki has also written articles for *Kompas*, his blogs and a book. He also produced *Hiphopdiningrat*. These writings and his graphical arts are his self-made stepping-stones to 'elevate' himself. Numerous news items, interviews, newspaper coverage, interviews with *Kick Andy* and performance at *Dahsyat* program had elevated Juki and the JHF much higher

---

[90]Performance Fucktory and Parkinsound held mostly music events, Whatever Shop is a shop selling merchandises produced by Jogja hip hop members, United for Nothing was intended to mobilise young people to respond to disasters (e.g. the Jogja earthquake, the Mount Merapi and Mount Sinabung eruptions).
[91] Kill the DJ. http://killtheblog.com/category/artwork/
[92] Mohamad, Marzuki.(2009) https://www.youtube.com/user/TheChebolang?feature=mhum
[93] Interview with Dita, 10 May 2014

than other rappers. Since 2000 he has his own Youtube page, which currently displays 36 videos – as at 17 May, 2016, two of them have been viewed by 2,167,526 and 3,162,772.[94]

His creative abilities and success are underpinned by his itinerant and restless nature, which has allowed to territorially and culturally relocate himself may times and move from one socio-cultural network to another. The following chapter discusses in more detail how these characteristics both brought him together with the other members of the JHF, but also inevitably prompted his withdrawal from the group.

---

[94]Mohamad, Marzuki.(2009) https://www.youtube.com/user/TheChebolang/videos, per 17 May 2016 two most viewed videos are *Cintamu Sepahit Topi Miring* (2,167,526 viewers) and *Jogja Istimewa* (3,162,772 viewers), six others received hundreds of thousands viewers.

6

DISCORD BETWEEN THE ITINERANT CELEBRITY AND JHF

After describing the early career of Juki, the development of *komunitas* JHF, and the process through which JHF became successful, I follow now with an analysis of how this success brought about specific consequences for Juki, and how these are different from the impacts on the other four members. It was Juki's celebrity and itinerancy that distinguished Juki from the other four members of JHF. Juki took control of his own destiny, making decisions that harmonised with his character as an itinerant celebrity, thereby bringing on a post-Juki JHF phase characterized by decline and plateau. In Chapter Six I have argued that despite the success of JHF in packaging Javaneseness in its Java Hip Hop productions, that same Javaneseness might have caused the 'decline' of JHF.

This Chapter consists of three main parts. Section 6.1 sketches Juki's arrival at the status of celebrity, something which occurred simultaneously with the increasing popularity of JHF. I try to present the dynamics inside *Komunitas* JHF. Eventually the success created widening gaps within the organisation. Section 6.2 deals with Juki's itinerant character. This is background for the inevitable discord that emerged between Juki and the other four members of JHF. Those discords are discussed in Section 6.3.

6.1 The Making of a Celebrity

Becoming a celebrity can be partly understood as achieving success in accumulating the kind of capital that social scientists call social capital. As noted in Chapter Two and Four, the bases for the attaining of celebrity status can result from capability, accident, or notoriety (Lai 2006). Rojek (2001) mentioned some important factors of the making of a celebrity: the centrality of media, elevation, surface relations, uprootedness, and relocation to mention only some.

The central capability of media is that it can make someone visible to publics by distributing news or images about someone, or by repeating the circulation of those. This is in line with the origin of the word celebrity, which derives from a Latin word '*celebre,* meaning "much frequented" or "thronged"' (Rein et.al 2006: 17). The more frequently a figure is publicised, the greater the possibility for he or she to be known by a large number of persons, in other

words this person became highly 'visible' to others (ibid: 16, 17). This visibility is a key to the creation and success of a celebrity. The best way to boost visibility is through media appearances.

Juki can accurately be described as a self-made celebrity, or celebrity by merit, for the reason that he utilised media for his own benefit. He is skilled at self-representation through media imagery. With his graphic art and writing skills, Juki quite easily acquired a special place as a celebrity. The following is a summary of three of Juki's skills that contributed much to making him a celebrity.

6.1.1 Media Skills

Artistic skill is needed to produce a piece of music. Other skills are needed to tell others about the music. The need for these skills increases when the music is intended to be 'consumed' by as large, diverse, and wider audience as possible.

Juki always had great talent for media work and always worked hard to expand his skills by speaking and writing. Speaking here means giving a speech, lecture, or talk to a group of people. Facility in giving compelling explanations or opinions in interviews or talk shows is also dependent on such skill. Juki was a proven speaker, able to produce compelling speech in a wide range of contexts. He spoke at numerous screening of the *Hiphopdiningrat* documentary in front of university students, art critics, and the public as well. During the JHF tour of the US in 2012, the group gave six lectures, most of them in front of university students. The range of engagements included more formal engagements: on one occasion Juki spoke in the US Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (Mohammad 2014). Juki and JHF were interviewed several times by local journalists.

This capability requires many components such as English language competency, self-confidence, a certain degree of intellectual competence, flexibility, and a desire to put oneself at the centre of attention. The content of these speeches might have been more or less the same, that is Javanese Hip Hop music. But the delivery needs to be adapted to differing settings. A natural frontman, Juki has proven his ability to speak with audiences from different backgrounds e.g. high school students, university students, radio hosts, television hosts, journalists and others.

Besides speaking, Juki has relatively high capability as a writer. It is not hard to find examples of his writing, for he is careful with his documentation and posting, and often republishes his writings. Thus, one article might be found in Juki's blog, on the JHF blog, in newspapers, and many other sources. The internet has been the technology he has most frequently relied upon, and he has two blogs, 'Kill the DJ' and the JHF blog 'Jogjahiphopdiningrat'. His recent blog is killtheblog.com. Juki's policy, it appears, is that his writings should be read and reread, and[95] the official *Hiphodiningrat* website stored and re-published many news pieces and articles relating to JHF.

His media capabilities also include visual representation. He has always been a visual artist. As discussed in Chapter Four, he started his career as a graphic designer and chief editor of his high school magazine. His visual talent developed and became an important contributing factor behind the success of JHF and Juki himself. His visual strategies synergised with performances to create a coherent package out of Java Hip Hop. At the same time, these strategies made himself much more visible. Such visibility is imperative for the construction of celebrity (Rein et.al 2006).

To increase his visibility, Juki actively uploads his video clips on YouTube, as well as on the *Hiphodiningrat* blog and his own blog. This visibility emerges in live performance also, where Juki plays the frontman role. During my fieldwork I observed four performances, and with the exception of one in which the JHF was a guest artist, Juki was seen dominating on stage relative to the other four members.[96] Juki's role was not limited to being a rapper, but extended also to being a speaker representing the whole group.

In an interview with *Voice+* magazine uploaded on the *Hiphopdiningrat* website Juki explained the need for a spokesperson for JHF, especially when dealing with foreign journalists. This need could not be met by the other four members:

---

[95] Some of his writings are listed here. *'Kultur Indie', Subkultur Kita Hari Ini* (Indie Culture, Our Subculture Today) was published in Kompas Daily in June 4, 2007. One month later, July 27, his essay *Anak Singkong Belajar Disko* (The Country Boy Learn to Disco Dance) appeared in the same daily. Both essays critically dealt with contemporary youth culture. Later he found blogging as a way to publish his work. In January 3, 2011 he wrote *Membunuh Hip Hop* (to Kill Hip Hop), a critical view of hip hop. In the same month he wrote two other pieces, one explaining the lyrics of *Jogja Istimewa* and the other describing his experience in reading *Tahta untuk Rakyat* (the Throne is for the People), a famous book about Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX. Some more tittles of his writing are attached. At the end of 2014, JHF has launched a book *Java Beat in the Big Apple*, a collection of Juki's 'journal' during the JHF tour of the US.

[96] The four performances were: Wijilan Rap of the Ring show (hosted by Helhouse hip hop community), Mandala Krida Football stadium show and Alun-Alun show (both were to show support for Jokowi who was running for president), and Malioboro for a campaign to support anti-corruption program. See Chapter One on data collection section for more details.

Figure 6.1. The promotional material for Juki's latest single has himself as the main focus. Picture taken from http://doggyhouserecords.com/out-now-libertaria-%C2%AD-ora-minggir-tabrak-kill-the-dj-x-libertaria/

"*Namun di antara mereka tidak ada yang cukup kuat untuk menjadi frontman, yang ketika bertemu dengan media luar negeri, ia tahu bagaimana menjelaskan apa yang sedang dikerjakan*" (Juki, interviewed by Voice + Magazine[97])

"But none of them is strong enough to be a frontman, someone who, when meeting foreign media, is able to explain what we are doing"

Juki became popular in Indonesia's national media through his frequent appearances on television and through other media, although he sometimes appeared with other members of

---

[97] http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2013/10/voice-vol-11-marzuki-mohammad/

JHF. Juki and JHF appeared on numerous TV programmes such as the famous *Kick Andy*[98] and *Dahsyat*[99] talk shows.

Being a frontman has made Juki more highly visible than the other four members. The *Rolling Stone* Special Edition[100] magazine is an example. *Rolling Stone Indonesia* magazine published a special edition about JHF in which Juki was interviewed separately from the other four members.[101] The other four members were interviewed, but their responses were put together under one article. Juki was separately interviewed, and this interview and report were presented separately from the interview with the others. Two articles written by Juki were featured in the same issue. Both articles had actually been published on the *Hiphopdiningrat* blog. These strategies reveal Juki as a self-made celebrity as well as a media-created celebrity. This strengthened his 'bargaining position' with the media, for he frequently was an agent within the media itself. Juki began to project an aura of strength and mystique through the media. In the *Rolling Stone* issue just mentioned, he was referred to as the *Begawan* of hip hop in Yogyakarta' (Nismara 2014: 7). *Begawan* is a Javanese word indicating a person of high spiritual development, such as a priest or ascetic.

6.1.2 Marketing Skills

Juki's media skill is very much related to his marketing skills. He knew that 'producing good music is never enough, for it needs to be well packaged'.[102] Success needs more than just producing: there is a need for marketing also.

> *"Sebagaimana sering saya sampaikan, musik bagus saja tidak cukup. Berhentilah mengadili pasar yang tidak paham akan musikmu, berhenti mengadili industry yang ogah melirik musikmu. Ganti dengan kerja keras, ciptakan pasarmu sendiri, ciptakan industrimu sendiri, bernafas panjang dan konsisten.*[103]"

---

[98] Amalia E Maulana and Lexi Z. Hikmah (2014) summed up the popularity of the *Kick Andy* show from Metro TV Indonesia by naming the title of their book *Kick Andy, the Oprah Winfrey TV Show of Indonesia.*

[99] *Dahsyat* is a very popular entertainment program launched by RCTI television station.

[100] Rolling Stone Magazine, 2014.

[101] In the Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition of 2014, Juki specially appeared in three slots: one special interview, one essay about him, and one essay written by himself. The titles of these pieces were: *The Rolling Stone Interview: Begawan Hip Hop Yogyakarta* by Reno Nismara, *Dari Kobaïan, Magma, Sigur Ros, Discus, Sampai Jogja Hip Hop Foundation* by Adib Hidayat, and *Jangan Memilih Jokowi Karena Kill the DJ* by Juki, an essay previously published in the same magazine.

[102] Interview with Juki, 17 March 2016

[103] Marjuki Mohammad, Gambaran Hip Hop Indonesia Masa Kini. http://hai-online.com/ Feature/Music/ Gambaran-Hip-Hop-Indonesia-Masa-Kini, Wednesday, 13 January 2016

"I have mentioned many times that good music is not enough. Stop judging the market as something that does not understand your music, and stop judging the industry because it does not have time for your music. Replace these with hard work, create your own market, create your own industry, take a deep breath and be consistent."

It is not difficult to see Juki's marketing skills. From the beginning he had succeeded in holding events such as Parkinsound, Hip Hop Reunion, Hip Hop *Angkringan* and many others mentioned in previous chapters. In most of the events, Djarum,[104] one of the biggest Indonesian cigarette companies, has always support as the main sponsor. The *Hiphopdiningrat* documentary was sponsored by this company, and was the Poetry Battle. Another important sponsor was Intel, the microprocessor producer. The money from this Intel sponsorship was used to buy some computers and mixing machines.[105]

Juki's belief in the importance of good packaging for good music was evident throughout the journey of JHF. First of all, there needed to be adequate clarity about the 'object' to be packaged. That is, the product had to be distinctive when compared with other products. In order to achieve this distinction, JHF branded its product as Java Hip Hop and worked hard to produce a distinctive Java Hip Hop sound. The creation of Java Hip Hop as a distinct product is evidence of Juki's capability to create musical products that were 'marketable'. This extended to live performances. Visual imagery was creatively deployed at most JHF performances, reflecting the combination of Juki's visual art and marketing skills. Lukman, a member of JHF, and Chandra[106], the maker of the *Hiphopdiningrat* documentary, acknowledged that JHF had been produced as a *'paket pertunjukan'*, meaning a performance package combining sound, visual, and sometimes theatrical elements.

However, Juki's strong belief in the market mechanism was not without controversy. In the following chapter I convey such a controversy. Juki would defend his rights to commercial exploitation of the copyright of his songs against the wishes of the Sultan. This was a striking example of the logics of marketing and celebrity commodity coming into conflict with traditional authority.

---

[104] The Project of Hiphopdiningrat the documentary film is one of the examples. This can be seen clearly in the logo of Djarum Super on the cover of the movie.
[105] Interview with Balance 13 June 2014.
[106] Interview with Lukman 8 March 2016 and with Chandra Hutagaol 10 March 2016.

6.1.3 People Skills

People skills in this case means the ability to communicate with many different kinds of people to create success by working together, with each person contributing according to their specific competence and capability. This would require the capability to make contacts and negotiate fruitful cooperation in the forms of collaboration, sponsorship, learning-teaching, and others. This often involved working together with non-JHF members to produce performances or other activities. In the JHF case, these collaborations cut across borders, involving not only hip hop artists but also artists from other genres and even from other countries. In all of these, and this is something we have already discussed under the heading of *komunitas*, learning-teaching processes were much evident.

Chandra Hutagaol, a visual artist and the video maker of the *Hiphopdiningrat* documentary observed that early in his career Juki was disadvantaged because he had no formal artistic background. This later became an advantage because Juki was free from any 'obligation' to stay within one block of artists. Hutagaol stated that most artists in Yogyakarta would associate themselves with either the north or south artistic blocks.[107] These two blocks have been described by Sutopo (2010). Sutopo describes Jazz Lor (North Jazz) as representing modernity and commercialism with Universitas Gadjah Mada at its center. The Jazz Kidul (South Jazz) is characterized by traditional and non-commercial elements, and has the Indonesian Arts Institute as its centre. During my fieldwork I received similar accounts from other musicians.[108] Having no formal educational background, Juki was free from these shackles and free to move between blocs. He learned from both blocs, made friends and worked with their members. Juki personally benefitted from this by acquiring a wide range of skills.

Because Juki's history of collaborations is such an amazing achievement for its geographical scope and range of genres, it is appropriate for me to give a sample of his collaborations. They illustrate his people skills and the capabilities that have enabled his itinerancy.

---

[107] Interview with Chandra Hutagaol 10 March 2016. This two seemingly opposing blocks were the South centered in ISI (Indonesian Art Institute) and the North centered at UGM (Universitas Gadjah Mada). Their differ mainly in their 'coservativism' and the 'free-style' respectively.

[108] Interview with Haryanto and Yoyok, Indonesian Arts Institute graduates, 23 April 2014.

An outstanding example has already been described in Chapter 6, and that was his leadership in the collective enterprise of the making of Java Hip Hop. The contribution of Juki's people skill was essential for the mobilisation of such a varied group of people.

One example of the collaboration across the globe is his collaboration with Kingslee 'Akala' Daley, a young hip hop artist from England who founded The Hip Hop Shakespeare Company (THC) based in London. JHF and Akala worked together in "Hip Hop 4 Nation" sponsored by the British Council on June 24, 2012, in Yogyakarta and on June 26, 2012, in Bandung.

His collaborations were not limited to activities with fellow hip hop artists. His collaborations with non musicians included the *Newyokarto* concert and *Laskar Dagelan Musikal*. Newyorkarto is a term that was coined by blending the place names New York and Yogyakarta. The concert was about the JHF journey from Yogyakarta visiting New York, the place of hip hop's origin. Because of the importance of New York, especially the Bronx area, to the history of hip hop, this tour is sometimes called '*naik haji*' or 'pilgrimage' (Mohammad 2014: 11). The Newyorkarto concert is a recollection and reflection on the so called 'pilgrimage' of JHF to New York. In this concert JHF collaborated with other rappers; Iwa K and Saykoji, as well as with dancers, string musicians, and the comedian Butet Kertarajasa.

Another involvement of JHF with comedians manifested in *Laskar Dagelan*, a comedy musical directed by Juki. A list of famous Yogyakarta comedians worked together with JHF, among them were Marwoto, Butet Kertaradjasa, Agus Noor, Susilo Nugroho, Gareng Rakasiwi, Yuningsih, Wisben, and Soimah.

Laskar Dagelan was called '*musikal*' because the show contained fragments based on JHF songs. It started with *Jogja Istimewa*, which introduced the thematic setting: Yogyakarta has been and should always be special. Then the palace was shaken by rumours and debates. A revelation of the source of the rumour is provided by a young man appearing on stage in the opening scene. He is a student of a very famous university in Yogyakarta which can be identified by the jacket he was wearing. He is drunk. The JHF song *Gangsta Gapi*/*Mbayar SPP* is sung. This song is about 'naughty boys' who spend their money buying alcoholic drinks instead of paying for the tuition for which the money was intended. The next scenes were accompanied by JHF songs. A man who is courting a lady is accompanied by *Cintaku*

Sepahit Topi Miring (My Love is as bitter as *Topi Miring*[109]). A couple on the verge of separation because of financial troubles receive a suggestion from JHF suggesting that they work harder via the JHF song *Ora Cucul Ora Ngebul* (No work no pay).When a married artist decides to leave Yogyakarta for Jakarta, which means leaving her family, JHF criticises her using the song *Jula Juli Lolipop*. Although these songs describe individual problems, in its entirety the story of the musical concerns the efforts of Yogyakarta people to maintain its specialness against the Indonesian government, which is trying to change the city's status. The story ends with *Jogja Istimewa*, reinforcing and echoing the specialness of Yogyakarta.

Juki's capability to create networks and engage them into collaboration helped JHF to accelerate and amplify their success. It is a component of his agency that contributes much to his itinerancy and celebrity. It looks very easy for Juki to enter and exit a group of people, and then return once more at a later time.

6.2 The Cultural Itinerant

In Chapter Four I described the variety of Juki's cultural interactions and the roles of various *komunitas* in his journey as an artist. I have also the relative lack of intensity in the *nongkrong* happening in the JHF office. Most *nongkrong* took place either after the shows or within members' own circles; Anto-Lukman in the Rotra circle, Balance-Mamox in Jahanam circle. Juki has his own extensive circles and networks. The extent of Juki's network puts Juki in a state of constant movement. The following is a deeper account of Juki's itinerancy. Gradually, this itinerancy would generate discord between Juki and the other four members.

As discussed above, there was no burden on Juki to be loyal to one group of people. This can be interpreted in a number of ways: it might seem that he had no loyalty to any group whatsoever, yet one could conclude also that he was loyal to many different groups. In other words, he was poly-loyal rather than mono-loyal. In truth, Juki was loyal to many ideas, genres and styles, enabling him to reject them and come back to them later. An example is his return to electronic music with his founding of *Libertaria*. This return pointed to his respect for electronica, but it also showed his innovation, for the group was an electronic

---

[109] *Topi Miring* is a brand for a cheap local alcoholic drink.

music project enhanced by a new element, *dangdut*. But by showing his ongoing loyalty to electronica, of course he appeared to be disloyal to hip hop.

As an itinerant, Juki moved constantly from local, national, global, traditional, or modern. Further, on those times he settled in one cultural genre, he seemed to involve his other genres in performance. This ethic of moving forward is expressed in his latest, post-JHF work, '*Ora Minggir Tabrak*'[110] (Step Aside or I will Run over You). This was the first release of *Libertaria*, and became the soundtrack for the successful *Ada apa dengan cinta?* movies. It is a very strong statement in favour of the embrace of change, something that is necessary in order to prevent change from posing a threat.

But nevertheless, Juki did not leave behind his orientation to tradition. As mentioned previously, Juki declared his affiliation for the Javanese animist tradition, for example, openly naming himself as a 'progressive animist'. The hit songs that supported the *kraton* show his cultural conservatism. That orientation to tradition also emerged in a strong ambivalence about the cultures of modernity. The names he chose for himself expressed this ambivalence: 'Kill the DJ' and 'Cebolang' are strong symbols of Juki's sense of not wanting young Indonesians to be 'too Westernized'.

This constant movement makes it difficult to capture the essence of the man by looking at his involvement at one particular moment. That would require a number of observations of his work at different stages. Juki's onstage performance at one point in time might be very different from his next performance. Throughout the course of this research, which lasted only four years, Juki 'changed' his face many times. Some of Juki's contemporary artists[111] consider him a 'chameleon'. Some others, like Lukman and Balance,[112] agreed that Juki was a 'master of adaptation', knowing how and when to change. Both these labels point to a liking for change, and this liking would make it difficult for JHF to sustain its existence.

6.3 Points of Divergence

In the following pages, I explore some of the points at which Juki is different from his friends. Some of the elements can be discussed briefly, others require more elaboration. In

---

[110] This is the first single from Libertaria. The song was also became a soundtrack for *Ada Apa Dengan Cinta* movies.
[111] An example is Yennu, whom I interviewed on 25 June 2014.
[112] Interview with Lukman 19 May 2014 and with Balance 13 June 2014.

summary, as I have argued throughout this thesis, the difference between Juki and the other four members lies in Juki's itinerancy and celebrity.

The following table summarizes the gaps between Juki and his friends, all of which emerged gradually throughout the years of JHF success. The table is to provide an overview template for the more specific discussion below. It needs to be noted that the degrees of comparison are not of equal extents in in all cases. Rather, some are significant and some not. Also, I am generalising the 'other members'. In fact, there are internal divergences within the group, but these do not negate the value of the comparison.

	Domain	Juki the Itinerant-Celebrity	Other 'local' JHF members
1	Products	Media as central	Not applicable
		Mediated	Direct
		Commodified (market driven)	Pure self-expression
		Monetization	Art for pleasure, for expression
2	Self	Becoming	Belonging
		Insecure/restless	Secure
		Temporary	Stable
		Changes (names, settings etc)	Remain in familiar context
		In motion	Static
3	Local	Many places, many neighbourhoods, itinerant, not integrated	One locality, one neighbourhood, close, exclusive
		Not burdened by locality	Locality as ultimate expression
		Free, not exclusive local, open	Submission to Javaneseness
		Travel	Faithful to one locality
4	National	national network, Jakarta	Not applicable
		Ready to go 'mainstream'	Stay in local scene
		Expanding	Contained
5	Global	International network	Not applicable
		Expanding	Contained

Table6.1. Domains of artist/celebrity subjectivity

6.3.1 Production

In terms of their cultural production, Juki was ready to go mainstream, assess the market demand, and adjust his product to that demand. The formation of *Libertaria* in November 2015 is a striking example. Here he combined hip hop with dang dut in order to be accepted by more and more listeners. The "post-electronica" group was a breakthrough, a sort of 'authentic creation' drawing on two genres never before fused. But for JHF, it conflicted with their Java Hip Hop identity. First, *Kewer-Kewer* (the single produced by Libertaria) is more Indonesian in its language. Second, Juki labelled the single as 'Post-Dang Dut

Elektronika', leaving the discourse of hip hop behind. This swing shows Juki's itinerancy. Indeed, Juki's arrival at hip hop was made possible because of his willingness to move between genres. Now, it was time for Juki to change from Java Hip Hop to something else.

Anto, although he is now 'retired', was never 'tainted' by anything other than Yogyakarta hip hop. The same applies for Lukman and Mamok. The three of them have consistently shown 'purist tendencies' in their dedication to rap. Mamok himself, who was with Balance in Jahanam, is now more active in DPMB with Alex Donnero, continuing his career as a 'true rapper'. Balance is quite different. He is very open in producing music. He is willing to produce music in response to orders from customers. He is the only 'pure musician' among the five members of JHF. He relies for his financial income on making music. Not surprisingly, he contributes to helping Juki in Libertaria.

By maintaining their 'purity' as rappers, I believe that the trio of Anto, Lukman, and Mamok show their interest in hip hop music as a preferred form of expression rather than as something they make to meet demands of the market. There is less commodification and monetization involved. One important indication of this is their minimal exploitation of media to promote their products. Their desire to maximize the 'marketing' is much less than Juki's. Their aspiration is to produce good music.

As noted, Juki has always said that producing good music is not enough. Attention should also be paid to context, package, and networking. That was the very reason for the founding of JHF. His realisation that this way of thinking was absent from the hip hop context must surely have had something to do with his decision that to more on from it. He expressed this critique quite sharply:

> "*Sayang dalam sejarahnya di Indonesia, sesungguhnya banyak praktisi hip hop yang hanya cukup puas berkutat di komunitasnya saja, sangat elitis dan sombong, namun kurang pede untuk keluar dari lingkarannya untuk menantang dunia yang lebih luas. Itu bukan masalah music bagus, tapi mentalitas dan cara pandang. Hasilnya gitu-gitu saja. Panas di dalam komunitasnya tapi dunia sebenarnya tidak tahu bahwa mereka ada.*

Saya dibuat percaya bahwa generasi baru hip hop Indonesia itu ada dan lebih rileks mewakili semangat zamannya. Mereka akan muncul dan menulis sejarahnya dengan caranya sendiri tanpa terbebani doktrin-doktrin para sesepuh."[113]

"It is a pity that in the history of hip hop in Indonesia, there have been many hip hop artists, but they have been only satisfied being inside their own community only, very elitist and arrogant, but they do not have enough confidence to reach out to the wider audience. This is not a matter of good music, but is about mentality and world view. The result is stagnancy. The community is internally dynamic but the outer world does not even know they exist.

I believe that there is new generation of Indonesian hip hop artists that is more relaxed in the ways they represent their era. They will emerge and write their own history in their own way without the burden of doctrine imposed by their older generation".

Thus for Juki, being known and acknowledged by 'the outer world' are very important. It is imperative that the artist work to make himself acceptable. If the 'outer world' changes, then the artist should adapt. Juki concluded that the generation 'dominating' hip hop at the moment is coming to an end. He expresses hope in the new generation, at the same time 'cutting' the inter-generational bond by stating that the new generation should not carry the burden given by the preceding one.

Considering these comments were made in a national media, and were directed at a generalised 'Indonesia' rather than at Yogyakarta specifically, it may be argued that Juki was not referring to his fellow-members of JHF in the above quote. But in my latest interview[114] with him, he confirmed that he was disappointed with his colleagues at JHF for the stagnancy of the phase that the group had entered. He considered them as too content to remain in their comfort zone, Java Hip Hop. Of course this had been a successful project for them. In Juki's opinion, JHF should change. It had been around for 13 years and needed creative innovation, otherwise, it would be rightfully considered obsolete. For Juki, the

---

[113] Marjuki Mohammad. (2016). Gambaran Hip Hop Indonesia Masa Kini. http://hai-online.com/Feature/Music/ Gambaran-Hip-Hop-Indonesia-Masa-Kini, Wednesday, 13 January 2016.

[114] Interview with Juki, 17 March 2016.

choice the group faced a choice of staying with 'old generation' and being left behind, or finding new ways to exist and join the new wave.

6.3.2 Self

The quotation above also poses a question regarding Juki's sense of belonging. Juki seems to be always in a state of 'becoming', not belonging. Thus, he does not belong to an older generation, nor the younger one, at least not yet. In such a state, it is impossible for Juki to stay in a *komunitas*.

In the quotation cited earlier, Juki was addressing the young generation of rappers and expressing his hopes for this generation. At the same time he harshly criticised his own generation (JHF and its generation) for being stuck inside the *komunitas*. In other words, Juki had one foot planted in the present generation and the other in an earlier one. This is natural for him: being an itinerant, he could relocate himself culturally and spatially anytime he wanted. His 'self' was by nature unsettled and restless.

It is not part of this research to give a psychological analysis of this restlessness. Yet it cannot be explained as personal insecurity or sense of inadequacy. Rather, Juki seems to have a level of disrespect for the underground media culture in which he was successful, and frequently expressed his cynicism about it. His knowledge and awareness of the possibilities open to him have perhaps led him to have a level of cynicism towards his environment. In an article he wrote in *Kompas* newspaper, he commented flippantly on the nature of media subjectivity, describing himself as having the digits '1234' for a name, and having phone credit for a mother and electricity for a father (Marzuki 2007). He was the offspring of these things, and the "true source of life is electricity and phone-credit". This quotation reflects the depth of Juki's embrace of the cultural patterns of globalization, but also his critical awareness of it.

We do not encounter this restlessness in the other members, and in comparison with Juki, they are firmly rooted in places, loyalties and styles. Their senses of belonging were simpler and more clearly defined. They had lived in more or less the same neighbourhoods since their childhoods; Lukman had always lived in Kalasan (12 kilometers east of Yogyakarta), Anto in Sleman (13 kms north of Yogyakarta), Mamok in Code riverbank (inside the city),

and Balance inside the Kraton complex, until today. In comparison with Juki, they are 'not going anywhere'.

6.3.3 Locality

Juki who is now living in a village of Kokosan, where he spent his childhood, had moved many times within the city of Yogyakarta, and also had lived in foreign countries such as Paris and Berlin. As an itinerant, Juki was free from the burden to be 'loyal' to a locality. Unlike the other four members who submitted themselves to Javaneseness, Juki easily disconnected himself from it, and also from his connection with the Sultan.

There was a disjuncture between Juki's individuality and JHF locality. Anto dreamed of rapping in front of Sultan as his ultimate achievement, while Lukman endorsed hip hop with an attitude of Javaneseness (good conduct) as the marker of JHF Java Hip Hop authenticity. Indeed, Javaneseness was the fundamental trait of the Java Hip Hop. However, the itinerant Juki was always in motion, and was not 'tied' to the neighbourhood in the same way as his colleagues. Juki developed a problematic relationship with the song *Jogja Istimewa*. In retrospect, Juki was giving representation to his 'imagined' Yogyakarta through this song. He was probably never capable of becoming a resident of the 'real' Yogyakarta because he was always in a state of becoming, in the imagined past and future. Thus, when the 'real' Yogyakarta, the Sultan as the supreme embodiment, was incompatible with his 'imagined' Yogyakarta, he became disappointed. The other four would accept and understand this, for they were subjects of the real Yogyakarta. They are permanently rooted in the city, while Juki was an itinerant, a temporary visitor. The Javaneseness that once united them now broke them apart. The Javaneseness that had once been a formidable source of creativity and originality has by now now forced them to confront their limits.

By contrast, for Juki, opportunities were everywhere. Juki has for long had extensive networks at the national level. Dethu, a prominent figure in the success of *Superman is Dead*, in Bali, is his friend. In Jakarta, he would easily come and go to the office of KPK (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi*, Corruption Erradication Commission). His recent project with AADC 2 (*Ada Apa Dengan Cinta 2*, 'What is it with love? 2') confirms his close connection with the Jakarta-based film industry. He had used his Jakarta connections for JHF in the past, having brought JHF to Jakarta several times, such as for the *Newyokarto* concert, which

was a great success. The JHF's performances at the *Taman Ismail Mazurki* had been successful, as had collaborations with artists in Bandung. In his latest album *Kewer-Kewer*, produced by *Libertaria*, Juki worked together with Glenn Fredly, a national jazz vocalist. All these motivations and synergies are clear proof that Juki's commitment to his own Javaneseness was not at all a limiting factor in his career as a cultural producer.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

Even during the four year period of this research, Juki has made several significant changes in his artistic life, which have led him into different neighbourhoods. The most important of these was his decision to found a new group, in November 2015, *Libertaria*. Starting well before this research, his constant movement has enriched his experience, and enabled him to accumulate capital. He invested much of that in the growth and success of JHF, and emerged a bigger celebrity figure. However, the success brought about a number of incompatibilities between him and the *komunitas* which gradually led to the decline of JHF. Juki's individual development was not in accordance with the values of *komunitas* JHF. The other four members of JHF did not have the same experience as Juki had.

This enables a reflection on how far cultural producers in the form of *komunitas* are capable of travelling along the trajectory of career development in the age of the entertainment industry. JHF benefitted from Juki's singular drive, and his creative as well as marketing capabilities. But the resultant momentum could not be sustained because each individual was motivated to follow his own creative call, and to remain within the boundaries seemingly implied by that call. Juki has moved on with a new venture, *Libertaria*, Anto maintains his stationery business, Mamok is busy with his DPMD duo (with Alex), and Balance continues to create 5 beats in each week under his own name. Lukman is busy with his gadget shop. Balance told me that the five members of JHF could not come to an agreement upon a new project.[115] This would disturb their individual trajectories. The *komunitas* gave them a creative environment where they enjoyed a balance between support and freedom. This balance was only available in *komunitas*, a loose network with equality as the backbone. Juki brought an incompatible tension between 'itinerant' and 'local' to this network. As an itinerant, Juki had travelled across cultures and embraced cultural values from many different sources, local, national and global. His loyalty was not directed to one

---

[115] Interview March 2016.

single locality. Meanwhile, the other four members were content to stay true to their roots, to the sense of belonging they enjoyed, and to their Javaneseness.

There is an interesting irony in this, for rap and hip hop are such recent cultural presences in Yogyakarta. How quickly they acquired a degree of naturalness as cultural forms for residents of Yogyakarta! Balance has a rather striking occupation: he uses media technologies to 'make beats'. This is a core element of hip hop culture. But he does not live the artist way of life. Balance is among the most family-oriented of all JHF members. On a daily basis he takes his wife to work, teaches music to his children, and takes care of his pets at home. His routines do not include the modes of hip hop culture we saw in JHF such as 'protest' or 'social criticism'. Almost the same can be said of Anto, Lukman, and Mamok. According to Lukman,[116] hardly anybody in his neighbourhood knew him as a rapper. Aside from Juki, the other four members were merely 'common' people of Yogyakarta.

---

[116] interview with Lukman in his house, 8 March 2016.

7

JAVANESENESS

In Chapter Three I examined the cyclical journey of JHF. In its early stages, that examination involved discussing the difference between Javanese Hip Hop and Java Hip Hop. In short, Javanese Hip Hop, which started around 1996, is all Hip Hop music which draws on Javanese cultural elements. Java Hip Hop is the branded product of JHF. This distinction is important for understanding the JHF journey, for the height of the success experienced by JHF was characterized by their version of remixed Javaneseness.

This chapter makes a closer analysis of the Javaneseness performed by JHF, and is divided into four parts; a background to the use of vernacular languages in Indonesian underground music, the making of Javaneseness over time through *komunitas* activity, the forms of JHF Javaneseness, and lastly the content. This discussion does not make comprehensive coverage of the importance of Javaneseness for JHF, for it does not go into the political element. That element is dealt with later in a discrete chapter (Chapter Eight). What follows here draws on the secondary literature as well as information obtained through my own fieldwork (interviews and participatory observation).

7.1 Javanese Values and Regional Vernaculars In Underground Music

Fragmentation, overlap, and levelling are key features of the Javaneseness expressed in Java Hip Hop. Fragmentation means that Java Hip Hop presents quotes of Javaneseness. Overlap results when those quotes are remixed with other quotes overlappingly, whether this be achieved in overlaps of form (audio versus text versus visual) or content (traditional values in modern packages). Levelling happens when quotations which might have been marked as having contrasting 'status' before they were remixed come to be levelled in status as a result of the remixing in one product.

In this subsection I shall present the idea of Javaneseness as stated by JHF's most senior members, Anto and Lukman, as discussed with me during the fieldworks. This is only part among those fragmented parts of Javaneseness. Other values are stated indirectly through the Java Hip Hop, and I turn to those in the sub-sections to follow.

Definitions of being Javanese often include a submission to social values or politeness and acceptable behaviour. To be a 'true Javanese' someone must acquire and practice a 'distinctive set of duties', otherwise a person could be categorized as '*durung Jawa*' (not yet Javanese) (Kumar 2006: 24). Lukman said to me in interviews that JHF will always maintain its Javaneseness by following and promoting the rules of conduct concerning personal behaviour and decorum.[117] The same opinion was stated by Anto.[118] When asked what defined a Javanese he answered 'the *unggah-ungguh*' (following social decorum). Javanese social behaviour emphasises this submission: a small child who behaves badly will be forgiven because he/she is too young and considered as '*durung Jawa*'. When the same category is applied to an adult it will have a pejorative meaning. I myself often experience conversations about this with friends in everyday life '*cara Jawane kepiye*?' (How do we do this in the Javanese way?). We ask such questions about almost anything 'alien' that needs to be familiarised for a Javanese person, such as paraphrasing new words and explaining ways of doing things. A non-Javanese who behaves well and acceptably will be called '*wis Jawa*' (He/she has already embraced Javaneseness).

There is a substantial literature that connects Javanese identity with obligations for personal deportment. Kumar discusses a book written by Yasadipura, the *Sana Sunu* to describe the set of duties of several classes in Javanese society (ibid). Two other books written by Javanese leaders regarding duties or behaviour are *Wulang Reh* (the Guidance of the Ways),[119] with its the famous quotation '*ngelmu iku kalakone kanti laku*' (to learn is to do) and *Tripama* (Three exemplars),[120] about three important figures who dedicated their lives to their Javanese patriotism (Robson 1999).

This obligation to submit to decorum is one of the core components of Javaneseness that I employ in this thesis. Javaneseness refers to rules of behaviour to be followed by a Javanese and the ways in which these rules are to be implemented. This is the basis, I argue later, on which the JHF understood its own Javanesness.

The other component of Javaneseness is of course language. Discussing Javaneseness in JHF means discussing about locality as elements of global hip hop stories. The power of locality in the midst of globalization has been widely acknowledged. In short it invites a

---

[117] Interview with Lukman, 8 March 2016
[118] Interview with Anto, 6 June 2014.
[119] *Wulang Reh* was written by Paku Buwana IV, republished by Dahara Prize, Semarang in 1989.
[120] *Tripama* was written by Mangkunegara IV. Stuart Robson has discussed this didactic poem.

deeper view of the processes and results of the encounters between global and local forces, in which some elements of locality survive and become influential. The spread of global music, for example, does not necessarily wipe local music out. In many localities, global cultural forms do not wipe out older ones but enable their regeneration in new local forms. Tony Mitchell has proposed that hip hop now has become *the* medium to revitalize locality, with the result that hip hop culture must be recognised as having centres outside of the U.S.A. (Mitchell 2001: 1,2). Yet the process by which rap music merged with local forms has been a gradual one. At first rap music was appropriated and mimicked, but eventually in "most countries where rap has taken root, hip-hop scenes have rapidly developed from an adoption to an adaptation of U.S. musical forms and idioms which involved an increasing syncretism and incorporation of local linguistic and musical features" (ibid :11).[121] Androutsopoulos define appropriation as 'the productive use of an originally imported cultural pattern'; in the case of rap music it 'starts when rap fans not only listen' but 'start performing' (463). He continued that 'rapping in native speech is the starting point for the genre's reterritorialization and the strategies of appropriation cover five aspects of rap discourse: the graphic design of rap CDs, the use of sound samples, song topics, the use of vernacular speech, and the rhyme properties of "native" rap' (ibid : 469).

Hip hop has a special character that makes the employment of local language and cultural elements possible. One of the reasons is its innate flexibility in being used in 'more restrictive features of everyday life in globally diffuse social settings' and in fact, rap has been 'reworked in ways that reflect and engage with local issues' (Bennett 2001: 89, 102). This process can also be called *cultural reterritorialization* (Lull 2000). In this way, hip hop has been contextualized within Yogyakarta situations and given new meanings. In summary, hip hop is an inherently flexible vehicle for the localisation of its musical forms. One way in which this happens is through the use of vernacular as mentioned above by Mitchell.

Early accounts of the use of vernacular in Indonesian underground music showed somewhat a different conclusion. In 2003 Jeremy Wallach had concluded that local languages were used as everyday vernaculars in 'the everyday social life of underground fans' in Indonesian cities such as Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. However, Wallach observed that they were 'generally not used for underground song lyrics'. Local dialects were considered as

---

[121] The whole thesis is actually about this 'gradual' process. Moreover, in the case of *komunitas* JHF, the process posed an almost full cycle. This chapter is more a cross-sectional study to portray the exploitation of Javaneseness at its maximum point.

having disadvantages such as 'their provincialism and their association with "backward" village life' (Wallach 2003: 65). Wallach provided more reasons to account for Indonesians' avoidance of local languages in underground music:

"More refined registers of regional languages are also inappropriate for rock song lyrics as they are strongly associated with elders and traditional culture, neither of which is very compatible with modern, youth-oriented music. The florid language of Javanese court culture, for example, is inextricably associated with gamelan and other traditional genres and would be unlikely candidate indeed for the language of a punk song. Additionally, regional languages of any register are often considered inseparable from regional musical traditions. A final disadvantage of regional languages as an option for underground music lyrics is that the underground community in Indonesia is self-consciously national in scope". (ibid)

Wallach then concluded that 'the Indonesian underground seems quite a long way off from achieving any kind of synthesis between "Indonesian" and "Western" music'(ibid : 80). That was published in 2003, at the same time as the founding of JHF. I argue that the practice of JHF has conflicted with Wallach on a number of points. In particular, some of the deficiencies identified by Wallach in fact appear in JHF practice as things that make the Javanese language highly suitable, as follows:

	Weakness of local language according to Wallach	JHF practice
1	Provincial, not national	Javanese language empowers opposition to Jakarta, and praises Yogyakarta as centre
2	Backward, village, not urban	Juki explicitly take pride in claiming himself as an agricultural boy/village boy
3	Too gross: too obscene, inappropriate	JHF use some 'obscene words' but also employ Yogyakarta 'slang system', which give definition to the Javanese identity
4	The refined: too florid, too old inappropriate for young	JHF use high Javanese language in one of their song 'Kulonuwun', and it is widely accepted.
5	Belong to traditional music, unfit for 'modern music'	Rap enables synergises between Javanese registers to be taken advantage of (e.g. verse forms of traditional literature).

Table 7.1. Wallach's account as compared to JHF practice

Clearly, JHF practice shows a different course of historical development than the one suggested in Wallach's description. In the following I elaborate those developments.

7.2 The Making: Javaneseness Remixed

For years, Anto Gantas had been dreaming of rapping in front of his King, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. Beause of his membership of Rotra/Ki Jarot/JHF, his dream eventually came true. He was also given the chance to rap in Javanese language in foreign countries (Nismara 2014: 28). As a result, together with other members of JHF, he had been awarded 'Anugrah Duta Nagari'[122] as the cultural ambassador of Yogyakarta 'kingdom'. Such is the achievement of the first self-consciously Javanese rapper.

The award is a form of cultural capital symbolizing not only Anto's accomplishment but also JHF's. More abstractly but no less importantly, the award was a sign that the idea of Javaneseness as expressed by JHF was well received by the Sultan because it articulated shared ideas about Javaneseness. It was a sign of approval. Gaining the award had not been an easy task. It needed many different skills, patience, willingness to take a risk, and hard work. It had involved significant exertion.

First, JHF had to track down some essentials of Javaneseness in literary books, local wisdom, daily activities, and speeches (see Section 7.2 below for more details). The JHF then had to successfully extract, rework, recreate, and present them in the form of hip hop music. These activities point to the remix ethic that was at the heart of the JHF creative project. It quoted from many different sources to produce a remixed Javaneseness. The process of remix can be viewed from two scales: small scale (members of JHF) and big scale (*komunitas* JHF).

On the smaller scale, Anto, Balance, and Juki (without undermining the roles of Lukman and Mamox) are the most significant actors in the process of taking samples from many different sources. The following table summarises the remix done by members of JHF.

---

[122] The Anugrah Duta Nagari (Ambassador of the Kingdom Award) is awarded by the King of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono to persons who have made an outstanding contribution to the Yogyakarta people and Kingdom in general. The word 'nagari' is a Javanese term which may be translated as 'state', 'country, or 'nation' but in the case of Yogyakarta the closest association is 'kingdom'.

	Technique	Sources and significance
Anto	from double deck recorder to computer sampling	• Mostly US hip hop music • For more than 20 years has produced more than 2000 beats, free to be used by JHF members
Balance	Computer sampling	• Mostly US hip hop music, but also samples from Javanese traditional instruments and events (Gerebeg) • Has a formal education in computer applications • Lives inside the wall of Kraton, and heavily exposed to Kraton and traditional music, likes to sample (quote) from traditional music instrument sounds and events
Juki	Computer sampling	• Texts, and visuals • A cultural traveller or itinerant • His wide reading and network connections opened up ways of adding new layers of 'sampling', textually (including old Javanese Literature such as Centhini) and visually

Table : Summary of the actors and sources of JHF remix

During the writing of this thesis (2013-1017, most production processes were conducted in the JHF studio. Sultan Hamengku Buwono X has lent parts of the Situs Kriya building in the ex-ISI complex to be used as the JHF office. In day to day activities, one or two members would come to the studio. They would experiment with stored beats, or try to create ones. In between, they would listen to the stored beats and try to re-mix them. The purpose of this activity is to gain an atmosphere or a feeling or a mood in which a set of lyrics could be written. Say for example after listening to one beat again and again, they might fall into a mood of 'protest'. If they have felt the mood but the mood was not strong enough, they might create additions to strengthen the mood. Then they would write some set of words in accordance with the beat. It could take about 3 days to finish one song.

Inside the studio JHF has adequate production tools such as computer, mixers, microphone, head set, amplifiers, and so on. There are no musical instruments at all. All sounds are processed using computer software. Most were taken from the internet, some were sampled or recorded from live music productions, especially the samples of unique Javanese sounds. All of those sounds and thousands of beats are stored inside the database. These are the result of years of hard work. Yet the number of the beats keeps growing because the activity of digital remixing means having the limitless possibility of reproducing.

In the beginning, remixing was not as easy as today. In the 1990s, it was still done manually, yet for some aspiring artists like Anto, it was still much more affordable than learning and

creating music using the 'real' instruments. Moreover, it was a new way of music-making providing a challenge as well as an opportunity.

As a pioneer in creating hip hop music in Jogja, Anto and his friends used double-deck cassette players. He put his 'master cassette' in one deck and a blank cassette for recording in the other. He described the 'looping' technique used in the recording, when he took the 'non vocal' parts of a song and repeated them over and over again. This was a very basic way of creating. It was a delicate job, especially where timing was concerned.

On joining Geronimo, he learned 'computerized' music making. As one of the members of the Geronimo rap crews, he had access to the Geronimo music programs, and, most importantly, to the production section. It was in this moment that he witnessed a Geronimo radio crew producing music using a computer program. At that time, floppy discs were used for file storage. That was in the mid-1990s.

Computer in 1995s were still very limited, including storage capacity. Anto found it hard to maintain some of his precious early works because of storage problems. Early floppy disk capacity was less than one megabyte. As a comparison, nowadays, one song usually has dimensions size between $2 - 5$ MB. No single disk at that time could store one video clip. Today, in 2014, 8 Gigabyte thumb disks are common, able to store more than 1.000 videos. After losing many of his earlier works, Anto learnt to store his beats well. He had produced more than 2000 beats, but at the time of my research had only 1200 beats in his database. This is a huge resource for the Jogja Hip Hop Foundation.

Balance came on the scene later than Anto, and was already quite familiar with computing when he enrolled himself in a computer academy in Yogyakarta. This computer skill would gradually complement his musical talent. However, at first Balance knew 'nothing' about computer mixing, yet when his friend Sukri introduced him to the Fruity Loops 2 software in early 2000s. He often had to sleep over at his friend's house in order to learn the program. His persistence has made him one of the most skilled and productive 'composers'.

Balance has only recently convinced himself that he would make music making his profession. This conviction has enabled him to produce five beats each week on average; that is one beat for one working day. If Anto Gantaz has produced more than 2000 beats and is now slowing down his productivity, Balance is enjoying a very productive period.

Apart from their contrasting workrates, the musical tastes of Anto and Balance are also different. In Anto's case, of those more than 2000 beats, all of them are 'hip hop' music. On the other hand Balance is willing to deal with 'any kind' of music. Many of his compositions are made to order; such as for advertisements, for new and aspiring music groups, or for individual purposes. The 'genre' would depend on the persons ordering the compositions. Historically, Anto and Balance are also different; from the beginning, Anto has always been a hip hop rapper, but Balance had created punk, grunge, as well as hip hop music.

Balance's musical taste is not only contemporary but also traditional. This could be caused by the fact that Balance is the only JHF member to have spent his life mostly inside the Kraton wall. He was born, grew up and lives inside the Kraton complex. He is very familiar with the traditional music of Kraton. He makes samples out of traditional instrumental 'sounds' and manipulates them the way he likes.

Generally speaking it can be said that Anto and Balance play the role of beatmakers in the JHF remiz. Initially, before joining JHF, Anto and Balance created Javanese Hip Hop as described previously. In the earlier Javanese Hip Hop, most of the lyrics accompanying Anto's and Balance's beats were not remixes, but were original compositions, not 'quotations': e.g. *Tumini, Jogo Parkiran,* and *Menek Jambe.* However, when it comes to the Java Hip Hop, the mixing has strongly characterized not only the beat, but also the lyrics and the visual aspects of live work, as can be seen in their performances.

This elevation was made possible because of Juki's contribution. We could characterise the creative process as Juki 'reading' Javanese 'texts' while Balance 'listens' to traditional musical instruments. Juki reads extensively, especially Javanese literature. He is also keen on following the latest issues, both local and national. He always recorded major events so that he could revisit and rework the records any time in the future, adding a formidable strenght to the visualization of Javaneseness. This elevation brought the remix done by JHF into a wider sphere in which the work of remix was carried out by the JHF *komunitas*, and as such, was not only the work of the five core members of the JHF group. It was the result of the work of many people from many different occupations, which is of course in harmony with the essence of the social form described as *komunitas*.

It was a collective endeavour energised by the shared imagination connecting the members. Each 'member' contributed in unique ways according to their own backgrounds and, most importantly, to their relation with Juki. In the following paragraphs I shall describe some of

the important parties who contributed to the formation of the Javaneseness in JHF. Those include a poet who produced texts that would become JHF songs, a puppeteer who helped JHF in experiencing wayang and gamelan, Javanese singers who provide skills in performing Javanese traditional songs, and some other artists such as comedians and musicians. Some institutions also need to be introduced. Besides those musical resources, visual effects and non-musical sounds also feature in the JHF remix.

One of the most important contributors to JHF Javaneseness is Sindhunata, a Catholic priest, a poet, the chief editor of *Basis*[123] magazine, and a prominent intellectual. He had provided a remarkable resource for the Yogyakarta hip hop community. His poems were adopted as hip hop songs, many of them in the Javanese language. Their collaboration is immortalized in the JHF production entitled *The Book of Sindhunata: 2006-2013* and the album '*Semar Mesem Romo Mendem*" (Smiling Semar, Drunken Priest).

JHF communicated with Sindhunata when they were looking for poems to be sung at the Poetry Battle event in 2007. In that event Jahanam took Sindhunata's *Cintaku Sepahit Topi Miring* (My Love is as Bitter as *Topi Miring* (this last term is a brand of cheap alcoholic drink) and Rotra took *Ngelmu Pring* (Bamboo Wisdom). Soon many more poems were reworked to become part of the JHF discography.

Sindhunata wrote in *The Book of Sindhunata* that his poems had been 'undone', 'broken into pieces', 'reworked', and adjusted to suit the hip hop genre. As an author he had been 'killed' by JHF, and he was grateful and happy with the 'killing'. For him, this killing is a liberation of him as an author, severing any connection he might have had with the poems, and in this way it became easy for him to give full freedom for *komunitas* JHF 'users' to do whatever JHF wanted to do with the poems. Sindhunata's poems were just one layer to be remixed by JHF.

In terms of *Wayang*[124] experience, JHF called on Catur Benyek, an old friend of Juki. As a *dalang* (puppeteer), he is accustomed to delivering narrative in a style not dissimilar to rap.[125] During JHF shows, he employs sonic, visual, and language elements of Javaneseness.

---

[123] *Basis* magazine styles itself as a popular cultural magazine. It has been published in Yogyakarta since 1951.
[124] Wayang is the Shadow Puppet theatre. Traditionally, the puppets are made of leather, and the stories are taken from the epoch of the Ramayana and Mahabarata. See for example Keeler (1992) and Mrázek (2005). However, Catur Benyek's specialisation is to make the Wayang a contemporary art form. Now he is a prominent figure in Wayang Hip Hop, another 'branch' of the fusion between hip hop and Javanese culture
[125] Juki and Inandiak often compare hip hop rap with the narrating style used by Javanese puppeteers to tell their stories on stage.

He raps, tells stories, interacts with the musicians (gamelan players) and performs puppetry on stage. The collaboration between him and Juli has been documented by Varela (2014). The wayang element of JHF *komunitas* enabled the group to access the vast resources of Javanese spirituality, for *Wayang* exemplifies 'awareness of the complex relationship of human existence, Javanese ethics, morality, and philosophy' which in turn 'promote human dignity and legitimized a profound sense of tolerance (Lockard 1998: 57).

Another example of how a range of contributors joined in the task of making JHF's Javaneseness is the relationship between JHF and the Indonesian French Institute in Yogyakarta. As described earlier, Juki met Elizabeth Inandiak at the institute. She was a scholar of Javanese, and of the *Serat Centhini* in particular. In performances of the work, she took the role of lector. *Serat Centhini* was published by King Sunan Paku Buwono V of Solo in the early 19th century. It consists of 12 volumes and reaches 4.200 folio pages. It consists of 722 cantos containing 30.837 stanzas written in Javanese verse. It is accurately described as a Javanese encyclopaedia because it contains almost everything from cooking recipes, marriage custom, weapons knowledge, to philosophy. The main plot is the journey of the main character, Syeh Amongrogo, to reach a 'life of perfection', meaning a transcendental way of life. A more mundane character, but quite important, is Cebolang. Prior to marrying, he undertakes a journey to reach adulthood, in the process of which he encounters and experiences the 'true life' of an adult. As explained, Juki took Cebolang as his stage name, and JHF adapted two songs, *Asmaradana* and *Sinom* into its repertoire. Cebolang may not have been as wise or spiritual as Syeh Amongrogo, but at least he possessed a strong spirit of inquiry. His quest enabled him to escape from the comfortable zone of the Pesantren, and leads him to the 'jungle' of real life. Inandiak advised Juki in the selection of scenes from the work.

In some shows Juki combined rapping and singing Javanese songs, for which he needed assistance from trained singers. In Poetry Battle 1 (2007), Juki re-arranged *Sinom* 231 from the Book of *Centhini* to be sung with Silir Pujiwati. Another Javanese traditional singer working with JHF was Soimah Pancawati, a graduate from ISI (*Institute Seni Indonesia*; Indonesian Art Institute) who was at that time working as a practicing *Sinden* (a Javanese traditional singer accompanying a puppeteer during a wayang performance). JHF 'recruited' her as *Sinden* to sing Javanese songs, especially those taken from *Centhini*.

Important speeches and statements concerning Javanese distinctiveness are also utilized by JHF. This constitutes obvious examples of 'quoting', even literally, in which those speeches and statement were 'quoted' and then remix with other quotes. An example is a famous declaration of loyalty made by Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX. Although he was educated in Dutch in the Netherlands, he remained a Javanese and expressed his desire to ensure that his throne would always be dedicated to his people. The declaration was translated by Monfries as: "I have an extensive Western upbringing, yet I am and remain above all a Javanese" (Monfries 2015: 80). These words were quoted in *Jogja Istimewa*. Another example is *Song of Sabdatama*, a verbatim restatement of the declaration of Sultan Hamengku Buwono from 2012 called *Sabdatama*.

Other artists contributing to JHF's performance of Javaneseness were for example the Javanese comedians Den Baguse Ngarso, Gareng Rakasiwi, and Juned, along with a number of dancers. Not all contributors were experts in traditional forms: in some events, JHF even invited painters and graffiti artists to participate. Institutions also played roles in the journey of JHF, such as *Kua Etnika (*a music group led by Djaduk Ferianto), the Indonesian France Institute, which collaborated with JHF to old Poetry Battles 1 and 2, and the Geronimo Radio Station. All in all, the success of JHF was a product of a wide range of significant contributors.

To conclude, the Javaneseness of the JHF was the product of a remix carried out by a *komunitas*. It was an enterprise of quoting or sampling from many different sources, conducted by many people who contributed according to their skills. Yogyakarta was home to institutions and individuals who helped JHF conceive, initiate, develop, and maintain Javanese Hip Hop. These had provided the vehicle for JHF to revisit, rework, revitalize, and perform Javaneseness through a recontextualisation and appropriation of hip hop.

7.3 The Forms

In this section I would like to describe and analyse some of the forms used by JHF to deliver Javaneseness using the medium of hip hop music. These forms included musical and visual signs as well as linguistic and textual elements. Many of the forms were quoted or partly taken from other sources and then remixed. Lukman and Chandra[126] referred to this as a

---

[126] Interview with Lukman 8 March 2016 and Chandra 10 March 2016.

paket pertunjukan (performance package) which made JHF a distinct performer of Java Hip Hop. By combining those three elements, JHF was unmistakably 'Javanese'.

These robust and impressive forms were the result of two main factors: there had been an existing 'tradition' of Java Hip Hop since 1996 that derived its themes from daily life. The Java Hip Hop sensibility was oriented to the everyday, and this was continued by JHF. The second was the agency of Juki in mobilising the *komunitas* and to escalate the tradition by connecting them to deeper layers of wisdom and politics. By doing so, the JHF went beyond the everyday and the meaning of its forms became more complex and multi-layered. They represent things from Javanese traditions in forms that required people to have other knowledges, more specialised than the everyday, to comprehend them.

7.3.1 Language

In its early history, Javanese Hip Hop was identified by artists' use of Javanese language. In its one and only album *Merangkak* (Crawl), launched in 1996, G-Tribe used Javanese language in most of the songs, although the music was almost totally hip hop. This was of course to some degree a matter of practicality. One's vernacular has the attraction of comfort and familiarity. The JHF members grew up using this language as their mother tongue, and it is the language that 'fits' in their mouths.

Nevertheless, language is not merely a neutral medium for communication, it is also part of culture. Language manifests in genres and ways of speaking that are known and hold authority in a particular society. Javanese has specific potentials for rappers through the conventions of language use that Javanese are familiar with. In the documentary movie *Hiphopdiningrat*[127] Elizabeth Inandiak compared her impression of the similarity of the performances of Javanese puppeteers and the rappers verbalising hop lyrics. She explained that Javanese literature was basically 'sound-written' pieces of art. Traditional literature was written in the form of *tembang*, meaning stanzas that were to be sung or chanted to specific melodies. Landung Simatupang, a prominent poet from Yogyakarta, expressed his agreement in the documentary. For Landung, this was evidence that literature and 'music' (especially singing) had been close to each other in Javanese tradition. For this reason,

---

[127] JHF has *Hiphopdiningrat* both as its official webpage and as the title of its documentary movie (2010).

Javanese culture can be said to provide models for hip hop adaptation: 'the lines and limits between rap and poetry are likewise fluid and open' (Price-Styles 2015: 11).

Indirectness is another Javanese cultural trait that has its manifestation in language conventions. This indirectness is important for maintaining the principle of *unggah-ungguh* meaning politeness. It discourages Javanese from engaging in direct and frontal conflicts, and can make it seem as if Javanese people like to avoid telling the 'truth'. For Lukman, this politeness is the authentic marker of Javaneseness. In his group Rotra, this ethic was something that was always maintained.[128]

To show indirectness, JHF employed a relatively new form; the slang system known as *walikan.* This is called new because it emerged only in the last three or four decades. It has a specific relationship with the Javanese alphabet, or more accurately, with the tabular representation of the alphabet, as is illustrated in the diagram below. The alphabet consists of 20 letters, arranged in a table starting from ha in the top left corner of the table, and finishing with nga in the bottom right corner. The system works by replacing letters with letters from elsewhere in the table. There is a fixed system behind these replacements. The arrows show the way the letters are exchanged by coordinates to form words in the *walikan* system. Take for example the word 'Rotra', which signifies 'Yogya' in *walikan*. Rotra consists of the characters ra-ta-ra. Those are in the coordinates of 1-4, 2-2, 1-4. The initial ra (1-4) must be replaced by 3-4 (ya) and so on. After all three have been replaced, giving the coordinates of 3-4, 4-2, 3-4, the word ya-ga-ya is formed. When vowel sounds are added, Rotra is the equivalent of Yogya. Another example is the word *Pabu*, from the song *Jagal Pabu*, *Jagal* means butcher. *Pa-bu* are in the coordinates of 3-1 and 4-3, thus they correspond to the coordinates of 1-1 and 2-3 that is ha-su (pronounced *asu* means dog). Thus, *Jagal Pabu* means 'Dog Butcher'. From the song 'Watch Out Dab", Dab is from da-ba in the coordinates of 2-1 and 4-3 which correspond to the coordinates of 4-1 and 2-3 or ma-sa (pronounced Mas). 'Mas' is a popular way to address a male counterpart with respect, warmth, and intimacy. English equivalents for 'mas' are mate, buddy, guy, or brother. "Watch Out Dab" may be freely translated as "Watch Out, Mate". The song itself is about a notorious boy who likes to create troubles. Thus, "Watch Out, Dab" may mean that "Hey mate, watch out, [don't do as he does]."

---

[128] Interview with Lukman, 8 March 2016.

Line	1	2	3	4	5
1	ꦲ ha	ꦤ na	ꦕ ca	ꦫ ra	ꦏ ka
2	ꦢ da	ꦠ ta	ꦱ sa	ꦮ wa	ꦭ la
3	ꦥ pa	ꦝ dha	ꦗ ja	ꦪ ya	ꦚ nya
4	ꦩ ma	ꦒ ga	ꦧ ba	ꦛ tha	ꦔ nga

Figure 7.1: Javanese characters and the system of replacements that create words in Yogyakarta slang.[129]

This *Basa Walikan* is used in many different instances in JHF's music, such as in the name of the group (Rotra), titles of the songs, and in lyrics also. The title of songs using slang are '*Jagal Pabu'* (Dog Butcher), "Watch Out, *Dab'* (Watch Out, Mate), and '*Gangsta Gapi*' (*Ga-pi = ta-hi* or human faeces). In the lyric of "Watch Out Dab" the word *saciladh* appears, meaning *bajingan* or bastard. Words such as 'dog', 'poo', and 'bastard' are considered offensive in Javanese, and it is near impossible to use them with propriety in front of other people. Those words create offense, but the slang system avoids this problem. By using the slang system, the obscenity is contained, the content is expressed, and the message is delivered although only for a limited circle of recipients. Nicholas Jackson and Rahmat (2013) wrote that there were two views with regards to the origin of *Basa Walikan*. One view suggested that *Basa Walikan* started in 1940s as an underground communication tool for Javanese nationalists. The other view saw the 1970s and 1980s as the start of *Bahasa Walikan* "to serve as a means of secret communication among local criminals" (Jackson and Rahmat 2013: 143). Despite this uncertainty, it is clear that this language is less than a century old. It is more or less a 'modern' phenomena. The use of one or two *Basa Walikan* words in Javanese or Indonesian moves the register to *basa Walikan* and creates a sense of sameness and belonging for speakers (Jackson and Rahmat 2013:147).

This sense of belonging is an indication of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. On one hand, it creates bonds among group members. Yet this also means excluding those who cannot speak *Basa Walikan*. Group members can speak freely and express their aspirations without the need to fear that their messages will be understood by outsiders. The *Basa*

---

[129] Adapted from Frisa Pangestiko (2014).

Walikan provides a sheltered environment for speaking freely, but only on condition that the speaker follows the reversal rules.

However, 'obscene' words are not always concealed in the work of the JHF. The JHF presents, at times, a rough and coarse exterior. In 2003, Jahanam launched its first album *Jahanam Su!* (literaly means Hell, Dog!). The songs include offensive words such as '*Prek Su*' meaning 'I don't care about you, dog'. To Javanese ears, the sound of these words in a musical work can be offensive or gross. Other 'obscene' words are *peli* and *turuk* in the song '*Rep Kedhep*'. These words mean phalus and vagina respectively. In that song, the vulgarity was wrapped in a context of mantra.

Another dimension of Javanese culture/language that has been exploited by JHF is the speech levels through which the language is divided into low and high registers. Putting it simply, high Javanese is spoken to interlocutors who are older or higher in prestige, while low Javanese is used with interlocutors who are equal in status or younger than the speaker. Javanese language contains two major registers; high and low, or *kromo* and *ngoko*. The Rotra song '*Kulonuwun*', released in 2007, contains more than six stanzas of high Javanese together with some stanzas in the lower register. This is significant, for rap is so strongly associated with anti-hierarchical expressions and subject positions. This is an embodiment of the levelling created through remix. The song succeeds because it presents the *kromo* passage as a refined form of self-identification, and then contrasts that with a coarse message threatening those who are inclined to not accept it. It is part of a challenge of identity that is common in hip hop.

Another important language phenomenon exploited by JHF is the pun or word play, known in Javanese as '*plesetan*'.[130] One t-shirt, produced for a concert, was inscribed with *Newyorkarto*, which is a play on the word Yogyakarta, re-inscribing it with the origins of

---

[130] *Plesetan* is from the word *mleset* meaning to miss the target or slip. Basically *plesetan* is just like pun in English, consisting of "deliberate punning and word games, in which humorous effects are achieved by interchanging words and their meanings on the basis of sound association (Jurriens 2004:154). See also Hatley's section on *Ketoprak Plesetan* (Hatley 2008). *Plesetan* frequently amount to more than mere punning because the shifts in meanings signify also re-orderings of and commentaries about greater political structures invoked in the particular discourse concerned (social orders, authority structures, tradition etc). In Yogyakarta, *plesetan* has developed into an important part of Yogyakarta culture both in daily life and in performance.

hip hop in New York.[131] Another example is *Parkinsound* (a hip hop event) which sounds like 'parkinson', the name of a disease.[132]

In closing this section, I reflect on the nexus between hip hop music and resistance. In some ways, the appropriation of rap into Javanese genres confirms associations between rap and resistance. Tony Mitchell stated that 'the assertion of the local hip hop cultures outside the US also represents a form of contestation of the importance of the local and regional dialect as a "resistance vernacular" in opposition to a perceived U.S. cultural imperialism in rap and hip hop' (Mitchell 2001:1,2). From this perspective, JHF's cultural project can be seen as 'an act of cultural resistance and preservation of ethnic autonomy' because it 'overrides any global or commercial concerns' (ibid: 16). Mitchell would include Javanese Hip Hop amongst his examples of resistance, in accordance with his observation that using vernaculars expresses resistance against 'not only major Anglophone rules of intelligibility but also those of other "standard" languages such as French and Italian' (ibid: 3,4). This is important for analysing the JHF, for it expressed resistance against two layers of 'domination', Indonesian and global. This resistance is indeed a risky undertaking, for it challenges the logics of big capital and the imperative of addressing the largest possible market. Definitely, it is an anti-mainstream enterprise, deliberately assuming the risk of being ignored by other groups of people who do not understand the forms. On the other hand, it succeeds through negotiating a space for cultural production.

Wallach might have overlooked the complexity of this. In Wallach's observation (2003), Indonesia's indie musicians had not considered local language or *Bahasa Daerah* as fit for underground music. Yet the JHF has proven that Javanese language and literature provide many linguistic and cultural properties to be 'exploited' for hip hop music. Thus, 'resistance vernacular' is evident in JHF hip hop. Yet there is an irony to this. By means of the expression of this resistance, regional power structures of a conservative nature, in this case the kraton of Yogyakarta, are bolstered as symbols of resistance against those two levels (Indonesian and global). Wallach might have overlooked this because not every region is

---

[131] Newyokarto is from the word New York and Ngayogyokarta. A Javanese often pronounces the written 'a' as 'o' such as 'teka' is pronounced 'teko' (meaning to come or arrive) or 'pada' is pronounced 'podo' (meaning the same). In 2012, after coming back from New York, JHF produced a musical drama called *Newyorkarto*.

[132] Ricther notes: "ParkindSound combined the following meanings: 'park in sound', an abstract garden in the din of voices/sounds; 'parking sound', and place where all sounds can park" and a medical nervous system breakdown". (Richter 2008: 176).

under the influence of traditional rule in the way Yogyakarta is. The resistance expressed by JHF is perhaps specific to Yogyakarta.

7.3.2 Sound

JHF has explored and adopted Javanese traditional musical sounds for its music. Javanese instruments such as the small gong and kraton flute are sampled into their soundtracks and then remixed. These appropriations are largely the product of the enthusiasm of Balance Perdana Putra, through whose work the musical sounds of Javanese tradition can be heard in many JHF songs such as *Jogja Istimewa* and *Sabdatama*. The first of these commences and ends with the sounds of marching snare drum. A flute melody repeats through the song. The drum and flute are combined with the small gong, which sounds at intervals between them. With these three instruments, the song projetcs a spirit of purpose and determination, adding urgency to the message being conveyed (i.e. promoting the specialness of Yogyakarta).

These sounds are highly recognisable for Yogyakartans. In my discussion with one long time Yogyakarta resident, otherwise unconnected with this research, Muhammad Machin[133] said that the sounds of the drum and the flute in *Jogja Istimewa* reminded him of the *Kraton*'s troop parade. His daughter felt the same. The sounds had been in their memories for a long time, and formed a shared memory because of their experiences together enjoying the parades held in the city of Yogyakarta. As soon as they heard the sounds, they immediately recalled their experiences watching the parades. For many Yogyakartans, the sounds of the snare drum, flutes and gong would summon similar memories. In this way, the song stimulated an act of memory that reinforces the connection between the people and their *Kraton*. In conversation with me, Balance claimed that this was the precise effect he had been seeking.[134]

The use of traditional Javanese sounds to express a spirit of determination can also be heard in the *Song of Sabdatama*. In this song, the *kenong* and *flute* are maximally exploited. The marching snare drum is replaced with a bass drum, which contributes to creating a similar sense of resolve around the basic message that Yogyakarta is 'homeland' for its residents.

---

[133] Interview with Machin, 8 May 2014.
[134] Interview with Balance, 13 June 2014.

Picture 7.2. The soldiers of the *Ketanggungan* (*Ketanggungan* Brigade) marching to the rhythm of a snare drum and the melodies of flutes. The marcher in the second row carries a *bende* (gong), indicated by the arrow (photo by Aan Prihandaya 2012).[135]

The introduction of '*Cintaku Sepahit Topi Miring'* (My Love is as Bitter as *Topi Miring*), features the distinctive voice of a *dhalang* (puppeteer). This gives the impression to Javanese listeners that they are about to hear a story, for that is after all what a *dhalang* does. Indeed, this song does narrate a story about Ranto Gudel, a figure who likes to get drunk. In the hangover period following his drunken episodes, he meets different kinds of 'people'.[136] The JHF mobilised conventions with which Yogya listeners are very aware.

JHF also used the *slompret* during the *Newyorkarto* performance. This reed instrument is similar to a clarinet. *Slompret* is a wind instrument usually used in *Reog* Performance, a traditional dance based on local legend, from Ponorogo East Java.

---

[135] https://aanprihandaya.com/2012/09/05/prajurit-kraton-yogyakarta-1/, with an email of permission.

[136] 'Different people' includes different 'kinds' of women such as 'Dewi mlenuk', Nyai Dasima, and 'lady ghost'. The male characters are symbolized Petruk, Gareng, and Semar (all are wayang characters). All in all, those different encounters reflect different stages of life.

Balance is highly skilful in appropriating traditional Javanese sounds into hip hop music to be remixed. Unlike the other four members, Balance was born and grew up in the *Kraton* complex, where he had almost maximum exposure to such sounds.[137] He recollected that during his childhood he listened to the sounds described above almost daily, and did not even need to leave his house to do so.

7.3.3 Visual

Visual elements were critical to making the Java Hip Hop brand and contributed to the success of JHF, forming a conceptual package that gave strength to the brand. This was the field in which Juki dominated. Juki's expertise in graphic arts enabled him to produce distinctive JHF graphics such as its flag (or logo) and merchandise (t-shirts, caps, cd/dvd, music books). The JHF logo consists of the repetition of ꦲꦲ which is the letter for 'ha' in Javanese script, written with one mirroring the other. The repeated ha means, of course, hip hop, but is written in distinctive Javanese characters.

Visual elements were crucial for the expansion of the JHF audience, for they appealed to many groups of viewers. They could be seen in stage performances, on album covers, in videos, websites and social media, banners, brochures, flag, and other merchandise. In the following paragraphs I take a closer look at three of these media: images used on stage, videos, and merchandise.

The visualisation on stage included clothing, graphics and physical movements. Batik clothes became almost compulsory for the members on stage. By wearing these, according to Chandra Hutagaol,[138] a quite prominent visual artist in Yogyakarta, JHF was offering new ways of reading batik as text. In other words, JHF was re-contextualising batik, a sartorial form which has been traditionally associated with formal events, most importantly for attending marriage ceremonies. JHF took batik out of this formal context and embraced it in a casual one. At the time, wearing batik for rapping would have been unthinkable. Yet after about 2009, in some JHF performances, the audience would listen to traditional Javanese singers (*sinden*) wearing *kebaya* (formal blouse) while Juki would rap while wearing a Javanese head cover.

---

[137] Interview with Balance, 14 March 2016
[138] Interview with Chandra Hutagaol 10 March 2016

In the *Newyorkarto* concert, the visualisation of Javaneseness was at its height; in the background was the JHF logo, in the middle were highly visible musicians wearing Javanese outfits while playing Javanese instruments, and in the frontstage dancers appeared displaying traditional outfits and dance movements. Between 'scenes' of this performance, a puppeteer performed wayang scenes.

The visual display of many different Javanese cultural symbols can be seen clearly in JHF videos. The availability of technology for collecting, editing, and presenting these symbols in video form helped JHF to deploy them with greater effect. A concentrated visualisation of Javaneseness can be seen in the video of the *Dance of Sabdatama*,[139] published by Marzuki Mohamad in 27 August 2013, which shows more than five minutes of a solo Javanese dance. A beautiful young dancer performs Javanese dance movement to the sound of the *Song of Sabdatama*. This dance was similar to the one produced live on stage in front of the *Kraton* during the ceremony of the commemoration of Sultan's coronation in 7 March 2015, only that this time there were 9 dancers.

---

[139] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EdjuS8VaTrI

Picture 7.3 Javanese images in the JHF merchandise shop, which was part of the JHF office. The JHF logo can be seen at the top of the banner hanging on the left. Photo was taken by Riyanto (2014)

In *Jogja Istimewa* JHF also exploited the visual environment of the *Kraton*, including images of popular participation in street parades held at festivals or demonstrations. These visual quotations strengthened the song's representation of the aspiration of the people of Yogyakarta. In Chapter Eight I will discuss this visual remix in the songs of *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama.*

If the videos can be seen as an extension of staged performances, available in forms which an audience could watch or download at any time, then merchandise functions to materialise the connection between the music and the audience.

JHF produced different kinds of merchandise, with the most popular being baseball caps and t-shirts. As seen in picture 7.2, the JHF logo was a popular image for the baseball caps. The five images on the banner are by Juki, and adorned t-shirts that could be purchased in the office. The bottom right figure is an image of Juki, illustrated wearing sneakers and a baseball cap, the iconic clothing of hip hop. A metal chain is highly visible. His right hand is holding a 'fiery' microphone and his left hand holds the *Serat Centhini*. His face is red and he has a fang that is much longer than his other teeth. This red face and fang are signs of the bad character such as a giant or ogre in Javanese traditional stories. On his chest it is written *ojo dumeh* (no pride) and on his stomach is written *Newyorkarto*. *Ojo dumeh* is a widely known example of Javanese wisdom.[140]

Picture 7.3 reproduces the cover of the *Hiphopdiningrat* documentary. It shows the five members of JHF wearing Javanese traditional outfits. On the right is the *Book of Sindhunata*, on the cover of which is a circle rimmed with the words *Semar Mesem Romo Mendem* (Semar Smiles, the Father/Priest is Drunk).[141] The centre background of the circle is a source

---

[140] *Ojo dumeh* may be translated as 'do not be too proud [of something]'. It encourages one to not take pride in one's wealth, cleverness, power, beauty, and so on, for such pride can lead to arrogant behaviour. This expression is frequently matched with *sing eling* or *eling* (remember). The latter encourages Javanese to remember the principles of life, especially the adage that we are merely a creation of The Creator, and fate is in the hands of The Creator. These injunctions place high value on humility, contributing to the Javanese reputation for deferring to others.

[141] *Semar Mesem* is a famous term referring to a powerful spell for making a girl fall in love. *Mendem* is better translated as 'acting crazy' rather than being drunk, but because the picture clearly depicts Semar was holding a bottle, *mendem* is correctly interpreted as referring to drunkedness. For Semar and his family see the note on Sub-Section 7.4.2.

of light, perhaps the sun, its rays blocked by a very dominating figure, Semar. Semar is depicted as having four hands, holding a book, a megaphone, a bottle, and a feather pen.
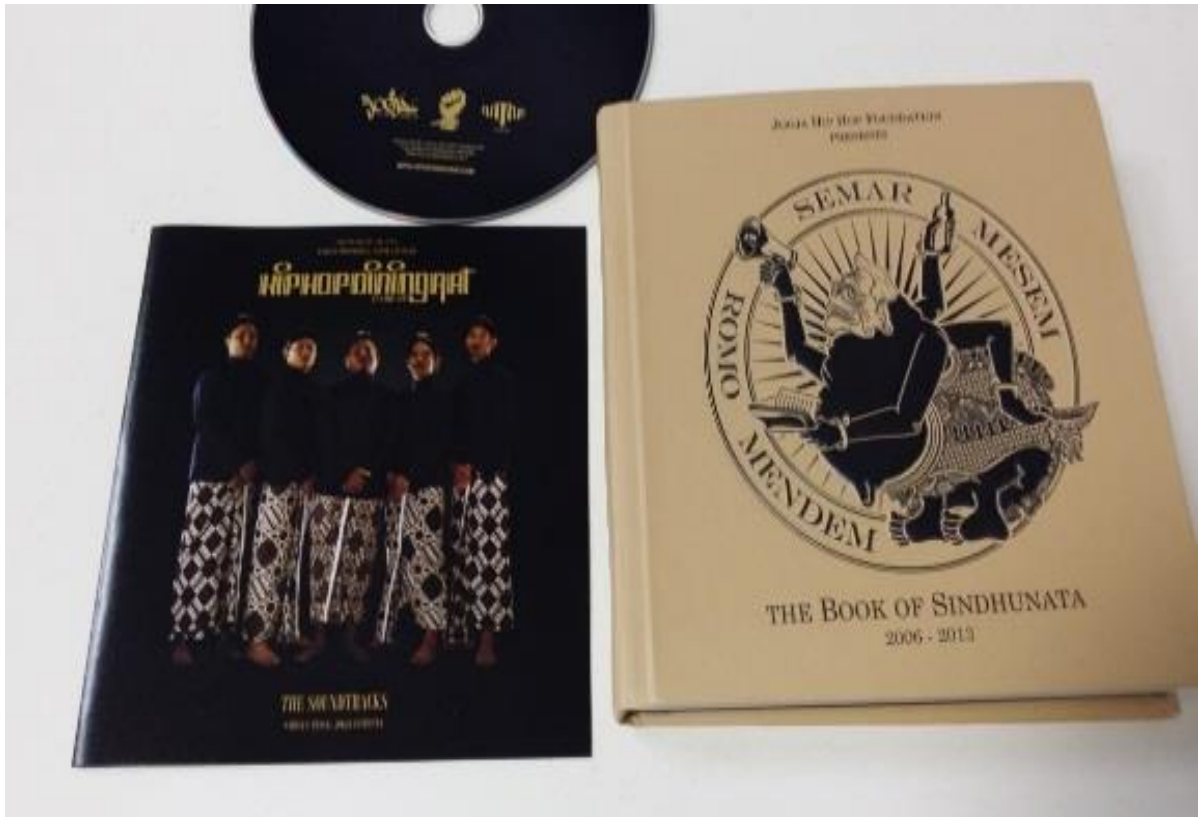
Picture 7.4. The cover of the *Hiphopdiningrat* on the left, with the *Book of Sindhunata* on the right. Photo was taken by Riyanto (2016)

To sum up, JHF was able to incorporate Javanese traditional cultural forms to produce an unmistakably Javanese Hip Hop package. This package reworked the Kraton-related-elements, adapting language and linguistic genres, sonic forms that pointed to Javanese culture, and visual symbols from Javanese life and tradition.

7.4 Lyrical Content

The lyrical content of the songs of JHF breaks into two thematic foci. Realities and events of daily Javanese life are very prominent in many songs. In other songs, however, we find attempts to communicate Javanese wisdom and knowledge that refer to more refined and lesser known sources that are removed from the knowledge of everyday Javanese. This division is important, for it reveals JHF's distinctiveness. Scenes from everyday life are encountered in all Javanese rap, even that predating JHF. Yet the adaptation of more refined

Javanese cultural forms is something we only encounter in the rap of JHF. When JHF branded its own conception of Java Hip Hop, it took on the task of revitalising these refined elements of Javanese culture. This was a point of distinction, being completely novel in Javanese musical history.

A discussion of JHF lyrics, in fact, demands discussion of another theme, and that is politics. As discussed previously, the lyrics of *Jogja Istimewa* reworked speeches of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, while *Song of Sabdatama* can be considered as an almost complete restatement of a decree from Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. The political meanings of these two songs were so influential in the destiny of JHF, that a special chapter (Chapter 8) will be dedicated to these two songs and the related political discourse.

7.4.1 Daily Life

The JHF style involved coarse humour and a reasonably high level of ironic self-reflection on scenes from daily life. These were JHF trademarks. I will discuss two songs: *Gangsta Gapi* (Gangsta Sh*t), and *Jagal Pabu* (Dog Butcher). These two are among the most popular songs in the JHF discography.

Gangsta Gapi was part of the commonly performed repertoire of Jahanam and Rotra. As described above, '*gapi*' is a reversed form of '*tahi*' means 'human faeces'. The reversed form reduces the impact and weight of the denigration aimed at the 'gangsta' in the song. The song is sometimes called *'Mbayar SPP'* (Paying the tuition fee) because it revolves around a boy's failure to pay tuition fees. The song reveals JHF's preference for irony in their adaptation of everyday Javanese life.

The song narrates a school boy who asks his parents for money for his tuition fees. The request is made over difficult circumstances, because he is already late in paying the fees, and because his parents are poor and he knows that there might not be any money. After receiving the money he uses it to buy alcohol and gets drunk. His daily performance in class are also very poor. In one sense, he is like a 'gangsta', yet he is dependent for money on his humble father. The story illustrates a double disaster; not only is the boy poor, but he also has 'gangsta' habits. The result is an irony. This treatment of the 'gangsta' concept is the first level of ironic commentary in the song, for it describes 'gangsta' behaviour that conceals a childish dependence.

The second, more complicated, level of irony concerns the normative-ethical message, and how it can also be read as negative self-reflection. The song depicts bad behaviour, describing a boy asking his poor parents for money. His poor parents must borrow money from their neighbours in order to respond to his requests. Yet his behaviour is poor: he sleeps in the classroom, skips classes, never does homework, among other things. Outside school, he likes to get drunk.

The lyrics express a normative judgement of this behaviour. The first lines are: *Dadi bocah aja mung mabuk wae/ra mikir bapak ibune le padha nyambut gawe* (You boy, stop getting drunk without considering your parents who work hard for their money). The song continues with: *Walah le, kowe arep dadi opo/Nek arep tumindak ngiwa/Malah mesake wong tuwo* (Hey boy, think about what you're going to be/if you do bad things/have pity on your parents).

This all becomes ironic when we consider that JHF may be moralising about themselves, or at least about some of its members. Drinking is quite prevalent in the Yogyakarta hip hop scene, even though it is considered socially unacceptable in polite society in most of Java. This was confirmed in almost all the interviews I did. On one night in March 2016 when I managed to stay late at the base camp of Hellhouse (one of the biggest hip hop *komunitas* at present) in Wijilan, alcohol was offered around. Even in the JHF office at JNM I witnessed alcoholic drinks available. Juki often openly stated that he enjoyed drinking to the point of intoxication.[142] And the character of Mamok shows even closer resemblance to the fictional character in *Gangsta Gapi*. Hery Wiyasa a.k.a Mamok was born and grew up in an underprivileged neighbourhood on the banks of the River Code[143] in the heart of Yogyakarta city. Mamok did not finish his secondary school. Enjoyment of alcohol is a part of his routines. The irony in *Gapi Gangsta*, therefore, forms a critical self-reflection.

---

[142] In the *Jujur Barengan* Show at Malioboro 20 May 2014, when Juki endorsed the anti-corruption campaign named *Jujur* ('being honest'), he openly stated that he and Mamok 'honestly' enjoyed getting drunk.

[143] The bank of the River Code, in the middle of Yogyakarta city has attracted much attention. The section where Mamok lives is about 3 kms down from the Kotabaru section. His neighbourhood is close to the Sayidan neighbourhood, which was famous for its slum-like conditions. Shaggy Dog, a prominent underground music group in Yogyakarta, wrote a song specifically about this Sayidan. *Di Sayidan* (means In Sayidan) is a perfect example of a song about '*nongkrong*'. Shaggy Dog expresses what they usually do in Sayidan, invite others to come there, informs others the way to get there, and 'guarantees' the fun of *nongkrong* in Sayidan albeit that Sayidan is a dark, old, and dirty area behind the glittering city of Yogyakarta.

The second song conveying an everyday theme is *Jagal Pabu* (Dog Butcher).[144] *Pabu* as discussed above is reverse slang for *Asu*, which means dog. In a humorous style, this example of dark humour tells the story of an episode of dog-hunting. Hunting a dog in order to eat it is of course a crime, as it involves the theft of another's property. The song is set, however, in a rural area, in which pet ownership is a bit loose, and dog hunting is not treated so seriously. The only negative consequence might be embarrassment and a beating.

Dina wingi karo kanca-kancaku, ning ndesa golek pabu/sing akeh sisan..dangil,pabu ning ndalan/nggone sapa wae sing ketok, bakale mlebu njero bagor (A few days ago my friends and I went to villages to hunt dogs/ we tried to get as many dogs as possible, on the streets/we don't care who owns the dogs, we wrapped them inside a black sack). These particular dog-hunters are not always successful, and in the case of failure: *Sing nduwe pabune mbengok. Marakke wong-wong padha teka banjur nggepyok/ kisinan…kelaran… misuh…sacilan…*(The owner would scream for help. People would come out to beat us/shame… pain… cursing...sh*t..)

The 'butcher' kills dogs in a cruel way, for he lacks proper skills and the equipment to do the job. He kills the dogs by strangling them, submerging them under water, and beating them to death. *Sing nggegirisi caramu/mateni* (The way you kill dogs is terrifying). This man terrifies the friends, and out of fear of him, they try hard to avoid inviting him to the 'dog-meat-eating-party'. Sometimes the butcher manages to join the party, only to show his 'savagery' once again by eating far more than the others.

Comically, after over-eating, the dog butcher falls asleep and dreams. In his dreams he is chased by the dogs he had earlier killed. He runs in terror until he stumbles, and wakes up. *Diwales arep dipangan/karo pabu..sing dadi musuhe…keweden njuk mlayu. Gentenan digawe/ mangsane pabu* (as revenge, he is going to be eaten/by the dogs…his very enemy/ he is frightened, then runs away, revenge/he becomes the prey). The hook line of this song is *iki critaku critane jagal pabu/ojo digugu ojo padha ditiru (*this is my story about a dog

---

[144] The consumption of dog meat is a controversial issue in Indonesia. I had the opportunity once to discuss this issue with Sadewa, a veterinarian. According to him, in Indonesia dogs are kept often as pets, but others are cultivated for eating. It is generally less religious people, or non-Muslims, who enjoy consuming dog meat. Nevertheless, there are food stalls offering dog meat. Usually they advertise through specially coded signs which are only understood by a few (Personal communication with Sadewo veteriner and Tasirin via Whatsapp, 4 June 2016).

butcher/don't believe it and don't imitate it). With this line, the story is assigned to the world of fiction.

These songs contain critical self-reflections in which irony remove the seriousness of the themes. The themes are recognisable as everyday realities by listeners, who will find it amusing to hear such themes as child gangsters and dog-butchers related in music. The coarseness is confronting, but the reverse slang enables the insider listeners to accept the grossness of the characters and scenarios.

Themes of daily life such as this one are recurring in Javanese Hip Hop, especially in Yogyakarta. The preference for these themes by rappers precedes JHF and will certainly outlive JHF. Other contemporary groups also present such themes, for example Method Men in their songs *Rebutan* WC (Fighting to enter the WC) and *Sleding Tekel* (Sliding Tackle, A friend's betrayal). Everyday themes are also common in other genres such as Dang Dut and Campursari. JHF set themselves apart from these groups, however, through its willingness and capability to go beyond everyday themes and collaborate with famous writers (such as Romo Sindhunata) and to revitalize important works of the past (such as Centhini). I now turn to this dimension of JHF's Javaneseness.

7.4.2 Javanese Wisdom

Their appropriation of the theme of wisdom distinguished JHF, elevating them to a higher position in Javanese awareness than their contemporaries. These appropriations were enabled by the characteristic collaboration inherent to *komunitas*, by Juki's rare skill, and by the members' intense study about old Javanese ideas. Javanese culture is rich in sources for these ideas, and JHF songs accordingly reference a number of them such as *wayang*, literature, oral traditions and speeches.

This appropriation of Javanese wisdom reveals a 'deployment of Kejawen (Javanese spirituality)' by JHF to confront the contemporary situation in Yogyakarta, both locally and nationally. In a general way, JHF re-appropriates the '*santri*' vs '*abangan*' ('Scriptural Islam' vs 'traditional, unlearned, Javanese Muslim') binary. JHF takes the side of the *abangan* as is clearly evident from the group's preference for Javanese wisdom over Islamic texts, from the ritual behaviours preferred by Juki, which include holding and offering

ceremonies in rice fields, and from his attacks against Islamic mass organizations. Juki described himself as a progressive animist, as discussed in Chapter Four Section 4.2.

Wisdom is a core component of the Javanese spiritual and literary inheritance, and such sources are often counterpoints to Islamic teachings. Although the group consists of Muslims, a strong sense of piety is not encountered in their music. In *Song of Sabdatama* JHF asks 'what is religion for if only to kill humanity?' JHF preferred other values such as diversity and harmony as expressed in the next lines of the lyrics: "What Jogja want is harmony in diversity" and *"Urip iku amrih nemu harmony"* (We live to keep harmonious life).

An example of local wisdom is '*Ilmu Pring'* (Bamboo Wisdom) by Rotra. This song is about the allegorical value of bamboo, according to which different kinds of bamboo represent different varieties of wisdom. Bamboo can be used for many different purposes, such as for building a fence, furniture, or wall. One product is useful for many things, and thus, a good life is a life that is useful for others. *Ilmu Pring* was adapted from poems by Sindhunata.

Another song taken from Sindhunata's poems, which I will quote at length here because of its appropriateness as an example, is *Ilmu Kyai Petruk* (The Wisdom of Kyai Petruk) which teaches mostly about inner qualities in perceiving life; truth, happiness, right, wrong, wealth, poverty and many others. The message of this song is that all depends on human perception. A rich man, for example, may perceive himself as poor.

This song includes the lines *Swarga durung weruh, neraka durung weruh/Mung donya sing kuweruh, urip aja duwe mungsuh* (Not seeing heaven, and not seeing hell /There is only see this world, don't create enemies while you live). This is a critique of those people who like to take a stance on certain moral values while labelling others as wrong. Many such people hide behind religious ideas which, according to this verse, sometimes rest on not-yet-proven evidence. The end of the second sentence stresses the importance of harmony without enmity, another core message of Javanese wisdom.

The song includes *Ana beja ana cilaka/Ana urip ana mati/… Susah jebule seneng/Seneng jebule susah* (There is a time for luck and misfortune/There is life and death…Sadness actually brings happiness/Happiness actually brings sadness). The binary opposition of good and bad is challenged, and is repackaged as something determined by the perspective of the individual subject. This wisdom strengthens one's capability for enduring the most painful

stages of life. The Wisdom of Kyai Petruk urges a Javanese subject to develop the capacity of seeing pain from the opposing view.

When talking about the afterlife (hell and heaven), the Wisdom of Kyai Petruk suggests a pragmatic and sceptical attitude. When talking about the binary opposition of good and bad, the Wisdom takes an ambiguity which is very subjective. The empirical and subjectivity seem to be contradictory. However, the aim of the approach is to achieve 'harmony' between the mental disposition and the outside reality of situations encountered in day to day relations with others.

These appropriations were received positively. Landung Simatupang, a cultural activist, poet, and actor said that by expressing this Javanese wisdom, JHF has shown that Javanese people are not only open to foreign cultures, but are also able to circulate their own culture outwards in novel forms.[145] Sindhunata stated in an article published in Kompas newspaper in 16 December 2010 that Java Hip Hop is an expression of a *'kerinduan generasi muda kembali ke akar budayanya'* (longing of the young generation to return to their cultural roots), because in this contemporary world, this generation felt '*kekosongan*' (emptiness) (Sarwindaningrum : 2010).

The reworking and revitalization of these wisdoms helped JHF to widen its audience to reach 'common Javanese' who were not so fond of 'underground' music. Desi, a graduate from the Psychology Department of Sanata Dharma University explained that she started to like JHF when she heard the lyrics reworking Javanese wisdom.[146] The lyrics had strengthened her feeling of being a Javanese. The reinforcement of Javaneseness achieved by these songs was reiterated by many other JHF fans with whom I had the opportunity to speak.

In summary, JHF was successful in tracing back Javanese cultural elements shared by Javanese people. Their reworking of these elements tapped into the shared imagination and common concerns of Javanese in forms that they respected and admired. JHF did not passively accept their tradition nor global trends. They created Java Hip Hop in which Javaneseness became the signature of authenticity.

---

[145] Landung Simatupang in Hiphopdiningrat documentary.
[146] Interview with Desi on 7 July 2014.

8
FROM UNDERGROUND TO KRATON

This chapter describes and analyses the latest developments concerning the JHF. This is the phase in which the JHF has descended from its peak, and has begun to operate on a plateau. It is politics that provides the necessary explanation of these events. This chapter sets out the extraordinary political crisis that provided the background of JHF's two Yogyakarta anthems. It also describes the creative power of Yogyakarta's young artists, and how the Kraton was able to subdue this creativity for its political ends. JHF enabled this by aiming its songs at the political crisis of that time.

This chapter is basically dealing with the political setting in which the *komunitas* JHF rose, and the political circumstances surrounding the departure of Juki. It is divided into four sections: the first describes the context and content (i.e. songs) that made JHF successful. The second describes the appropriation of the JHF by the Sultan. Then follows the split between Juki and the Sultan, while the final section describes the 'plateau' stage which sees JHF continue to perform at the time of writing as part of the Sultan's 'retinue'. These sections describe and analyse how a cultural product in the form of Java Hip Hop, originating in the contemporary and egalitarian social form known as *komunitas*, ended up in the hands of Kraton as a tool to maintain their traditional power.

8.1 Reaching the Peak

Chapter Three sets out how the launching of *Album Kompilasi Jogja Istimewa* 2010 put JHF on a skyrocketing ascent to fame. At its peak, JHF had been the subject of a special feature in the Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition, and had also received Duta Nagari Award from the Sultan. This album featured the hit song *Jogja Istimewa*. Later, JHF strengthened its position by producing and releasing the *Song of Sabdatama*. Both songs are strongly related to the political setting of the Kraton, and gave support to the politically-charged concept that Yogyakarta was sufficiently special to be exempt from the democratic governance prevailing in other parts of Indonesia.

The success was largely due to JHF's creative capability in reworking and revitalizing memories of Javaneseness from the past, such as the important statements from Sultan IX. They packed these past memories into the forms of modern hip hop. In what follows, I analyse the success of *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama*. These are the context and the content.

8.1.1 Context

Context has played a crucial role in the skyrocketing success of *Jogja Istimewa*. The question whether Jogjakarta should be regarded as a political exception had been asked since the birth of the Indonesian Republic, and had sustained a decade of fierce debate between 2000 and 2012. In August 18, 1945, just one day after the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence, both Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Sri Paduka Paku Alam VIII sent a letter of congratulation to the newly born nation. This show of support from these two old kingdoms was then followed by the concrete and monumental political step by both kings to integrate their kingdoms under the Indonesian Republic on September 5, 1945. As holders of traditional sovereignty, Sri Sultan and Sri Paduka Paku Alam could have refused to recognize the republic and maintained their own traditional political power, so the voluntary integration was considered as a huge contribution to the infant republic at a time when it was desperately in need of support. The events of the years to follow would show the importance of Jogjakarta to the early history of the Indonesian Republic. An example of this importance was the role Jogjakarta played as the capital of the fledgling Republic from 1946 to 1950.

However, the relation of the 'old' and 'experienced' Mataram Kingdoms of Jogjakarta to the newly born Indonesian Republic has not always been smooth. There was the problem for example of who would be entitled to sit as the governor. After independence, the highest political positions in Jogjakarta were occupied by Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Sri Paduka Pakualaman VIII. The former was governor, while the latter became vice-governor. This situation continued to their deaths. But their deaths (in 1988 and 1998 respectively) sparked debates as how to elect the governor. Many considered that Jogjakarta should follow other provinces and be governed by a democratically appointed governor. They observe Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX to be ruling by the right of a monarch, a concept which does not 'fit' in the contemporary Republic of Indonesia. The opposing argument asserts that

Jogjakarta is a special region, and that the appointment of the Sultan as governor is part of this '*keistimewaan'* or specialness.

The meaning of '*istimewa'* has been the topic of debates that have placed stress on the relationship between Jogja and Jakarta. Most people would agree that Yogjakarta is special in terms of culture. This cultural point of view has not been the subject of much debate. Fierce debate has broken out around the question of the automatic appointment of the Sultan as governor. In 2002, Jogjakarta proposed a bill that would formalise the special status of Jogjakarta. In contradistinction to the quick decision to grant special status to Aceh through the Special Grant of Autonomy Bill (*UU No 18/2001*), and to Papua through the Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua Bill (*UU No 21/2001*), the 2002 bill was not debated until 2012.

The peak of this confrontation seemed to be reached when Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the president of Indonesia, said "It is impossible for there to exist a monarchical system that conflicts with our constitution and democratic values".[147] This was stated by the president during a cabinet meeting in Jakarta on 29 November 2010. Of course it invited strong reaction from those who were in favour of maintaining the specialness of Yogyakarta.

Some remnants of the dispute could be seen during my first fieldwork in April-June of 2014. During a walk in the traditional market of Beringharjo, I saw some banners on display in the south-east parking area. One of the banners had been torn in its right lower corner, an indication that the banners had been hanging there for years. I have no knowledge of who installed these banners, but it seems highly probable that they were installed by groups who supported the special status of Jogjakarta.[148]

I discuss the banners here because they allow me to illustrate the popular grounds of support for Jogja's special status from people within the city. From the banners we can learn how historical reflection played a strong role in the fierce struggles to maintain the specialness, and at the same time be reminded of the ambiguities attending to that specialness.

---

[147]Fangohoy, Eka. (2010), Ketika Yogyakarta Tidak Istimewa. http://www.kompasiana.com/ekofangohoy/ketika- yogyakarta-tidak-istimewa_55004b1ea333118d73510475. 30 November 2010.
[148] According to the *Radar Jogja* newspaper, there were many groups of '*ijab qobul'* (the vow of union) fighters who were ready to defend the '*ijab qabul'*. See "Pejuang Ijab Kabul Keistimewaaan DIJ Tekad Kawal Sabdatama, 30 May 2012 uploaded in http://radarjogja.blogspot.com.au/2012/05/pejuang-ijab-kabul-keistimewaan-dij.html

I have labelled the four banners in Figure 8.1 with A, B, C and D, moving from left to right. I have made a free translation of almost 100 percent of the content for each banner, except for banner B, which I translated only from the middle (the bigger fonts) down to the signature because that segment contains the main content of the banner.

Picture 8.1. Taken in May 2014 in Beringharjo Market south-east parking area. From left to right: banner a, Sabdatama; banner b, charter; banner c, ijab qobul; banner d, research results.

| (Kraton Logo) Sabdatama Sri Sultan HB X 10 May 2012 I, the King of Mataram, declare: That both the Kraton Ngayogyakarta and Kadipaten Paku Alaman are two members in union. Mataram is an independent country and has its own regulations and administration. As willed and accorded, Mataram is the patron of Nuswantara, thus will guard its very existence, yet Mataram has its own regulations and administration. Thus, accordingly, the ruling Sultan Hamengku Buwono and Adipati Paku Alam, are appointed as Governor and Vice Governor. | (Indonesian Republic Logo) "Charter for Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, I, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, hereby affirm the Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, in his status. I do so in the belief that the Sultan will dedicate his resources for the safety of Yogyakarta as part of the Republic of Indonesia. Jakarta, 19 August 1945 Signed, President of the Republic of Indonesia". (A similar charter was presented to Pakualaman) |

Banner A   Banner B

Tabel 8.1. Translations of Banner A and Banner B

The Vow of Union (a 'mandate' from HB IX 5-9-1945) • That the country of Nyayogyakarta Hadiningrat, a monarch in nature, is a special territory under Indonesian state. • That we as the head of the local government control all power inside Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, and because of that, in relation to the present situation, all internal state affairs in Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, starting from today, are under our authority, and all other powers are completely in our hands. • That the relationship between Ngayogyakarta Hadinigrat and the central government of Indonesia is a direct one and we directly report to the President of Indonesian Republic. • We order that all citizens in Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat obey this mandate.	No Bargain The result of a research conducted by Laboratorium Politik UMY Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta: • 96.6% Yogya citizens support specialness. • 97.5% Tertiary education graduates supports Specialness. • 93.2% Yogya citizens support the appointment of Sultan as Governor • Citizens graduated from higher education who support the appointment 94% • Highest concentration of loyalists Gunung Kidul (96%) and Bantul (89%) Jogja People Fight Back!

Banner C   Banner D

Tabel 8.2. Translations of Banner C and Banner D

Banner A, B, C can be categorized as expressions of the voice of the government of the Kraton. Banner D represented voices of the people, collected in research undertaken by Muhammadiyah University.

My discussion here starts with banner D. It shows the results of research indicating Yogyakarta people strongly supported the continuation of the special status. One phrase of this text was written in red: "*Rakyat Jogja Melawan!*" (People of Jogja, fight back!). It presents as social facts the reality that more than 90% of people in Yogyakarta supported their Sultan and were willing to fight against those who were trying to 'end' the special status of Yogyakarta. The effort to sway public opinion with these 'facts' is clear.

Banners C and B refer to the same historical moment: 5 September 1945. Banner C is a quotation from a document in the form of an *Ijab Qobul*. *Ijab qobul* is a common term used

to refer to a marriage vow or contract, but in the sense intended here, it refers to a 'political contract' between the two Kings (Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Sunan Pakualaman VIII), Yogyakarta people, and the newly born Indonesian Republic. It affirms that both Kings were the sovereign rulers of the territory and had authority over 'domestic affairs'. The two Kings, in turn, were to have a direct link to the central government. According to this structure, all domestic affairs were to be channelled via the Sultan and Pakualaman before being addressed by the central government if necessary. This document also means that the central government would not have direct access to the people of Yogyakarta. This contract is, in effect, more like a joint affirmation than a contract between the parties; it binds the two Kings, then binds the people to give obedience to only their Kings, and third, it prevents the central government from ruling directly over the people of Yogyakarta.

Banner B is a depiction of a charter given by the central government, President Sukarno, to the Kings, enabling them to rule Yogyakarta as a special region. This contract was not a new thing for the Yogyakarta Kingdom. It may even be called a revision of an older contract. As described in Chapter One, from its beginning the Kingdom of Yogyakarta had always been under such a contract (Soetarto 2009: 32-35), making the Kingdom '*negari merdiko yang tidak merdeka*' (an independent country which is not independent) (ibid: 254). The birth of Yogyakarta in 1755 was under the Giyanti Charter, a sort of contract between the newly born Yogyakarta Kingdom, the old Mataram Kingdom with its capital in Surakarta, and the Dutch Colonial Administration. Thus, the 5 September 1945 *Ijab Qobul* can be seen as a 'revision' of the old Giyanti Charter. Both charters secured the 'independence' of Yogyakarta Kingdom. Yet both charters also maintain the capability of the 'other bigger power' to shadow this 'independence'.

A more or less similar statement, in the form of decree, is displayed in banner A. It is called *Sabdatama Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X,* and is dated 10 May, 2012. The content of this decree is a reinforcement of the *Ijab Qobul*. In *Sabdatama* the Sultan restated that he is the 'King of Mataram' and reinforced the reality that Mataram is an 'independent country with its own administration and regulation'. The last paragraph insists that the Sultan must automatically be appointed Governor.

The *Sabdatama* in banner A declares that the Yogyakarta Kingdom is an 'independent country', but it also gives rise to the ambiguity that I discussed in Chapter One. This ambiguity can be called 'ersatz independence' because it reflects the incompatibility

between the claim and the reality of being independent. This ersatz independence is characterized by an inward looking claim that relies upon its own tradition to legitimise the inalterable and eternal specialness of Yogyakarta.

By stating their cases so unequivocally, these banners cannot but remind us of all the oppositions they silently imply from outside of Yogyakarta. That dialogue, only one side of which was given in the banners, illustrates the political context into which JHF weighed. They did so by producing two of their most popular songs, both of which supported the struggle to maintain the special status of Yogyakarta, namely *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama*. The struggle was victorious. On Thursday, 30 August 2012, the Legislative Body of the Republic of Indonesia passed the bill of the Special Status of Yogyakarta.

8.1.2 Content

In this part I refer to the content of the two songs just mentioned. Both songs literally reproduce text from important moments in the history of Yogyakarta. *Jogja Istimewa* was compiled from various sources, while the text of the *Sabdatama* reproduces – in the main – the decree of the Sultan from 2012. I argue that the songs, especially *Jogja Istimewa*, are the embodiment of the ultimate remix done by JHF. As discussed in previous chapters, especially Chapter Seven, JHF quoted many elements from many different sources, linguistic, sonic and textual. The following is a deeper analysis of the textual and visual quotations done by JHF.

The lyrics of *Jogja Istimewa* were written by Marzuki, or more accurately, as I explain below, were adapted by him. The beat was composed by Balance. It was launched on November 9, 2009.[149] It then became part of the *Album Kompilasi Jogja Istimewa* 2010 which was launched in 2010. In a blog entry posted in January 2011,[150] Juki stated that the song was very popular, and that this popularity could be found in rural as well as urban areas, as well as in the street festivities, such as the '*sidang rakyat*' (people's tribunal), in which people expressed and shared their demand that Jakarta create a new regulation regarding Yogyakarta's special status. In the same blog he wrote "*Kawulo alit hingga raja bergoyang dan melambaikan tangan, duduk sama rendah dan berdiri sama tinggi, bernyanyi bersama lagu Jogja Istimewa*" (From ordinary people to the King, they shake their bodies and wave

---

[149] Juki (2011) . Membedah Lirik Jogja Istimewa. https://killtheblog.com/2011/01/05/membedah-lirik-jogja-istimewa/. 5 January 2011.
[150] ibid

their hands, sitting and standing as equals, singing *Jogja Istimewa* together). *Jogja Istimewa* had created 'moments of equality' between the King and his people.

The song's lyrics project a strong sense of unity between the King and his subjects, asserting that the royal house and its subjects both share the same memories, and implicitly, that these memories legitimise the authority of the contemporary palace. These memories had been sufficiently important to create a unified alliance in times of threat, such as when Jakarta threatened the special status of Jogkakarta. These memories brought about a strong bond among the people and helped them to sharpen their resolve to support the Sultan. In the same blog, Juki clarified his reliance on actual statements of the Sultan in making this song. Juki stated that his own words formed less than 30 % of the lyrics, the remaining 70 % were taken from important speeches or statements, many of which he adapted from phrases circulating in the community in various texts. For example, the song includes famous examples of Javanese philosophy such as: *nglurug tanpa bala* meaning 'attacking without troops'; *menang tanpa ngasorake*, 'victory without humiliating', *sugih tanpa banda*, 'being rich without luxury'. Juki explained that these 'wise sayings' were taken from a text by the Javanese writer and cultural figure RM Sosrokartono (d. 1952), the brother of the national hero Kartini, in which he illustrated the character of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (Marzuki 2011).

'Attacking without troops' can be traced back to the origin of Jogjakarta, which had emerged in the middle of the 18th century after futile military efforts by Mas Said to bring Java under one single legitimate ruler. Since that time, military endeavours were abandoned and replaced with cultural activism, resulting in ongoing artistic patronage by the Kraton. 'Victory without humiliation' references important Javanese ethics, for 'saving face' is among the core values of the Javanese, obliging them to refrain from humiliating others, especially in public. The partition expressed in the Treaty of Giyanti, affirming the division of a once united Javanese Kingdom, can be considered as a 'face-saving' measure for the Javanese noble families who were the main actors of the long conflicts. Everybody tasted the 'victory' and nobody was defeated or humiliated. According to Javanese tradition, that is the noble Javanese way for battles to resolve.

The song includes a statement of the importance of maintaining one's Javaneseness: *"Elingo sabdane Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono kaping sanga/Sak duwur-duwure sinau kudune dewe tetep wong Jawa"* (Remember the words of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX/no matter how

high our education, we are still Javanese). These lines are taken by Marzuki from some famous words uttered by Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (Marzuki 2011). Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX was educated in the Netherlands, but just before he finished his study he was called back to Jogja to replace his father as the king of Jogja. It appeared that he wanted to assure his people that his educational achievements in the Netherlands would not spoil or threaten his kingship. Marzuki also stated that he was trying to actualize the history of Jogja and remind the city's people about the traditional values of the Kraton, especially during the fights for independence (ibid).

One of the most famous phrases reproduced in the song is '*tahta untuk rakyat*' (the throne is for the people). This is actually the title of a book about Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX edited by Atmakusumah and published by Gramedia. The title of the book became famous and synonymous with the figure of Hamengkubuwono IX. The book contains numerous stories portraying his leadership, all of which convey the image of a leader who was always on the side of his people. Two famous examples – the stories of the 'market coolie' and the 'traffic fine' – convey the tenor of the book's depiction of the man. The stories linger on as folk myths, and I heard them from citizens of the city. I also read these stories in many occasions. In the story of the 'coolie', the Sultan became a coolie for hire in a market. After he left the market, it took some time for the trader who hired him to realize that the one he had employed was his king. The story of the traffic tells how the King did not make any attempt to reveal his identity as a king when he was being fined by a lowly police officer. The King took the wrong lane when driving in unfamiliar territory in the northern part of Central Java. One resident of Yogyakarta, Monica, emphasized in conversations with me that the 'truth' of the stories was not important. People from different traditional markets in Yogyakarta would claim that the 'coolie story' happened in their market. Thus this story has many different versions. The main idea conveyed in these stories and the book is that Sultan IX was very close to his people and was loved by them.

This book was later reinforced by a sequel concerning his son, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X "*Meneguhkan Tahta Untuk Rakyat*" (Reinforcing the Throne for the People), edited by Ariobimo Nusantara. This second publication was evidence of the importance attached to the concept, and testifies to the high recognition it gains from the public.

The hook of the song's chorus, 'Jogja, Jogja, Jogja istimewa' (Jogja, Jogja, Jogja is special) summed up the contemporary situation. Juki had devised this hook from reading the situation

in that moment, a situation of intense political debate and negotiation. Chapter Six has described the success of JHF in incorporating the sounds of the Kraton's flute, snare-drum, and *kenong* (a small gong) into this song. Those sounds were adopted from the sounds produced during the march of the Kraton's troop, a common activity in the Kraton and surrounds. The combination of such special sounds with the chorus projected a powerful incitement to historical memory in Jogja.

Clearly this song has constituted an intense and powerful statement for young Jogjanese that connects strongly with their memories as well as contemporary issues. The reworking of the memories of the past, packed into hip hop music, made this song very popular. Its video clip has been posted on the internet, accompanied with political jargon condemning Jakarta and defending Yogyakarta. One of the banners showed in the clip says that the letters SBY, which form the nickname of the then Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, mean *Sumber Bencana Yogya* ('the source of Yogyakarta disasters').

Lyrics of Song of Sabdatama	Free Translation of the lyrcs of the song
(Hook) We are from Jogja, The heart of Java Our rhyme is mantra, Flows down like lava We are from Jogja, The heart of Java Our culture is weapon Yeah, this Song of Sabdatama	
(Verse Mamok) Merapi ya iku, Keraton ya itu, Segara ya itu, Pancer in Tugu Mijil tuwuh saka kono dumunungku Yo Ngayogyokarto Hadiningrat Negeriku Nagari gemah ripah kang merdika Kaya kang kaserat ing Sabdatama Merapi ngelingake marang ing gusti Segara ngelingake kudu ngidak bumi	(Verse Mamok) That Merapi, that Palace That Ocean, centered with a monument That's where I am from and I belong Yes, Ngayogyokarto Hadiningrat My country A country full of bounty and free As said in the Sabdatama Merapi reminds us of theLord Ocean reminds of being down to earth
(Verse Balance) Ngono kuwi jiwa Jawi Manunggaling kawula Gusti mBalung sungsum pada diugemi Minangka tekad dadi sesanti Sadumuk bathuk sanyari bumi, Ditohi pecahing dada luntaking ludiro nganti pati Negeri merdika bakal tak belani	(Verse Balance) That is the Javanese soul The union of Ruler and the ruled Taken into heart as a guidance Becomes the will and spirit Not an inch of land to be yielded Willing to fight Bleeding to death This free country is to be defended

Tabel 8.3 Translation of parts of the *Song of Sabdatama* lyrics

The second special song, *Song of Sabdatama*, was released in 2012. It provided a response or echo of the Sultan's decree on May 2012. It is a restatement of the Sultan's statement, only that this one is delivered in JHF style. By singing this song, it was as if the JHF was unequivocally accepting and reinforcing the Sultan's decree.

Balance explained to me that the lyric of the *Song of Sabdatama* was written by Marzuki, while the beat was created by Balance himself. The following translation should be read in conjunction with the *Sabdatama* text of Banner A in 8.1.1 above.

The table shows the proximity between the decree of *Sabdatama* and the *Song of Sabdatama*. I identify three important messages. First, the subjects or the speakers are from Jogja. Next they are ready to support the decree of *Sabdatama* of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. And the last is the statement of Yogyakarta's independent status. These messages make the song into a replica of the *Sabdatama* as spoken by the Sultan in May 2012.

At its peak, JHF would in most performances open its shows with *Song of Sabdatama* and close it with *Jogja Istimewa*. This reflects the importance of Song of *Sabdatama*. In its webpage[151], JHF explained that the *Song of Sabdatama* has the same spirit as *Jogja Istimewa*, in the sense that both are dedicated to the people of Yogyakarta.

In both songs, the political contexts have been vital for the success of JHF. The Sultan called *Jogja Istimewa* the 'soundtrack of the struggle' of the people of Yogyakarta to maintain the city's special status (Prass 2014: 4). At this peak of JHF's popularity, however, shadows of questions commenced to emerge, specifically concerning what would happen after the political context had passed.

8.2 The Appropriation

These songs impacted on the relations between the political authority lionised in the song (the Sultan) and the performers (JHF). As I will show below, there was a gradual process of appropriation by the Sultan which made JHF part of the Sultan's 'property'. The Sultan understood that JHF has applied its creative abilities in order to strengthen the traditions which granted him status as the supreme ruler. By this appropriation, the Sultan acknowledged and reinforced the fact that JHF were amongst his loyal subjects.

---

[151] http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2012/10/song-of-sabdatama/

Sixteen months after the launching of *Jogja Istimewa*, JHF received a letter of appreciation from the Kraton dated 13 February, 2011. The letter was addressed to "the Chairperson of the Production of the "Jogja Hip Hop Foundation" in Yogyakarta". The letter conveyed the Sultan's appreciation and thanks for the production of *Jogja Istimewa*. The reason for the appreciation was that the song had helped build a unified understanding amongst the people of Yogyakarta towards their history, as well as a vision for the future.

In the eyes of the Sultan, JHF did not only contribute to the mobilization of the people inside Jogja, but were also promoting the specialness of Jogja abroad. For this reason, in December 2012 the JHF was awarded "*Duta Nagari Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat*" (*Duta Nagari* means the Ambassador of the Country, Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat is the formal "local name" for the Yogyakarta kingdom). This award was presented after the US Tour. JHF performances abroad were seen as helping to promote the image of Yogyakarta, and for that reason the JHF deserved recognition as ambassadors. Rolling Stone magazine reported that from the King's perspective, the JHF could assist in fostering Javanese high cultural values through their songs (Prass 2014: 4).

Before the award there had been some personal contact between the JHF and the Sultan. For example, before leaving JHF for the US, JHF was invited by the Sultan to come and receive some advice. A less direct contact took place when JHF performed in the Kraton during the commemoration of the 100 years of the late Sri Sultan IX. But the two songs described above are more significant than the physical meetings for understanding the relationship between the Sultan and the JHF, for these songs were powerful expressions that supported the Kraton's politicised cultural agenda.

As a consequence of the release and success of these two songs, JHF became bound to the Sultan. And after the departure of Juki, who refused to sing the songs (see below) JHF continues to sing *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama*. The special bond with the Sultan might compel the JHF to continue performing these songs eternally. The bond is expressed in a reflection that Juki posted on his blog, in which he expressed happiness in the fact that "the King and the people were united in their enjoyment of *Jogja Istimewa*".[152] This bond was formally institutionalized through the Sultan's Letter of Appreciation and the Award.

---

[152] Juki (2011). Membedah Lirik Jogja Istimewa. https://killtheblog.com/2011/01/05/membedah-lirik-jogja-istimewa/. 5 January 2011.

In effect, the Sultan politicised the JHF, with the willing cooperation of its members. As described above, the Sultan called *Jogja Istimewa* the 'soundtrack' of the struggle. This was a distinct gesture of appropriation. And the majority of the members of the JHF were happy to submit themselves for the cause of their king, except for one, namely Juki (I will discuss this in section 8.3). The politicised appropriation of these songs had consequences. It caused a split between the most prominent member of JHF, Juki and Sultan.

8.3 The Split

The split between Juki and the Sultan was gradual. In general terms, the Sultan treated JHF as subjects under his authority, while Juki was operating with an agenda of professionalism and a 'business' logic which required him to consider issues such as branding and copyright. The gestures from the Sultan by which he acquired JHF as part of his retinue led to a kind of negotiation between Sultan and Juki on how to position themselves before each other. I will discuss the 'dancing fountain' case, followed by the song *Jogja Ora Didol* (Jogja is not for Sale).

From my interview with the Gusti Yudho[153] (His Excellency Yudhaningrat), one of the Sultan's brothers and the Head of Cultural Affairs for the Yogyakarta Province, it was clear that Juki and the Yogyakarta government had worked hand in hand on many occasions. Not all of these co-operations had worked well. The 'dancing fountain' case is an example. This occurred after the huge success of *Jogja Istimewa*. Because of its popularity and the suitability of the song's content, the Sultan wanted to incorporate this song into the Vredeburg Fort tourism package. The Vredeburg Fort, located in front of the Kraton, was constructed by the Dutch military in 1787. It is now one of the major tourism destinations in Yogyakarta. In 2013 a project to revitalize the fort was proposed. It included a 'dancing fountain' to be built as part of the renovation project. A number of songs were selected to accompany the fountain's mechanised dance, and one of these was *Jogja Istimewa*. As it turned out, because of the lack of funds, the 'dancing fountain' project was cancelled.[154]

---

[153] Interview with Gusti Yudho or KGPH Yudhaningrat, 8 July 2014.
[154] Wicaksono, Pribadi (2013). Air Mancur Gagal Menari di Benteng Vredeburg Yogya. https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2013/02/26/058463932/air-mancur-gagal-menari-di-benteng-vredeburg-yogya. 23 February 2013.

During my fieldwork I encountered contradicting accounts between Juki and the Kraton about this.[155] Gusti Yudho explained that the Sultan wanted to include *Jogja Istimewa* as one of the accompanying songs for the dancing fountain. Gusti Yudho stated that some negotiations took place in regard to this, especially on the matter of compensation to be given to JHF or Juki. Juki asked for a royalty. The government found it difficult to accommodate this in their allocated budget. Thus, it was a matter of budgeting procedures. The government offered some funds for the making of a film about JHF as compensation. The negotiation stalled.

Juki negotiated from the position that 'the government should learn about respect for copyright'.[156] By doing so, he was moving beyond the accepted protocols of 'Javaneseness'. Such a position does not reflect the king-subject relation. This is a very 'individualistic' position which demands respect and recognition of individual craftsmanship, and uses the 'foreign' concept of 'copyright'. Juki takes the opinion that the government should give an example by empowering the people and by paying respect to their hard work and creativity.

As mentioned before, the disputed song, *Jogja istimewa*, is the most powerful Javanese remix made by JHF. Juki acknowledged that he wrote less than 30% of the lyrics. The other 70% were quoted from other people's texts or speeches. The sounds were also remixed, being produced in a studio using computer.The visual aspects were also highly remixed, and the official clip of the song shows, amongst other things, mass demonstrations against Jakarta with numerous banners and flags (0"-39"), the Kraton troop parades (1.21"-1.37"), and even the Sultan presenting a speech (1.00").

Considering the high proportion of the remix, Juki's stance in defending his 'copyright' is questionable and contradictory to the liberal position expressed by Lessig's and Evans'. As discussed in Chapter Two, Lessig and Evans promoted remix as a new way of cultural production. For both scholars, copyright laws had become shackles and should be revisited in order to give more opportunities for creativity in the next generation. Both were defending a creative process of remix that was under attack from those who owned the copyrights of the parts being quoted. For them it was a war between old ways of production protected by old copyright laws, and new styles of production that needed new copyright laws. In contrast, Juki, after being such an active remixer and benefitting from ths process,

---

[155] I interviewed Juki about this issue on 9 July 2014.
[156] Interview with Juki 17 March 2016

nevertheless advocated copyright as something to be mobilised to provide a high level of protection to the artist. This contradiction seems to fit Juki's characteristics of restlessness and perpetual motion as discussed in Chapter Six.

The small rift regarding 'copyright' was amplified by the launching of *Jogja Ora Didol* (Jogja is not for Sale). In its official blog,[157] the song was marked as a special song for the 10th anniversary of JHF. From the perspective of JHF, Yogyakarta now was being excessively exploited in economic terms. JHF wanted Yogyakarta to embody a 'humanistic' and 'cultural' approach in managing its development. For that reason, in the same official blog, JHF demanded the government of Yogyakarta comply with three pledges:

1. To follow a policy of human-centred development

2. To preparing Yogyakarta for the future without leaving behind its traditions

3. To involve the people of Yogyakarta in pursuing their development policies

JHF was responding to what it saw as 'negative development' in Yogyakarta. The 'negative' development can be seen for example in the overcrowded traffic, the abundance of malls and hotels without adequate public space, violence, and the profusion of visual trash in the forms of advertisement billboards and banners.

The unmistakeable signs of the split that had been hinted at by the case of the dancing fountain (2013) and *Jogja Ora Didol* (2014) appeared on 12 May, 2015 when Juki stated in his blog:[158]

> "*Saat ini saya sedang menjalani laku tapa bisu (berdiam diri) dengan tidak menyanyikan lagu Jogja Istimewa, hingga batas waktu yang tidak ditentukan, sebagai wujud keprihatinan atas berbagai hal buruk yang terjadi diYogyakarta. Tidak hanya melulu gegeran suksesi keraton, melainkan juga bentuk keprihatinan atas berbagai arah pembangunan...*"

> "I am now carrying out *tapa bisu* [159](remaining silent) by not singing *Jogja Istimewa*, without any time limitation, as an expression of my concern about the bad things happening in Yogyakarta. Not only about the issue of succession, but also because

---

[157] http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/ 2014/06/jogja-ora-didol/
[158]Juki (2015). "Gegeran Istimewa". https://killtheblog.com/page/2/.
[159] *Tapa* means a long meditation or abstinence, while *bisu* means remaining silent. Thus, *tapa bisu* is the intentional act of not talking about something.

> of my concern on the directions in which the development of Yogyakarta is heading…"

This quotation reveals Juki's frustration and disappointment about political governance in Yogyakarta. Juki's concerns indirectly problematize the two roles of the contemporary Sultan: he is at one time the supreme, traditional ruler, but is also the head of the provincial administration. This division is of course something that is often presented as a critique of the current political system. Professor Sjafri Sairin,[160] a highly respected scholar from Gadjah Mada University, stated that by being a governor, the Sultan was taking the risk of being blamed for any mismanagement occurring in the Yogyakarta province. This is precisely what happened when Juki complained publicly through *Jogja Ora Didol*, and when he made his protest of silence.

The gap became wider when Juki founded Libertaria in November 2015. The founding of Libertaria marked the beginning of post-Juki JHF. The commencement of this stage does not mean that Juki totally left JHF. Juki still works together with JHF members and sometimes in the name of JHF. But Juki would no longer sing the signature song, *Jogja Istimewa*. Thus, from that time on Juki would rarely perform on stage together with the other four members.

8.4. The Celebrity Leaves the Retinue

After the appropriation efforts by Sultan and the various negotiations involving Juki, JHF took on a unique new mode of existence. To some degree, JHF has now become part of a retinue, an heirloom (*pusaka*), a symbol of power for the Sultan. This has happened without participation by Juki.

The other members of JHF do not share Juki's stance. As noted earlier, Balance was not aware of holding any specific motivation when he joined the *komunitas*. He was intuitively 'going with the flow', joining with friends who shared his interest in Javanese Hip Hop. This was natural behaviour for him, as it was part of his habit of *nongkrong*. Contributing to the *komunitas* for Balance was more or less similar to *nongkrong*. Balance's way of thinking was a reflection of the other three members, simple, egalitarian, individual-yet-collective, and open. Balance's dedication to music was unquestionable. Balance lives for music.

---

[160] Interview with Prof. Sjafri Sairin, 16 June 2014.

Balance, Lukman, Mamok, and Anto all agreed that they were united in the JHF *komunitas* around their desire to produce Java Hip Hop. By doing so, they were living out their own aspirations and dreams. As mentioned earlier, Anto had dreamed of rapping before the Sultan. Lukman and Anto had always stressed the importance of the right behaviour as the 'essence' of being a Javanese. But their ultimate dream was to express their Javaneseness and be known as Javanese rappers. In this, they had succeeded beyond their expectations.[161]

Their success in expressing Javaneseness had encouraged the Sultan to appropriate JHF and make it part of his retinue. By being part of his retinue, JHF can rightfully be considered as belonging to the Yogyakarta "realm/nation" in which the Sultan is the supreme ruler. JHF is now found amongst the Sultan's regalia, to be called upon whenever he requires it, providing Anto and Balance with a sense of pride and identity.

The function of regalia is to support the Sultan in maintaining and expanding his authority. The debates on the special status bill had confronted the Kraton with a critical situation. JHF had given extraordinary assistance to the Sultan in facing this conflict. JHF had created a package that was simultaneously traditional and modern. It had reworked and revitalised Yogyakarta's past and presented it in images that were highly acceptable to contemporary audiences, namely the sounds and symbols of hip hop. This package had done something the more traditional Kraton cultural forms had not been able to do: it had helped in mobilising people opinions by reminding the people about the shared memories that constituted the specialness of Yogyakarta. JHF helped the Sultan's messages to reach a much wider audience, including many young people who might have had a low knowledge of Yogyakarta's history. More than that, JHF was able to reach foreign audiences such as those in the US, Singapore, and Australia.

The most recent development concerning JHF that I can convey here concerns JHF's visit to New Caledonia in the company of the Sultan. They performed in New Caledonia on the 3rd and 4th of September, 2016. They were part of a group of artists specially brought from Yogyakarta. The superstar of the program was the Sultan himself. He was especially invited to participate in a celebration to commemorate the first arrival of Javanese people in New Caledonia, 120 years ago.

---

[161] In my interviews with Anto, Lukman and Balance (6 June, 19 May, and 13 June 2014) they all stated that the success of JHF had exceeded their expectations.

The New Caledonia event reveals that JHF has now become, to some degree, a tool for the Sultan to display his capital. They are part of the royal regalia. More importantly, the collection has the advantage of being a highly acceptable combination of tradition and contemporary arts.

However, Juki chose not to be part of the retinue. As described in the previous section, Juki was in conflict with the Sultan. Juki decided to stop rapping *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama*. Instead, he chose to develop his skills in order to boost his own brand. Juki is now a celebrity. The founding of Libertaria, and his absence from many JHF performances, including the recent one in New Caledonia, mark his departure from JHF and Java Hip Hop. JHF is now in its post-Juki stage.

To sum up, the appropriation by the Sultan shows the capability and willingness of the bigger structure, in this case the Kraton with Sultan as the head, to manage its people and subdue them for its own interest. The journey of JHF led the group, which commenced as an egalitarian *komunitas*, to a destination beneath the patronage of the Sultan. There is irony in this: while taking the cultural form of *komunitas*, JHF embodied ideals of equality and freedom, but the form ended up being co-opted to strengthen the traditional status quo.

9
CONCLUSIONS

This research started as a response to an inquiry triggered by the success of the JHF, which seemed to have occurred over the union of two seemingly contradictory cultural formations: Javaneseness, famous for its politeness, softness, and conformity, and hip hop music, a cultural form famous for its noise and rebelliousness. The JHF's success reached its peak in the form of recognition from the Sultan of Yogyakarta, who bestowed upon the group the Duta Nagari award, as well as in tours of the USA and other countries.

The thesis took as its major theoretical focus a social form for cultural production, *komunitas*. There were four reasons for this focus. First, the members of JHF referred to their own organisation with this term. On many occasions Juki described the JHF *komunitas* as a space of collaboration without walls. Second, the *komunitas* is a distinctly Indonesian form that is not well understood in the academic literature, and an analysis of this highly successful example might yield new insights into Javanese and Indonesian popular culture. For that reason, the preceding chapters have focussed closely on the birth, success and decline of JHF, the social characteristics of the *komunitas*, and the relations of JHF with the bigger structures, especially the Kraton. Third, the JHF's trajectory as a *komunitas* clearly encountered new post-*komunitas* phases as a result of incompatibilities between the *komunitas* and other realities of Indonesian popular culture. This evolutionary story, and especially the role of Juki in it, make the JHF an interesting case study for gaining an understanding of *komunitas*. The last reason is the vital contribution of the remix production process to the JHF trajectory. The process has provided opportunities for JHF to remix as many quotations as possible and from many different sources. In so doing, JHF has also mobilized *komunitas* by directly or indirectly involving many people in its remix process. Remix, the 'gene' of hip hop, has been implemented sucessfuly by JHF, who made the most out of the available resources in the form of language, sounds, texts, and visual to be quoted and remixed to become Java Hip Hop.

9.1 The evolution of the social forms

The JHF *komunitas* was intended to be a home for Jogja rappers having similar interests in Javanese hip hop. In its early and middle stages, it met the criteria of *komunitas* formulated by Acep Zam Zam Noor: it is an infrastructure for the production of culture and for the empowerment of its members, the operating capital of which included the spirit of collectivity, egalitarian, and openness. It meets the description of *komunitas* by Ariel Heryanto (2015), who defined it as a setting which engages members in what they perceive as direct, egalitarian, and authentic social interaction, and also that of Crosby and Hatley (2015), who understand it as a group of artists from across genres, ages, and provinces who shared the same desire to engage in collective cultural production within a social space resembling a neighbourhood. In this case, the relevant neighbourhood was Jogja, for all of the contributors to the JHF's work were connected in some way with this city.

The research embraces some important issues concerning the relationship between culture and political legitimacy. Where the Kingdom of Yogyakarta is concerned, there is an amazing historical precedent for the Sultan's co-optation of the JHF. In the eighteenth century, the political legitimacy of Javanese sultans was supported by cultural work done in specialised artisan *kampung*s located geographically within the *kraton.* Those artisan *kampung* are social forms that differ significantly to the contemporary *komunitas*, for in the eighteenth century, subjects found their place in the world through carrying out duties to the Sultan through the exercise of specialised skills. But there are continuities between them and the JHF in the sense that the JHF also worked to legitimise Yogyakarta's specialness through cultural production. Both submit to the same logic of legitimising the kraton through cultural practice. Gradually, as the influence of the *Kraton* declined, individuals in the artisan *kampung* developed skills that differed from those that constituted the legacy of their village.

I see *nongkrong* as a social activity within which young persons in Jogja find friends with similar interests. Through *nongkrong*, individuals did not only acquire skills, but also learned to build solidarity. The elements of solidarity, equality, support and productivity are cultivated during *nongkrong*. Characterized by playful and easy manners, *nongkrong* does not only maintain the existing social relations but it also provides possibilities to start new relations. Moreover, *nongkrong* may also be part of a creative process, whether it be the initiation or the final stage. In some cases, a *nongkrong* may create a regenerative moment

when an after show *nongkrong* (final stage) results in the decision to start a new project (initiation stage). This is evident in the case of the birth of JHF.

Jogja Hip Hop Foundation as a *komunitas* was proposed and initiated in an after show *nongkrong* (after the performance of Hip Hop Reunion 2003) to unite Yogyakarta rappers and to elevate the then existing Javanese Hip Hop. *Komunitas* JHF mobilised a tremendous array of resources available in Jogja to produce the 'performance package' that it branded as Java Hip Hop. These resources included artists (other rappers, non rappers such as musicians, traditional Javanese singers, dancers, comedians, puppeteers, poets, and many others), non-artists (those involved in managerial works), sponsors (especially the cigarette manufacturer Djarum), institutions (Indonesian French Institute, Taman Budaya Yogyakarta), media, and of course the Kraton itself. Each of these contributed in accordance with their capacity and capabilities. All of those resources were mobilised behind one idea, Javaneseness, which they expressed in the language, sound, and visual elements of JHF performances. Thus, JHF cultural productions were produced by collectives involving rappers and non-rappers alike, in other words, by *komunitas*.

JHF's success impacted on the social relations undergirding the *komunitas* in two different dimensions. Internally, the success impacted upon relations between members, especially as its main member became more and more involved in the apparatus of celebrity, and second, external impact came from the Sultan's efforts to appropriate the group and its songs output. I make conclusion about these dimensions in the following paragraphs.

9.2 The Itinerant vis-a-vis Komunitas

In an after show *nongkrong* after the event called the Hip Hop Reunion in 2003, in front of tens of Jogja rappers, Juki proposed a 'union' of all Jogja rappers in one *komunitas* called Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. At first this *komunitas* was an empowering setting for all hip hop groups in Jogja. It was characterized by equality, collectivity, and openness. Gradually, to meet the demands of the market, it transformed into a group following rigid industrial/professional work practices. For example, it established a management to organize the work flow of the artists.

A paradox emerged when Juki's celebrity grew and Juki became more inclined to market mechanisms. This market inclination collided with the spirit of *komunitas*. A disjuncture

emerged between Juki's individuality and the *komunitas* collectivity. Inevitably Juki followed his own destiny and left, leaving the JHF in its post-Juki stage.

Juki had different ideas about loyalty and locality compared to the other four members. The other four members of JHF are loyal to the locality of Jogja, and had been so since before they met Juki. They remained loyal to Jogja after Juki left JHF. They were born, raised, and had lived in more or less the same geographical and socio-cultural locality, Jogja. In contrast, Juki was born in a different province and lived in a constant state of mobility. One could interpret Juki as having no loyalty to any of the localities he has occupied in his career, or perhaps the reverse is true, and that he has loyalty to all of them. For some of his fellow artists, he is a 'chameleon' having no firm belief, while for other artists, Juki is a genius with a marvellous capability to adjust, adapt, and recontextualize himself.

Juki's character as an itinerant who easily enters and exits socio-cultural spaces proved to have critical importance for the JHF, but it also makes us ask questions about the limits of the *komunitas*. Does itinerancy point to the limitations of the *komunitas*? The paradox of Juki's itinerancy is that the *komunitas* provided the training ground that enabled him to become an artist, and enabled him to create the JHF *komunitas* JHF. But being an itinerant, Juki eventually left the *komunitas* he himself had created. In summary, Juki's itinerancy was fundamental for the birth and success of *komunitas* JHF. It was also his itinerancy that made him leave JHF.

9.3 A Buffer and retinue

This research is a powerful and contemporary reminder of the fascinating nexus between culture and political legitimacy. From the beginning of their dynasties, the Sultans of Yogyakarta have mobilised cultural production for their political legitimacy. It is astonishing that this reliance has not diminished in importance in the present, and perhaps it has even become more critical. The JHF offered something of incredible value to the royal house at a critical time. It was able to package the traditional forms of Javanese culture – linguistic, sound and visual – in musical forms that appealed strongly to contemporary audiences. For younger listeners, these forms had a more powerful appeal in the present than the performance genres and arts that Indonesian publics traditionally connected with the social order of Yogyakarta.

The mobilization was needed during a conflict between two asymmetrical 'structures', the Kingdom of Yogyakarta Hadiningrat, intent on holding firmly to its long-cherished status of political 'independence', and the central government of Indonesia, which was trying to make the Kingdom more 'democratic'. The conflict set in motion the need for the Yogyakarta *kraton* to search for cultural legitimacy. At the right moment, JHF came in between the two structures, providing a buffer by extracting and expressing the 'specialness' of Jogja and its history, expecially in the songs *Jogja Istimewa* and *Song of Sabdatama*. JHF reworked and revitalized memories of Jogja and, through the wonders of representation in sound and visual media, gave JHF "both contact with and distance from the current situation" to make way for reflection and change (Hearns 1980: 304). When facing the threat from Jakarta, JHF gave the people of Yogyakarta an "aesthetic distance" which had the effect of minimising "the stressful impact of dislocating changes" and of mobilising people "at least temporarily, to a better future"(ibid: 305). Their reworking and revitalizing of past memories also softened the collisions between Jogja and the centre, and even prevented direct and frontal collisions. The *Song of Sabdatama* includes the words "*Budaya adalah senjata*" (Culture is a weapon), and the effectiveness of the JHF and its outputs as cultural weapons led the JHF to wish to appropriate it.

When the conflict against Jakarta subsided, the importance of JHF declined, but it still had it significance. It continues in the present to support the Kraton, and to give it legitimacy in the contemporary world. Although the direct risk of conflict has passed for the moment, competition among cultural and political powers persists, and is stimulated by the continuous presence of mass media, commercialization, and commodification. This is the background for the continuation of JHF as a member of the Sultan's retinue.

The competitions among cultural and political powers in Indonesia have become more complicated after the demise of what Baulch described as 'Suharto's thirty-year-old, stodgy, and charismatic New Order regime and its totalizing aspirations (Baulch 2007: 3)'. Power, once centralized in Jakarta, now become dispersed and distributed, albeit unevenly. The 'arena(s)' of contestations become open and no single dominating power has the power to select of forbid individual actors from competing in the arena. Local powers are challenged to manage a balance between preserving traditions and maintaining the pace of development and also dealing with globalization. In such a situation, *komunitas* may play a vital role in

reducing the tension between the competitors, as well as in paving a way for traditional aspirations to be expressed in the contemporary context.

9.4 Final Remarks

This study was completed within a period of a mere four years. It was an exciting time for the JHF. Significant changes affected it during this period, and of course, those changes were a challenge to the management of the research I was conducting about it. The most suitable note on which to end this thesis is the 'unpredictability' of JHF. The itinerancy of Juki, the submission of the other four members, the vitality of their productions, and most of all the individual creative powers combined behind a collective spirit had given their sophisticated interrelations a very dynamic character.

Given his nature, it is difficult to see that Juki will not create another *komunitas*, or return to one or more of the *komunitas* that have provided a home to him in the past. The other four members are highly productive individuals who will continue to perform by themselves, like they did before JHF, or will team up with other individuals and groups in the way that brought success to JHF. There will always be a *Komunitas* open and ready to receive them, since by nature these are always open and treat everybody equally. *Komunitas* provides worlds that are ready to work for the benefit of artists, fans, bringing people together to participate in producing culture, be that culture in the form of hip hop or some other genre.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, L. (2003). The Courtyards, Gates and Buildings of the Kraton of Yogyakarta. *The Kraton: Selected Essays on Javanese Courts*. S. Robson. Leiden, KITLV.

Alim, H . S. (2006). *Roc the Mic Right : the Language of Hip Hop Culture*. New York London,: Routledge.

Alim, Amy. Ibrahim, Awad. Pennycook, Alastair. Ed. (2009). *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language*. Routledge. New York.

Amalia E Maulana, Lexi Z. Hikmah. (2014) "Kick Andy, the Oprah Winfrey TV Show of Indonesia". *Emerald Emerging Markets Case Studies*. Vol. 4 Iss 1 pp. 1 – 13.

Anderson, T. L. (2009). *Rave Culture* : *The Alteration And Decline Of A Philadelphia Music Scene*. Philadelphia. Temple University Press.

Auslander, P. (2004). "Performance Analysis and Popular Music: A Manifesto." *Contemporary Theatre Review*. 14(1): 1-13.

Auslander, P. (2006). "Musical Personae." *The Drama Review*. 50(1): 100-119.

Becker, J. (1972). Traditional Music in Modern Java. *Far Eastern Studies*. Michigan, The University of Michigan. Thesis for Doctor of Philosophy.

Baulch, E. (2007). *Making Scenes : Reggae, Punk, And Death Metal In 1990s Bali*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Bennett, A. (2001). *Cultures Of Popular Music*. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Berland, J. (1998). "Locating Listening: Technological Space, Popular Music, and Canadian Mediations". *the Place of Music*. A. Leyshon, D. Matless and G. Revill. New York, The Guilford Press: 131.

Bodden, M. (2005). "Rap in Indonesian Youth Music of the 1990s: "Globalization," "Outlaw Genres," and Social Protest." *Asian Music*. 36(2): 1-26.

Bodden, M. (2010). *Resistance on the National Stage : Modern Theater And Politics In Late New Order Indonesia*. Athens : Ohio University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1977) *Outline Of A Theory Of Practice*. Cambridge University Press (first published in French in 1972).

Buwono X, Sultan Hamengku. (2007). *Merajut Kembali Keindonesiaan Kita*. PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007. Jakarta.

Chambers, I. (1994). *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London New York, : Routledge.

Chase-Dunn, C. (2003). "Globalization : a world-system perspective". Globalization : Critical Concepts In Sociology. R. Robertson and K. White. London, London : Routledge: 372-394.

Cook, N. (2001). "Between Process and Product: Music and/as Performance." Music Theory Online 7(2). Retrieved 20 August 2014.

Cook, N. and R. Pettengil (2013). Introduction. Taking It To The Bridge : Music As Performance. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press: 1 - 19.

Crosby, A. (2015). "Relocating Kampung, Rethinking Community". *Performing Contemporary Indonesia : Celebrating Identity, Constructing Community.* B. e. Hatley, B. e. Hough, Y. F. K. Murti and C. Ebooks. Leiden, Boston : Brill: 66-82.

Daniels, T. (2009). *Islamic Spectrum in Java*. Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Deis, C. (2015). "*Hip-Hop And Politics*". The cambridge Companion To Hip-Hop. J. A. e. Williams, J. A. e. o. c. Williams and P. Cambridge University, Cambridge, United Kingdom : Cambridge University Press: 192-205.

Evans, Tonya M. (2011). *Sampling, Looping, and Mashing ... Oh my! How Hip Hop Music Is Scratching More Than The Surface Of Copyright Law*. Fordham Intellectual Property, Media & Entertainment Law Journal, Summer, 2011, Vol.21(4), p.843-904

Fernandes, S. (2011). *Close To The Edge : In Search Of The Global Hip Hop Generation*. Sydney, Sydney : NewSouth.

Florida, Nancy. (1987). Reading the unread in traditional Javanese literature. Indonesia No 44 (Oct, 1987), pp. 1-15. *Southeast Asia Program Publication* at Cornell Univeristy.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity.

Guinness, P. (2009). *Kampung, Islam And State In Urban Java*. Honolulu, Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press.

Gunadi, I. (2012). *Komunitas Sastra di Indonesia : Antara Asap Dan Cendawan*. Serang : Dinas Pendidikan Provinsi Banten bekerjasama dengan Komunitas Sastra Indonesia.

Gunawan, R. (1993). Sejarah sosial daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta : mobilitas sosial DI. Yogyakarta periode awal abad duapuluhan. Jakarta.

Gupta, A. and J. Ferguson (2008). "Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference." *Antipoda, Revista de Antropologia y Arqueologia* (7): 233-256.

Hadiati, Chusni. (2014) "Redefining Cablaka "Banyumasan Way of Speaking": Is It Totally Explicature?" *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 4:10 (October 2014) pp2082-2089.

Hatley, B. (2008). *Javanese Performances on an Indonesian Stage: Contesting Culture, Embracing Change.* Singapore, NUS Press.

Hatley, B. (2015). "Contemporary Performance in Central Java -Staging Identities, Constructing Communities". *Performing Contemporary Indonesia : Celebrating Identity, Constructing Community.* B. e. Hatley, B. e. Hough, Y. F. K. Murti and C. Ebooks. Leiden, Leiden

Hearn, F. (1980). "*Communitas And Reflexive Social Theory.*" 3(4): 299-322.

Hebdige, Dick. (1979). *Subculture: the Meaning of Style.* Routledge, 1979.

Hendrianto, Anton Satyo. (2006) Giyanti 1755, Perang Perebutan Mahtoka III dan Terpecahnya Kerajaan Mataram menjadi Surakarta & Yogyakarta. CS Book. 2006. Tangerang.

Henschkel, Marina.(1991) "Perceptions of Popular Culture in Contemporary Indonesia: Five Articles from Tempo", 1980-90. *Tempo Magazine*, May 1991.

Heryanto, A., et al. (2015). "Concluding Comments*". Performing Contemporary Indonesia : Celebrating Identity, Constructing Community.* B. e. Hatley, B. e. Hough, Y. F. K. Murti and C. Ebooks. Leiden, Leiden BostonL Brill: 253-260

Hess, M. (2010). *Introduction. Hip hop In America : A Regional Guide.* M. Hess. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Press. 1.

Hochstrasser, Julie Berger (2011). Batik Belanda: Transformed Identities Cross Boundaries in the Visual Arts. *Dutch Crossing*, 01 July 2011, Vol.35(2), pp.148-161

Holloway, R. (2012) *Musical Worlds* in Yogyakarta by Max M. Richter.

Hood, Mantle. (1980) *The Evolution of Javanese Gamelan Book I Music of the Roaring Sea. Wilhelmshaven* : Edition Heinrichshofen.

Hood, Mantle. (1984) *The Evolution of Javanese Gamelan Book II The Legacy of the Roaring Sea. Wilhelmshaven* : Edition Heinrichshofen

Hood, Mantle. (1988) *The Evolution of Javanese Gamelan Book III Paragon of the Roaring Sea. Wilhelmshaven* : Edition Heinrichshofen

Hough, B. (2015). "Balinese Cultural Communities and Scenes". *Performing contemporary Indonesia : celebrating identity, constructing community.* B. e. Hatley, B. e. Hough, Y. F. K. Murti and C. Ebooks. Leiden, Leiden, Boston : Brill: 120-146.

Inandiak, Elizabeth D and Lady Lesmana. (2005). *Minggatnya Cebolang.* (a translation from French to Indonesian). Agro Media Pustaka, Jakarta.

Inandiak, Elizabeth D. (2008). *Centhini: Kekasih yang Tersembunyi. Babad Alas.* (a translation from French to Indonesian). Yogyakarta.

Inglis, F. (2010). *A Short History Of Celebrity.* Princeton, Princeton : Princeton University Press.

Jackson, Nicholas and Rahmat. (2013). Decoding Basa Walikan – A Preliminary Analysis of Yogyakarta 'Reverse' Language. *International Journal of Indonesian Studies*, Vol 1. Pp. 141-151.

Jurriens, E. (2015). "Shaping Spaces: Video Art Communities and Scenes. *Performing contemporary Indonesia : celebrating identity, constructing community*. B. e. Hatley, B. e. Hough, Y. F. K. Murti and C. Ebooks. Leiden, Leiden Boston : Brill : 98-119

Kartomi, M. (2014). "Concepts, Terminology and Methodology in Music Performativity Research." *Musicology Australia* 36(2): 189-208.

Keyes, C. L. (2002). *Rap Music And Street Consciousness*. Urbana, Urbana : University of Illinois Press.

Kruse, H. (2010). "Local Identity and Independent Music Scenes, Online and Off." *Popular Music and Society* 33:5: 625-639.

Kumar, A. (2006). "Sailing up the Map: A re-examination of constructs of Javaneseness in the light of new evidence." *Indonesia and the Malay World* **34**(98): 23-38.

Kunst, J. (1949). *Music in Java, Its History, Its Theory and Its Technique*. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff

Lai, A. (2006). "Glitter and Grain, Aura and authenticity in the celebrity photographs of Juergen Teller". *Framing Celebrity : New Directions In Celebrity Culture*. S. Holmes and S. Redmond. London, London : Routledge: 215-229.

Lane, M. (2008*). Unfinished Nation : Indonesia before and after Suharto*. London New York, London New York : Verso.

Lessig, Lawrence. (2009) *Remix Making Art And Commerce Thrive In The Hybrid Economy*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Livio, O. and T. Katriel (2014). "A Fractured Solidarity: Communitas and Structure in Israeli 2011 Social Protest". *The Political Aesthetics Of Global Protest : the Arab Spring and beyond.* P. e. Werbner, M. e. Webb, K. e. Spellman-Poots and i. b. Aga Khan University. Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations. Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press. 147-176.

Lockard, C. A. (1998). *Dance of Life : Popular Music And Politics In Southeast Asia.* Honolulu, HI, University of Hawaii Press.

Lull, J. (2000). *Media, Communication, Culture : A Global Approach*. Cambridge, Cambridge : Polity Press.

Luvaas, Brent Adam. (2009). *Generation DIY: Youth, Class, And The Culture Of Indie Production In Digital-Age Indonesia.* A PhD thesis. Anthropology. University of California.

Lysloff, R.T.A., (1993) "A Wrinkle in Time: The Shadow Puppet Theatre of Banyumas (West Central Java)" *Asian Theatre Journal*, vol. 10, No.1 (Spring, 1993), pp. 49-80.

Marsono, ed. (2010) *Centhini Tambang Raras – Amongraga Jilid IV* (translated), Gadjah mada University Press.

Martin-Iverson, S. (2012). "Autonomous Youth? Independence and Precariousness in the Indonesian Underground Music Scene." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 13:4: 382-397.

Mitchell, T. (2001). "Introduction: Another Root-Hip-Hop outside the USA". *Global Noise : Rap And Hip-Hop Outside The USA*. T. Mitchell. Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University Press.

Moedjanto, G. (1986). *The Concept Of Power In Javanese Culture.* Yogyakarta, Indonesia : Gadjah Mada University Press.

Mohammad, M. K. t. D. (2014). *Java Beat in the Big Apple*. Jakarta, POP.

Monfries, J. (2015). *A Prince In A Republic: The Life Of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX Of Yogyakarta*. Singapore, Institute of South East Asian Studies.

Moore, Rebekah E. (2015). *Indie Music In Post-Bomb Bali: Participant Practices, Scene Subjectivities.* a PhD thesis, Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Indiana University.

Mrázek, Jan. (2005*). Phenomenology of a Puppet Theatre : Contemplations on the Art of Javanese Wayang Kulit*. Leiden : KITLV Press

Murti, Y. F. K. (2015). 'Babad Kampung" : Celebrating History and Neighborhood Identity in Yogyakarta. In B. e. Hatley, B. e. Hough, Y. F. K. Murti, & C. Ebooks (Eds.), *Performing contemporary Indonesia : celebrating identity, constructing community* (pp. 45-66): Leiden

Nugraheni, Mubarika D.R.(2016) "Rap di Panggung Nasional: Pengamatan Singkat atas Kontestasi dalam BKKBN National Rap Competition 2014." *Ensemble; Mozaik Musik Dalam Masyarakat*, Laras, Yogyakarta, 2016, pp 7-14

Pemberton, J. (1994). *On the subject of "Java"*. Ithaca : Cornell University Press.

Peterson, R. A. and A. Bennet (2004). "Introducing Music Scenes*". Music Scenes; Local, Translocal, and Virtual*. Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press.

Pike, Andi. (2015). *Origination: The Geographies Of Brands And Branding*. Chichester, 2015.

Price-Styles, Alice. (2015) "MC origins: rap and spoken word poetry" in *The Cambridge Companion to Hip Hop*. Williams, Justin A. ed. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge pp. 11-21

Rein et al. (2006). *High Visibility: Transforming Your Personal and Professional Brand*. New York. MacGraw-Hill.

Richter, M. M. (2012). *Musical Worlds in Yogyakarta.* Leiden, KITLV Press.

Ricklefs, M. C. (2007*). Polarizing Javanese society : Islamic and other visions,* c. 1830-1930. Honolulu, Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press.

Riyanto, Edi. (2016) "Hip Hop With Attitude", *Inside Indonesia* 126 : October-December.

Robson, Stuart. (1999). *The Tripama: A Didactic Poem Of Mangkunegara iv, Indonesia and the Malay World.* 27:77, 34-45.

Rojek, C. (2001). *Celebrity*. London, London : Reaktion.

Schechner, R. (1985). *Between Theater & Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Scott-Maxwell, A. (1993). *The Dynamics of the Yogyakarta Gamelan Music Tradition.* Music Department, Monash University. Doctor of Philosophy Thesis: 366.

Soetarto, E., Ed. (2009*). Keistimewaan Yogyakarta: Yang Diingat dan Yang Dilupakan.* Yogyakarta, Sekolah Tinggi Pertanahan Nasional.

Straw, W. (2006). System of Articulation, logics of change: communities and Scenes in popular music. *Cultural Studies, 5*(3), 368-388.

Sutton, R. A. (2010). "Gamelan Encounters with Western Music in Indonesia: Hybridity/Hybridism." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 22(2): 180-197.

Sutton, R. A. (1984). "Change and Ambiguity: Gamelan Style and Regional Identity in Yogyakarta". *Aesthetic Tradition and Cultural Transition in Java and Bali*. S. Morgan and L. J. Sears. Madison, Center for Southeast Studies University of Wisconsin.

Turner, V. W. (1986). *The Anthropology Of Performance.* New York: PAJ Publications.

Varela, M. E. (2014). "Wayang Hip Hop: Java's Oldest Performance Tradition Meets Global Youth Culture." *Asian Theatre Journal* 31(2): 481-504.

Wallach, J. (2003). ""Goodbye My Blind Majesty". *Music, Language, And Politics In The Indonesian Underground". Global Pop, Local Language*. M. T. Carroll and H. M. Berger., Jackson : University Press of Mississippi: 53-85.

Wallach, Jeremy. (2008). *Modern Noise, Fluid Genres*. University of Wisconsin. Wisconsin.

Wallach, J. (2014). "Indieglobalization and the triumph of punk in Indonesia". *Sounds And The City : Popular Music, Place And Globalization*. B. e. Lashua, K. e. Spracklen, S. e. Wagg and C. Palgrave Macmillan: 148-161.

Whiteley, S. (2004). "Introduction". *Music, Space and Place; Pupular Music and Cultural Identity*. S. Whiteley, A. Bennet and S. Hawkins. Burlington, Ashgate Publishing Company.

Williams, Justin A. (2015) "Introduction" in *The Cambridge Companion to Hip Hop*. Williams, Justin A. ed. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge pp. 1-8

V, S. P. B. (2010). *Centhini*. Yogyakarata, Gadjah Mada University Press.

Vetter, Roger. (1986) *Music for "The Lap of the World": Gamelan Performances, Performers, and Repertoire in the Kraton Yogyakarta*. PhD Thesis. University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Zoetmulder, P.J. (1985) *Kalangwan, Sastra Jawa Kuno Selayang Pandang*. Djambatan. Jakarta

Magazine Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition 2014:

Kertaradjasa, Butet. (2014). "Yogyakarta Calling". *Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition; Jogja Hip Hop Foundation*. Jakarta, PT. a & e Media: 68-71.

Nismara, R. (2014). "The Rolling Stone Interview: Begawan Hip Hop Yogyakarta". *Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition; Jogja Hip Hop Foundation*. Jakarta, PT. a & e Media: 6-18.

Nismara, R. (2014). "The Rolling Stone Interview: Empat Serangkai". *Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition; Jogja Hip Hop Foundation*. Jakarta, PT. a & e Media: 20-29.

Prass, A. (2014). "Jogja Istimewa". *Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition; Jogja Hip Hop Foundation.* Jakarta, PT. a & e Media: 4-5.

Sakrie, Denny. (2014) "20 Lagu Terbaik Jogja Hip Hop Foundation". *Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition; Jogja Hip Hop Foundation.* Jakarta, PT. a & e Media: 76-80.

Sindhunata. (2014) "Membunuh Seorang Penyair". *Rolling Stone Special Collectors Edition; Jogja Hip Hop Foundation.* Jakarta, PT. a & e Media: 48-57

Juki's Articles and JHF's Blogs.

(Note: Kill the DJ, Marzuki Mohammad, Marzuki Mohamad, Cebolang, or Juki are the same person. Sometimes in JHF blogs the name of the publisher is not mentioned, in this case I write Juki.)

DJ, Kill the. (2007a). "Kultur Indie" Subkultur Kita Hari Ini. *Kompas.* 4 May 2007.

DJ, Kill the. (2007b). Anak Singkong Belajar Disko. *Kompas.* 27 July 2007.

DJ, Kill the (2011). "Membedah Lirik Jogja Istimewa." Retrieved 5 January, 2011, from http://killtheblog.com/2011/01/05/membedah-lirik-jogja-istimewa.

DJ, Kill the. (2015). Gegeran Istimewa. https://killtheblog.com/2015/05/12/gegeran-istimewa-6/. 12 May 2015.

Juki (2013) Juki, 29 May 2013. Obituari: Srudak-Sruduk si Kebo. https://killtheblog.com/2013/05/29/obituari-srudak-sruduk-si-kebo/

Juki (2014) http://killtheblog.com/category/artwork/

Juki (2014) http://killtheblog.com/page/7/

Juki (2014) http://killtheblog.com/page/3/

Juki (2016) https://killdblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/artwork-libertaria.jpg

Juki (13 January 2016) http://hai-online.com/Feature/Music/Gambaran-Hip-Hop-Indonesia-Masa-Kini

Mohammad, Marzuki. (2016). Gambaran Hip Hop Indonesia Masa Kini. http://hai-online.com/Feature/Music/Gambaran-Hip-Hop-Indonesia-Masa-Kini. 2 January 2016.

Mohamad, Marzuki.(2009). https://www.youtube.com/user/TheChebolang?feature=mhum

JHF Pictures:

Juki (2007) http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2007/06/poetry-battle-1-%E2%80%93-love-2/enter-your-headline-here-18/

Juki (2009) http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2009/05/angkringan-hip-hop-2/dsc01887/

Juki (2011)http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/POETRY-BATTLE-JKT-476.jpg

Juki (2011). http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/DSC06146.jpg

Juki (2012) http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/06_resize.jpg

Juki (2012) http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/DSC04304.jpg

Juki (2013) http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/23.jpg

Juki (2014) http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/06.jpg

Others: Newspaper, Blogs, and Websites:

Anto (2014) https://soundcloud.com/antogantazz/jogja-hip-hop-foundation-jogja-ora-didol

Ardiansyah, Reza. (2011). in http://hore-punya-blog.blogspot.com/2011/03/kill-dj-ngoceh-paling-jujur-itu-ketika.html, Thursday, March 31, 2011

Belianti. (25 November 2015) http://babel.bkkbn.go.id/Lists/Berita/DispForm.aspx?ID=1839&ContentTypeId =0x0100A28EFCBF520B364387716414DEECEB1E

Cw10. (2008). "Memprotes dan Berekspresi Lewat Lagu". Radar Jogja. November 2008. http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2008/11/memprotes-dan-berekspresi-lewat-lagu-tak-hanya-bling-bling/

Cw10 (2008). "Tak Hanya Bling-bling". *Radar Jogja*. November 2008. http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2008/11/memprotes-dan-berekspresi-lewat-lagu-tak-hanya-bling-bling/

Detu, Rudolf (2010). http://www.rudolfdethu.com/2010/09/14/rock-n-roll-exhibition-marzuki-mohammad/

Fangohoy, Eko. (30 November 2010). Ketika Yogyakarta Tidak Istimewa. http://www.kompasiana.com/ekofangohoy/ketika-yogyakarta-tidak-istimewa_55004b1ea333118d73510475. 30 November 2010

Hipwee community, (1 September 2016) http://www.hipwee.com/event/keseruan-santai-sore-hipwee-ruang-temu-komunitas-dengan-segudang-doorprize/

Juki (2009) http://hiphopindo.yuku.com/topic/4744/t/ANGKRINGAN-HIP-HOP-2.html#.WIDGrVV95hG

Juki (2010). Voice+ Magazine vol 11: "In this Global World, People Still Ask You Where You Came From" Retrieved from:http://www.hiphopdiningrat.com/2013/10/voice-vol-11-marzuki-mohammad/

Noor, Acep Zam Zam. (2012. Komunitas Sastra, Retrieved from :

http://sastra-acepzamzamnoor.blogspot.com.au/

Pangestiko, Frisa. (2014). http://jogjastudent.com/asal-kata-dab/,

Prasetyo, Lukas Adi. (8 June 2012). Juki dan Hip Hop Jawa, Retrieved from: http://regional.kompas.com/read/2010/06/08/15402521/Juki.dan.Hip-hop.Jawa-5

Prayitno, Sugiyanto Hadi. (2016). Saat Jogja Hip-Hop Sihir Penonton New Caledonia. Kompasiana. http://www.kompasiana.com/sugiyantohadi/saat-jogja-hip-hop-sihir-penonton-new-caledonia_57d0b3bf3f23bd27078b456b

Prihandaya, Aan. (2012) https://aanprihandaya.com/2012/09/05/prajurit-kraton-yogyakarta-1/,

Purnandaru, Arfiansyah Panji. (2016). Tapa Bisu Mubeng Beteng Wujud Instropeksi Diri. *Tribun News*, 3 October 2016.

Reed, Kiara. (2012). Indonesian 'Rude Boys' Bring Hip Hop to Mondavi, Sacramento Press, 3 December 2012. http://sacramentopress.com/2012/12/03/indonesian-rude-boys-bring-hip-hop-to-mondavi/.

Renaldi, Adi. (29-09-2011)Yogyakarta era 1990-an: Indie, Grunge dan Lainnya. https://www.jakartabeat.net/feature/konten/yogyakarta-era-1990-an-indie-grunge-dan-lainnya?lang=id. 19-12-2016.

Sarwindaningrum, Irene.(2010) "Hip Hop Jawa Juga Istimewa". *Kompas.* 16 December 2010.

Sudiarno, Tarko. (2010) "Muhammad Marzuki: Hip Hop a la Java". The Jakarta Post. 24 February 2010.

Suryono, Muh Heri. (2015). https://www.seputarevent.com/single-post/2015/09/04/Axe-Black-Lab-Jogja-Sajian-Seru-Untuk-CowokCowok-Kalem. 4 September 2015.

Suyono, Seno Joko and Dwidjo Maksum. (2010) "Perlawanan Rap Centhini". Tempo. 12 December 2010.

Wicaksono, Pribadi (2013). Air Mancur Gagal Menari di Benteng Vredeburg Yogya. https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2013/02/26/058463932/air-mancur-gagal-menari-di-benteng-vredeburg-yogya. 23 February 2013.

http://shaggydogjogja.com/main/contact

http://babel.bkkbn.go.id/Lists/Berita/DispForm.aspx?ID=1839&ContentTypeId =0x0100A28EFCBF520B364387716414DEECEB1E,

http://kemlu.go.id/noumea/id/berita-agenda/berita-perwakilan/Pages/AB160908HIP.aspx

https://killtheblog.com/page/7/

Videos from YouTube

CERIRecords, 4 February 2015, retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvgB4svWLww, (BKKBN Rap Competition)

Mohamad, Marzuki. (2013) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EdjuS8VaTrI (dance of Sabdatama)

Mohamad, Marzuki. (2016). https://www.youtube.com/user/TheChebolang?feature=mhum (Juki video blog)

Mohamad, Marzuki. (2016) https://www.youtube.com/user/TheChebolang/videos (Juki video blog)

Kojek, 2 December 2010, retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ib6brSGDifY. (BKKBN free style competition)

Marzuki Mohamad (2010) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VdBnyQvWYMs (poetry battle 1)

Government Policy

Undang Undang Republic Indonesia nomor 13 Tahun 2012 (Indonesian Republic Act number 13 Year 2012) tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (about the Specialness of the Yogyakarta Special Region), by Indonesian House of Representatives.

Dictionaries:

Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, http://kamusbahasaindonesia.org/