

# Music, Sound and Social Boundaries in Yogyakarta

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## Abstract

*This paper discusses the influence of music and sound on the maintenance and transcending of social boundaries in public spaces in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. With reference to field recordings, it examines social and political contestation in musical settings while also examining how music bridges various social divisions. A street guide – musik jalanan / becak driver – campursari typology is proposed, which is then broadened and variously reinforced or complexified in light of ethnographic examples, thereby revealing cases of inter-group boundary-crossing or -maintenance, cooperation or contestation. The paper addresses the impact of extra-musical sounds and the influence of social context in processes of identifying with, or rejecting particular genres and associated style markers. Musical performances are also examined in this light, with reference to a wide range of musical styles and the roles of event theme and cultural space in hybridisations of, and transitions between them.*

**Keywords:** Yogyakarta; social boundaries; field recordings; street workers; street music; *campursari* music

Yogyakarta is often referred to colloquially as Indonesia's political barometer, and over recent decades has become a major centre of cultural tourism and student activism. It has been researched extensively in terms of its traditionalist and localised neighbourhood relations (Guinness 1986, 2009; Sullivan 1994), a focus that stands in marked contrast to emphases in recent Indonesian popular music studies on Indonesia's outward-looking globally-wired youth cultures (Baulch 2008; Bodden 2005; Luvaas 2009; Wallach 2008). Social interaction and musical performance in Yogyakarta's inner city bring together many such aspects of the local and global. The densely crowded inner city bustles with residents, tourists, students, artists, petty entrepreneurs and civil servants; and public performances traverse traditionalist *gamelan* and *campursari* genres, as well as modernist underground and pop/rock street musics. Empirically-grounded observations of such phenomena help to identify connections between social groups and situations that are as yet under-theorised in youth-oriented popular music studies and traditionalist *gamelan* ones (cf. Perlman 1999).

In a geo-political environment where public perceptions of Indonesia tend to oscillate between ethnocentric demonisation and relativistic romanticism, an ethnographic focus on a wide range of social groups and musical forms in Yogyakarta offers alternative understandings of Indonesian social identities and the cultural

associations that underpin them. In countless everyday exchanges, subjective pronouncements of taste and relatively objective musical genre characteristics cluster, intersect and combine in particular contexts. Music sometimes becomes a source of tension, and at others a bridge between normally separate groups, while perhaps most often, as I will seek to show here, it helps to maintain a peaceful separation between them. In this paper I discuss music and social boundaries in Yogyakarta with reference to a number of field recordings I gathered in 2001, beginning with a discussion of two large occupational groups that dominate the inner-city streets.

## I. Becak drivers and street guides

Among the myriad work and leisure practices around Malioboro Street and the nearby Sosrowijayan backpacker quarter, music and sound play an influential role in the boundary work of various social groups, especially among street workers and their networks of associates (cf. Feld 1990). Most street workers in Yogyakarta are urban practitioners of ‘occupational multiplicity’, who are forced to manage numerous productive activities (for example White 1976; see also Cross 1998), and as such are difficult to define in terms of occupation. As I will now discuss, there are nonetheless two largely distinct groups: *becak* (pedicab) drivers and tourist street guides (*pemandu turis*).

*Becak* is often translated as ‘pedicab’, but it is more vividly described as a two-seater tricycle taxi that looks like a ‘big painted rocking chair on wheels’ (Van Gemert *et al* 1999, p. 98). Based on my first-hand encounters in Yogyakarta, most *becak* drivers reside in a village, often *becak* driving in the city for five days at a time and tending rice fields and/or animals at other times, with their wives also economically active. The drivers’ fares result from their negotiations with customers, and vary according to factors such as weather, terrain covered, and the perceived wealth of the customer. Few drivers speak English, but many keep abreast of national and international news, contrary to the claim that they ‘live in their own small world’ (Van Gemert *et al* 1999, p. 110), and they tend to know the whereabouts of various establishments better than anyone else. Some *becak* drivers ‘dress down’ for their city work while maintaining fine rural dwellings, while many others are physically drawn and clearly undernourished.

Street guides generally sustain themselves as commission agents for tourist services. Defining street guides as a distinct group requires some clarification. Dahles writes of guides that, of the hundreds of ‘young men offering their services to passing tourists[, many] are students, shop assistants, hotel personnel, taxi drivers, and office clerks, even civil servants and teachers with more or less permanent jobs’ (2001, p. 177). Additionally, given that most street guides combine international sales techniques and Javanese indirectness with extremely good acting skills, and the fact that many of them sincerely wished to converse more than gain business, it is difficult to gauge the degree to which a young man’s approach constitutes ‘guiding’. As I will discuss below, one defining characteristic of street guides in Sosrowijayan is the far greater likelihood for them to identify with folk/rock ‘street music’ (*musik jalanan*) and its subcultural sensibilities than with the *campursari* world of *becak* drivers.

*Becak* drivers and street guides are overwhelmingly male, Javanese, lower class Muslims. Despite having these features in common, it is very rare for close friendships

to form between members of each group. To some extent their separate social circles can be understood through the three ideological streams (*aliran*) explored by Geertz (1960). Most *becak* drivers share a penchant for the ‘village’ life, aligning them with the *abangan* stream. But the street guides, who are generally younger and more urban-oriented, fit into all three *aliran*, in that they are generally lower class (*abangan*), Hindu-Java/Muslim (*priyayi*) and petty-entrepreneurs (*santri*). Beatty (1999, p. 28-9) posits a more recent dichotomy between pious *santri* Muslims and *Kejawen* (‘Javanism’), the latter subsuming both *priyayi* ‘high culture’ and *abangan* ‘native peasant tradition’. Both *becak* drivers and street guides in different ways identify with *kejawen*, especially in the enduring reverence *becak* drivers show for *gamelan* and street guides for *wayang kulit*.

Despite sharing some *kejawen* affinities, differences in musical practices and preferences across the two groups are readily apparent in daily life around the street; a point I will return to. Sosrowijayan-based street guides also generally wield more power as a group than that of the *becak* drivers. Most are adept at negotiating in a number of languages, and many of them foster connections with hotel owners, themselves former street guides. Unlike most *becak* drivers, street guides sometimes establish social relationships with foreigners, often leading the latter to pay for guides’ meals and drinks, and in some cases to successful business export partnerships. However, the guides’ power over *becak* drivers is by no means a given. Many of the guides live very humbly and without anything like the *becak* drivers’ ability to fall back on village residency. Their incomes depend on the vulnerability or goodwill of backpacker tourists, many of whom refer to guides as ‘hustlers’ and treat them with suspicion. In addition, many residents of Yogyakarta regard the Sosrowijayan guides with either quirky amusement or quiet resentment, reflecting the reputation for laziness and even dishonesty that they have to endure, which in part accounts for their susceptibility to drug abuse.

Combinations of cultural difference and ambiguous power relations between the *becak* drivers and street guides serve to exercise and challenge their social boundaries in the minutiae of everyday exchange. Ethnographic accounts of specific situations involving these workers and musics serve to either reinforce or complexify this occupation/culture typology, and to therefore reveal cases of inter-group boundary-crossing or -maintenance, cooperation or contestation, and so on. Analysis of sonic dimensions of these and other social boundaries in Yogyakarta begins with reference to recordings of soundscapes and extra-musical dimensions of public performance.

## II. Music and sound in public space

Music and sound more generally influence and reflect social boundaries such as those between the *becak* drivers and street guides discussed here. Musical differences between these street workers are especially evident at their ‘hang outs’ (*nongkrongan*) around Sosrowijayan. A popular form of *nongkrongan* is the *angkringan*, a portable tea and snack stall. Most *angkringan* workers set their ready-stocked stalls strategically close to trading areas. By catering to basic needs, these stalls facilitate interactions between street workers, civil servants and others who otherwise generally remain separate, particularly on Malioboro Street. Around nearby Sosrowijayan, tourism workers situate themselves and ‘hang out’ around the places that supply basic daily

needs and activities, including food, accommodation, telecommunications, tours and transportation.

Public and private spaces merge and overlap in Sosrowijayan; it is both a sleepy traditionalist neighbourhood and an environment of intense global traffic and economic imbalance. While hemmed in by noisy, busy roads, entering any laneway off any of these streets soon gives way to the gentle hum and tinkle of neighbourhood sounds. The first audio examples took place in a cul-de-sac there (Rec-1), by a Sosrowijayan Street *angkringan* in the early evening (Rec-2), and deep inside the neighbourhood away from motorised traffic (Rec-3). Sounds here include public announcements and calls to prayer, chickens, the shuffling feet of passers-by, children, signals of moving food traders, small birds, ice chipping and talking at a tea stall, and idling and passing motorbikes (see also Sutton 1996, p.251-2).

Such soundscapes (Schafer 1977, 2003; Sutton 1996) form the aural context within which street workers carry out their everyday practices, including music-making. These audible interstices in space and time act as transitional zones between the bustle and clamour of commercial exchange and aurally-sensitive neighbourhood interaction, and between the associated activities that are considered appropriate during the day but not at night. They also influence and reflect aspects of the street workers' social relations and their boundaries with each other and with others in and around the neighbourhood. Street guides are generally more at home than *becak* drivers in the neighbourhood laneways, in part because the drivers attain most of their business from the roadside, but also because the street guides' social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) enables them to move with relative ease between quieter tourist social arenas and the rowdy roadside settings. Street guides sometimes occupy roadside *becak* driver 'hangouts' by playing guitars and singing folk/rock songs there; on the other hand, *becak* drivers to my knowledge never settle in to the street guides' music-making domains further into the neighbourhood, much less publicise their presence through music.

Musical and other forms of large-scale public performance around Malioboro Street often take on political dimensions through the event theme and/or simply because political actors are brought into intense proximity with the thousands of people involved in everyday commercial activities there. Extra-musical sounds influence the production and reception of such performances, and in turn the form and nature of social interaction between street guides, *becak* drivers and others. Interplays between on-stage and off-stage sounds, and the deliberate and incidental blurring of performer/audience divisions sometimes reflects participants' abilities to accommodate non-musical sounds, as well as onlookers' tolerance of diverse expressions of cultural identity and the social boundaries that these entail.

In Recording-4 for example, daily traffic and commercial exchange continues amidst the percussive music and proclamation reconstructions of passing palace guards, school ensembles and other groups at the Independence Day parade on Malioboro Street. Second, *Sekaten* rituals at Yogyakarta's Sultan's Palace are probably the best known examples of Javanese cultural tradition (Sedyawati 1998), and its month-long night market in front of the palace is popular with *becak* drivers and *campursari* fans but generally not with street guides. Recording-5 relays the rumble of diesel generators and the alarm-like siren of a children's train on the road from the entrance through to a

musical finale at *Sekaten*'s night market Arts Stage. In Recording-6, the slapstick theatrics of Spanish group 'Zip Zap' cause a rise in rhythmic giggles and finally enthusiastic applause in the predominantly young and educated Indonesian audience. Finally, Iwan Fals remains the most enduring music figure among street guides in Yogyakarta. Early on in one of his concerts, with the sound mix not yet balanced, large segments of the audience break into rhythmic forms of chanting and cheering (Rec-7).

While the above musical performances and extra-musical sounds are generally socially inclusive, so too can the crashing sound of one group deliberately enforce the boundaries between groups (Stokes 1994, p. 9; Marjolis 1992). Around Malioboro Street, extra- or semi-musical phenomena sometimes constitute clear signs of political resistance and/or aggression. Particularly during election periods, physical presence combines with visual symbolism and sonic penetration to command the attention of all those in the protagonists' midst. In Recording-8, two motorbikers rev-up their modified mufflers before joining dozens of others to campaign for a political cause in what in 2001 was commonly called a 'show of strength' (Rec-8) (cf. Brata 1999). In other cases, demonstrators (Rec-9) use megaphones and chanting to convey their messages to both politicians and the general public. Even humorous MC banter, at what is ostensibly no more than an evening of entertainment, serves to disseminate political ideas to passing members of the general public, and at the same time temporarily unite labourers and street vendors (Rec-10).

### III. *Campursari* and *jalan* as style and genre

Along with the social and economic exchange, and convergences of music and extra-musical sounds that help to characterise Malioboro Street, social boundaries and their ambiguities are articulated and contested where references to music and actual musics meet. From a researcher's perspective, identifying connections between musical styles and social groups requires the positing of certain boundaries, in order to steer between extremes of reductionism and overwhelming detail. In turn, field recordings help to delimit musical genres as they are played and labelled by musicians and general members of the public. They also aid the contextualising of associations sometimes made between musical genres or labels and social types, including those of the street workers under discussion here (other examples include pop and middle-class urban youth; *dangdut* and lower-class urban Muslims; and pop nostalgia and the aspiring middle classes). Tendencies toward social tension and accommodation that are generated in informal everyday settings are to varying degrees evident in particular articulations of musical genre, both in musical practice and in discussions related to musical tastes and preferences.

The *becak* drivers' continuing music of choice is *campursari* (mixed essences), a musical genre that took central Java by storm after the release of Manthous' first album in 1994. *Campursari* combines *gamelan* ensembles with western diatonic instruments such as bass guitar, hi-tech keyboards and saxophone, and regional and national forms and instruments (for example *kroncong* ukuleles, *dangdut* drum). In contrast, most street guides prefer western-influenced folk-rock or *jalan* (street) musics generally played on the guitar and the practice of which extends into style statements such as reggae t-shirts, body-piercing and Brit-pop sculptured haircuts. *Becak* drivers display little knowledge of, or interest in, the western and Indonesian rock music played by street

guides, while most guides are not familiar with the *campursari* songs that *becak* drivers enjoy. I repeatedly encountered this divergence between the two work groups in both casual conversations and impromptu music making during fieldwork in 2001.<sup>1</sup> This difference of musical taste is also manifest in attendance at, support for and involvement in public musical entertainment.

*Becak*-drivers' affiliations with *campursari* derive to a large degree from the familiar and soothing sounds and witty lyrics that remind them of their village life. In terms of its musical elements, the pioneer Manthous suggested to me that a *campursari* composer re-mixes existing melodies, often drawing strongly on *kroncong*, *dangdut* and other genres.<sup>2</sup> In his Gunung Kidul studio he demonstrated a diatonic scale pattern on a *saron* (one of his *gamelan* instruments; Rec-11), and also highlighted instrumental breakdowns of some of his then latest music, here featuring among others the *kroncong* ukuleles and *dangdut* 'kendang' drum (Rec-12). I also witnessed Manthous' orchestra in a birthday concert for the local *Kedaulatan Rakyat* newspaper (Rec-13), which was attended by hundreds of *becak* drivers and street vendors but few, if any, street guides.

Diatonic-ised *gamelan* instruments as used in *campursari* orchestras was a source of concern to some people I spoke to, who saw this as yet another example of western homogenisation; others countered that the development allowed for greater musical interaction than previously, and that it was revitalising interest in Javanese arts among young villagers who were otherwise beginning to abandon *gamelan* and related Javanese arts for western-style popular culture. In my experience, *becak* drivers are only interested in explaining their distaste for western pop by restating their fondness for *campursari*; and street guides do not openly disparage *campursari*, but instead speak positively of Javanese *wayang kulit* and its associated philosophy.

In other settings over the same period I recorded live versions of the constituent sub-genres and formats of *campursari* that Manthous had explained, including *gamelan* at the Sultan's Palace (Rec-14), a *langgam Jawa* busker late at night by Sosrowijayan Street (Rec-15), *kroncong* by an aficionado on solo guitar (Rec-16) and *kroncong/langgam* or *siteran* at an eatery to the south of town (Rec-17). *Kroncong* music is significant among these (Becker 1975; Harmuna 1987): it draws on five centuries of East/West interactions, includes influences from old Jakarta and west Java, the former Portuguese empire, eastern Indonesia and Hawaii, and can be seen as a variation of what Feld has called 'Pan-Pacific acoustic string band popular music' (2003, p. 235). I also recorded *dangdut* at Purawisata theme park, which was attended mostly by lower class young Muslim men (Rec-18). *Dangdut*'s musical elements broadly comprise Melayu rhythms and *orkes melayu* ensembles; a tabla or a *kendang* drum (and the onomatopoeic 'ndang dut' sound of the rhythm); Indian flute, particularly as heard in Hindi film music; keyboards, and heavy metal guitar (Frederick 1982; Kartomi 1998; Lockard 1998). Finally, a *becak* driving, *campursari* fan invited me to his village to hear the 'real' *campursari* (Rec-19).

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<sup>1</sup> On a more recent visit in 2005 I was told that a couple of former street guides were now including *campursari* songs in their musical repertoire; and conversely that a Sosrowijayan-based *dangdut Jawa / campursari* group had reformed and now played *pop lama* (The Beatles, Koes Plus, etc). The division otherwise remained.

<sup>2</sup> I spent over a week with Manthous at his Gunung Kidul studio in August 2001, where we talked about travel, football, relationships, current affairs and, especially, his music. In recent years Manthous has been debilitated by a stroke. For a contrasting view of *campursari*, see Supanggih 2003.

The above examples suggest that efforts to equate live musical practices with particular genre labels require reference to the performer/listener context. This is further underscored by the context-dependant ways in which people refer to particular musical genres. As examples, during the period around Indonesian Independence each year, the nationalist term *kroncong* tends to refer to a wider range of musics than at other times (cf. Geertz 1960). Many Indonesians have referred to *dangdut* as *musik kampungan* ('hick music'), generally derogatorily, to distance themselves from the urban lower-classes; and yet the same *dangdut* music has also been embraced by an increasingly broad spectrum of Indonesian society (cf. Perlman, 1999, p. 3), even if only in the privacy of familiar company. As another example, in 2001 I noticed that many people less familiar with the *campursari* genre used the term not in reference to the elements described above, but rather as a catchword to denote the combining of any otherwise largely discrete genres. While definitions of local music experts generally complied with that of Manthous, the label was nonetheless complicated by the fact that many *campursari* songs were slightly modified versions of earlier *langgam Jawa* and related folk tunes. Quite often, even enthusiasts such as *becak* drivers would call such songs *campursari* even if they were played by a street musician on solo guitar.

In downtown Yogyakarta, the fluidity of the descriptive terminology for cultural expressions that street workers employ is equally evident in the case of 'street music'. As mentioned above, most street guides and their associates use the term *musik jalanan* (street music) to refer to the western-influenced, politically-conscious folk-rock of artists such as the national rock superstar Iwan Fals. While the inner-city *anak jalanan* ('street child') term tends to engender sympathy or derision (Solvang 2002), *musik jalanan* generally carries 'street cred' and pop culture iconography to the point of being a subculture. At the same time, on the streets themselves many Javanese street musicians play instruments and forms from or resembling those of courtly *gamelan* orchestras (Lockard 1998, p. 58). These include *karawitan*, *langgam*, *kroncong* and to a degree *dangdut*, all of which underpin much of what constitutes *campursari* music. Recordings 11-19 above all relate to the music played by a large proportion of street musicians in Yogyakarta, but not street guides and their street-oriented folk-rock musics. Street guides such as those that formed a band in Sosrowijayan branched out instead into the fields of popular Latin American music and regional folk tunes from Sumatra and elsewhere.

These occupational groups constitute largely separate musical worlds: *becak* drivers and *campursari*, and street guides and folk/rock street music (*musik jalanan*) (cf. Body 1982). However, these musical affiliations contain ambiguities, as is further reflected in the role of music in power relations between the groups. While playing Indonesian and western folk/rock may impress some tourists, the musical tastes of the vast majority of Javanese outside relatively westernised Sosrowijayan have more in common with *becak* drivers than with street guides. *Campursari* retains an important connection with *gamelan* and other regionalist forms, whereas many Javanese adults liken (particularly electric) guitars to children's toys, and by extension view the practices and style markers of street guides with some condescension.

Although people's musical tastes often change over time and according to context, in 2001 particularly the folk-rock/*campursari* divergence between street guides and *becak* drivers was a sign of marked social division in downtown Yogyakarta. 'Street music' and its associations with street-cred on the one hand, and less explicitly with

Javanese cultural identity on the other, was a space of contestation between *becak* drivers and street guides. This sometimes emerged in the search for or refutation of common ground in informal conversations at *ankgringan* and other ‘hangouts’, and at others in formal selection processes over which musical groups and genres should represent Sosrowijayan at public events. However, given the context of frequent territorial and other tensions and disputations that characterised large parts of Indonesia in this period (Kristiansen 2003), perhaps more significant was the role that music played in the largely peaceful maintenance of social boundaries between these groups (cf. Kahn 2003).

#### IV. Hybridisations and transitions

Social boundaries are variously generated, reinforced, challenged and transcended at events involving music (Cowan 1990). These are enacted as people move about within the setting, shift conversation topics and so on, which in turn can influence and be influenced by hybridisations of musical forms and transitions between them. Unlike the occupational and musical genre divisions which characterise nocturnal street life around Sosrowijayan, neighbourhood performances tend to bring musical hybridisations and gender and generational aspects of identity to the fore.

An example of this occurred at a café opening party attended by Sosrowijayan residents, a number of street guides and a few others. During the first half of the party, a solo keyboard player (*electone*) accompanied singers from among the seated guests. They began with *pop lama* (older pop) songs, after which Manthous’ *campursari* hit ‘Kempling’ enlivened the participants, in part through the ‘owei-owei’ sing-along choruses, and also because a normally ‘*halus*’ (refined) homemaker was now singing and acting-out like a ‘star’. Third, *dangdut* songs such as ‘Terlena’ gave rise to hoots as a youthful mother danced (*joged*) and sang, and many sang along in semi-parodic tones. Finally, the slow doo-wop ‘Surti Tejo’ by the ex-*jalanan* pop group Jamrud, included hand-clapping and parodic choruses by a number of the newly enlivened street guides (Rec-20). Soon after this the families and their friends all rose from their chairs and made their way home, after which street guides and their friends soon gathered guitars and continued drinking while singing Swami and other folk/rock *jalanan* songs.

A neighbourhood event to the west of Sosrowijayan involved weeks of rehearsals (Rec-21), included *becak* drivers and older street guides, and featured humorous genre-transgressing accompaniments to young women singers’ renditions of well-known songs. None of the songs was purely *campursari* in the sense of featuring the *gamelan* gongs, but at the same time, the group’s *dangdut* inflections of popular *dangdut* songs were largely offset by the deep thudding rock-style bass and drums and the *kroncong*-associated string instruments (Rec-22). Both of these cases highlight interplays between hybridised musics and the crossing of gender, generational and, to an extent, street worker social boundaries.

In tandem with these kinds of hybridisations and transitions, particular songs appear and re-appear in different configurations of cultural space, social identity and musical genre. Put another way, by drawing attention to the social groups and musical genres weaving through the cultural spaces where musical performances take place, it becomes evident that textual elements of a song (title, lyrics, melody) often cross over

and merge with particular instrumental arrangements and other musical variables, in turn influencing social boundaries.

For example, members of the long-running Malioboro Arts Community and ‘Malioboro Streetside Singing Group’ (*Kelompok Penyanyi Jalanan Malioboro*, KPJM) in my experience respect *kroncong* and other genres that underpin *campursari*, but rarely actually play or choose to listen to them. But ‘Geger’ (Rec-23) by KPJM, which cautions against the loss of Javanese culture and remains very popular among street guides, contains within it variations on the lyric, melody and general sound of ‘Prahu Layar’, the latter of which many *becak* drivers know intimately through *campursari* orchestras (Rec-24). Another example is Manthous’ ‘Kempling’, also a major *campursari* hit. However, Recordings 20 and 22 discussed above demonstrate that the song can in certain contexts induce the participation of street guides who otherwise show little interest in *campursari* and *becak* drivers’ musical tastes more generally. To the extent that the pleasures of such hybridised musical experiences are carried into daily life (Bendix 2000), such songs and sensibilities at least potentially help to bridge social divisions such as those between street guides and *becak* drivers.

The final example of how musical performance and social boundaries influence each other occurred at a five-day street music contest held at the Indonesian Air Force Academy in Yogyakarta. Most of the street musicians who participated in the event straddle both Javanist and folk/rock sensibilities. Renditions of the Ambonese folk song ‘Sio Mama’ (My Loving Mum) shifted from up-beat *kroncong* (Rec-25) to soulful harmonies (Rec-26), and medleys containing atmospheric embellishments (Rec-27) and overt criticism of the former Soeharto regime (Rec-28). Given that the musicians here utilized the same song to promote a sense of national unity, to embark on musical experimentation, *and* to make an overt political statement, I would argue that they neither simply deferred to nor sought to subvert the Indonesian military; rather, social and political boundaries between the groups were at different times challenged and reconfirmed through music.

## V. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed some of the influences that music and social group boundaries have on each other in Yogyakarta’s public spaces, and have drawn on field recordings to do so. With reference to the musical practices and context-dependant tastes of street guides, *becak* drivers and others, I have argued that music variously reinforces and challenges separations between social groups. Earlier sections of the paper discussed characteristics of *becak* drivers and street guides as relatively distinct groups, and considered the influence of sonic dimensions of their work-a-day environments on their social relations. The latter cases then showed that utterances of genre labels such as *campursari* and *musik jalanan* are to a considerable degree subjective and dependant on social context, and that the fluidity of songs, genres and instrumentation in performance at times challenges the street guide – *musik jalanan* / *becak* driver – *campursari* typology proposed at the outset.

I wish to conclude the paper with reference to another aspect of musical life in Yogyakarta that to some degree helps to breakdown social boundaries between groups such as street guides and *becak* drivers. This aspect is the songwriters and performers

who, like KPJM and the street musicians at the Air Force Academy discussed above, draw on Javanist symbology in a broadly western folk format (Rec-29, Rec-30). Just as *campursari* is one means for *becak* drivers and other enthusiasts to bring Javanese musical and cultural sensibilities into the realm of diatonic popular music, so too do these latter cases provide scope for urban- and globally-oriented people in Yogyakarta to draw on the rich cultural heritage in their midst.

As Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) has amply demonstrated, social and cultural processes such as those discussed here are not based simply on aesthetic preferences, but rather constitute contests over various forms of capital. Beyond reducing all musical expression to quests for capital however, in this paper I have argued that music variously exacerbates tension and bridges and maintains peaceful social divisions among *becak* drivers, street guides and others in Yogyakarta. I have sought to show that ethnographic case studies involving a wide range of musical and social phenomena provide a fruitful way to better understand these kinds of outcomes. In line with Peek's remark that '[w]e should no longer accept "silent" publications on sound' (cited in Rice 2005, p. 204), I have also drawn extensively on field recordings in order to examine sonic dimensions of these relationships.

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