

Note

A grassroots perspective on Yogyakarta's art world

Denise Tsui

Since the closing years of the twentieth century, two parallel yet complementary trajectories in the global art world have improved the visibility of non-Western art. First, the expanding global art auction market has propelled the circulation of art as a sought-after commodity or as investment. Second, there has been a proliferation of international art fairs and exhibitions, along with the development of a non-Eurocentric art historical discourse and scholarship on non-Western art.

The spotlight in the art market has shifted towards Asia, fuelled by global communications and travel. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, this shift led to inflated prices for contemporary Chinese art, with prices continuing to stay firm through the global financial crisis.¹ Prior to this, contemporary art from Asia was not seen as a highly tradable commodity in Western art market terms.

The rise of the Chinese market directly influenced the market for contemporary Indonesian art,² which saw the results of the China art boom directly trickle into the Indonesian market as collectors and practitioners sought to establish Asia as a key cultural centre.³ Indonesian artists, dealers and collectors became aware of rising market prices and buyer demands. Indonesian contemporary art no longer exists in a bubble; inevitably the art scene has rapidly responded and expanded with a desire to place itself internationally.

The second trajectory that has shaped non-Western art worlds is the developing discourse of art through engagement with major international exhibitions such as the Venice Biennale and Kassel's Documenta. More commercial art fairs have emerged

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1 In 2007 Sotheby's New York, sold *Chapter of a new century: Birth of PRC* by contemporary Chinese artist Zhang Xiaogang for US\$3 million. Prior to this his works generally sold for no more than US\$30,000. See Eddy Soetriyono, 'How long will the prices of contemporary art continue to rise?', *C-Arts*, 6 May 2008, <http://c-artsmag.com/betac-artsmag/index.php/articles/view/16>; and Stefano Baia Curioni, 'A fairy tale: The art system, globalization and the art fair movement', in *Contemporary art and its commercial markets: A report on current conditions and future scenarios*, ed. Maria Lind and Olav Velthuis (Berlin: Sternberg, 2012), pp. 132–3.

2 The term is used as a generalisation here; defining the precise characteristics and definitions of contemporary Indonesian art is beyond the scope of this research.

3 See Yuliana Kusumastuti, 'Market forces: A case study of contemporary art practice in Indonesia' (M.A. thesis, Charles Darwin University, 2006), p. 31; Asmudjo Irianto, 'Tradition and the socio-political context in contemporary Yogyakarta art of the 1990s', in *Outlet: Yogyakarta within the contemporary Indonesian art scene*, ed. Jim Supangkat (Yogyakarta: Cemeti Art Foundation, 2001), p. 71; Jogja Art Fair, 'ART|JOG|11: Focus|Group|Discussion', transcript of a focus group discussion held at the Indonesian Visual Art Archive, Yogyakarta, 17 July 2011, p. 1.

locally and globally, catering for the consumption of wealthy and culturally interested middle classes.⁴ Biennials and plurennials have progressed in parallel to the art fairs and the two have combined to become a force in the contemporary art world. Historically, both have coexisted with differing agendas; however, there is increasing cross-exchange between the two, with art fairs tapping into the discourse of art and exhibitions being unable to avoid the influence of a commodity-driven market.

The emergence of global art studies has also radically changed the perception of non-Western art, which was once considered exotic or marginalised.⁵ Some theorists and historians have argued that globalisation has led to the need for the decentralisation of art history and the rewriting of the canon to remove the hierarchy of Eurocentric art centres.⁶ The perception of exoticism still exists, however; only it does so within a contemporaneous context.

The exoticism of a culture different to our own remains the primary appeal of non-Western art to the Euro-American-dominated art world. The unknown and the foreign intrigue us. The contemporary context of exoticism frames non-Western art by the conditions of its making. The work of art is the consequence of the artist's surrounding influences, encompassing socio-political conditions and the art environment. Howard Becker theorised that the art world is made up of various players with differing roles that all lead to the resulting works of art.⁷ In short, a work of art is defined by the history, culture and traditions of its place of making and often, the artist's own heritage.⁸

The early 1990s was an important time for a growing number of Indonesian artists who began to participate in art forums and events in countries such as Australia, the Netherlands, Japan, Korea, Switzerland, Brazil, Taiwan and Britain.⁹ This enabled them to expand their knowledge and practice of contemporary art, which was soaked up by a new generation of artists seeking independence from Modernist ways. As noted by Australian curator Christine Clark, '[c]hange was inevitable; the scene was transforming rapidly, driven by an increase in opportunities, knowledge and experience, all greatly facilitated by travel and electronic communications.'¹⁰

Both trajectories of the global art world, the commercial and the discursive, have led to the current popularity of contemporary Indonesian art.¹¹ The

4 Sabine B. Vogel, 'Bridging the world: The role of art criticism today', in *The global contemporary and the rise of new art worlds*, ed. Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel (Karlsruhe: Center for Art and Media, 2013), p. 258.

5 Hans Belting claims that 'globalisation is the single most important event in today's art scene.' See Belting, 'Contemporary art as global art: A critical estimate', in *The global art world: Audiences, markets and museums*, ed. Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg (Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2009), p. 68.

6 Ibid., p. 48; Charlotte Bydler, *The global artworld inc.: On the globalization of contemporary art* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2004), p. 150.

7 Howard S. Becker, *Art worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

8 *Tradition and change: Contemporary art of Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Caroline Turner (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1993), p. xiv.

9 M. Dwi. Marianto, 'Yogyakartan art: Trends prior to the third millennium' (p. 162), and Irianto, 'Tradition and the socio-political context' (p. 71), in Supangkat, *Outlet*.

10 Christine Clark, 'Turning of the tide: Thirty years of contemporary Indonesian art, 1975–2005', *Art and Australia* 51, 1 (2013): 121.

11 See Amudjo J. Irianto, 'Eyeing Indonesian contemporary art', in *Indonesian eye: Contemporary Indonesian art*, ed. Serenella Ciclitira (Milan: Skira, 2011), pp. 23–7; Agung Hujatnika, 'Indonesian

commercialisation of Indonesian art since the 1990s also reflected the rapid economic growth of big cities in Indonesia.¹² The second art market boom of 2008 led to more collectors buying Indonesian paintings from the major auction houses at exorbitant prices without knowing their real value, particularly in comparison to European art.¹³ This phenomenon placed pressure on artists, driving them to rapidly produce more to satisfy demand. While this has led to a wealth of Indonesian art remaining in the country, much of this work is poorly documented prior to being sold to private collections and not publicly accessible.¹⁴

The world of Indonesian contemporary art remains relatively underassessed, and is still transforming, however. This article will attempt to examine one node of the contemporary Indonesian art world: the art activities and community in the city of Yogyakarta, Central Java. This essay presents a grassroots perspective from practising artists in the city.¹⁵ In doing so, I hope to shed some light on the conditions framing contemporary Indonesian art generally.

Cultural diversity in Yogyakarta

'Jogja is a big village'

Bambang Witjaksono¹⁶

To understand how the contemporary Yogyakarta art world functions, artist and curator Bambang Witjaksono felt it was necessary that one was aware of its turbulent history. The Special Region of Yogyakarta, according to Bambang, is a city of education and tolerance. As a historic kingdom ruled by a sultan prior to independence, Yogyakarta has an ancient and diverse history encompassing many cultures from other parts of Indonesia, such as Sulawesi, and abroad, such as China, Spain, Portugal and the

contemporary art in the international arena', in Belting et al., *The global contemporary*, pp. 338; Susan H. Ingham, 'Powerlines; Alternative art and infrastructure in Indonesia in the 1990s' (Ph.D. diss., University of New South Wales, 2007); Jim Supangkat, 'A brief history of Indonesian modern art', in Turner, *Tradition and change*, pp. 47–57; Jim Supangkat, *Indonesian modern art and beyond* (Jakarta: Yayasan Seni Rupa Indonesia, Museum Universitas Pelita Harapan and Edwins Gallery, 1996).

12 Hujatnika, 'Indonesian contemporary art', p. 337.

13 Rizki Zaelani, 'Yogyakarta art of the 1990s: A case study in the development of Indonesian contemporary art', in *Outlet*, pp. 107–36; Irina Vogeslang, 'The art market bubble of contemporary Indonesian art: Part of a global development?', in *Global studies: Mapping contemporary art and culture*, ed. Hans Belting, Jacob Birken, Andrea Buddensieg and Peter Weibel (Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011), pp. 90–91. In 2012, at the Christie's Asian 20th Century Art (Day Sale) auction in Hong Kong, the seventh-highest price of the sale (HKD\$3,860,000) went to Indonesian artist S. Sudjojono's *Ngaso*. On the previous night, *Barong dance* by Indonesian artist Affandi achieved HKD\$4,220,000, the second-highest price for the artist at auction. See Nick Forrest, 'Why Indonesian artists are hot property', *Art market blog with Nic Forrest*, 6 Jan. 2012, <http://www.artmarketblog.com/2012/01/06/why-indonesian-artists-are-hot-property-artmarketblog-com/>.

14 Sumartono, 'The role of power in contemporary Yogyakarta art', in *Outlet*, p. 32.

15 The fieldwork for the initial study was conducted during two visits in July and November 2013. Interviews with artists were conducted over two weeks in November 2013. The questions centred on ArtJog, an annual art fair in Yogyakarta, which was the focus of the thesis. However, what emerged from the fieldwork and interviews extended beyond the art fair and is presented here as a separate extension of that research.

16 Bambang Witjaksono and Satriagama Rakantaseto, interview, Yogyakarta, 22 Nov. 2013.

Netherlands, which ruled the archipelago for three centuries until the mid-twentieth century.¹⁷

Bambang Witjaksono and Satriagama Rakantaseto, the director of ArtJog, make a clear distinction between the traditional Javanese arts and the contemporary art and culture of Yogyakarta. Traditional Javanese arts are ethnographic displays and demonstrate the work of craftspersons trained in those traditions, whereas contemporary art in Yogyakarta encompasses the traditional Javanese arts, but is also infused with the cultures it has welcomed over the years; thus in this sense it is not a 'pure art', but one of multicultural influences.¹⁸ Furthermore, Yogyakarta art displays characteristics which are different to the art of other regions in Indonesia: several locally based artists describe it as being more experimental and less institutionalised than the art of Bandung or Jakarta.¹⁹

It is also not unusual for expatriate artists to be permanently based in Yogyakarta. Many artists, local and expatriate, based in other regions including Bali, Bandung and Jakarta, gravitate to and regularly visit Yogyakarta. Many Indonesians also relocate to Yogyakarta, to study art at the Indonesian Institute of Art (ISI) or to expand their artistic practice. This is partly due to the low cost of living in Yogyakarta and the attraction of being a part of a collective vibe that is characteristic of Yogyakarta. Bambang described it as a village while others called the artistic community in Yogyakarta a family, albeit a diverse one.

The art world as a community

'...even if there is no market they don't care because living is not expensive in Yogyakarta. And artists help other artists so [the] economy is not a problem.'

Heri Dono²⁰

Indeed, in Yogyakarta, or Jogja, as it is known locally, there is a prevailing sense of community spirit amongst artists, curators and other arts practitioners. As an art scene that was still seen as emerging in the early 2000s, Yogyakarta's self-sufficiency is remarkable. The word 'family' is frequently used to describe many of the artist clusters dotted in and around the city, with the notion of 'the Jogja way'²¹ credited as the backbone of this close-knit art community. The 'Jogja way' is the essence of the city's art world. It is the idea that anything is possible as long as there is the passion and desire to make it happen. Artists support one another in all aspects, emotional, financial or otherwise. Established artists mingle and generously mentor early career artists. The 'Jogja way' is the belief in community spirit and the individual artist's responsibility to contribute positively to society in ways that benefit the next generation.

17 David P. Chandler et al., *The emergence of modern Southeast Asia: A new history* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 123–36.

18 Bambang Witjaksono and Satriagama Rakantaseto, interview, Yogyakarta, 22 Nov. 2013.

19 My first-hand observations were only of artists visiting Yogyakarta from Bandung and Jakarta. There were fundamental stylistic differences in their art; however, I cannot be sure if this was the norm or the exception through my limited observation.

20 Heri Dono, interview, Yogyakarta, 24 Nov. 2013.

21 Bambang Witjaksono and Satriagama Rakantaseto, interview, Yogyakarta, 22 Nov. 2013; Farah Wardani, 'ART|JOG|11; Focus|Group|Discussion', p. 17.

On giving back to society

'That's why for me its important to develop arts as an artist as a part of social life, as a society, as a neighbourhood, or even socially, culturally and intellectually.'

Iwan Effendi²²

Artist and artistic director of Papermoon Puppet Theatre Iwan Effendi's sentiments are shared by many of the city's artists and curators. Despite the fact that they make up a very small proportion of the population of more than 600,000, in Yogyakarta it would seem that 'artists are everywhere'.²³ The art world in Yogyakarta has a strong presence in the city. Artists also display a strong sense of shared responsibility for their society, which is one reason for the city's vibrancy. Four of the artists interviewed in the study shared their dream project, which exemplified their core beliefs. In all cases the project was one of humble sensibilities.

Iwan Effendi and artist Maria Tri Sulistyani (better known as Ria Papermoon) of Papermoon Puppet Theatre discussed their plans to build a small museum and education space dedicated to puppetry and the performing arts. Land has already been successfully acquired in Yogyakarta and the husband and wife duo have been working towards saving the funds to realise their dream. They felt that there was a lack of smaller spaces for people who wanted to pursue contemporary puppetry and Ria expressed a particular passion for nurturing children in the visual and performing arts.

The internationally renowned artist Heri Dono is reaching out further and pursuing a project in Kalimantan supporting local artists living in the villages. He explained that as they lived in a place with no collectors, galleries or institutions, the artists had little to no access to resources and education. His goal is to start by providing a stable electricity supply funded through sales of his own work, and from there, to actively support the community of artists by improving their resources and increasing their opportunities. Within Yogyakarta Heri Dono also mentors younger artists and hosts many visitors from abroad to encourage the development of the city's international art profile.²⁴

Although the conceptual framework of his dream project is more open-ended, sculptor Eddi Prabandono wants his sculptures to be accessible in such a way that people from all backgrounds can enjoy them.²⁵ This belief that the arts should be accessible and enjoyed by all is seen as particularly important in a city and a country where many still live by the simplest of means and in some measure of poverty. Despite Indonesia's economic growth, art is a luxury and the artists are well aware of this. Many Yogyakarta artists involved in the global art world are tertiary educated or at least privileged enough to have had the finances to study art. Their awareness of Indonesia's socioeconomic situation, and their own place within it, is perhaps why the Yogyakarta art scene is one driven by a community spirit.

22 Iwan Effendi and Maria (Ria) Tri Sulistyani, interview, Yogyakarta, 18 Nov. 2013.

23 Bambang Witjaksono and Satriagama Rakantaseta, interview, Yogyakarta, 22 Nov. 2013.

24 Heri Dono, interview, Yogyakarta, 24 Nov. 2013. The hospitality that was extended to me was an example of his generous nature. For the interview I visited Heri's studio and home. Upon leaving, I was gifted a large bag of mangoes picked fresh off his trees.

25 Eddi Prabandono, interview, Yogyakarta, 26 Nov. 2013.

The inspiration for street artist Farhan Siki, for instance, comes from his everyday experiences. He is critical of Indonesia's rising consumerism, particularly the effects of global branding on the younger generation. Farhan began his art practice by painting murals and decorating the carts of street food vendors in the hope of helping their owners attract more customers. To this day, despite exhibiting locally and abroad, the essence of Farhan's work remains with the streets where it began. For him, it is the direct interaction with ordinary people that often influences the final outcome of a mural and fuels his practice.²⁶

The humility and vision of these artists, all of whom have exhibited, performed and travelled overseas, and returned to share their knowledge, also helps to explain why the art world of Yogyakarta has been successfully self-sustaining.

Creative resourcing: How artists make it work

'It is not easy to have this kind of vibe like we have in Jogja.'

Ria Papermoon²⁷

Another aspect of 'the Jogja way' is the creative and dynamic pursuit of resources to support artistic endeavours. Until recently contemporary art in Indonesia has suffered from a lack of state funding and support. The crippling gaps in arts infrastructure left artists seeking creative ways to sustain their work. While in the last decade or so there has been more interest and support from overseas institutions and organisations, survival instincts have not dimmed. Many Yogyakarta-based artists view the highs and lows of the global art market as not sufficiently affecting their survival as a community. This is for several reasons. First, as mentioned, the cost of living in Yogyakarta remains relatively inexpensive. Second, the idea of 'family' runs deep within these artist clusters and artists genuinely help one another through difficult periods. As Heri Dono explained, '... we don't have any problem about we have market or not market'.²⁸ While the rise of a market for Indonesian art has certainly raised its profile, the Yogyakarta art scene is not driven by commercial success, but by a sense of community and shared responsibility.

The art fair in Yogyakarta: First impressions

'The only thing that can be presented at an international level is art and culture.'

Satriagama Rakantaseta²⁹

Attending Yogyakarta's annual art fair, ArtJog, for the first time in July 2013, the professionalism of the event was immediately noticeable.³⁰ It followed Western curatorial conventions. The internal walls were painted a conventional white. The exhibition was in a spacious room with numerous alcoves, with the spotlighting of individual artworks. Unlike the regular art fair model, however ArtJog is an artists'

26 Farhan Siki, interview, Yogyakarta, 25 Nov. 2013.

27 Iwan Effendi and Maria Tri Sulistyani, interview, Yogyakarta, 18 Nov. 2013.

28 Heri Dono, interview, Yogyakarta, 24 Nov. 2013.

29 Bambang Witjaksono and Satriagama Rakantaseta, interview, Yogyakarta, 22 Nov. 2013.

30 ArtJog 2013 was held at Taman Budaya, Yogyakarta, from 6 to 20 July 2013.

art fair without the direct involvement of commercial galleries. The fair is essentially a large curated exhibition organised by the art management group, Heri Pemad Art Management, working directly with artists.³¹

For the purposes of the original study, I was invited to attend the VIP preview the day before the official opening night. The exhibition building's façade, which was being covered with flattened oil barrels, was still hastily being worked on for the official opening event the following day. Sparks rained down on my colleagues and myself as workers continued welding away above us; it became a game of dodging the sparks. I was at once astonished by the odd experience of the incomplete haphazardness of the exterior and impressed by the professional standard of display and curating inside.

ArtJog: From intention to expectation

'... for the first time we have a commitment to support young artists.'

Bambang Witjaksono³²

Bambang Witjaksono has been the curator of ArtJog since 2010. A practising artist himself, Bambang understands the importance of building the careers of young artists. Aside from being both a curator and an artist, he has established himself as a mentor and teacher with a genuine commitment to the Indonesian art scene. According to Bambang, before ArtJog there was no significant art fair in Indonesia. The idea of developing an artists' art fair was a way to overcome the lack of a solid arts infrastructure in Indonesia and based on the belief that the strength of the art scene was in the artists themselves.

For Satriagama Rakantaseta, the director of ArtJog, one of the primary goals of the fair is to 'provide a space [for] the artists'³³ with a focus on sourcing new talent. In doing so they are attempting to bridge the gap in public art infrastructure and to provide an opportunity for artists and galleries to network locally and internationally. With no prior knowledge of how to operate an art fair, the team based their initial research on Art Basel and from the beginning, set their benchmark to an international standard. In their opinion, to be the best they need to learn from the best. The quality of art and its presentation has continued to improve with each annual edition as ArtJog begins to locate a position for itself within the global art scene. Accordingly, for Satriagama, the decision to invite international art figures to participate in the fair is critical to its expansion; in his opinion it 'is a must'³⁴ to internationalise the Indonesian art scene. Satriagama disclosed that nearly 65 per cent of the sales in the July 2013 ArtJog were from buyers abroad.

31 For a more in-depth discussion on the history and format of ArtJog, see: Denise Tsui, *The art fair in Indonesia: A case study* (M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 2014), pp. 20–30.

32 Bambang Witjaksono and Satriagama Rakantaseta, interview, Yogyakarta, 22 Nov. 2013.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

The art fair, the artists and the public

'It is our vision to make something that can be followed by others.'

Satriagama Rakantaseta³⁵

The interview findings suggest that ArtJog exists as more than an art fair for the artists and the wider public. It plays a larger role in the art world, perhaps several roles combined. As a free non-ticketed event, ArtJog follows the vision of being a public event accessible to all. Ria Papermoon noted a real shift over recent years since the art fair began. She believes that aside from being a platform for new opportunities and a 'starting point' for emerging artists, ArtJog has also reinforced the point that art does not have to be elitist.³⁶

Yogyakarta experiences one of its busiest periods for the visual arts during the several weeks when ArtJog is held. July is a busy holiday season and many other art-related events take place at the same time as ArtJog. Satriagama has welcomed the increase in parallel events and exhibitions as a positive development. The city has prospered from the growing popularity of ArtJog and the rising number of visitors, making these few weeks a very attractive time for other galleries and artists wanting to gain exposure. Therefore the benefits of visibility and potential opportunities are not limited to artists showing with ArtJog, but rather extend to the art community at large to include non-participating artists. For the visitor, the experience is deepened through these parallel events where there is a greater opportunity for interaction and networking with the art community.

The art fair has in a few short years become a big opportunity for local artists to be exhibited and seen by people from abroad. The combination of new talent and prominent artists exhibiting in the fair is, as Ria Papermoon claims, a first for Indonesian artists. She described ArtJog as a big '*etalage*' (window display), a place where anyone and everyone can exhibit if they are passionate and talented.³⁷ This rings true from many personal stories of artists whose careers have improved since they exhibited at ArtJog. The art fair is a much talked about and respected event; it plays a major role in the art world of Yogyakarta and Indonesia.

Indonesian art in the Internet age

'So now the artist are also aware something [is] happening outside.'

Ria Papermoon³⁸

Global connectivity, the ease of travel and the accessibility of information have quickly expanded the knowledge of Indonesian artists and curators alike while also allowing them to develop relationships and connect with people abroad, thus contributing to a global art conversation. Social media has become an indispensable platform, particularly for early career artists. The reason for this, Iwan suggests, is that when the

35 Ibid.

36 Iwan Effendi and Maria (Ria) Tri Sulistyani, interview, Yogyakarta, 18 Nov. 2013.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

age of open information began to blossom, it was most beneficial to the generation of artists who were already early-to-mid career in the 1990s. They were the artists selected for international exhibitions. In most cases, for younger artists emerging after the 1990s and still 'finding their way'³⁹ in the early stages of their career, including Iwan and Ria themselves, social media has been an indispensable tool. Their interaction with curators, artists and institutions abroad has led to residencies and exchanges. Artist residencies have allowed younger artists such as Iwan and Ria to experience other cultures, and to adopt different perspectives and methods of problem-solving. Ria stresses the importance of the physical experience of other cultures to their own understanding of themselves as artists, however. Despite the Internet granting them access to a whole realm of knowledge previously inaccessible and unknown, Ria argues that real life experience is still of far greater benefit and irreplaceable.

Not every exhibition and project abroad has the funds for artists to travel overseas with their work. However, the Internet has meant that artists who cannot travel are not excluded from participating in global art conversations. Farhan Siki, whose exhibiting career began less than ten years ago, explains that the Internet and various social media platforms such as Facebook have allowed him to be 'interactive with other people' and collaborate in ways otherwise unavailable to him.⁴⁰ Even at a local level, the Internet has changed the way the art world operates. Gone are the days of sending invitations to events by courier, usually an art student on a bicycle. In the age of social networking, invitations to exhibitions and news of events are widely disseminated through social media and instant messaging, or in more professional circumstances, through email subscriptions. While these new methods of communication are hardly unusual, their positive impact is perhaps more visible in Yogyakarta's small, clustered artistic community.

Conclusion

The contemporary art world of Indonesia is, not unlike any other art world, a complex one with many layers, subcultures and players. This article has attempted to add to current knowledge and understanding of a major node of contemporary Indonesian art from the perspective of some of its makers and participants. The interviews with local practising artists and practitioners provide a grassroots perspective which suggests that their art world functions as clusters of artists operating in a close-knit community of shared support and resources. Despite its inadequate arts infrastructure, the Yogyakarta art world is thriving due to the passion and hard work of individuals.

The annual art fair, ArtJog, has positioned itself as a major player in the Indonesian art world, with a vision of supporting new talent and emerging careers. However, there is a general awareness that ArtJog can no longer operate in isolation and must internationalise to be sustainable as expectations and visitor numbers grow. While the Indonesian art world is increasingly part of the worldwide art market driven by commercialisation, Yogyakarta's art world reflects its cultural diversity, bound by socioeconomic conditions; it is also a place of shared responsibility to local society and the nation.

39 Iwan Effendi and Maria (Ria) Tri Sulistyani, interview, Yogyakarta, 18 Nov. 2013.

40 Farhan Siki, interview, Yogyakarta, 25 Nov. 2013.