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Creative voices of the city

Articulating media, space and cultural identities by creative collectives in Southeast Asia

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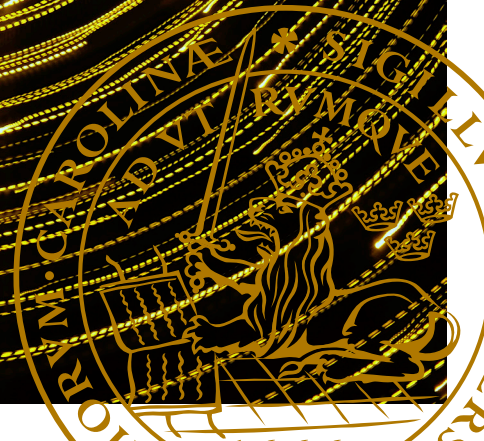


Creative voices of the city

Articulating media, space and cultural identities
by creative collectives in Southeast Asia

ZAKI HABIBI

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA | LUND UNIVERSITY 2020



"We never want to join any kind of competition that uses a label such as social entrepreneur. That label and the competition have changed the very true sense of commonality. Our community is not commodity!"

(43-year-old female bookbinder and co-founder of a craft collective).



For cities around the globe the emergence of creative city branding offers new directions in planning, designing, managing and presenting the city. These are part of a larger discursive bandwagon within a networked global economy. But, what of the point of view of people who live, communicate and generate creative works in these cities?

This monograph thesis investigates the lived cultures of the individuals within collectives in two cities: the creative city of Bandung in Indonesia and the creative, heritage city of George Town in Malaysia. These creative collectives are all too often rendered silent and unnoticed within the official narratives of creative city branding. The research examines the tactics of individuals within the creative collectives who disrupt, or counteract, official narratives and the top-down strategies of these UNESCO-inscribed cities. This thesis gives priority to the voices of the city dwellers from a bottom-up approach, enriching academic discussions on everyday life, culture and creative cities within the field of urban media and communication. Methodologically, this research combines ethnography and visual methodology, providing a situated and nuanced context for street-level investigation, analysing how spatial and visual contexts are significant aspects of urban creative collectives.

The analysis illuminates the creative politics of space and placemaking in local settings, highlighting how the collectives form alternative spaces to live and work, developing an organic and dynamic interplay between the physical, social, and digitally mediated spaces of creative cities. A key argument concerns the articulation of alternative voices through the form of 'subtle resistance' by creative collectives, signposting small, micro level tactics as a cultural resistance to creative city branding and top down narratives in both cities. The ethnographic and visual research offers a lens within which to understand and value everyday creative practices such as inventiveness and resourcefulness. The articulation of various identities, as urban dwellers, artists, craftspeople and creative collectives, offers a powerful alternative understanding of what it means to live and make do in the local streets, creative hubs and residential neighbourhoods of Southeast Asian creative cities.

Zaki Habibi is a media studies and visual culture researcher with an interest in the interrelation between everyday life and cultural practice in creative cities. His research addresses media practice, media and memory studies, documentary photography and film, creative city branding and creativity in everyday life.



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Creative voices of the city

Creative voices of the city

Articulating media, space and cultural identities by
creative collectives in Southeast Asia

Zaki Habibi



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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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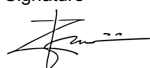
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Abstract <p>This thesis investigates the lived cultures of the individuals within collectives who are part of creative cities in Southeast Asia. Such individuals and their creative collectives are all too often rendered silent and unnoticed within the official narratives of creative city branding. This monograph thesis examines the articulation of creative collectives in two cities: the creative city of Bandung in Indonesia and the creative, heritage city of George Town in Malaysia. The research draws upon the intersections between media and cultural studies, everyday life studies and urban cultures, to understand how the tactics of individuals within the creative collectives disrupt, or counteract, official narratives and the top-down strategies of Bandung and George Town as UNESCO cities. This thesis gives priority to the voices of the city dwellers from a bottom-up approach, enriching academic discussions on everyday life, culture and creative cities within the field of urban media and communication. Methodologically, this research combines ethnography and visual methodology, providing a situated and nuanced context for street-level analysis of Bandung and George Town, in particular analysing how spatial and visual contexts are significant aspects of urban creative collectives.</p> <p>The analysis illuminates the creative politics of space and placemaking in local settings, highlighting how the collectives in this study form alternative spaces to live and work, developing an organic and dynamic interplay between the physical, social and digitally mediated spaces of creative cities. A key argument concerns the articulation of alternative voices through the form of 'subtle resistance' by creative collectives, signposting small, micro level tactics as a form of cultural resistance to creative city branding and top down narratives of creative economies in Southeast Asia. Through an analysis of themes related to spatial practice in the city, cultural memory and cultural identity, the ethnographic and visual research offers a lens within which to understand and value everyday creative practices such as inventiveness and resourcefulness. The articulation of various identities, as urban dwellers, artists, craftspeople and creative collectives, offers a powerful alternative understanding of what it means to live and make do in the local streets, creative hubs and residential neighbourhoods of Southeast Asian creative cities.</p>		
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To Hayu, Hayya and Kaja

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Lund, November 2020

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Notes on Language, Translation and Orthography

The spoken languages in the interview and the participant observation of this study were varied. Interviews conducted in Malaysia were mainly in English, a few others in Malay (*Bahasa Melayu/Bahasa Malaysia*), and some conversation during the field research were also punctuated with Chinese local dialects especially Penang Hokkien and Cantonese as commonly used by Chinese Malaysians in the studied area. Meanwhile, the interviews with Indonesian informants were mostly in Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) with various dialects and vernacular expressions of its spoken styles. These happened due to the different ethnic backgrounds among informants. Thus, in their spoken Indonesian there were many expressions – words and informal registers – borrowed from the ethnic or regional languages where they belong to, e.g. Betawi, Javanese (*Basa Jawa*) and Sundanese (*Basa Sunda*).

Unless indicated otherwise, most of the quoted interviews in this thesis are excerpts from the original transcription, or longer field notes, and presented here in its English translation made by the author. The [...] sign indicates the shortened part, while words in [] or square bracket are additional notes by the author to clarify the statement or provide relevant contexts. Another sign, ... (three dots without parentheses or bracket), is used to show a brief pause of the talk by the informant(s).

In a few parts where quotes and citations in their original language are presented – either in Malay, Indonesian, Penang Hokkien, Betawi, Javanese, or Sundanese – these are shown in *italics*. For Malay language, i.e. *Bahasa Kebangsaan*, *Bahasa Melayu*, or *Bahasa Malaysia* (the national language), the orthography complies with the *Sistem Ejaan Rumi Baru Bahasa Melayu* (New Roman Spelling System for Malay Language) that is the reformed type of Roman script officially used since 1972 and partly revised afterwards. Although a different script system than this Roman alphabet also coexist in the country at the time of writing in 2016-2020, including the Arabic script of Malay called *Jawi*, جاوي, or

Arab Melayu, any expressions in Malay presented here are consistently written in its Roman script. For Indonesian language, the orthography follows PUEBI (*Pedoman Umum Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia*/The General Guideline of Indonesian Spelling System) as the newest guideline of the national Indonesian spelling, punctuation and writing system. This revised spelling system, officially released in 2015, is a replacement of EYD (*Ejaan yang Disempurnakan*/Enhanced Indonesian Spelling System) that has been widely used since 1972.

All these orthographical guides are applied not only to interview quotes presented here, but also to any citations taken from Indonesian or Malaysian written references published both before and after 1972. However, any names of person, publication, or local place that use older spelling systems remain the same as in their original name (e.g. Soekarno, not Sukarno; *Mooi Bandoeng*, not *Moi Bandung*).

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AJI	<i>Aliansi Jurnalis Independen</i> (the Indonesian Association for Independent Journalists)
ASEF	Asia-Europe Foundation
BCCF	Bandung Creative City Forum
BEKRAF	<i>Badan Ekonomi Kreatif</i> (the Indonesian Creative Economy Agency)
DIKN	<i>Dasar Industri Kreatif Negara</i> (the Malaysian National Creative Industry Policy)
Distro	Distribution store/distribution outlet
DIY	Do-It-Yourself
EEIC	English East India Company (in colonial Malaysia)
GTF	George Town Festival
Helarfest	Helar Festival (in Bandung)
IDR (Rp)	Indonesian Rupiah (<i>Rupiah</i>)
KTT-AA / KAA	<i>Konferensi Tingkat Tinggi Asia Afrika/Konferensi Asia Afrika</i> (The Bandung Conference, or the Asian-African Summit in Bandung)
MYR (RM)	Malaysian Ringgit (<i>Ringgit Malaysia</i>)
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
SACCN	Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network
UCCN	UNESCO Creative Cities Network
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHI	World Heritage Incorporated

| 1 | Introduction: Creative and Media Practice in the City

It is nine in the morning when Tarlen comes to the house, parking her motorcycle in the front yard and greeting people already early to work. Like any other morning, her routines begin when she takes off her backpack and puts it on the big table in the living room. She then looks at her smartphone screen, checking new messages and updates from the online platform she uses for her orders. Tarlen, a handmade bookbinder, starts her everyday routines in the house and online. The quiet house starts its rhythms, the sound of footsteps, songs playing from the computer, and water boiling on the stove. This is the place where a creative collective named Tobucil & Klabs houses its activities. Located 1.5 kilometres away from the city centre of Bandung, a city in West Java, Indonesia, this place looks like any other house in the neighbourhood. The exterior shows a painted white facade and gate of metal bars, typical for houses in the area. The interior is a place of creativity with people about to start their daily routines filled with craft-related activities.

The authenticity of the house, its location, and the family feeling of the collective are significant to Tarlen. “I was once offered to be an endorser of a sewing machine brand. But I never used that brand, so I politely said no to them,” she told me while showing her Instagram page. The brand endorsement offer asked her to take a picture with their product and post it in her Instagram. She declined the offer, as she believes that her account’s followers (more than 14 800 at the time of writing) follow her posts online because of her handmade products and the way she communicates her independent way of working. “It’s about integrity. If I do that kind of endorsement, it feels to me that I ‘sell’ my followers to other parties. Our community is not a commodity,” she added firmly before entering her studio room, getting ready to continue work from the previous night.

Tarlen mentioned the statement “our community is not a commodity” a few times on different occasions when I did my field research in Bandung, a city freshly branded as a ‘creative city’. In recent years there is a dominant discourse

of creative cities that extends beyond the place itself, while the variety of ‘doing creativity’ in the city is rarely investigated. The way this dominant view is talked about, inscribed into the city’s policies and programmes, and influencing creative practices in different domains, is explicit in the city’s developments from day to day. However, for Tarlen and her fellow members in Tobucil & Klabs, such a dominant discourse and its practices are not the only way of ‘doing creativity’. The members of this collective experience other ways of making creative products in the city, and sharing these more varied experiences with other collectives in Bandung and other cities in the region of Southeast Asia. These are the local actors, quietly engaging with alternative creative practices and dwelling in local communities in cities to which have been re-branded as creative cities – a policy and political economic drive that has pushed Bandung and other similar cities into what we can call the ‘creative city bandwagon’.

On the 11th December 2015 Bandung, the capital city of West Java province in Indonesia, was officially listed in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. Bandung is now one of the Cities of Design in this network (UNESCO, 2015). The government of Bandung eagerly celebrated this international recognition (Perdana, 2015; Ramdhani, 2015, Triastopo, 2015; Tempo, 2015), but others were more sceptical given that at the time the city lacked the basic infrastructure to support creative workers (Vltchek, 2016). There was also a perception from some quarters that ‘creative city’ was just another buzzword within a larger discursive bandwagon of creative economies (Mulyadi, 2018). Alongside this dichotomy between the strong supporters and critics, there are other individuals in the city that avoid this either-or polarisation. These individuals work together in a loose grouping, referred to here as creative collectives. This thesis examines the articulation of individuals within the creative collectives in two cities from Southeast Asia, the creative city of Bandung in Indonesia and the creative, heritage-inscribed city of George Town in Malaysia.

Such a city branding project – as creative or heritage city – is a form of place branding as part of a global trend. Many cities around the world draw on creativity, mainly following Richard Florida’s (2002) formula on “creative class” and “global creativity index”, building their cities using idealised place branding, with creativity as the main core of its brand, to boost the urban and national economy. Thus, the discourse of creative city becomes a global phenomenon whereby many city officials and urban planners design, plan and run their respective city to reach such a creative label within the interlinked global economy. Such city branding can also be found in relation to heritage cities, with dominant discourses arising from various global cultural agencies, e.g. UNESCO.

In this thesis, I trace the impacts of this global phenomenon in localised contexts of the two studied cities in Southeast Asia, critically examining alternative voices within creative collectives in these local urban contexts. This thesis contextualises the dominant discourses of creative city branding as shaping the urban space and the ways particular groups of city dwellers respond to such place branding to articulate their identities, their way of life. It is these individuals and their creative collectives who are rendered silent and often go unnoticed within the official narratives, which form the focus of this research. The articulations of these collectives are studied through examining their everyday lived practices in their respective city, especially in relation to their daily creative and media practices.

This thesis focuses on the articulation of media, space and cultural identities expressed by these creative collectives as the way in which they create their own alternative voices and places in the city, and thereby contest the top-down, official discourses and practices of place branding and the associated strategic creativities in both cities. These articulations cause a form of resistance. In a common pattern of resistance, the story is well known: global actors, phenomena, or discourses meet local resistance in the form of protest, demonstrations, or riots in the street. However, resistance is not homogenous. In this thesis, I explore the murmurs of everyday life and micro moves of resistance as articulated by these creative collectives. There are also variations on the way in which this kind of resistance is expressed and practiced within the studied collectives and across the two cities. These variations of resistance are seldom explored in academic studies in relation to global creative and heritage cities.

The research draws upon the intersections between media and cultural studies, urban media and communication, and everyday life studies, to understand how the tactics of individuals within the creative collectives disrupt, or counteract, official narratives and the top-down strategies of Bandung and George Town as global creative and heritage cities. The thesis explores the everyday lived experiences of individuals and their groups from different creative collectives in these two cities. The empirical work is based on the field research conducted from 2016 to 2017 and follow-up digital observations in 2018-2019. Methodologically, this research uses a combination of ethnographic observation and interviews, and visual methodology in the form of photo-documentation. The empirical and theoretical discussion highlights how creative collectives use disruptive tactics that form alternative voices against the backdrop of the official narratives in Bandung and George Town. Their alternative voices, bodies and material conditions articulate 'subtle resistance'. The disruptive tactics they

perform include inventiveness and resourcefulness through everyday creative and media practices, and the articulation of identities as artists, craftspeople and creative collectives organically formed from below rather than through the state's or global cultural agencies' initiatives. The analysis focuses on three themes: spatial practice in the city, cultural memory, and cultural identity to understand how their tactics signal a subtle resistance to the strategies of these two cities which form the backdrop of local city branding and global initiatives in Southeast Asia. Here we find people offering alternative cultural memories, cultural identities and creative practices in the cities where they live and work.

Aim and research questions

This thesis aims to understand the everyday media-related practices of individuals in creative collectives that are situated in emerging creative/heritage cities in contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia. The research enriches academic discussions on media practice, everyday life, culture and the city, within the field of urban media and communication studies. This thesis gives priority to the voices of the city dwellers from a bottom-up approach, looking at their material and embodied practices within the making of creative collectives. Their voices, bodies and material conditions, as city dwellers offer an alternative perspective than the top down, state-led and global strategic initiatives for the branding of Bandung and George Town as UNESCO cities.

The thesis has two objectives. First, the research uses ethnographic methods to identify creative collectives that are absent, or peripheral, from the official branding and strategic initiatives of UNESCO cities and yet are present and active within these urban environments. These collectives have been consistently working and networking within the creative scene in these cities, embedded in the histories and communities of these places, and yet their existence and work remains obscured, at times silenced and hidden, by the mainstream global and local discourses of creative hubs, cultural heritage, and political economy of creative industries. Thus, this research looks at and listens to their articulation of themselves as creative individuals within a collective, and their tactics for disrupting strategic policies and values in their cities.

The second objective is to use photo documentation to critically examine the cityscapes within which these creative collectives spatially inhabit and discursively form their articulation, and also to visually comment on the ways the everyday tactics are practiced by the creative collectives. This visual methodology provides

a more situated context in studying the subject matter from the street-level analysis and considering spatial and visual contexts as an important aspect of urban creative collectives. Overall, the thesis addresses the voices of creative collectives in urban settings, using articulation to understand the processes whereby space, memory, identity, as well as media, everyday life and culture are situated and constructed within Southeast Asia.

In order to achieve these aims and objectives this thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. How do the creative collectives and their members in George Town and Bandung articulate their creative selves in their everyday lives?
2. In what ways are their creative and media-related practices contesting the dominant discourses of heritage/creative cities in Malaysia and Indonesia?
3. In what ways are urban spaces shaped and reshaped by the practices of these creative collectives, and why does this matter to the contextualisation and conceptualisation of media, space and cultural identities in the city?

This thesis contributes to the current theoretical and methodological debates in the field of urban media and communication (Krajina and Stevenson eds., 2020) in particular on the intersection between practice theory, media and everyday life, non-Western media studies, urban culture, and cultural identity. The intersection is investigated through an empirical study that considers the importance of people's agency and visual method – i.e. photography – in urban contexts as an alternative to the foci on, for example, issues of representation through textual analyses and technology-centred analyses in researching media use, online community, or media infrastructure. Additionally, the focus of this thesis on two postcolonial cities in Southeast Asia enriches non-Western perspectives in discussing media, space and cultural identity. It is achieved by foregrounding the people's voices through my ethnographic and visual methodology approaches, making the cultures visible in these cities.

Scope of the research

Research on urban living in various geographical and cultural contexts is significant as global trends shows that “the world continues to urbanise” and 55 per cent of the world's population in 2018 live in urban areas; the figure is forecast to reach 68 per cent by 2050 (UN DESA, 2018). Beyond these general figures, communication becomes “a central dimension of modern and postmodern

urbanity” while, at the same time, “the material, spatial and historical articulation of media in cities” are also prominent elements to understand the city as a “meaningful space, poly-sectoral composite, contested terrain and practiced routine” (Krajina and Stevenson, 2020). Under the umbrella term of “urban media and communication”, Krajina and Stevenson (2020) proposes a dynamic, ongoing and holistic field of study, consisting of variants of research within and across media and the city, mediated city, media city, communicative city, urban communication and urban media studies.

Research on media, culture and the city in particular has various theoretical and methodological standpoints, including cultural representations or symbolic images of the city in the media (Highmore, 2005; Georgiou, 2013), referring to representations of cities. Others focus on a related aspect of urban communication (Aiello and Tosoni, 2016) and mediated urbanism (Ridell and Zeller, 2013), referring to urban culture as dependent upon processes of mediation. On the aspects of technology and digital infrastructure, there are studies on techno-social infrastructures and materialities of the city (Caldwell, Smith and Clift eds., 2016), referring to material histories of networked cities, for example through urban media archaeology (Mattern, 2015). There is also research focusing on imagining the city through media and art (Hawley, Clift and O'Brien eds., 2016), referring to the interrelation between the imagined city and the artistic media practices. Much of these studies have a macro or meso perspective, whether focusing on institutional levels or on policy and political economics, rather than exploring the variety of cultural, material and symbolic aspects of people living in cities.

As the city is “always multidimensional: material, symbolic, affective” (Krajina and Stevenson, 2020: 5) – or, in another context it is formulated that the city is constituted of the materials, the imaginaries (or, the visions) and the lived cultures (or, the social interactions and the symbolic meanings) – looking at the everyday practices of micro actors in cities is also important. This is important because the practices of these ‘micro actors’ contribute to the lived, the imagined as well as the material city. In this thesis, this is done particularly by examining everyday creative practices of the collectives. Such everyday practices enable us to understand both the collectives and their experiences of the city, how they actively shape and reshape the city through their creative and media practices.

This study investigates the lived cultures of the individuals within particular groups, namely creative collectives, in Southeast Asian urban contexts. Geographically, the research focuses in the region of Southeast Asia and case studies of two cities in Malaysia and Indonesia. For cities around the globe, including contemporary Asian cities, the emerging creative city is a new direction

in planning, managing and presenting the city as an outward-looking model within a networked global economy (McGuigan, 2009; Knox, 2014; Löfgren, 2014). Thus, creative economy is a new lucrative framework in socio-economic development of several Southeast Asian cities; it is perceived by proposing the “inclusively creative strategy” to increase the regional and national economy through the agencies of new media, the city and designated creative hubs (Siregar and Sudrajat, 2017; BEKRAF, 2018; British Council Indonesia, n.d.; cf. Landry, 2008).

Each selected city in this study has been shaped by these global discourses. The conceptual scope of this research, however, departs from a different perspective. Rather than understanding this discursive notion from policy studies, political economy of urban studies, textual or media representations, this research focuses on everyday creative and media-related practices. In terms of the overall scope of this thesis, the work is inspired by discussion in cultural studies on poetics and politics of cultural practices (see Hall and Jefferson eds., 2006; Hall, Evans and Nixon eds., 2013). The research questions are addressed through the analyses in the poetics and politics of creative and media practices by individuals within the collectives in urban settings. When it comes to the way these analyses are presented, the poetics and politics becomes a framework for the conceptual findings explored within the thesis.

The core conceptual findings are subtle resistance, disruption of cultural memory, culture on display, alternative space and articulation of creative self. Subtle resistance here deals with the way in which the creative collectives show their alternative voices without any overt protest or confrontational resistance, but through their everyday creativities. Meanwhile, the top-down, official cultural memory and culture-on-display are key themes contested by the creative collectives. They demonstrate their disruptive tactics that can offer an alternative narrative on everyday creativities in the cities. The way these creative collectives maintain their spaces, either as physical, social, or digitally mediated spaces, is analysed as the formation of alternative spaces in their respective city, and the formation of their identities as collectives. The ethnographic writings and visual essays are the key ways to present and discuss these findings. The empirical and theoretical analysis signifies the creative and media-related practices by the researched subjects as the poetics of their everyday lives, and the voices, bodies and material aspects of the subjects are part of the politics of living and working in these urban environments.

The cultural details informed by the creative collectives – ranging from the material objects they use, the craftsmanship, the everyday media-related practice,

the local friendship group, the feeling of commonality, to the community and familial mood – are specific to the studied collectives in each respective city. However, most of these cultural details also indicate universal values, things we can learn from. The subtle resistance performed through their resilience, values and ethics within these creative collectives can be traced in other local or even global contexts, also appeared as particular yet universal characteristics at the same time. Practiced against the backdrop of dominant discourse of creative cities and heritage cities, the subtle resistance by these creative collectives is the everyday tactics for them to find their own ways of making do – creating and sustaining organic spaces, for instance – through the flexibilities of work, networking, resourcefulness and survival kits living in cities. We can learn from such an articulation to understand, for example, studies on cultural resistance, also the interlinkage between everyday practices, visibility and articulation of identities in the specific field of urban media and communication, as well as generally in media and everyday life, visual methodology, and media and cultural studies.

There are areas outside the parameters of this thesis. For example, global discourses of the creative city and heritage city are used as contextual information rather than a key part of the research; my investigation is focused on local actors and how they are resistant to these top-down discourses. Policy orientated research on critical heritage studies also forms a backdrop to the thesis for similar reasons. For example, the role of UNESCO or state-initiated institutions, local city policies and criticism of cultural imperialism serve as context of the study. This thesis offers a perspective sensitive to everyday lives and diverse cultures in postcolonial contexts seen from the bottom-up experiences of the studied cities. On the aspects of media/communication studies, a few established areas are also not my focus here, such as mass media, journalism, media regulation, media institutions and digital media technology. Instead, as mentioned earlier, the thesis explores, through visual and ethnographic methods, the murmurs of everyday cultural practices, spatial formations and the articulation of cultural identities by the creative collectives in both cities.

Methodology

The way in which the empirical materials have been gathered and analysed are methodologically informed by cross-disciplinary perspectives coming from media and cultural studies, everyday life studies, visual studies, to urban media and communications studies. A mixture of methods is also employed, and these

methods are structured within two selected, combined methodologies, taking insights from ethnography and visual methodology. This study employs a mixture of methods in qualitative research ranging from participant field observation, remote digital observation, conversational or go-along interview, and photo-documentation. The analyses are based on the close reading, qualitative data and visual analysis, and interpretation of collected materials in various forms. These forms are observational notes, transcribed and annotated interview responses, curated visual materials (photographs), audio recording of soundscape experiences, and published materials in both cities as supporting relevant contextual materials.

The value of the cross-disciplinary research to the thesis enables an in depth, up close analysis of creative collectives who live and work in cities, i.e. cities which have been incorporated into the creative city branding discourses and policies. The combination of perspectives brings into sharp relief the media-related and cultural practices of people at the margins of these discourses, and it signals the significance of spatial and visual research in the field of urban media and communication.

Thesis outline

Chapter 2 critically examines previous studies and theoretical explanations on the intersection between media studies, everyday life studies and urban cultural studies. This literature review builds the theoretical framework of the research. This framework is based on five theoretical trajectories that structure the chapter. It begins with the literature discussion on (1) practice theory in everyday life in order to theoretically support the key concepts used in this research, i.e. media-related practice and everyday creativity. Media-related practice in cultural settings is the selected concept to studying practices. The discussion of its theoretical debates, mainly informed by media and cultural theorists, will be part of this section. The second section of this chapter is (2) the elaboration on articulation and cultural identity in contemporary cultures, in order to elaborate on the concept of articulation in media and cultural studies. Next, (3) the interrelation between media, space and the city is discussed in this section. How the production of social and cultural spaces within the city is theorised, and to what extent media is part of these processes are the focus of this section. Fourth, (4) the section focuses on the theoretical discussion of place branding and the city in order to provide the backdrop to the creative collectives and their tactics in relation to these

top-down branding strategies. Lastly, the elaboration on (5) memory and urban cultures, including debates on cultural memory in urban contexts, situates the articulation and identities of creative collectives in contested memories related to ethnicity and postcolonialism. Overall, the chapter argues for research on contemporary urban, visual and media cultures as sites of articulation by different social actors on spaces, memories and identities.

Chapter 3 addresses the literature and recent discussions within ethnographic and visual methodologies. The first is elaborated by considering the main principles in conducting multi-contextual ethnography for studying media-related practice. Digital ethnography as a recent approach, technique, or tool is also part of the elaboration within this section. The chapter then turns its attention to critical visual methodology, in particular the use of photography in documentary mode to collect visual information from the immersive fieldwork and to present the analysis. How these combined methodologies are applied in this research through selected set of methods is discussed in the third section of this chapter. Finally, the chapter offers reflective notes on being an ethnographer and visual researcher, and ethical aspects of the research.

The following six chapters form the analytical part of this thesis. This part of the thesis combines two different types of presentation: written analytical sections and analyses in visual essays. These types of presentation demonstrate the chosen methodologies and analytical findings of this thesis. Each chapter sheds light on a different analytical topic. Chapter 4 begins the analysis by contextualising the main narratives emerged in both cities, in particular on the contexts of becoming a heritage city and creative city. This chapter has its purpose to provide a clear context of the 'official narratives', narratives which are contested by the research informants. Chapter 5 and 6 investigate the key findings of the thesis in relation to ideas of subtle resistance (chapter 5) and disruption of cultural memory (chapter 6). The first idea is explored by examining the spatial practices in the city and the way the informants in George Town contest such spaces through their own spatial practices as an alternative voice. The analysis highlights the form of resistance these collectives articulate as a subtle resistance through their organic way of dealing with creativity and maintaining creative collectives. Disruption of cultural memory, as the key concept in chapter 6, is discussed by examining the entangled practices of heritage, memory and creativity in George Town. Additionally, this chapter also analyses the ways in which the informants perform their disruptive tactics in everyday life to address issues related to the top-down, official cultural memory and a politics of inclusion-exclusion. This chapter then

is concluded by elaborating the way the creative collectives form organic spaces as an alternative voice and way of doing creativity in the city.

Chapter 7 critically ‘reads’ the streets of the cities, the very spaces where practices of creativity are juxtaposed, materialised and contested. This chapter is presented as a visual analysis and offers a bridge between the research findings on subtle resistance and disruption of cultural memory in the two previous chapters (5 and 6) and other conceptual findings in the next chapters. In this visual essay, the analysis is presented in three themes, i.e. cultural memory on display, superficial visuality and spatial struggle.

The latter theme leads to a further discussion in the following chapter. Chapter 8 critically examines the emergence of spatial struggle beyond the city’s streets. The focus here is on everyday practices by the informants in Bandung and the ways these individuals and their collectives narrate their identities as creative selves through the creative and media-related practices of making and networking, thus making sense of the meanings of creative spaces for them in both offline and online settings.

In chapter 9, reflexivity is the main aspect presented there. Under the title of connected practices, this chapter reflects on the theoretical framework, empirical data and methodological approaches the research has employed. Using visual evidence combined with field notes and interview quotes from both cities, this chapter is presented in a semi-photo-essay form, drawing on the visual materials shot from inside the creative collectives: the people, their spatial and social relations, their media-related practices and media content, their everyday expressions and material objects, which forms connected practices. By connecting their practices, including media, creative, material, spatial, visual practices, interwoven with identities, cultural memories, and resistance, I bring into focus the local resourcefulness and resilience by the creatives in their cities. Finally, the concluding part (chapter 10) summarises the research processes and the significant findings in relation to the research questions. It also provides further reflections on indicating the contribution of this thesis in the field of urban media and communication, specifically with the intersections of everyday life studies, visual and urban cultures.

| 2 | Approaching Practice in Everyday Urban Contexts

To situate the research on creative and media practice, spatial formation and urban cultures in everyday life in the city, it is important to combine different theoretical positions from cross-disciplinary fields. This chapter examines previous studies and theoretical developments at the intersection between media, cultural and everyday life studies, including cultural memory and identity, providing a framework for this research. This framework is formed and based on five theoretical trajectories that structure the chapter. It begins with the literature discussion on practice theory and everyday life studies in order to theoretically support the key concepts used in this research, i.e. media-related practice and everyday creativity. The second section of this chapter discusses the notion of articulation and its relations to understand the construction of cultural identity. Third, it registers contemporary debates on the interrelation between media, space and the city. Fourth, the section focuses on the notion of place branding, seeking possibility to understand several related concepts from branding, place marketing, to placemaking in urban contexts. Fifth, the way in which memory and urban cultures are conceptually and theoretically connected will be discussed in this section. The areas of research related to ethnography and visual methodology are addressed in detail in the next chapter, (3), as part of a discussion of the research design and process.

Everyday creativity: media-related practice in everyday life

One theoretical departure in understanding media and communication phenomena is centred on practices, situated within social structures, systems, individuals and interactions. In general, as Postill (2010: 1) explains, practices can

be understood as “the embodied sets of activities that humans perform with varying degrees of regularity, competence and flair.” Thus, media practice derives from a question: what people actually *make of* and *do* with media? (Postill, 2010; Hobart, 2006). This perspective shifts the questions from focusing on media technology or media platform and media text to the people and the way in which they do with media. This perspective also challenges other established areas of focus, such as the centre of attention on media effects, political economy of media, interpretation of media text, and even the taken for granted of ‘audiencing’ in researching people’s relations with media (Couldry, 2010; cf. Hobart, 2010). By employing a perspective of practice, the research de-centres the focus of analysis; it is no longer centred in the media per se, but provides a broader consideration. In doing so, the question in researching media phenomena from the perspective of practice does not lay on asking the aspect of media technology or media text (content), but begins with the related practices surrounding the people whom we focus on.

Hobart (2010: 61) argues, practice can turn into a site of contestation. When studying practice, then, one examines them as a detailed research and not in the tendency of analysing macro-processes. Practice, as Hobart further argues:

[Practice] is not a natural object but a frame of reference that we use to interrogate a complex reality. [...] I prefer to think of practices as those recognised, complex forms of social activity and articulation through which agents set out to maintain or change themselves, others and the world about them under varying conditions. (Hobart, 2010: 62-63)

In relation to theorising practice on or of media, Hobart proposes an approach he calls *media-related practice*. I agree with Hobart’s proposition since it is useful to study “situated practices” (Hobart, 2014a: 428), especially in understanding media as “assemblage of practices of production, distribution, engagement and use by different people in different situations” (Hobart, 2014b: 510). This approach “is intended simply to provide an initial circumscription out of the whole range of identifiable practices in society at any moment” (Hobart, 2010: 67). A media-related practice approach could potentially deal with an array of practices, for example, media preferences while at the same time the practice of neglecting or refusing particular media, e.g. the media absence as in digital media detox phenomena.

By incorporating practice theory into media theory, this does not necessarily mean eliminating all other existing strands of media theory. Postill (2010: 12) elaborates that “practice theory offers media studies new ways of addressing

questions that are central to the field, such as media in everyday life, media and the body, and media production". While practice theory, certainly, "cannot be a theoretical cure-all" (Postill: 2010: 18), media-related practice as theorised by Hobart could address specific research questions to understand multilayers processes, including questions on social relations, spatial formations, and articulation of identities. This research departs from the same standpoint with Hobart's aforementioned argument.

Media-related practice in this research is studied within selected creative collectives, living in urban environments. It is approached by decentring the focus of analysis from studying media per se to elaborating wider institutional, spatial and cultural processes. Specifically, it is translated as approaching media practices of the people within creative collectives in the city by studying their everyday creative practices in broader social networks (the institutional aspect), the space where they inhabit and the cityscape (the spatial), and their voices responding to particular issues of everyday living in the cities (the politics of culture).

Having said so, everyday life becomes an essential aspect to be considered in this research. Ben Highmore (2002) writes that everyday life can be characterised with routines, dullness, repeated events and even boredom, but beneath the mundane, the everydayness can also be seen as a problematic. Thus, the everyday media-related practice can be a significant element to be studied further. Everyday life in the city, in particular, can provide a set of contexts in understanding such practices.

Theoretically, studying everyday life focuses on understanding ways of operating or doing things as not only a background of social activity, but an effort to foregrounding the everyday practices into the centre of analysis (de Certeau, 1984). For de Certeau (1984), everyday practices deal with the way people make-do and this is a form of what he calls the *poetics of everyday life*. Highmore (2002: 169) further explains de Certeau's key ideas on everyday life studies; de Certeau takes into consideration for "listening to the murmurs of everyday life" as the important logics of action, i.e. to reveal people's *tactics* in dealing with the everyday as well as to understand the *strategy* overarched beneath the practices. This thesis explores the murmurs of everyday life within creative collectives in urban environments, in particular how their practices shine a light on their tactics for making do within the branding of their homes as creative cities; I focus on the 'murmurs' in their media-related practices.

In the context of practices in everyday life, tactics become a manifestation of resistance without a tendency to be oppositional, such as ways of operating mundane routines or activities (Highmore, 2002). For de Certeau, tactical aspects

of everyday practices possibly signal the stubbornness, the opaque, the poaching, or the surprise of daily life. Yet, as the very meaning of poetics actually relates to a sense of creating, inventing, or generating (Highmore, 2002: 154), the inventiveness is also another quality shown from this tactical aspect of everyday life. This research deals with studying practices by a group of people who are involved in the creation of such a tactical way of living in the city. Their decision to initiate or join in the creative collective and choose a particular way of daily routines that is considered as non-mainstream way of life in their respective city, demonstrate a form of inventiveness through everyday tactics. In de Certeau's (1984) words, tactics "escaped it, without leaving it [strategy]". Exploring the tactics performed by the research subjects could help "to trace the interlacing of a concrete sense of everyday life, to allow them to appear" (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998: 3). By understanding "the everyday as an ensemble of practices" (Highmore, 2002: 151) articulated by the people within particular groups in the city, then, the thesis explores a set of practices that grasp everyday *tactics*. This approach enables an exploration of what people do with media in their everyday lives, and most importantly, understand the various layers of articulation that are meaningful for them as they live and work in these urban spaces. These include their articulation through creativity or creative works.

To briefly turn to existing literature on creativity, this area has been dominated by the works that perceive creativity from psychological and managerial aspects. An edited volume entitled *The Cambridge Handbook of Creativity* (Kaufman and Sternberg eds., 2010), for instance, has 24 chapters from 38 contributors who write about various dimensions of researching creativity. However, all these are mainly written within the limited fields, whether in cognitive and social psychology, organisational management, or entrepreneurship studies. The main proposition in all chapters mainly related to the shifting focus from researching "creative personality" only to the established framework of creativity as "attitudinal" within the major approach they label as "four-plus P's of creativity": person (personality), process, product, place, plus persuasion and potential (see Runco, 2007: 384; Kozbelt et al., 2010: 24; Runco and Albert, 2010; Sternberg and Kaufman, 2010).

The work by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1997) is one notable study to be mentioned here. In a five-year research project between 1990 and 1995, he led a research team to conduct a series of "videotaped interviews with ninety one exceptional individuals" from various "domains of culture (e.g. sciences, arts, business, government), who had to be still actively involved in that domain" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997: 12). The result of this research project pioneers the

sociological approach to studying creativity in which two important factors are more determined in understanding and perceiving creativity than the emphasis on the so-called creative genius. These two factors, according to Csikszentmihalyi (1997), are years of involvement and mastering a “particular domain”, and the existence of encouraging environments continuously occur from supportive people, groups and institutions.

Both these “domains of creativity” and “supportive environments” are key factors to be emphasised in defining creativity. However, such claims are criticised by other scholars who study creativity further. David Gauntlett is one of those critics. Although he similarly argues that ‘creative genius’ is an irrelevant concept and might be misleading to fully grasp the notion of creativity, Gauntlett (2018) is sceptical with the emphasis on both factors. Because, the emphasis on the two social factors lead back to understand creativity as “identified by its outcomes” (Gauntlett, 2018: 24), creativity is simply seen as a product. Yet, to him:

Creativity might be better understood as a process, and a feeling. In this way of looking at it, creativity is about breaking new ground, but internally: the sense of going somewhere, doing something that you’ve not done before. This might lead to fruits which others can appreciate, but those may be secondary to the process of creativity itself, which is best identified from within. (Gauntlett, 2018: 24)

Gauntlett (2018) grounds this proposition based on his studies and own practices on the way everyday creativities occur within work, leisure, or family settings and the interrelation to one another. In his critical studies or practice-led research he also considers the importance of contemporary cultural practices in which digital media proliferation in people’s everyday lives has created possibilities of creative practices in a vast array of directions and dimensions.

Having said so, it is more relevant to understand creativity in my own research by relating it back to the essence of creativity as an articulated *practice* within the dynamics of *everyday life* of the people and groups I study. To be more specific, the concept of *everyday creativity* is useful for this research as both the departing point as well as the reflective notion of the analyses. While in general everyday creativity can be seen as a universal tool of human’s survival as individuals and collective entity (Richards, 2010: 190), this notion is used here in a more contextualised way of the interrelation between creative practice and current patterns in contemporary media practice. Process becomes the emphasis in everyday creativity to which the “*originality* and *meaningfulness* at work or leisure” can be identified (Richards, 2010: 191, original emphasis). In observing, to some extent also participating, and analysing the practices I study, the concept of

everyday creativity is used to guide me in delving deeper into the lived cultures articulated by the research informants and their collectives. Drawing from Gauntlett's (2018) definition on everyday creativity, this thesis frames the interrelation between creative practice, media, and everyday life in such an understanding. As he argues:

Everyday creativity refers to a process which brings together at least one active human mind, and the material or digital world, in the activity of making something which is novel in that context, and is a process which evokes a feeling of joy. (Gauntlett, 2018: 87)

This thesis shares a similar critical view to how creativity is understood as proposed by Csikszentmihalyi (1997), among others. Therefore, Gauntlett's (2018) approach is more suitable for conducting and analysing my study. Since "the more everyday, emotion-oriented and process-based description of creativity" (Gauntlett, 2018: 89) offered by him is the very type of creativity I witnessed from my informants' practices, I rely on my interpretations of gathered empirical materials in accordance with the defining proposition of everyday creativity as quoted above. Additionally, the interpretations should be read within a particular context of urban living to which the studied creative collectives reside. The discussion on articulation and the way this notion could conceptually lead to understand identity construction will be presented in the following section.

Articulation and cultural identity

From a cultural studies perspective, identity is a crucial concept. However, theorising this notion has been a prolonged project across different periods of scholarly works both in the field of media studies and cultural studies. Stuart Hall (2019b, 2019c)¹ proposes the "theory of articulation" that is useful to equip me in approaching the meaning of identity in this thesis. Hall begins his explanation

¹ These references are based on the re-publication of Stuart Hall's essays on cultural studies into two edited volumes, edited by David Morley and published in 2019. For these particular references on "articulation", the original publications are (1) Hall, S., 1980. Race, articulation, and societies structured in dominance. In: M. O'Callaghan, ed., *Sociological theories: race and colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO. pp.305-345 and (2) Grossberg, L. ed., 1986. On postmodernism and articulation: an interview with Stuart Hall. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10(2), pp.45-60. In this thesis, I consistently use the 2019 book version for all in-text and end-text references, including the page numbers, when necessary.

of this theory as a “response to the problem of analysing social formations” (Clarke, 2015: 276), arguing that overdetermination on formative structure – e.g. class, power – that leads to a unity of ideology and therefore positions socio-cultural (and also political) subjects in a fixed manner should be questioned. To him, social formations are not defined by a given ideology, but constructed by many elements that, interestingly, are not always connected in a fixed situation. In this thesis, Hall’s ideas on articulation and cultural identity that I mainly focus on and draw insight from, rather than his wider explanations on the relations between articulation and critique on ideology. According to Hall (2019c):

In England, the term [articulation] has a nice double meaning because ‘articulate’ means to utter, to speak forth, to be articulate. It carries that sense of language-ing, of expressing, etc. But we also speak of an ‘articulated’ lorry [truck]: a lorry where the front [cab] and back [trailer] can, but need not necessarily, be connected to one another. The two parts are connected to each other, but through a specific linkage, that can be broken. An articulation is thus the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute, and essential for all the time. (Hall, 2019c: 234-235)

The use of articulation in this thesis precisely follows these two-meaning definitions. First, it means the way in which the informants “utter, to speak forth, to be articulate” to express their own ‘voice’ on various issues that matter to them, for example creative city branding, or inventiveness in creative collectives. Second, articulation refers to the processes and conceptualisation of connected practices these informants do in their everyday life under certain conditions, at particular periods in time, for example their creative collective and initiatives within creative city policies, marketing or events: these linkages are connected, loosened and sometimes broken, as we shall see in the analysis chapters.

Furthermore, articulation is a rich concept to approach identity in the making. As Gray (2003) explains:

Articulation is a useful way of thinking about both the complexity of contemporary societies and cultures and what it is like to inhabit them as a social subject. Developed by Laclau and elaborated by Stuart Hall for cultural studies, it provides an anti-essentialist and anti-reductionist method of complicating the relationship between individual action (subjectivity) and the broader social (determining) structure. (Gray, 2003: 32)

From such an understanding of this concept, Hall continues that the *theory of articulation* is “both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects” (Hall, 2019c: 235). This approach is useful to examine the ways in which the studied creative collectives perform their resistance towards particular broader social structure, then poetically and politically express their voice in their respective city.

How do articulations – both in the meaning of articulating voice and articulation of connected practices – relate to the construction of these informants’ cultural identities? The articulation processes in this research are interpreted through the ways the creative collectives and their members voice their subjective expressions, values and meaning-making productions in regard to media, spaces and memories. All these three aspects are the very site where identity – as part of social formations – can be traced as a site of analysis.

On a broader level, the concept of identity can be based on three considerations: Enlightenment subject, sociological subject and post-modern subject (Hall, 1992). The first conception of identity, the Enlightenment subject, perceives human “as a fully centred, unified individual, endowed with the capacity of reason, consciousness and action [...] continuous or ‘identical’ throughout the individual’s existence” (Hall, 1992: 275). In contrast, the post-modern subject is explained as a conceptualisation that sees humans “as having no fixed, essential or permanent identity [...] it is historically, not biologically, defined. [...] identities which are not unified around a coherent ‘self’ (Hall, 1992: 277). Whereas, the second conceptualisation – i.e. the sociological subject – is the one that this thesis departs from to approach the notion of cultural identity. When defining identity based on the consideration of sociological subject, we recognise subject as “not autonomous and self-sufficient”, it is “formed in relation to ‘significant others’, who mediated to the subject the values, meanings and symbols – the culture – of the world he/she inhabit” (Hall, 1992: 276). Cultural identity is understood as an outcome of the interaction between individuals and their social contexts. The main focus here is on the interplay between ‘self’ and ‘society’; the subjects are “formed and modified in a continuous dialogue with the cultural worlds ‘outside’ and the identities which they offer” (Hall, 1992: 276). In other words, cultural identity is formed by a network of tensions: between individual and collective, local and global, ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’. Thus, cultural identity is a result of such tensions and is always context-based. The whole processes of these context-saturated conditions – either historical, temporal, or spatial contexts – in terms of

“de-centring the subject” (Hall, 1992) can be investigated to form an understanding of what can be identified as cultural identity. To make sense of these whole processes as the construction of cultural identity, then, the theory of articulation enables my analysis of creative collectives and their connected practices in the context of their cities. Thus, we now turn from articulation of cultural identity construction to the studies of media, space and the city.

Media, space and the city

Conceptualising the city is by no means an effort to formulate it into a single, or clear-cut definition. The city, drawing from Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) explanation on the production of space in the city, should be understood in three simultaneous conceptualisations at the same time: the material, the imagined and the lived city (see also Stevenson, 2013). The material city is a view to perceive the city as a particular place, as in the understanding of a French term *cit  * (Sennett, 2019). When the city transforms into a more abstract way, that is from a place to what Dicks (2003) refers to as an “exhibition of themselves”, it leads to the understanding of the imagined city. The imagined city is a notion commonly used as a framework to explore, and critique, urban modernities in the city (Highmore, 2005). In another expression, the imagined city can also be understood as:

By *city*, I understand a complex and interactive network which links together, often in an unintegrated and de facto way, a number of disparate social activities, and relations, with a number of imaginary and real, projected or actual architectural, geographic, civic, and public relations. (Grosz, 1998: 44)

The imagined city deals with the ideological or representational aspects conceived within an overall mentality of perceptions, behaviours and beliefs in the city, or city as *ville* in French as the alternative to *cit  * (Sennett, 2019). In other words, the imagined city is “a space that is inhabited and appropriated through the attribution of personal and group meanings, feelings, sensory perceptions and understandings” (Low, 2017: 32). In such an understanding of the city, there would be a combination of subjectivities, inter-subjectivities and identities (Low, 2017).

Meanwhile, the lived city is a conceptualisation that explores the urban experience. By urban, it means “a *densely* experienced culture” (Highmore, 2005: 17, original emphasis) within any given city. Rather than exploring the perceived

(material) space of its built environment and the conceived (imagined) ideas of its spatial entity, the third conceptualisation, i.e. the lived city, focuses more on the experiences as articulated by the people who live in or visit the city. Sometimes the third aspect in this Lefebvre's theoretical model (the triadic dimension of the city) can also be added by a reflective aspect of the researchers' activities in experiencing the city on a particular subject matter.

By focusing on the experiential dimension of the city, this offers a perspective on the lived city that includes participatory practice within urban environments. McQuire (2016: 91) discusses this aspect through a concept he calls "participatory public space". However, he stresses that one has to be critical of claims of participation since it "has become a buzzword [...] an early twenty-first-century *zeitgeist*: a value everyone seems to subscribe to without necessarily sharing a common sense of what might be involved" (McQuire, 2016: 91). Thus, in this research the experiential dimension of participation in the city is investigated from the everyday practices, in particular everyday creativities. These include understanding the everyday practices in relation to the way members of the creative collectives make do by living in the city and adopting tactics that relate to their creative and crafts/art work, and their digital and social media. This interplay, between social media and everyday creativities in the city especially in Asian contexts, is usually characterised by the pattern of resistance against the backdrop of, for example, the state's and other forms of hegemonic power either from the majority of ethnic/religious/class/political groups or market-driven public policy makers (Lim, 2002; Pang, Goh and Rohman, 2016). In many occasions of such resistance, these are also expressions of spatial struggles, exercises of power, and articulations of voices and identities in urban contexts (Lim, 2014; Kusno, 2000, 2011).

Place branding and the city

When the city is perceived as a place, it turns out that this kind of place can also be valued, commodified, marketed, branded and re-formed into a specific impression to gain particular benefits. As urban experiences have their very essence as sites of encounters with strangers and differences (Zerlang, 2007), the city as a place has its attractive attributes to potential visitors/dwellers/viewers or investors/customers. Placemaking and place-marketing are two common approaches in managing the city as a place that can create benefits – either economically, politically, or many other reasons – to those involved in the process

of designing and managing the impression of such a place. According to many urbanists, “traditional place-marketing takes its point of departure in an understanding of the demands of the customer” (Jensen, 2007: 102). In other words, place-marketing is simply a marketing effort – no difference with common marketing strategies in its basic economic sense – that tries to guess and address the need of customers. The different thing is the commodity, it is not goods or services, but a commodified place including the city. This commodified place can serve the demands of the customers in the form of both place-based goods and services, as long as the economic logic occurs as the core of its activity.

A different approach than place-marketing begins to dominate in urban planning projects. This is the branding approach. In contrast with the first approach, “branding approach works the other way around; branding means starting out at the level of identities and values” (Jensen, 2007: 102). To many contemporary urbanists, the branding approach is seen more positively and they embrace it in a quite celebratory way. Seen as more contextual and with a wider orientation than simply an economic logic, a branding approach becomes a mainstream view practiced in many cities across the globe since the late 1990s. Many urbanists, city officials and scholars worked hand in hand to develop their view on city branding. However, some other scholars share their critical views on the mainstreaming of this city branding approach. One of them argues:

In the years enveloping the new millennium, city branding drew heavily on the idea of the city as an *experienscape*. [...] The Experience Economy was here defined as the production of economic value in terms of experiences, events, feelings and dreams. The metaphor of capital brought forward other concepts such as accumulation, investments, yields, growth, book-keeping, audits and value. (Löfgren, 2007: 75, 85).

Orvar Löfgren’s critique on the practices of city branding, especially in the late 1990s and early 2000s, is based on the fact that many city officials and urban planners were drawn into the “experience economy” as the new turn of economic logic in the beginning of 21st century. Having said this, the ideal of city branding that initially focuses on foregrounding values and identities are overshadowed by the force to build economic capitals based on the ‘performance’ of their cities. A scholar-cum-urbanist, Charles Landry (2006), proposes his idea on “city-making” to re-position city branding into its ideal form again. His holistic approach in building a ‘cityness’ of urban living is attuned to, and at times replicates, the tensions between political logic of urban space (mainly from the point of view of the state) and economic logic of urban investment. More critical views on city

branding – no matter the terms they are used – can be found in other works by various scholars. Svensson's (2014) study on the heritage branding of Chinese megacities shows that city branding in contemporary China cannot be separated by the political influence of the national branding agenda. From "top-down affairs managed by municipal governments" to "beautification of the urban environment" approaching the Beijing Olympics 2008 (Svensson, 2014: 172), city branding becomes part of a bigger agenda on creating the official narrative on a 'civilized' and 'harmonious' nation.

Kaneva (2011) writes a comprehensive survey of scholarly writing on nation branding, involving 186 sources across disciplines. She argues that there are three different approaches to nation branding, namely technical economic, political and cultural approaches. Drawing insight from Kaneva's study, Bolin and Ståhlberg (2015) focus on the role of the media in branding campaigns. Based on the empirical case of Ukraine's nation branding, they argue that the media – especially in terms of the role of media technology and media organisation – can potentially be a significant agent in nation branding. As Bolin and Ståhlberg (2015) argue, this understanding of the role of the media in nation branding is often neglected in scholarly works.

Returning to branding of the city, Löfgren (2005) interestingly builds the metaphor of "catwalk" in a fashion show to explain the tendency of city branding within an experience economy approach. According to him, as "performance became an important catwalk economy" (Löfgren, 2007: 83), cities are branded "to communicate an appetizing image" (Löfgren, 2005: 64). However, such examples of "catwalk" city branding sometimes turns a city "into a beautifully designed, but lifeless cityscape" (Löfgren, 2007: 91). In this thesis, I share a similar position with Löfgren's critical view: since seeing "the city as a product is dangerous" (Löfgren, 2014: 202), to me it is also a problematic to elaborate the official campaign of cities – mostly initiated and designed by the state – without listening to other voices from city dwellers that perceive their city not as a product, but a living space for creativity, identities and memories. The following section will focus on the specific aspect of memory studies and its relevant aspect with urban cultures.

Memory and urban cultures

When it comes to understanding articulation of identity in urban contexts, there is another significant practice that is also relevant to be looked at. This is the

construction of memory, or precisely cultural memory as an articulation of the collected, shared memories within particular groups in the city. In the rapid changes of urban environments, city dwellers may have lost “connection to the past and their memories” (Madanipour, 2017: 86). In such a context, Madanipour observes:

The multiple layers of time and the traces of the past are combined to resist the pressure for social fluidity and the loss of memory, even if they are also reinterpreted and remade according to the new circumstances. The city’s unconscious survives in traces, which include objects, beliefs and practices. (Madanipour, 2017: 86-87)

Looking back to more theoretical debates on cultural memory itself, examples include classic texts by Halbwachs (1992) to contemporary thoughts proposed by Hoskins (2009), Reading (2009, 2011) and van Dijck (2007, 2009). Halbwachs (1992) introduced the notion of collective memory that provides an important foundation in terms of theoretical ideas for memory studies in general (cf. Wertsch, 2002). Whereas, Hoskins (2009), based on his sociological standpoint, argues that collective memories in late-modern society can be categorised into two stages: the broadcast era and the post-broadcast era. In the post-broadcast era, he argues, the analysis emphasises more on mediatization of memory rather than the memory material conveyed within the media.

In discussing the relation between memory and digital media, Reading (2009, 2011) and van Dijck (2007, 2009) expand their understanding on this matter. Reading (2011) focuses her study on the variety of digital media forms. Consequently, for her, memory is determined by the form of media and the way in which it is used in connected society (cf. Neiger, Meyers and Zandberg, 2011). Additionally, van Dijck (2007) significantly contributes in both theoretical and empirical ideas on what she calls mediated memories. She urges researchers to move from the concept of mediation of memories, and proposes the concept of mediated memories. In focusing on mediated memories, she also pays attention on the debates between personal and collective memories, which for her, it is not easy to distinguish personal from collective memory because mediated memories refer to both. This thought is relevant for this thesis, especially considering the entanglement of voices of the creative collectives and their individual members. It is also useful to employ mediated memories framework, since the entanglement of both activities and objects within the creative collectives are also significant as the very site to examine the articulated memories. Mediated memories, as van Dijck further explains, is concerned with:

[t]he activities and objects we produce and appropriate by means of media technologies, for creating and re-creating a sense of past, present, and future of ourselves in relations to others. (van Dijck, 2007: 21)

By employing mediated memories rather than mediation of memory, her view leads us to see “memory that is not mediated by media, but media and memory transform each other ... [lead to] a better understanding of the mutual shaping of memory and media” (van Dijck: 2007: 21). The coexistence of digital media as part of people’s everyday life and cultural memories can be understood in relation to this way of thinking of media and memory studies.

It is also worth noting a theoretical view that sees memory as an *embodied* entity, whereas ‘history’ has more of an *embedded* sense (Budiawan, 2013: x, original emphasis). Within this embodied process, the politics of memory always has coexistence of two elements: remembering and forgetting (Budiawan, 2013: 150) and the “remembering is better seen as an active engagement with the past, as performative rather than as reproductive” (Erll and Rigney, 2009: 2). Thus, the construction of memories within the city – through everyday creativity as discussed earlier – can be understood as another way particular groups of people in the city articulate identities along with the way they perform creativity on many levels. The articulation of remembering and forgetting memories through the practice of ‘cultural memory on display’ (inspired from Dicks, 2003) in the city is one of the significant elements of the analysis in this study. It provides situated contexts to further analysis of how the members within creative collectives articulate their own voices in constructing cultural memories against the backdrop of the official memories imagined and materialised by the city’s authorities.

Gaps and challenges

On the aspect of interrelations between practice and everyday creativity, most of the existing studies discussed in this chapter have more emphases on psychological, managerial, or sociological aspects of researching creativity. Whereas, the cultural aspects provide an opportunity for further analysis: when everyday creativity is understood as a process within the framework of practice theory and everyday life studies, it is important to consider the cultural aspects of this process and pay more attention on the articulation of voice. From here one can research cultural identity as an intermingling of everyday creativity and articulation of voice.

This articulation, as part of the everyday meaning-making processes by the studied subjects, can be interpreted as their cultural identities practiced within their respective cities, thus understanding the city as entangled within their everyday creativity. In this sense, the obvious gap in seeing the interrelation between media, space and the city is the emphasis on seeing the studied urban spaces through two elements of the triadic dimension of the city, i.e. the material and the imagined city. The third dimension, i.e. the lived city, is not studied as much as other perspectives. The majority of focused areas on the interrelation between media, space and the city are dedicated to study the mediated city or representation of urban space in media texts (see Georgiou, 2013; Mattern, 2015). When media is part of people's experiences living in the city, this shifts the research focus from looking at media representations of cities to media-related practices that are part of the poetics and politics of urban cultures. This includes the way in which the connected practices in the city are perceived as a result of city branding, or critically understood as bottom-up and rooted in the character of a city, a character which can enrich the 'brand' of the city.

Additionally, the research adds to an understanding of cultural memory as emerging within such everyday practices in the city. Memories tend to be approached as a product, or material aspect, delivered by and within media. Instead of perceiving memory in such a perspective, this thesis looks at cultural memory as a contested arena among different actors with various views in the city. The lived cultures as expressed through this contestation can be investigated by combining theoretical perspectives of everyday creativity, spatial formation of the lived city, and cultural memory; all these are articulated by and with alternative voices.

In the next chapter we shall see how the connected theoretical standpoints of this thesis also require combined methodologies of ethnography and critical visual methodologies. These methodological considerations, the selected methods, and the research processes are addressed in the next chapter.

| 3 | Experiencing Practice, Practicing Experience: A Methodological Review

The question of how I methodologically approach media and cultural practices in everyday urban environments is the focus of this chapter. Informed by Ann Gray's (2003) work on studying contemporary culture, it is important to clearly state here that this thesis is based on an empirical research of certain cultural practices of creative collectives in particular places of cities in Indonesia and Malaysia as the main object of its study. The way in which the empirical materials in this study have been gathered and analysed are methodologically informed by cross-disciplinary perspectives coming from media and cultural studies, urban media and communication studies, and visual studies. A mixture of methods is also employed, and these sets of methods are structured within two selected, combined methodologies, taking insights from ethnography and visual methodology; both methodologies attuned to the significance of context and sensitivity to people in places where they live and work.

In what follows, I will examine literature and recent discussions within both methodologies that support the chosen methods in addressing the research objectives. The elaboration here will also touch upon the way I design, manage and reflect on studying the informants' practices by delving deeper into their experiences, while at the same time doing or practicing my methodological approaches. In other words, following the ethnographic concepts proposed by Pink et al. (2016), investigating practice means to deal with the question of what people *do*, while studying experience focuses on the aspect of what people *feel*. In this chapter, the discussion explores the way I understand what my informants do with creativities in their everyday life. It especially focuses on what they do with digital media and creative practices in the city and what they feel while doing such practices.

I have used the ethnographic and visual method in order to see what might be normally obscured, or in the words of de Certeau (as mentioned in the previous chapter), to hear the murmurs of city dwellers. The chosen methodologies and methods have allowed me to grasp important elements of their lived cultures: by being present in the collectives, spending time with the people, asking them to voice their values, witnessing the way they show me what things important for them (e.g. crafts products, working tools, books, personal collections), following their social media accounts and engaging in social media conversation. Through gaining and maintaining their trust, I have been invited into their ways of life. In addition, my photographic practice for documenting urban environment and the creative collectives' daily activities can enrich the ethnographic materials by seeing the official discourse on heritage city and creative city in the cities, and alternative articulations, bodily and spatially expressed by these creative collectives.

Multi-contextual ethnography for studying cultural practice

Adrian Athique (2008: 32) rightly states, “in the first place, ethnography is an empirical tradition that seeks to manufacture situated knowledge”. By situated, this refers to the particularity of materials this methodology could potentially gather at various sites of social and cultural practice, yet the “production of such knowledge” appears beyond these gathered evidence. When it comes to the notion of authority of knowledge, according to him, the situated knowledge produced from ethnographic work is, indeed, sited in the research subject. This leads us back to the notion of “presence” and “distance” managed by the ethnographers in their writing to bring up the balance between the “I was there” voice of them and the “suppression of that voice so that the text’s author is rendered absent” and foreground the informants’ voices (Gray, 2003: 185-186).

Hence, in researching contemporary culture – as the focus of this study – a specific epistemological standpoint has to be clearly stated early on. ‘What do we mean by culture?’ is a core question to be asked first. In responding to this question, I am influenced by Raymond Williams’ (1981) notion of “lived culture”. According to him, lived culture is the modern form of understanding culture that no longer emphasizes on “an informing spirit – ideal or religious or national” aspect, but focusing more on aspect that “has been primarily determined by other and now differently designated social processes” (Williams, 1981: 11).

Drawing from Williams' understanding of lived culture, another scholar expands the explanation that lived cultures deal with the concerns of:

[h]ow we can make sense of the ways in which culture is produced in and through everyday living. [...] How these practices might relate to identity, to a sense of self and to social relations, questions that a larger sample would not necessarily deliver. (Gray 2003: 11, 16)

This means any studies within such an epistemological position can investigate everyday practice of particular research subjects. The aim, then, is to understand meaning-making processes as part of the construction of the research subjects' identities. This kind of understanding of culture also resonates with another view of everyday practice as an articulation of "ordinary culture" (Humphreys, 2018: 5-7). By ordinary, it is meant that lived cultures indicate not only the usual and regular aspect, but also the 'connective' and 'contextual' as the traits in ordinary culture that constitute one's daily life. The ordinary becomes a significant site since it "can represent broader social values and systems that shape the human condition" (Humphreys, 2018: 5). Drawing insights further on Raymond Williams' notion of a "cultural triad", Humphreys writes:

[Williams] reminds us that culture can be thought of as divided into the ideal, the documentary and the social. The ideal culture is that which we aspire to. The documentary culture is the textual, artistic, intellectual and artefactual products of a society. The social culture is the particular way of life and the everyday practices which represent a society. (Humphreys, 2018: 130)

The ethnographic work conducted in this study has its objective to examine this understanding of lived cultures. In relation to Williams' cultural triad mentioned above, this study explores the 'social' through the everyday practices in the studied creative collectives and the relationships among the members. This study also examines the 'ideal' as articulated by their voices on the way of living in the city, while the 'documentary' is occurred on the artefactual of their everyday lives as mostly captured in the visual part of this study.

Digital ethnography

In order to understand digital media practices of the informants, digital ethnography is employed in this research. This methodological choice has its own on-going debates since there is more than one explanation about what digital

ethnography really means. There are many interpretations seen from various disciplinary traditions that, consequently, have different approaches in choosing its methods (see Hjort, Burgess and Richardson eds., 2013; Hine, 2015; boyd, 2015; Pink et al., 2016; Miller et al., 2016, among others).

Nonetheless, in the context of the current digital proliferation in people's everyday lives – including within my informants' daily lives – it is impossible to understand their digital media practices without trying to “understand other aspects of their worlds and lives” (Pink et al., 2016: 10). The focus of such an analysis, as they further suggest, can be particularly on these “domains of activity in which digital media are used rather than on the characteristics or use of media”, in other words the research methods should be “non-digital-centric” (Pink et al., 2016: 10). This work connects with the notion of media-related practice discussed earlier in Chapter 2.

While trying to investigate what people do with digital media in such an ethnographic understanding, the researcher is also exposed to sensory experiences. This enhances the possibilities to understand practice through elaborating what people actually feel by paying attention on, for example, the soundscape during observations and interviews. What do people actually *feel* when they actively engage in and through digital environment? This question leads me to investigate further the notion of experience that examines the way people feel (Pink et al., 2016). As Pink (2016: 21) explains, there is a need for the ethnographer to be immersed “in sites of other people's experience”.

Immersive, as Hine (2015) also puts it, is one significant trait in doing ethnography through her 3Es strategies, i.e. embedded, embodied and everyday experiences. When “the digital is increasingly entangled in everyday experience” (Pink et al., 2016: 23), the need to apply an immersive way of researching people's experiences becomes more prominent. Hine explains the immersive as follows:

The ethnographer's immersion may involve taking part in the same activities that people living in the setting carry out, enabling the ethnographer to develop an understanding from the inside, which takes seriously how activities feel as much as what they achieve. Even where the practicalities of the setting preclude full participation, an ethnographer's immersion in the setting allows her to learn by observing in very close proximity, and enables her constantly to test her emerging interpretations with the people involved. (Hine, 2015: 19)

Informed by the above proposition as a methodological framework, the ethnographic exploration in this study also engages with a digital ethnography perspective. The study itself is based on a series of ‘taking part’ in media-related

practices by selected members of creative collectives in two Southeast Asian cities. These are in Bandung and George Town, a proclaimed creative city in Indonesia and a creative, heritage-inscribed city in Malaysia respectively. The objective of this ethnographic work is to ‘understand from the inside’ the way in which these people ‘experience’ their everyday creativities in relation to any relevant daily ‘practices’, including, what they do with digital media as part of their everyday routines. On the aspect of social media practice, the focus in this study is their media practice on Instagram. The preliminary finding during the pilot observations and interviews shows that all of the informants and their creative collectives use Instagram as the main platform, and the other social media platforms are simply the mirrors of their Instagram contents. This has become part of their everyday lived experiences.

The importance of understanding lived experiences is due to its possibility to reveal another articulation. Gray (2003: 26) argues, “experience is not an authentic and original source of our being, but part of the process through which we articulate a sense of identity”. Yet, identity is not an obvious notion. Studying experience itself is basically “to focus precisely on the unspoken or unsaid elements of everyday life” (Pink et al., 2016: 39). In doing so, to address the notion of identity and investigate it deeper, the ethnographic approach (through participant observation and interview methods) in this study is enhanced by visual methods. This has twofold meanings in this study. First, based on the digital ethnographic method, the visuals here can refer to the use of visual presentations as expressed in the informants’ Instagram accounts. This becomes a departure point to understand the informants’ everyday digital experiences. Then, this is explored through various methods in both online and offline activities in ‘closer proximity’ with their realm of self-presentation and identity articulation. Secondly, having gained access to such proximity, I also experience their daily routines through the visual production – i.e. shooting photographs – about their activities and spatial contexts in the field. (A further explanation on the use of photography can be read in the following section).

Such a strategy allows for a comprehensive way of understanding the daily experiences of informants in their own sites, while also fulfilling a deeper context of their Instagram practices. Relying on their posted images on Instagram and observing these online contents only would not be sufficient to grasp the many elements of practice and experience. That is why several principles in digital ethnography are employed in this study, including the consideration of practices and experiences in both online and offline settings. Further explanation on the

way this combination of methods is applied in this study is elaborated in another section of this chapter.

In terms of spatial sense, there are two types of site of this study. The first type is the so-called 'field' or offline site where the everyday creativities take place in an urban context, that is to say the spatial and geographical location of the creative collectives and their activities. The second type of the spatial site is the digital space. That is the online site of each informant's Instagram and their creative collectives' digital social media accounts. Both sites have significant role in providing supporting evidence for this study.

Critical visual methodology: the use of photography

Roland Barthes, a French cultural theorist, concludes his book, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (2000 [1980]), with these sentences:

[t]he two ways of the Photograph. The choice is mine: to subject its spectacle to the civilized code of perfect illusions, or to confront in it the wakening of intractable reality. (Barthes, 2000: 119)

Speaking about 'taming' the Photograph (he uses a capital P), he proposes two ways of dealing with the proliferation of photography in late-modern society. It is noted here that when this book was published in France in early 1980, digital technology including digital photography had not yet become part of people's everyday life. However, his reflective thoughts in this book remain relevant today.

The reflections in *Camera Lucida* mostly come from the point of view of the image viewer, or as Barthes mentions it as the *Spectator*, not from the view of the photographer or the *Operator* as he calls it (Barthes, 2000). This idea of what a viewer might see, and feel, towards a photograph has intrigued me to develop my ethnographic approach with the combination of field observations, conversational interviews and the use of photography to cover both points of view.

The photograph itself, as explained by Gray (2003: 21), "has a long history of signifying 'truth', often being invested with the status of 'evidence'". But, of course, the nature of images made by a photographic process does not indicate 'truth' in such a single, or solid way. Rose (2016) responds to the debates on photographic truth by proposing the two tendencies of the use of photography in research:

Many researchers simply use photographs as records of what was really there when the shutter snapped. [Thus,] photographs as evidence of the real. Others, however, argue that it is less the visual content of a photograph that matters and more how it is made and interpreted in the context of a specific research project. [Thus,] the interpretation of photos is always context-specific. (Rose, 2016: 309)

In the era of ubiquitous images of digital photography – what some scholars call a “superabundance of photography” (Heng, 2017: 225) – the researchers’ task in using photography within their studies faces a new challenge. Heng (2017: 225) points out, “researchers must find ways in which their photographs work harder than just to depict and describe; they must expose different kinds of truth.” I am aware of these challenges when employing photography into the set of my research methods. In the photographic method used in this study, I approach ‘truth’ as constructed processes involving the whole interactions amongst the informants, also interactions between them and their spatial environments, and between them and me as the researcher throughout the research processes. In doing so, the images captured from the photographic practice in this research should be understood as the visual form of these interrelationships that visually interpret and comment the discussed subject matters. It is, then, important to ‘read’ the images alongside with the written discussions of the analyses, and vice versa.

Such a concern also finds articulation in the work of Gillian Rose (2016) who suggests “critical visual methodology” that considers “the cultural significance, social practices and power relations” embedded in the visual (Rose, 2016: xxii). She suggests the benefit of using photography in urban research as well: photographs “can convey something of the feel of urban places, space and landscape, specifically of course those qualities that are in some way visible” (Rose, 2016: 308). Additionally, since photography has a potential to grasp “sensory richness and human inhabitation of urban environments”, it is precisely due to such a reason that I incorporate photographic methods within my ethnographic approach in this study.

Similar to the above thought, Morphy and Banks (1997: 18) argue that capturing everyday routines with the use of visual tools including “filmic and photographic records may give access to a dimension of reality that is otherwise unrecoverable”. Even the classic works of John Collier Jr, an early American visual anthropologist, have shown that employing “photography for social research (the term visual anthropology was not coined until about 1965)” can productively help in “making cultural inventory with the focus on cultural vitality” of specific groups within larger societies (Collier, 2009: 30-35).

The way I design my ethnographic work in the field is also complemented by the visual aspect through the production of photographs. I use my camera, as reflected by Collier (2009: 49), more as a systematic tool for information gathering rather than as an expressive device of my own. The type of photographs that I produce is informed by a documentary mode or style. Documenting practice and experience from the studied field in such a style allows the photographer to capture any silent, invisible, or subaltern groups “to have a voice”, it is in a way “to document ‘hidden’ lives and worlds, to ‘tell different stories’ and reveal different accounts” (Gray, 2003: 30). The role of the photographs in this study is equivalent to my field notes, interview responses, screenshots of the informants’ social media contents, and other gathered information. In this view, then, the way the photographs made in the field and presented in the analyses are less intended as illustration, but more as an analytical element that forms a parallel visual narrative next to my scholarly written analyses.

The documentary mode or documentary style of the photographs is another term I prefer to use here rather than explicitly categorise my visual methodology in the established categories of documentary photography or social documentary. Indeed, documentary photography itself has its own theories and debates within the history of photography. Rather than being drawn into this genre debates, here I follow the basic principle saying, “the distinguishing feature of documentary photography is its use of natural materials and ‘straight’ technique” in shooting the photographs (Parr and Badger, 2004: 116). I created photographs of and about the people and their activities in the selected creative collectives within urban settings. This way is also in accordance with the capacity of photographs to “speak beyond the literal reference of objects” (Tormey, 2013: xvii). My photo production itself, following Tormey’s suggestion, was not conducted in a ‘voyeuristic’ way but more in an ‘immersive’ way.

In recent time the practices of and discourses on documentary photography – or, more precisely photography in documentary mode or style – have gone so far into a more variety of form, presentation, technique, utilisation, and politics of representation. However, a few main principles remain. These guide me in designing the way I produce my photographs within this documentary mode/style trajectory. First and foremost, the photographs I make from the fields are ‘visual commentary’ of the chosen social and cultural phenomena. Additionally, the photographs should convey two elements. These are (1) their capacity to deliver the ‘truth’ from and about real world, and (2) their potential to offer the photographer’s comment on this truth. While doing participant observation and conducting interview, I create photographs of and about these informants and

their activities within the selected creative collectives of the cities to build visual commentary and analysis along with the non-visual gathered information. All these are done in order to grasp the lived cultures and also present the constructed, situated 'truth' from these research subjects in a non-directive approach of qualitative research. As Tormey (2013) assures:

By purposefully not offering a closure of meaning, nor providing an authoritative answer, photographs can engage a viewer in the co-construction of knowledge through raising questions. They can address the discourse rather than 'speaking about' this or that or these people. (Tormey, 2013: 76).

Co-construction of knowledge is also in line with the purpose of ethnographic work. The ethnography and visual methodology work altogether in this study to build the very formation of the gathered empirical materials. In terms of the methods in collecting these materials and the way I organise, interpret and present them in specific stages of this study are the main focus of the following section.

A mixture of methods and materials

There are two specific cities as the locations where the field research takes place in the region of Southeast Asia. These are Bandung in Indonesia and George Town in Malaysia (Figure 3.1). The first city, Bandung, is the capital city of West Java province in Indonesia and is well known for its arts, youth and creative works demonstrated through many expressions and media platforms (Luvaas, 2012; Jurriëns, 2013, 2014; Dellyana and Rustiadi, 2019). The city of Bandung has campaigned and branded the city as emerging creative city since 2005. They also co-initiated and joined a consortium called Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network along with George Town in Malaysia, Cebu in the Philippines and Chiang Mai in Thailand (SACCN, 2014). This city has officially been appointed in joining the UNESCO Creative Cities Network on 11 December 2015 in the section of Cities of Design (UNESCO, 2015).

The other city is George Town in the neighbouring country, Malaysia. George Town is a heritage-cum-creative city located in Penang island state. It is well known as a global heritage city especially after George Town was officially listed by UNESCO as the World Heritage Site along with Melaka in 2008 (UNESCO, n.d.; Khoo et al., 2017). After receiving this heritage status, the local governments of George Town and Penang state in Malaysia create many initiatives supported

by many international agencies – e.g. UNESCO and other global cultural institutions – and demonstrated in many forms. The city dwellers respond to such programmes and this new global city status in diverse ways, including those who have been working within creative scene in the country.

The selection of these two cities is based on the contemporary situation in which both cities self-proclaimed a designation as creative cities, then after planning and conducting relevant strategic policies they were able to receive international recognition as a creative city or heritage city with culture and creativity as their main core. Both cities are also part of the consortium of creative cities network in the region. The focus of this research, however, is neither on the macro contexts of discourses on creative cities nor the policy evaluation studies of the local governments' programmes related to creativity. Rather, this study focuses on the ways in which the city dwellers respond to these creative city discourses through understanding their everyday practices. The research subjects are the group of people who individually and collectively have been working in creative-related scenes in each city, but remain silent or hidden in this global discourse of their respective creative city. Borrowing what Gray (2003: 42) explains, this research positions itself as “a study of a ‘micro’ world”, that of groups of people as creative collectives, “set within a ‘macro’ understanding of the broader social context” of the urban contexts and global discourses on creative cities in Southeast Asia.

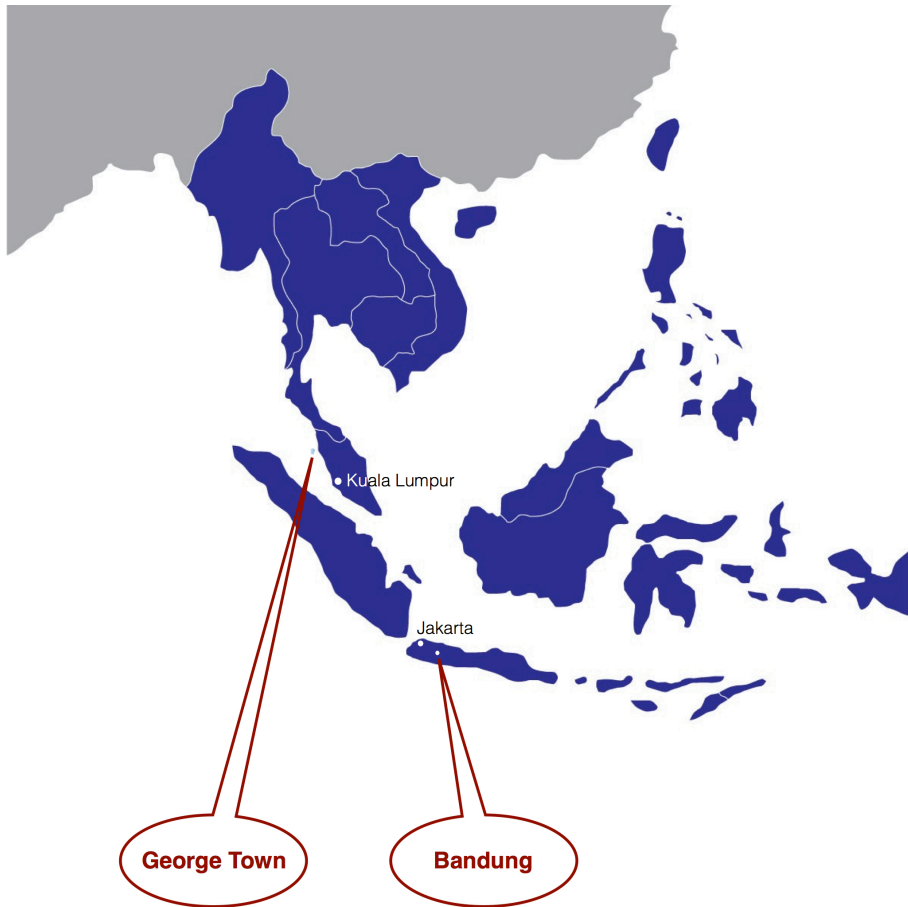


Figure 3.1

The studied creative collectives are based in each of the two creative cities in Southeast Asia: Bandung in Indonesia and George Town in Malaysia.²

The field research in both cities were conducted in 2016 and 2017. Alongside information gathering in the physical spaces and geographical places of both cities, remote digital observation has also been an on-going process since spring 2016 until spring 2019. The research planning began with finding the key informants

² Source of the vector map: <https://www.vecteezy.com/vector-art/105867-free-state-map-of-southeast-asia> (attribution: Vecteezy.com). This is a stylised and modified map for the illustrative purpose only in this particular matter, therefore the detailed shape and the map scale cannot be referred for different purposes than what is appeared here.

for the study. I began with broad online observations by searching and following any websites, weblogs, online forums and social media accounts of people or organisations in both cities that involved creative production of any kinds of creativity. In doing so, there were a few considerations that I learned during this process about excluding certain kinds of groups that were part of global or multinational corporations, government bodies or directly part of government initiatives, creative activities on a big scale as in the manufacturing industry, and start-up ventures. These groups and persons were excluded as outside the remit of the research project, but the information from them are considered as supporting context of the key informants' wider social network.

I found out a few names of people and their groups in the earlier stages of this study. It turned out that trying to make the first contact with them through email was not the most effective way since I received no response. I changed my way by contacting them in the digital platforms they regularly use, like Facebook and Instagram, from my own social media account. I eventually received more welcoming responses, and I could continue with the next stages.

In October 2016 I conducted my first pilot interview via video call with one of the key figures of a creative collective in Bandung. This semi-structured interview was meant to test ideas about the main topic of the research, while also asking general questions about the activities the group routinely engaged in. This pilot interview was also aimed to snowballing further contact details within the same collective and other creative collectives in the network or beyond. Based on the interview guide for this pilot stage, the general questions I asked dealt with four aspects: [1] the informant's general profile (name and contact details, profession, daily routine and role in the collective); [2] the general profile of the creative collective (establishment, main activities, flow of work and communication within the collective, people involved in daily routine, the role of its place, perception on the type of collective, reflection on the process of working together, interaction and relation with other creative collectives in the city); [3] the media practice (digital media platforms organised by the collective, content management of the digital media, media networking, targeted or imagined media audience, the role of these digital media sites or accounts for the collective's work, relations between the collective's accounts and the members' personal social media accounts, relations between the collective's online content management and the offline activities they regularly organise); and [4] reflections on values (reflection on the personal meaning of the collective, reflections on relations between the collective and personal work or project, reflections on creative practices, reflections on the meaning of the city to the creative work and to themselves). The intention of the

pilot interview was to cover quite wide-ranging topics in order to learn about these creative collectives and to complement my early online observations. This pilot interview helped me to re-visit and re-structure my own plan for the next stage because I conducted the first fieldwork in both cities afterwards.

The first fieldwork took place in Bandung and George Town from October to December 2016. Based on the information I gathered earlier and several other contact details I gained from the pilot interviews, I did the first fieldwork as an exploratory stage of this study. The aim of the first fieldwork is to understand the articulation of digital media practices and their relations with creative practices in the selected cities, including the interplay between online and offline activities in regard to the construction of their identities. In each city I started by meeting one initial contact I had gained the trust of from the pilot interviews in the previous stage. This way later helped me in finding and meeting with the next relevant informants. I managed to interview people from two creative collectives in Bandung and one in George Town at this stage. This extensive exploratory phase enabled me to collect information that helped me to re-focus the research for further stage in terms of the main subject matters and methods. Second, the presence of myself in their own places rather than digitally mediated through audio or video call helped me to build trust and foster a relationship between the researcher and the informants.

The second fieldwork was conducted a year later. From September to October 2017, I re-visited both cities and met the same and a few more informants and also managed to meet and observe more creative collectives. The limited scope of groups and people I met in the previous fieldwork has led me to find and integrate more stories from more people in the creative collective scene to grasp the various voices and understand the cultural dynamics happened in both cities. This 2017 fieldwork was a follow up of the previous year's exploratory field research in the same locations that developed the research design, initiated first contact with the key informants and explored the possible methodological approaches. In the 2017 fieldwork, there were several objectives that shaped the research design further. First, the fieldwork intended to develop deeper contact with two creative collectives where information were previously gathered in the first (exploratory) fieldwork in the year before, i.e. Tobucil & Klabs in Bandung and Hin Bus Depot in George Town. Second, the fieldwork involved finding and building contact with other creative collectives; third, meeting and interviewing key informants to obtain more information on four topics: general profile of the creative collective, the routines of their creative practices, the use of digital media in relation to their creative works, and their personal reflections (on creative making, current

profession and creative scene in the city). Fourth, the field work involved observing activities of each collective and its members by focusing on the practices in their everyday situation, including the routines, the variety of media use, the soundscape, the social tensions and the relations to each other. Fifth, following the members' social networks that have relevant practices or contexts with their everyday routines or their collective orientation, either within the same city or in other cities. Sixth, the fieldwork involved finding and documenting relevant documents or archival materials about the two cities to complement the main narrative being studied; and the seventh, documenting the everyday life photographically of which covering the collectives' practices, their social networks and their cities visually (the built environments and the urban vibes).

In terms of methods, this study employs a mixture of methods in qualitative research informed by ethnographic and visual methodology as discussed in the earlier sections. This set of methods is a combination between online observation (Hine, 2015), participant observation (Jensen, 2012: 273), qualitative interviews – from in-depth interview (Hill, 2012: 308; Jensen, 2012: 270) to conversational interview (Moores, 2000: 10; Gray, 2003: 43; see also Jensen, 2012 who proposes 'naturalistic interview'; Kusenbach, 2003 who uses another term called 'go-along interview'), and photo-documentation in documentary mode (inspired from Tormey, 2013; Rose, 2016; Heng, 2017). Various collected materials of this study, then, are in the form of observational notes, transcribed and annotated interview responses, curated visual materials (the photographs), audio recording of soundscape experiences, and published materials in both cities as supporting contextual materials.

Regarding the conversational or go-along interview, this method requires the field researcher to be present in the "local settings" (Moores, 2000: 10) or the "social settings" (Jensen, 2012: 271). In other words, it demands the researcher to "accompany individual informants on their 'natural' outings [...] ethnographers are able to observe their informants' spatial practices *in situ* while accessing their experiences and interpretations at the same time" (Kusenbach, 2003: 463). Following such a method, I further interviewed my informants in their own social settings while, at the same time, I participated and observed their activities, such as workshop, discussion, or event, with them and their social networks whenever possible.

The field observation, as ethnographically informed, is done by approaching the subject persons in their own environment. Sites of observation can be divided into three areas: [1] the collective's site (house/office/co-working space/studio/store, depend on the way in which each collective refers or defines

it), [2] the members' social spaces outside their collective (e.g. regular café being visited, friend's studio, and pop-up market or events they involve) and [3] the streets of the two cities. The first two sites were observed in conjunction with the informant presence, while the latter (streets of the cities) were selected and observed without the informant presence; the streets became the sites to collect visual contexts of the city where the studied creative collectives are located and culturally interacted.

The observation conducted in George Town in 2017 were a back-to-back type, i.e. I came to each collective on a daily basis and participated in the collective's different active hours – they do not refer to this as working hours. A few collectives follow common opening hours, from midday to around ten in the evening, whereas others have a more random schedule and mostly the members arrive and begin their activity in late afternoon or evening. What I did in this city was following the collectives' schedule and the members, especially in the afternoon and evening, using any other time – mostly from early morning to midday – to explore the city streets and shoots relevant photographs there.

All the studied collectives in George Town reside in one compound called Hin Bus Depot; it is an old building complex that used to be a bus depot in the 1970s. This former old bus depot area has housed several creative collectives in George Town since 2014. The compound is owned privately by a family, yet this family does not run or involve in the daily organising of the place as a creative hub. One member of this family becomes a contact person, or as one collective refers him 'Director', for all creative collectives who reside there. Each collective becomes a tenant and pays a rent to the compound's owner. Although the compound is considered an old building, Hin Bus Depot is located a half kilometre outside of the designated heritage buffer zone. Thus, different activities and physical alterations are possible. However, the owner maintains the physical look including the old parts of the compound, without any major renovations, while the owner adds a few non-permanent buildings to accommodate different needs of various types of creative collectives upon request. Before becoming a creative hub, this building compound hosted a solo exhibition of a mural artists from Lithuania, Ernest Zacharevic, who now resides in Penang. This event attracted wider attention, especially from those who work in creative scene. After this event, the owner began to allow a few groups to use this space for their activities. This gradual increase in activities continue up to the present time of writing.

Each creative collective runs their own activities, while regularly contributing to collaborative projects, as well as involving other creative collectives from their wider networks. The focus in this thesis lies on the practices and experiences of

individuals in four creative collectives. These collectives are (1) Pokothings who runs a wooden craft workshop, (2) Grafikdistrict Solutions who creates an open forum for young graphic designers and illustrators, (3) Weez Concept (KIWE) that manages a handmade craft studio and accessories store, and (4) Hin Bus Depot – as the space-management collective, not the name of the whole compound – that regularly organises a pop-up independent market, art exhibitions and social gathering for creative collectives.

In Bandung, the studied creative collectives are not located in one place. There are four creative collectives whom I studied, they are (1) Tobucil & Klabs, a craft collective; (2) Kineruku, an alternative library, café and open space; (3) Omunium, a support system for independent music scene; and (4) Omnispace, an art collective. Except Omunium and Omnispace who share the same building on different levels, Tobucil & Klabs and Kineruku reside in their own place. In one collective, Tobucil & Klabs, I had a chance to have the 24-hour type of observation. In the 2017 fieldwork, I spent my first two nights in this city by staying in Tobucil’s studio. Coincidentally, their studio is in a house with extra bedrooms that are usually used by their friends who pay a visit or collaborate with them. Two staff of Tobucil also live there and stay in two separate bedrooms of the house.³ By staying here and spending more than 24 hours without interruption, I could both observe the collective’s everyday routines in a complete picture and engage in deeper conversations with the people. In three other collectives in Bandung (with different places and set ups as Tobucil & Klabs) I followed the back-to-back strategy as I did in George Town. I gained trust from each interviewee or members of the collective, as well as conducted interviews with the key informants. The tables below show the list of interviewed key informants in the studied creative collectives in each city.

Table 3.1
The list of interviewed key informants in George Town, Malaysia.

CREATIVE COLLECTIVE	COLLECTIVE TYPE	INFORMANT NAME	GENDER		NOTES
			M	F	
Hin Bus Depot	Art gallery and common space management	Khing		√	32-year-old event manager.
		Wanida		√	32-year-old gallery manager.
		Hafiz	√		26-year-old graphic designer and event programmer.

³ In Indonesia it is a common practice in many organisations that one or two member/staff/helper live permanently in their office or this rented house. They are usually a college student or bachelor who are responsible to do housekeeping of the office/studio and coincidently need a permanent accommodation for themselves.

		Sharifah		√	26-year-old event assistant.
Pokothings	Wooden crafts studio	Alex	√		30-year-old designer.
		Marie		√	63-year-old designer.
WEEZ Concept (KIWE)	Handmade crafts	Wee	√		44-year-old designer.
		Kitosa		√	43-year-old designer. They create the collaborative store, KIWE, along with another accessory designer named Kazimi.
Grafikdistrict Solutions	Graphic design collective	Chun Woei	√		43-year-old animator, graphic designer and lecturer.

Table 3.2

The list of interviewed key informants in Bandung, Indonesia.

CREATIVE COLLECTIVE	COLLECTIVE TYPE	INFORMANT NAME	GENDER		NOTES
			M	F	
Tobucil & Klabs	Craft collective	Tarlen		√	43-year-old bookbinder, Tobucil's co-founder, programmer and freelance writer.
		Palupi		√	42-year-old knitter and Tobucil's yarn and financial manager.
		Elin		√	41-year-old crocheter and Tobucil's store manager.
Kineruku	Alternative library and common space	Ariani (Rani)		√	43-year-old entrepreneur, co-founder of Kineruku.
		Budi	√		40-year-old librarian and Kineruku's Director.
Omunium	Independent music merchandiser, distributor, and gig organiser	lit (Boit)		√	41-year-old merchandiser and co-founder of Omunium.
		Tri	√		48-year-old manager and co-founder of Omunium. Both Boit and Tri also initiate and organise <i>Liga Musik Nasional</i> (Limunas), a collaborative musical event in Indonesian independent music scene.
Omnispace	Art collective	Nasrul	√		A visual artist and financial administrator of Omnispace.
		Erwin (Ewing)	√		39-year-old visual artist, art teacher and co-founder of Omnispace.

Eight creative collectives in the tables above become the main sites to which empirical focus of this study are gathered. This selection is made based on these creative collectives qualifications for the general guideline: to find and study individuals and their groups who have been working in creative scene in each city, yet their activities and role remain silent, unnoticed, or not being acknowledged within the mainstream creative city discourses or the so-called official city programmes.

Apart from interviewing these key informants, I managed to engage in conversational interviews with 16 other people during the fieldwork. They were mainly participants of the collective's events, people I met during my field observations, and friends or part of the social networks of the key informants. It happened not only in both studied cities, but also in other cities I had a chance to observe. For example, a few informants from Bandung involved in a pop-up crafts and arts market in Ubud, Bali, named *Pasar-Pasaran* (literally means 'a kind of market'). I travelled there with my informants and experienced the events in Ubud, then met and interviewed the organisers – who are also craftspeople – and explored their relationship and engagement with my key informants from Bandung. This go-along interview and observation methods gave me significant insights in understanding the values within craftspeople and handmade makers, as well as specifically in providing me with information on the media practices by these craft communities. Also, the way in which my key informants from Bandung are perceived by their wider social networks.

In a different occasion throughout the fieldworks, I have also stopped by in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, to observe Jakarta Creative Hub and *Gudang Sarinah* (Sarinah Warehouse). The first is a government-initiative of co-working space, while the latter is a private-initiative one but run by urban collectives in a more open way. These two creative hubs are mentioned by some of the key informants in Bandung either in supportive or the opposite ways. By visiting these locations in person, I could get the contextual meanings the informants have on specific issues related to being a creative hub and the culture of making.

All these interviews and observations are focused on creative and cultural practices. It includes the way the key informants engage, use and perceive any kinds of media in their everyday life, whether it relates to their creative practices or personal and interpersonal relationships. I have also witnessed during the field observation some kinds of behind-the-scene situation when the informants were creating their Instagram post. I shot some pictures about these too. It is important to see and experience the social and cultural settings during this moment and

relate them later with the image they finally post in their Instagram's account to enrich my analysis.

When I shot any photographs about their activities, places and other relevant subjects within their creative collectives, I positioned myself as an “unobtrusive observer” (Heng, 2017: 209). I produced every image in non-obtrusive ways to make sure that my subjects felt comfortable with my presence (and also with my camera) and maintained their own social and cultural settings. There were no staged photographs I made from the fieldwork; every image was shot in its own setting as observed at the moment it was taken. In general, the photographs produced in this study cover two sites: the creative collective and the city. The first is the focus of this research and the main drive of the narrative, while the latter plays as a wider context and complements the first aspect in building the complete narrative. Photographs being made of and about the creative collectives covered elements such as: subject persons, the place of each collective, the daily routines (creative practices), products being made (if any), the social interactions within the collective, the media practices, the social networks they were involved with (e.g. collaborative project), and interactions from the general public or the audiences of any events held in there.

Meanwhile, photographs being made of and about the city covered elements such as: the city streets, street arts and graffiti, significant public signs, everyday tactics, material cultures (e.g. landmarks and other built environments, signature dishes), collective identity signifiers (e.g. national flags, public memories visualisation, government- or corporate-led creative programmes in public spaces). The function of these photographs of the cityscape is as supporting evidence of the other photograph series coming from the previous site shot within the creative collectives. According to Heng (2017: 53), researching “a social group, institution or individual” could be more comprehensive by considering to “seek out the spaces where they inhabit or dwell in; spaces can give us clues into social life of communities”. It is with this intention that these two sites are important to be visually documented in this study. The selected photographs are mostly presented in the collage form, building the visual analysis element of this thesis that foreground the notion of photography as visual communication. Besides, this form is intentionally chosen to resonate the way in which photography – especially digital photography – is currently consumed: multiple pictures in one frame exposed in stream flow of images, not a single photograph to another. This is also in order to exemplify the way the photographic-based communication digitally done by the informants in their everyday life, especially through the use of visual-saturated social media like Instagram.

Regarding the making of soundscape recordings, my aim is to gather more sensory experiences and to accompany the visuals as another sensory experiential element. This method matters in researching “invisible sensory and affective experience” through routines and activities in everyday life (Pink et al., 2016: 25), here in the contexts of everyday routines by the creative collectives’ members. This type of empirical material is useful in complementing the ethnographic vignettes I write within the analyses.

Online observation is also part of the set of methods. This was done by following all key informants’ social media accounts, mainly Instagram. Digitally, I became visible for my informants through this Instagram platform. I did not play a role as a “lurker” (Svensson, 2017: 83), because I was intentionally active and visible in any digital interactions with my informants to maintain the trust and continuous relations during the study. I have conducted this remote digital observation prior to the first fieldwork in 2016 up until mid 2019. For this particular method, I used the feature that is available and provided by the architecture of Instagram itself, that is the bookmark button. I bookmarked selected posted by the informants that relevant with the focus of my study or provide additional contexts of any information previously gathered through observation, interview and photo-documentation in the field. All these bookmarks, then, were categorised into different folders according to their collective and themes in my own Instagram account to make it easy for recalling these relevant posted images from the informants. Screenshot is the technique that I used to store these data offline as well as presented them in this thesis. This is important to mention here beyond its technical function since, as Frosh (2019: 65) categorises screenshot as one of the key poetics features of digital media, “the screenshot is a kind of document, a remediated photograph, and a mode of witnessing and poetic world disclosure”. In doing so, the visual materials gathered from these bookmarked and screenshot images are related to witnessing the poetics of everyday life and how my informants articulate this through their online environment by using the features of the digital media itself. By analysing the poetics way of everyday living as gathered from the ethnographic field observation and participation, and the photo-documentation method, we can enhance our understanding of the poetics and politics of their articulation in the cities.

Reflections

No one lives inside a topic of research. (Miller et al., 2016: 29)

Reading the above sentence in Daniel Miller and his colleagues' book about their ethnographic work on social media, I cannot agree more. Doing an ethnographic study, as they continue, leads us as the researcher to gain some kind of "holistic contextualisation" of our informants' lives (Miller et. al., 2016: 28). But, do we really grasp the whole of her or his life? Are the life episodes of our informants, the kinds of ethnographic vignettes, or insights gained and interpreted from the field fragmented and isolated one to another? Or, are these 'research findings' actually experienced by our informants in mixed, entangled practices of their daily life? Similar to Miller and his research team, I cannot avoid such reflexive questions.

In the method reflection of their book entitled *How the World Changed Social Media*, as part of the book series of *Why We Post* (Miller et al., 2016), they realise that every informant they study does not separate each aspect of her/his life into fragmentary topics, factors, or elements. However, an ethnographic study can still provide us with a deeper understanding of social relations and cultural practices taken place within particular group(s) of people. Organising, and presenting, our research findings through a contextualisation as comprehensive as possible is one key element to achieve the very benefit of doing ethnographic study. In Miller's words, it is what they call holistic contextualisation:

Holistic contextualisation means that everything people do is the context for everything else they do. As a method ethnography cannot really get at every aspect of a person's life, but in trying to achieve this we at least gain a broader sense of what these aspects may be. (Miller et al., 2016: 29)

Based on similar understanding of holistic contextualisation, all collected materials in this research support and dialogue with each other in the analytical process. The relation between the visible and the social (Rose, 2016: 328) is analysed in the research questions; organising and categorising of the collected information in this study follows the ethnographic process once the saturated moment is achieved, i.e. when repeated information, a kind of social and cultural pattern, can be detected. The interpretation process itself is done in reflexive ways by re-visiting the different types of collected information: the verbal, the written and the visual materials. This process has become what Gray (2003: 147) calls "a process of continuous interpretation" in qualitative research. All these eventually lead to five thematic conceptual findings that guide me to structure the analytical chapters as presented in this thesis. The five conceptual findings are subtle resistance, disruption of cultural memory, culture on display, alternative space, and articulation of creative selves.

The presentation of the analyses is based on the very characteristic of this research itself, mixing the ethnographic written explanation and the “unorthodox forms of research dissemination” (Pink et al., 2016) by employing photographs to co-narrate the analyses, and specifically in the form of visual essays in chapters 7 and 9. All the collected materials – including the informants’ posted images, my own photo-documentation, interview quotes and observational notes – can be used in the analysis including the photo-essay chapters since I have gained the consent from all informants. The written consent signed by each key informant have been collected; the consent explicitly gives permission to me to interview and take some photographs of them, and use the materials in my research publications. I use their real nickname in any presented quotes, i.e. the same nickname as their friends and fellow members in each collective usually call them. The interactions I build with the informants are another significant process in producing ‘knowledge’ within this research, as it has been reminded:

To be reflexive can be defined as the ways in which we, as ethnographers, produce knowledge through our encounters with other people and things. [...] Reflexive practice is also considered to be an ethical practice in that it enables researchers to acknowledge the collaborative ways in which knowledge is made in the ethnographic process. (Pink et al., 2016: 12)

In the photographic part of this research, ethically I have been constantly doing the reflections on my own practice as the researcher in the field. My informants – and their activities, experiences and spatial contexts – are not simply my photographic objects. They are a subject being photographed (Barthes, 2000) and they also become my ‘collaborator’ in trying to understand and examine their everyday practices, the parts of their lives they have permitted me to witness and experience together. This visual documentation and reflection process developed significant human interaction in this research, rather than a subject-object relationship. Inspired by the photography of Henri Cartier-Bresson, I approach my photographic subjects in similar principles as him:

[y]ou have to have some psychological insight, you have to know the people and you must work in a way that’s acceptable to them. [...] Above all, be human! (Cartier-Bresson, Chéroux and Jones, 2017: 36)

The resulting images in this study should be read altogether with other gathered information. Also, the photographs might be “less individually compelling”, but the way in which these are presented as “the collective informational content”

(Collier, 2009: 49) constructs a far more extensive and complete source of the analyses.

To sum up, the use of both ethnographic and visual methodologies here functions as a foundation to draw the production of poetics and politics of everyday life as practiced by the researched subjects. This is especially in the sense to – borrowing de Certeau’s main intention in studying everyday life – “allowing those practices to become visible and audible” (Highmore, 2002: 151). In the chapters that follow, I will now turn to elaborate the creative voices in these two cities. Before embarking to tell the stories of my informants’ daily practices and lived experiences (chapters 5-9), the next chapter will discuss the contextualisation of relevant key issues on heritage and creative city branding and policy initiatives faced by the two cities: George Town and Bandung.

[Chapters 4 to 7 are concealed, being considered for future publications]

| 8 | Narrating the Creative Selves: Everyday Media-related Practice in Creative Collectives

Spatial struggles in the creative cities by contesting the official narrative have been analysed in the previous chapter. These struggles are shown in various forms of creative expressions in the street as one key element. Beyond the city streets, those struggles are also part of everyday practices of particular individuals. Using their creative collectives as their spatial and social ground, these individuals articulate their voices through the formation of alternative space in the city. Drawing on the case of creative collectives in Bandung, this chapter analyses the everyday practices by several individuals who run and maintain their respective group. This discussion can also be understood as the ways they narrate their cultural identities as creative selves through the practices of making and networking, while simultaneously defining and re-producing the meaning of spaces, both in offline and online settings.

Creative collective: the site of creative practices

Bandung is well known for its youth culture and vibrant local arts scene, as demonstrated through many expressions and media platforms. The municipal government of Bandung is part of the Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network, a consortium that also includes George Town in Malaysia, Cebu in the Philippines and Chiang Mai in Thailand (SACCN, 2014). As indicated in the introduction and chapter four, Bandung has become the home for several independent groups and community-based initiatives who employ creativity as their core orientation and activity. These including clothing companies, distribution outlets (*distro*), art collectives, sketching and drawing communities, independent music distributors and merchandisers, book lovers and comics

productions, alternative libraries and other do-it-yourself (DIY) groups (Luvaas, 2012; Jurriëns, 2014; Dellyana and Rustiadi, 2019). From a historical viewpoint, Bandung has long had several groups involved in art and creative works, including the famous *Bandoengsche Kunstkring* (Bandung Art Circle) that had “848 members in 1928, a symphony orchestra and a theatre company” (Mrázek, 1994: 35).

In contemporary Bandung, forms of collective creativity are intensifying and diversifying. Urban Cartography, a project initiated by a collective named Common Room in 2005, has made a directory of the creative collectives in the city:

Urban Cartography [...] meant to map DIY communities in Bandung since the mid 1990s, including punks, skateboarders and independent fashion, book and music businesses. These communities have been using a diversity of media and techniques, ranging from assembled computers, pirated software, photocopies and silk-screen to radio, internet and SMS, for producing various types of creative output, such as music, fashion, websites, journals, zines, posters, video clips, stickers and badges. [...] The Urban Cartography project covered 23 creative communities in Bandung. (Jurriëns, 2017: 201)

There is a common pattern in the formation of socially-bonded group, called *sanggar*, in the creative and art scene in Indonesia. *Sanggar* is the specific Indonesian term that refers to such a collaborative group, and has been widely adopted from the 1960s onwards to refer to a group that operates more like a kinship, in which one person (usually a founding artist) becomes the leading figure in the group and develops patron-client relations. The majority of members within a *sanggar* typically live in the same place and it is characterised by mutual support (Rath, 2003). The collectives in post-1998 (i.e. post-Suharto, post-authoritarian) Indonesia still share a few traits of the older *sanggar* model (Spielmann, 2017), but they now include more dynamic forms of networking with wider actors and a newly emergent notion of ‘alternative space’. An Indonesian art critic and co-founder of an art collective defines such space in the following way:

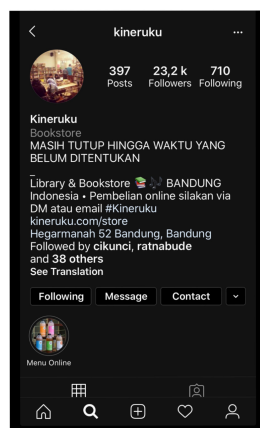
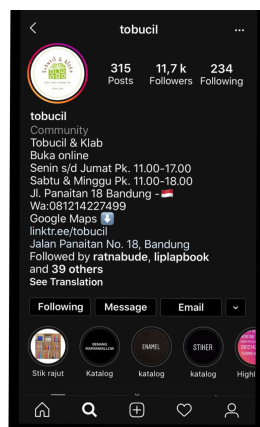
So, what is alternative space? It can be at least described as the following: a ‘relatively free’ space which is managed by artists or their sort, intends to organise an art activity or anything related to it, has a participative quality, ideologically independent [...] and tends to be a resistance to an established system. (Kurniawan, 2003: 36)

In the next section, I elaborate upon the meaning of alternative space as an on-going project within the new collectives in post-authoritarian Indonesia.

Creating alternative space, articulating identity

The first collective I discuss here is Tobucil & Klabs (hereafter called Tobucil), which consists of creatives involved in bookbinding, knitting and crochet. This collective started as an alternative bookshop in 2001, and the name itself, Tobucil, was initially an acronym of *toko buku kecil* (literally “small bookshop”). The bookshop has later become a more secondary activity for the collective as they have developed businesses selling their creations (both online and offline) and running regular workshops on art making and craft skills. The second collective is Kineruku, an alternative library and bookshop that was set up in 2003 to address the need for a creative space for the book lovers and cinephiles in Bandung. This collective has expanded its activities by running a café, a coffee roasting line named Kopiruku and a vintage shop named Garasi Opa, which is located at the same house as the library. The third creative collective, Omunium, began as an alternative bookshop in 2003, and since 2007 they have transformed themselves into “a small shop of reading and listening” (Omunium, n.d.) which doubles as a distribution outlet for independent Indonesian bands. The fourth collective is Omnispace¹¹ that was formed on 16 April 2015 as an art collective, consisting of no less than ten young, emerging visual artists in the city. This collective organises an alternative art space, also “embodies art and alternative activities” to support contemporary culture and the art scene in Bandung (BDG Connex, n.d.). The alternative art space of Omnispace is physically located in the same building with Omunium. All key figures in these four collectives know each other due to their involvement in various collaborations or shared events either in Bandung or other cities.

¹¹ There are variants of written form in referring the name of this collective. In several art publications and catalogues, the name is written differently, such as Omni Space, Omnispace, OmniSpace, OMNISPACE, or OMNI.Space (Azhar, 2019; BDG Connex, n.d.; Darren Knight Gallery, 2019; IndoArtNow, n.d.). In this thesis, I write “Omnispace” for a consistent cross-reference and easy index entry to find. This written form is also the one that the collective’s members usually write in their own publications (Adhisuryo, Ahmad and Supriyanto, 2017; see also the members’ posts in their website and social media). Orally – during my interviews with them and conversations among each other – they simply said “Omni” as the short nickname, referring to their collective’s full name, Omnispace.



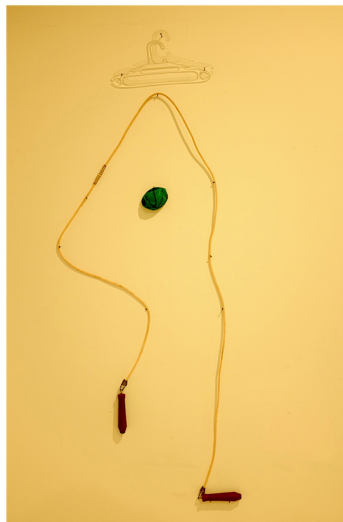
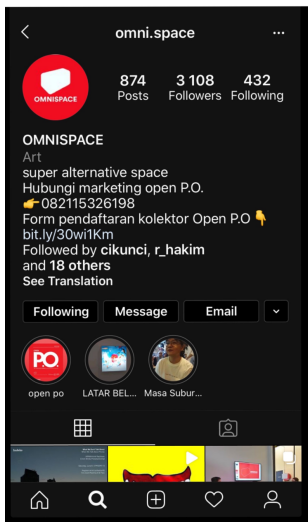
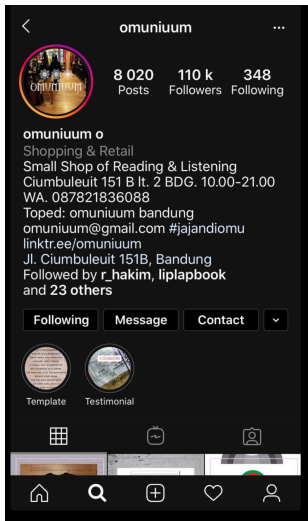


Figure 8.1

The 'home': the physical and the digital space. Photographs by author and screenshots of the collectives' Instagram account.

Visiting the key sites where each creative collective resides in, it becomes clear that these places perform many different functions: the collective residence is the

members' commercial store, but at the same time it is also their office, workshop studio, library, gallery, a gathering place for family and friends, and a place to be away from their own houses. This creates a strong overarching sense of a communal home and this can also be felt, for example, from the facade of each house, the use of furniture in various designs, the smell of homemade coffee in the morning, and the sounds of friendly conversations inside. The collectives' Instagram accounts also evoke a sense of home (see Figure 8.1): for example, in @tobucil (Tobucil & Klabs' Instagram account), @kineruku (Kineruku's), @omunium (Omunium's) and @omni.space (Omnispace's), the feeling of home is conveyed through the personal storytelling in the captions added to daily posted images.

Tobucil was initiated in 2001 by Tarlen Handayani along with two of her friends, Rani Elsanti Ambyo and Connie Chysania (Murti, 2012: 83). Tobucil have relocated four times in the last 19 years and at the time of writing they reside in a house they have rented since July 2016 in downtown Bandung. The members of Tobucil share the rent cost of amount IDR 60 million (approximately EUR 3,500) per year with other collectives, a price that is considerably high in Bandung. Omunium has also a similar situation, sharing the rent of their *ruko* (Indonesian: *rumah-toko*, a three-storey block apartment) with other tenants, one of them is Omnispace that organises their small-scale gallery and alternative art space in the third level of this *ruko*. Only Kineruku have a permanent location, as this collective uses the owner's family house.

By choosing to become a bookbinder, knitter, or crocheter, members of Tobucil have deliberately chosen alternatives to mass production or other forms of routinised labour. As a journalism graduate from a university in Bandung, Tarlen worked as a scriptwriter in a local news radio station prior to co-founding the collective. At Tobucil, she now plays a role as the collective programmer/general coordinator (*Koordinator Umum*), though she describes her role in less managerial terms:

I am a bookbinder, the Tobucil's programmer and a freelance writer. This order is intentional. The biggest portion now, indeed, I am a bookbinder, secondly I also take care of Tobucil, then thirdly I write, if I remember. [chuckled]. I, myself, am still an active member of AJI [*Aliansi Jurnalis Independen*, the association of independent journalists in Indonesia] of the Bandung chapter. I don't want my membership there being cancelled just because I no longer regularly write, it would be ironic then. [chuckled]. I am one of the AJI Bandung's founding people. (Tarlen, 43, F, bookbinder, event programmer and co-founder)

Other members also see themselves primarily as creatives, and identify their current roles in Tobucil as contributing to their emotional and social well-being:

I studied metallurgy in university, then now I involve more in knitting. Well...for me, creativity feeds my soul [*kebutuhan batin*].

(Palupi, 42, F, knitter, yarn manager and knitting mentor)

Before joining Tobucil in 2005, I used to work in an interior design agency, a bank, then an automotive leasing company. I was so stressful when I worked in these office-based types of work [*kerja kantor*]. My work experiences were so inflexible, time-consuming, not good for my own health, and I wasn't myself back then because I worked like a robot.

(Elin, 41, F, crocheter and operational manager)

The use of vernacular terms is notable here. These two phrases, *kebutuhan batin* and *kerja kantor* (by Palupi and Elin respectively), are in Indonesian, and the former means sustenance for the soul, while the latter refers to the inflexible character of formal work. Craft-based creativity for members of Tobucil (Figure 8.2) has become more than simply a job: it is a 'poetic' way of finding and building a sense of identity. Their everyday creativity is perceived as a process "which evokes a feeling of joy" (Gauntlett, 2018: 87). Having said this, they show a "form of connection that can make a unity" of different elements without forging a linkage all of the time, referring to Hall's (2019c: 235) sense of "articulation". I argue, Tobucil's members articulate their identities by connecting their craft-based activities, maintaining social relations among members, managing their use of the private and collective domains, and their collective space, in order to flexibly connect their own cultural identity of dwelling and living in their city.



Figure 8.2
Articulating identity through creating.

Tobucil presents a blueprint – or perhaps survival kit – for being an independent creative collective in Bandung. In other words, the ‘stubbornness’ of everyday practice (de Certeau, 1984; Highmore, 2002) is chosen by this collective with the awareness of its consequences and difficulties. They handle challenges by focusing on the everyday tactics that build a sense of commonality among them. Part of the campaign by the municipal government in developing Bandung as an emerging creative city is grant schemes, which are offered by both the local government and international cultural agencies to individuals and groups. These funding schemes, of course, require the recipient of the grant to create activities or programmes that are in-line with the strategic plans strictly designed by either the state or international funding agencies (Le Sourd et al., 2005; Rebernak ed., 2008: 5). Tobucil members have decided not to take part in several funding grants (either from the state or non-governmental organisations) and declined invitations to join prize-winning social entrepreneurship competitions because of the restrictive nature of the grants, despite acknowledging that the offers were tempting:

We never want to join any kind of competition that uses a label such as social entrepreneur, even though we might be doing that in practice. But, that label and the competition along with it have changed the very true sense of commonality in community into a commodity. Our community is not commodity! (Tarlen, 43, F, bookbinder, event programmer and co-founder)



Figure 8.3

Juxtaposition of commonalities in Tobucil & Klabs: the store, the products, the workshops, the people.

Commonality here is vital for making the creative collective into an “alternative space” (Murti, 2012: 66-67) for those who share similar values. In Tobucil, craft-

making becomes the ‘make-do’ of available cultures (see Highmore, 2002: 148), and allows members to perform inventiveness in their everyday lives. This notion is expressed in an excerpt from Tarlen’s blog post below:

An Encounter with Different Views of ‘Culture of Creating’

[E]very traditional knowledge (either in the West or in the East) has its simple technology, practical application, and wisdom towards the environment. It leads to the balance of lifestyle, both physically and spiritually. [...] ‘Creating’ is not only an obligatory effort to make someone into a ‘productive’ human being, but most importantly, ‘creating’ builds ideology and spiritually fulfils the self where ‘creating’ is an act that makes everyone feels empowered. Creating also forms our understanding on the principle of process that always need time, tolerance to failure, and the awareness that everything cannot be possessed instantly. These kinds of attitude will grow our ability to prevent ourselves from becoming greedy. (Handayani, 2015, translation by the author)

Palupi, another Tobucil member, also expressed her thoughts on the impact of the collective’s activities and interactions on her own creativity and daily work. Like Tarlen, Palupi feels that Tobucil teaches her about the importance of ‘process’ in order to feel empowered. Committed to independence, both personally and collectively, these are their tactics to maintain this feeling of empowerment and appreciation for the slow, long processes of craftwork. Palupi, a 42-year-old female knitter and Tobucil’s yarn manager, has been involved in Tobucil’s activities since 2002, starting as an informal helper. In 2006 she began her new role as the knitting tutor in *Kelas Merajut* (Knitting Class), one of Tobucil’s weekly open classes. While Palupi was knitting a beanie for one of her customers and I was helping Tarlen’s assistant in folding up a bookbinding order, we engaged in a conversation on what the collective means to her:

Zaki (author): Now, after these years of your involvement here, how do you see Tobucil?

Palupi : Do you mean how [Tobucil] is seen from outside, or from the inside?

Zaki : I mean, inside...from yourself. How do you, for example, label this group? According to yourself and your experiences involved so far.

Palupi : Oh, that. To me, I saw [Tobucil] as a community, actually, and more. More like...[pause]...hmm? It’s also a kind of training ground, a place where people can learn something.

Zaki : So, a community and also a training place?

Palupi : Yes, there’s a sense of learning too here. For the development of any individuals [who involve or take benefit from the activities].

Even though it might not involve or targeted to bigger group of people, at least, it gives opportunity for those who want to learn something here. In crafts, writing, and other things too. That's why it's important [for Tobucil] to keep its existence because of this reason.

When this conversation took place in Tobucil, the soundscape was filled not only with our voices, but also the electronic sewing machine operated by Tarlen in the other room. The constant interval of this sewing machine's sound and Palupi's continuous clicking sound of her knitting needles mingled with our friendly talk. Other members who were working either in the same room with us or in other rooms sometimes jumped into our conversation, adding relevant information, or, on other occasions, simply smiling, laughing or making friendly jokes.

Aside from Palupi's reflections on the collective's role, the nuance of this collective space also indicates a significant trait of the everyday practices in Tobucil, that within the collective there is no strict delineation of working time, social or family-like time, and leisure time. As urban space is always considered to be filled with sounds almost all the time (Bull, 2016; Tonkiss, 2016), however, the everyday soundscape in Tobucil – though the place is located very close to the downtown area – is completely different with the buzzing noise of the city. When Adorno's analysis on cities leads him to propose the notion of "space of habitation" (cited in Bull, 2016: 78), I interpret that the way in which this everyday soundscape – along with other everyday practices and spatial formation – of this collective demonstrate such a similar notion on the production of space as a collective habitation. The everyday soundscape in Tobucil is another indication of the collective's space; as Tonkinss (2016) observes on the importance of sounds in the city, the soundscape in this collective have become atmospheric to these people and an evocative element to build shared memories among them. The different elements of making craftwork, the sounds of the sewing machine, talking amongst each other, in Tobucil are mixed organically and each occurs throughout daily routines, which include routine work, regular classes and workshops. These create a condition of, as Adorno calls it, "states of 'we-ness'" in the city (cited in Bull, 2016: 79).

This organic mix of everyday practices can also be found in another collective, Kineruku. As Kineruku has been situated in their owner's family house since their establishment, they do not need to deal with the issues of regularly relocating their premises. However, this creative collective has developed a similarly organic approach to managing, developing and networking their daily work. From the

outside, Kineruku's house looks like a common house located in Hegarmanah neighbourhood, a housing area in the upper-north of Bandung. It is located outside of the city's buzz and has a cooler climate, a quite perfect place to house an alternative library in this tropical city. Only a small sign box labelled "Kineruku" placed in their front terrace indicates that there are more activities inside than any other common houses. Entering the building I can see that the furniture is laid out like a family house – a set of small antique chairs and a coffee table in the terrace, the dining set in the main room (possibly a repurposed living room), and the outdoor chairs and tables in the rear veranda facing the backyard. Indeed, the atmosphere of a warm family house welcomed me and anyone else who came to this place. Yet this house no longer functions just as a family home: it is a library, a bookshop, a coffee house, a small restaurant, a vintage items shop, a social gathering place, a site for discussion; all in one place. The soundscape is also unique, not as quiet as in a university or public library as most visitors can be heard greeting one other and engaging in friendly conversation. I sometimes overheard visitors talking at other tables, but the people's voices were also not as loud as in a café or restaurant. It feels as if the staff and visitors have reached a common understanding of the acceptable behaviours and the level of voices required to allow the different activities in Kineruku to run smoothly.

Rani, the owner and one of the leading figures in Kineruku, dedicates a small-yet-spacious room in the backyard for any gathering activities, from open discussion and book launches, to performances by selected independent musicians and bands.

We used to name our event Seruku, lasting till our first five events or so. Seruku, *Seru-seru di Ruku*.¹² This is something that we want to re-activate again. We want to have a kind of event that has relaxed ambiance, and organised in continuous way. This is the spirit of Seruku, actually. It takes form as a discussion club-like. Sharing forum, but in a more relaxed way.
(Rani, 43, F, entrepreneur and co-founder)

¹² Seruku, the name is an abbreviation of *Seru-Seru di Ruku* (Ruku refers to *Rumah Buku*, the former nickname of Kineruku) that in this context means Having Fun in Kineruku. The abbreviation form itself, *seruku*, is an Indonesian word with its own meaning, though it is not commonly used in its written form. It is mostly used in vernacular informal utterance. *Seruku* literally means 'my fun'. The use here by Kineruku signifies both the literal full-form phrase meaning and the playful meaning of its abbreviated form, referring to their intention to create a fun, relaxed discussion event.

She spoke about this during one late afternoon after Kineruku successfully co-organised and hosted a discussion that invited a performance artist. Afterwards, she explained that she wanted to hold such events more frequently at Kineruku. Rani and her husband, Budi – the collective’s Director and Rani’s key partner in organising the collective – realise the importance of maintaining the fun part of any activities in their collective. This is not only intended to attract more visitors or participants, but most importantly to maintain their vision of Kineruku as not only a place for economic transactions, but as a place where relationships are built upon a foundation of mutual sharing. Budi illustrates this using one of their daily activities:

We don’t just sell things here. Now with our new section [Garasi Opa, the vintage shop line], for example, it basically started with our own illusions that our vintage items have their market value, but apparently it’s not that simple. So even our business practice, if I can say that, has to re-route in a different way. So, then, we don’t advertise us, or what we have here, not like that. But it appears that we actually sell, quote, unquote, knowledge. [...] When people search info online and come to Bandung, looking for vintage things, old recordings or vinyl for instance, they will have in their mind to come to Kineruku and look for me. Then, we chat about that, here and there, before they decide whether to buy or not what they need.

(Budi, 40, M, librarian and director)

In the other collectives, Omunium and Omnispace, I also witnessed how social relations become important for maintaining their collectives’ daily practices, especially in dealing with the issues of dwelling in this city. Observing their daily routines and speaking to Boit and Tri, a couple that initiated Omunium, their spatial and social environment demonstrate a strong sense of social relations as the key aspect for them.

Omunium, as of writing, rents a three-storey shophouse in the upper-north of Bandung, located in the area close to one of the busy universities in the city. They use the second floor for their store and for events they occasionally organise, while the third floor in the last five years has been used by Omnispace, an art collective that organises an independent gallery and art-related activities. Omunium shares the first floor with another tenant who runs a service business targeted at university students. On the first floor, the collective has a kitchen in the corner and a few tables and stools in the hallway. At this ‘open kitchen’, most of their informal meetings and other planning work take place. Apart from Boit, Tri, Omunium store’s staff and Omnispace’s members, most people who gather here are the collectives’ friends and acquaintances from the local independent

music scene and young visual artists, and these individuals often come with their family members as well.

We used to think that Omu[nium] is like a bus stop: people come, please interact with each other here, then feel free to go again.
(Tri, 48, M, manager and co-founder)

Then, his partner continues by explaining further:

[It is] still like that though, a little bit. But, now more people engaged more with us, involved with the network or just routinely hanging out here. [...] Eventually the network is getting stronger, we ended up become friends too. With more friendship we have built so far, trust among each other is stronger. In our business, we cannot but rely on trust. As simple as that, [we] keep going.
(Boit, 41, F, merchandiser and co-founder)

At their open kitchen on the first floor, the trust that serves as the foundation of the collectives' social relations is built through the routines of creative work, managing the sale of merchandise, cooking and having dinner together. The fourth collective, Omnispace, relies on a mutual trust relationship as well. One member reflects on this collective:

In the beginning I was actually uncomfortable to be called as an artist, sounds too heavy for me. A few years ago, when I jumped into the art world, to be honest, it was due to the commercial reason. [...] At the time, I just knew how to make artworks, that's all, even in one method only: the reverse engineering technique. But after I met other young artists and made Omni[space], I learned from them. Their different techniques, approaches, also their ideas in responding to any situations they face or emotions they experience.
(Ewing, 39, M, visual artist and co-founder)

While another Omnispace's member, Nasrul, was busy making sketches in his notebook, Ewing chatted with him and the others who were sitting in this open kitchen, waiting for the dishes cooked by Boit that they were about to share and eat together. The smoke of deep-fried chicken and a vegetable stir-fry filled-up this tiny hallway, then the smell of freshly grinded *sambal* (chili relish) seemed like a cue, automatically signalling everyone to begin their evening routines in this place: having dinner together, while talking about the programmes Omnispace had and plan to run, the unique questions the Omunium store received from their customers in the last few days, stories about another member who was

joining an art residency in another city, and some everyday conversations about family matters (e.g., struggling to enrol their kids to a middle school, dealing with parents' expectations, and so on).

For Tobucil, Kineruku, Omunium and Omnispace convivial social relations and fun are the primary considerations in designing and organising their collective's activities in the bustling city of Bandung. Indeed, fun is one of the key notions in urban living. As Bhattacharya (2000: 79) notes, "more than landscapes, fun [in the city] is possible because of the people". The way in which fun is approached in these collectives' everyday practices is by foregrounding the element of social relations among people who involve and interact through their activities both in online and offline settings. This understanding of multidimensional elements of the city is a notion that somehow has been neglected by the top-down approach in the development of contemporary Bandung, where physical infrastructures and built environments have become the main focus in urban revitalisation programmes. In this sense, it is worth reiterating this statement here:

B]ut there is more to the city than simply an inventory of the visible. [...] For cities are more than the inventory of things to be found in them, precisely because they are also about the social relations that constitute them. (Pile and Thrift eds., 2000: xix)

What these collectives have practiced, I argue, resonates with the very essence of the city as not an agglomeration of material or tangible objects but as comprising many other elements – as quoted above. Those elements, in the context of these four collectives, include social relations, shared values (e.g. against commodification of community), spatial struggles, bottom-up placemaking and making-do for survival in the city.

Alternative to the 'tourist gaze'

For many members of Tobucil, their creative collective is a place to gather different people from various backgrounds, to create a loose association, and to serve as a space where *tukar pikiran* (Indonesian: sharing ideas) is possible. As Elin, a 41-year-old female crocheter, puts it:

Tobucil is like a place [*wadah*] for sharing ideas [*tukar pikiran*]. I prefer to call it as *wadah*.

(Elin, 41, F, crocheter and operational manager)

Wadah is an Indonesian word that literally means “a place to put or save something”, while metaphorically it is used when people talk about “a gathering place” or “an association, an assemblage”.¹³ Elin’s *wadah*, as well as other individuals from all four creative collectives, is imagined, perceived and lived through their own organic processes. It then becomes a kind of hub, i.e. a social and creative hub, that is designed and developed in a somehow unstructured yet dynamic way of living in the city.

What these creative collectives have practiced is quite contrary to the ‘creative hub’ imagined by the local state-led programme. Among other things, this programme has been materialised through the establishment of the Bandung Creative Hub building compound in December 2017 (Figure 8.4). The notion of a creative hub is institutionalised by the state through the visible material of physical infrastructure, structured plans, grand ideas and visibility, strict regulations, but also a lack of mutual and sustainable engagement with the relevant social actors. Observing the spatial and social practice in the compound of Bandung Creative Hub, I noted at least three issues. First, the institutionalisation of creative places has been designed with a very top-down approach. The voice of the state, including their consultants on urban planning and design, is by far the most prominent. Secondly, the notion of hub is perceived as an axis that serves the needs of the state rather than addressing the needs of creatives, creative institutions, and the innovation and implementation of creative practices within the city. Most of the visitors I observed sat alone, a few in small groups, using laptops or other mobile devices to take advantage of the free wireless internet connection this building provides. Third, and most visible and obvious, Bandung Creative Hub explores the notion of creativity in a very superficial manner. The building is filled, on some floors to a quite excessive level, with both illustrative, colourful, and ornamental murals, paintings, inspirational typography, and other figurative symbols. All of these are scattered across all levels of the building without a particular connecting theme or artistic style and are accompanied by excessive warning signs, mostly of the *dilarang* (don’t-do-this) type.

¹³ This translation is based on the Dictionary of Indonesian Language (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia – KBBI*), the official dictionary published by the National Language Board of the country. The online version can be accessed at <https://kbbi.web.id>.



Figure 8.4

Bandung Creative Hub, the state's imagination on creative city, focusing more on built environment.

The way in which creative imagination is proposed by the state-led programmes, including the establishment of Bandung Creative Hub, is indicative of the so-called official narrative of understanding, defining and living in a creative city. Although as scholars have noted elsewhere, there are many urban projects which tend to prioritise the “*tourist gaze*, suggesting that many places have been consciously or unconsciously shaped by the ways in which they are seen or consumed by tourists” (Gilbert, 2000: 260, original emphasis). In Bandung such a tourist gaze approach can be seen in the visual prominence of the state-led creative city projects. These not only appear within the city’s physical space, but are also found in official digital campaigns and the social media feeds of Bandung’s public figures.

On the contrary, the social media practices of the studied creative collectives do not show this tourist-centred perspective. Similar to the way in which they build their social relations within each collective, their actions in social media reflect a desire to build mutual and closely acquainted relations with their target audiences.

There are loyal customers we've been dealing with for years. And every time they talk with Omu[nium]'s account, we make sure they know and feel like talking to human being. That's something that we always try to show to them.
(Tri, 48, M, manager and co-founder)

Writing the Instagram caption is my role. Omu[nium] could survive if we have storytelling to offer. I choose the simplest expressions of language that are easy for anyone to understand. And, as far as possible, not written in English.
(Boit, 41, F, merchandiser and co-founder)

Both Boit and Tri stress the importance to actively respond to their followers' comments, though Omu[nium]'s social media account sometimes receives repetitive questions from potential customers and, as Boit puts it, requires frequent banal but necessary explanations. Another collective, Tobucil, faces a similar situation. However, their tactical way in dealing with this is by creating and managing several accounts for different purposes. The collective's Instagram account is filled mostly with the catalogue of new products in store and calls for participation in upcoming workshops. "Tobucil's account seems more one-way; yes, the two-way talk is still possible, but we limit our way to respond to all comments there," said Palupi. They have specific WhatsApp and Line numbers for dealing with more detailed responses to customers and potential participants of any workshops. Additionally, each crafter in Tobucil has their own craft brand's Instagram account separate from their own personal account, and they use these accounts for dealing with crafts orders and work-related activities. Kineruku's members emphasised to me the process they go through before any posts are made and published online:

What we post is based on our discussion first [between Rani, Budi and one appointed staff]. There's no written guideline, just talk to each other. There's no do and don't list...everyone knows already, especially in avoiding a kind of show-off posting. No need to show our personal connections [with some people or institutions], for example. Or, showing off our knowledge on something. Nope, not like that. Even if we want to write about a particular thing we know, we try to write it as humble as possible. Sometimes we use humour, or other ways, to say something.
(Rani, 43, F, entrepreneur and co-founder)

In choosing the digital media platforms they frequently used, these four collectives do what is pragmatic: they simply follow the principle of what is most

convenient for them and most easy to be accessed by their targeted audiences. Ewing in Omnispace said:

We choose the popular one. We now tend to [use] Instagram, it's simply more effective, popular and simple for people to access. [...] Ideally, we want to capture and share all activities we do by posting them all, but so far, we mainly posted the pre-events only. We mostly forgot to publish any post-events information. Everyone [in Omnispace] basically can be the admin of our social media, but it's Arum [another member; a photographer-cum-musician] who is more diligent to do this and the one who is persistent in responding comments, if any.
(Ewing, 39, M, visual artist and co-founder)

What all these quoted practices suggest is that these creative collectives focus in the social processes among themselves first in dealing with the everyday routines of social media posting. Though all collectives realise that they also need followers, participants, or customers in some situations, the way they manage their social media contents and interactions is far from the 'tourist gaze' perspective. By paying attention more on the key values within each creative collective rather than manufacturing an image or strategically constructing an impression, they have developed tactics in their social media routines based on their own storytelling creation, pragmatics, and social relations among themselves in the whole process. All four collectives do not manifestly cater to the 'tourist gaze', and instead place value on objects and events and people that differ significantly from the official Bandung 'brand'.



Figure 8.5

Tactics in media practice: "we could survive if we have storytelling to offer".

Having tried so hard to keep such an approach, however, each collective also faces the difficulty of in-between positions. No matter how critical they are of the main narrative as proposed and designed by the state, they also deal with the everyday struggles both individually and collectively. For the art collective such as Omnispace, maintaining themselves as an independent group while individually they need to survive after the Southeast Asian art market boom (ca. 2000-2010) is not easy. They face an awkward positioning of themselves in the art scene: coming from (or, some members are just getting into) the commercial art scene, and initiating a few experimental art-related activities that are considered uncommon in the mainstream art world. For example, Omnispace initiate a biennial programme called *Getok Tular*, introducing a more open, inclusive mechanism of art auctions, with the intention of giving more freedom and transparency in process and a connection to both the artists and the art collectors. The collectors can be everyone either those who are already familiar with the art practices, or friends, neighbours and acquaintances coming from different social and professional backgrounds. This programme is organised in a relatively small-yet-intimate environment. Although Omnispace receive income from this programme, as they collected twenty percent of every settled auction, the most important thing for them is the introduction of this experimental idea that can actually be put in practice. This art experimentation is also intended to raise

awareness of other art spaces – both the mainstream galleries and the alternative art spaces – in the city to show that building such a simple connection between artists, their artworks, the art space management and the general people who collect the artworks are possible. This effort is important to note here as one of their tactics in coping with the dilemma of their in-between position: between official and non-official, mainstream and alternative, commercial and non-proprietary, local and global, also consistency and inconsistency in choosing pragmatic ways in craft making, doing arts, managing social media, and organising alternative library, or book and music record store. For Omnispace in particular, this tactical approach is an inevitable and embodied part of their current art practice, focusing on ‘art that work’ rather than merely on the making of artwork. As one member writes in a collective art book:

Even after the [art market] boom, artists should not only think about artwork. There are many things other than making artwork that we do in art. [...] We’ve done many things to make this art-field more habitable for us other than just making artwork. (Ewing, 2017: 229)

From book, craft, art, to vintage suitcase

Outside of building relations with customers, followers, or targeted audiences, the collectives build social networks among each other that blur the lines between their online and offline relations. This is shown in the intertwined practices between selecting content for their social media accounts, holding events, and a shared fascination of particular topics or objects. It happens in Kineruku, for instance, where they run a vintage shop named Garasi Opa that has both an online and offline store. Ria, the Co-Artistic Director of Papermoon Puppet Theatre, a performance puppet-theatre artist from another city who happened to be the guest speaker in a discussion in Bandung, knew about Kineruku’s new vintage shop firstly from Instagram. Then, she became interested in the collections of this vintage shop as she has a fascination with collecting vintage suitcases for props used in performance and her own private collection. Eventually, the circuit of network among three persons, Tarlen (Tobucil in Bandung, acted as the event’s moderator at the time) who has a similar interest in collecting vintage suitcases, Ria (Papermoon in Yogyakarta), and Rani (Kineruku in Bandung) is socially formed and culturally bonded.

This network is also mediated by creative works through the use of vintage material objects and via social media. As Löfgren (2016) argues, there are emotional and affective values in sensitive objects people feel attachment to, including in this case a shared fascination with vintage suitcases. According to Löfgren (2016: 126), “the suitcase is not only a container for stuff, but also affects, dreams, anxieties and ideals.” Based on this interpretation, then, the circuit of network of these three people from different creative collectives articulates their practices and identities through material objects, here vintage suitcases. The meaning of this object travels symbolically through their social media and creative practices. This case is exemplary of the organic way in which everyday practices happen in these collectives, and their networks play a role in sustaining what Hall calls “articulation of connected practices”, as referred to earlier (as quoted in Winter 2018: 369; see Hall, 2019c).

The articulation of connected practices happens between Omnispace and their wider network. Ewing, one of the co-founders of Omnispace, never had any interactions, collaborations or programmes together with Omunium’s members before he co-initiated his art collective. When two of his friends in the Bandung’s art circle used the empty room on the third floor of Omunium’s place as their personal studio named *Jiwo Tentrem*,¹⁴ Ewing and a few other friends occasionally came there. They brought their ideas, their artworks and eventually initiated activities together. Ewing himself has previously co-developed an experimental art group, namely “A Stone A”¹⁵, that he continues into follow-up projects – such as

¹⁴ The *Jiwo Tentrem* studio was initiated by two Bandung’s artists, Mufti “Amenk” Priyanka and Ageng Purna Galih. After Omnispace was formed and began their group activities in 2015 at the very same place with this studio, both artists remained working there and occasionally also involved in several Omnispace’s programmes. Amenk is also part of “A Stone A”, an art-and-music group along with Ewing and a few other artists. For further details on a history of the space and the network of people involved there, see Adhisuryo, Ahmad and Supriyanto (2017).

¹⁵ “A Stone A” was established by a few Bandung’s young artists, namely Amenk, Ewing, Muhammad Akbar, Ori and the late Andri. As an art collective, they combine between music, performance art and visual art as their core media in their work. Beyond the aspect of medium they use in their artwork, according to Ewing, this initiative is first and foremost an art experimentation by foregrounding a combined element of “local expression, kitsch, popular form of performance and music”. The local expression he mentioned here refers to the way in which the group’s name was formulated. The words *A’Stone A’* is a common expression requested by young audiences in any music gigs in Bandung, meaning to request the band on stage for playing any The Rolling Stone’s songs no matter which local bands are performing. In Bandung where Sundanese language is the mother tongue for most of the people, the complete expression is said: *Aa’, Rolling Stone, Aa’!* (Sundanese: *Aa’* means Guy, Dude, or Bro, usually used as a general and friendly greeting to any men). To me, the intention to use this vernacular expression from the local music gig culture in combination with the global popular

Side B, A Stone B, *Intimidasi Vitamin C*, among others. When I met him in a rehearsal prior to his collective exhibition at the Selasar Sunaryo Art Space in Bandung, Ewing said that on the same evening they were going to be one of the opening gigs for an exhibition called “Re-Emergence”. Both emerging and established Bandung’s artists were involved in this exhibition that took place in an art gallery in the city. A few hours after I finished talking to Ewing in his rehearsal, I went back to Omuunium, meeting up again with Boit and Tri. Both of them were planning to come to the exhibition’s opening with their friends. Although not visual artists, Boit and Tri feel connected to Ewing and his friends (“A Stone A” and “A Stone B”). They share similar values and orientation beyond the artwork itself. To Ewing and his collective, the artworks are the sensitive objects for Omnispace’s members and their wider network.



culture icon (i.e., The Rolling Stone) as the inspiration to name this art group is worth to note. As most of Ewing and his friends’ artistic expressions also play out with the notion of popular culture and kitsch, the aesthetic and ethical messages of their art are concerned with critical, social issues experienced or witnessed from their surroundings. Having said this, the practice of naming as demonstrated by this art group is beyond a simple, mundane thing. This articulates a specific meaning to which these young artists want to be perceived both through their art and collective personalities.



Figure 8.6
From the circuit of social networks to the shared meanings of artwork and vintage suitcase as sensitive objects. Photographs by author and screenshot of Tobucil's Instagram post.

In another collective, Tobucil & Klabs, Palupi builds a similar ‘articulation of connected practices’ with the works of a prominent visual artist named Mulyana. He gains his reputation in contemporary art world through his major works, making both a series of imaginary characters (called The Mogus) and gigantic art installations depicting coral and underwater ecosystem fully made by knitted and crocheted yarn. Palupi, who is a knitter and Tobucil’s yarn manager, has helped Mulyana’s artwork processes since the beginning of his career when they both involved in knitting class and workshop in Tobucil. Palupi also contributed in one of Mulyana’s recent solo exhibitions called “Multiple Hands by Mulyana and Friends: Celebrating 10th Anniversary of The Mogus” on 3-26 August 2018 in Bandung (Mulyana, 2018). During this exhibition period, Mulyana actively posted in his personal Instagram account, showing a glimpse of the exhibited artwork, the visitors’ responses, and also mentioning, tagging and appreciating the people whom have involved and helped him in the decade of his art making journey. Here, the material objects of knitting (yarn, tools, the artwork resulted from the process, “The Mogus”, video documentation of the processes and testimonies by contributors) and the collaborative exhibition become the sensitive objects and space for Palupi to engage with her wider networks in craft and art scene.

By considering this interplay, here specifically between online and offline social networks, and sensitising objects and space, one could see how media practice cannot be separated from a broader set of social practices. Those practices occur within a frame of reference (Hobart, 2010) that leads us to understand cultures in a particular situation. There are possibilities for freedom in creating a communal way of organising works, people and collectives. Such an effort is another way of articulating their cultural identities, choosing alternative ways of making do in the city and continually finding ways to co-exist.

Reflections

The creative collectives are more than physical places where individuals with similar fascinations and ideas gather and work together. These are also sites that have been continually producing spaces through everyday creative practices performed by each individual who takes part in it. These groups collectively connect ideas, values, creative processes, everyday problems and routines. Their media practices are formed using the potentiality of both online and offline social networks. These are the voices of their tactics in maintaining their personal and

collective efforts in their daily lives. Book, craft, art and vintage suitcase symbolise their voices as part of these identity articulations.

de Certeau, Giard and Mayol (1998) argue that the main intention in studying everyday life is to allow the everyday voices to be heard by positioning the researcher's voice as one of many voices in the text, not a strategic master-voice; in order to produce polyphonic or multi-voiced texts through varieties of both content and style. I do hope that, by presenting images and vignettes from Tobucil, Kineruku, Omunium and Omnispace, I have showcased the voices of communities engaged with creative work and world-making on a daily basis. While the Bandung government may benefit from its new listing in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, these collectives create their own narratives in their city, based on circuits of reciprocity and conviviality outside the discourse of urban planning and design.

Thus, the everyday creativities practiced by individuals within the studied creative collectives articulate their personal and cultural identities. The intertwining practices in both online and offline settings assist these individuals, as well as their respective creative collectives, to build social relations and maintain commonality amongst them. More discussions on the connected practices, to which such an alternative narrative is further articulated, can be found in the next chapter.

[Chapter 9 is concealed, being considered for future publications]

| 10 | Conclusions

The city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we are,
simply by living in it, by wandering through it, by looking at it.

(Roland Barthes, “Semiology and the urban”)

Night comes to the city not only with the lights going out,
but with the sound going down. It never turns off,
it is just that some things – the cadence of night voices,
distant traffic – grow louder in the mix. [...] as though
you hear the city sleep. It can make you dream tall.

(Fran Tonkiss, “Aural postcards: sound, memory and the city”)

Approach and contribution

There are particular groups of people in the city whose voices are important to be heard. They initiate or join a group that can be categorised as a creative collective. In this research the studied creative collectives articulate their voices through everyday practices that mould the material city, for example, through independent murals and handmade crafts; the imagined city, for example, voicing ideal visions of their multicultural, plural and inclusive communities and their cities; and the lived city, for example through grassroot and independent creativities, formation of organic spaces and creative hubs. As cities are always constituted of these three multidimensional elements, the ways in which these creative collectives articulate their voices are a significant key point to be analysed within the context of global discourses of creative and heritage cities.

In both cities the main narrative in relation to creativity or creative city is officially designed by either the local or national governments in collaboration

with private sectors and/or global cultural agencies. Such an official narrative has also incorporated local actors in some of their programmes, yet most of the studied creative collectives in this thesis either never been invited, or declined any involvement with state, corporation and global cultural institutions. Their intention is to keep their collectives and creative works as independent as possible, thus sustaining their creative/art work, networking, and distribution, at the peripheries of official narratives of the heritage city and creative city. The aim of this research is to understand the everyday media-related and creative practices of individuals in creative collectives that are situated in emerging creative and heritage cities in contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia. The research enriches academic discussions on practice theory, everyday life, and urban culture, within the fields of media and everyday life, critical visual methodology, and urban media and communications.

This thesis examines the articulation of individuals and their creative collectives in two cities from Southeast Asia, the creative city of Bandung in Indonesia and the creative, heritage-inscribed city of George Town in Malaysia. These articulations are studied through the understanding of their everyday lived practices in their respective city, especially in relation to their daily creative and media practices. Drawing insights from existing research, the findings refer to five key areas: everyday creativity; articulation and cultural identity; media, space and the city; place branding and the city; and cultural memory and urban cultures. These theoretical considerations begin with the elaboration on the notion of everyday creativity as an articulation of media-related practice in everyday life (de Certeau, 1984; Hobart, 2010; Gauntlett, 2018). Then, the theory of articulation and cultural identity (Hall, 2019b, 2019c) is central to the thesis. The interrelation of media, space and the city gives a foundation to analysing articulation through everyday creativities in the city (Lefebvre, 1991; Gray, 2003; Kusno, 2010). The fourth theoretical consideration is place branding and the city, seen from the critical studies on city branding (Löfgren, 2005, 2007, 2014). The fifth theoretical proposition is to consider the importance of cultural memory and urban cultures (van Dijck, 2007; Erll and Rigney, 2009; Reading, 2009, 2011).

From such theoretical considerations, the research questions are formulated to address three key questions on articulation of creative selves in everyday life by the creative collectives and their members, the ways in which these articulated practices (creative and media-related practices) contest the dominant discourses of creative/heritage city branding in each city, and how these practices are shaping and re-shaping the urban spaces, memories and cultural identities of the cities. The overall objective of this research draws upon the intersections between media

and cultural studies, everyday life studies and urban media and communications, to understand how the tactics of individuals within the creative collectives disrupt, or counteract, the official narratives and the top-down strategies of Bandung and George Town as global creative and heritage cities. As such, the thesis explores the everyday lived experiences of individuals and their groups from different creative collectives in these two cities as subtle resistance, offering insights into the murmurs of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984; de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998) and micro-moves to contest the idealised creative city (Löfgren, 2014). All these enable the creative collectives to make do, be resourceful, to nourish their values, social bonds and way of living and working in their cities.

When Roland Barthes (1971 [1997]: 160) mentions in his essay, “Semiology and the Urban”, that “the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language”, the subtle resistance argued in this thesis can be understood as the way in which the creative collectives – as cities’ inhabitants – “speak their city” using the very language discursively formed by themselves, to each other, and in responding to the dilemma of official narrative surrounding them and the challenges for their survival. The creative collectives focus on slow growth, sustaining their micro-climates, and recognising their deep roots within their urban environment.

This research is approached from two combined methodologies, taking insights from ethnography and visual methodology. The empirical work is based on the field research conducted from 2016 to 2017 and follow-up digital observations in 2018-2019. This study employs a mixture of methods in qualitative research ranging from participant field observation, remote digital observation, conversational or go-along interview, and photo-documentation. The visual method is used as a distinctive method to complement the other methods for capturing richer nuances of everyday creativity, and also functions as a method in presenting visual analysis. One of the key contributions of this research comes through the organic mixing of different but complimentary methods in order to generate analysis of the material, spatial, visual, and identity, memory and belonging within the two cities; the research highlights how the people and their creative collectives articulate an alternative way of making do in the city. Their subtle resistance is both a strategy of survival and a form of finding ways of existence as creative collectives. The ethnographic and visual methodologies applied here made this contribution possible.

Significant findings

Through the analyses on the key themes relating to articulation, from spatial practice in the city, cultural memory, to cultural identity, this research has demonstrated those analyses and led to the most significant findings, i.e. the subtle resistance as the very formation of creative voices in the cities. The articulations of the subtle resistance are found in the everyday practices of the collectives in four conceptual arenas: disruption of cultural memory, culture on display, alternative space and articulation of creative self. These are summarised below in relation to each research question.

How do the creative collectives and their members in George Town and Bandung articulate their creative selves in their everyday lives?

The ways in which the creative collectives and their members do the everyday creativities within their own group and in their respective city show the processes for them in narrating their creative selves. All the creative collectives, having their own domain and character, present a ‘survival kit’ for being an independent creative collective in George Town and Bandung. This survival kit is their way of articulating the ‘stubbornness’ of everyday practice (de Certeau, 1984; Highmore, 2002) as chosen by these collectives with their awareness of its consequences and difficulties.

Furthermore, the members of the creative collectives have built social relations, trust, collaboration and commitment on shared responsibilities. Similar patterns can be found in the relations across the collectives through collaboration, friendship and shared values on particular objects and issues, for example organic spaces, or trust amongst each other. These are the manifestation of the way in which the creative collectives try to survive and sustain their existence. Alongside the social relations built among each other and the pragmatic ways in using social media (mainly Instagram), most of these creative collectives have built relations and nurtured trust through the symbolic meanings of “sensitive objects” (Löfgren, 2016). Handmade notebook, crafts tools, postcards, self-roasted coffee, vintage suitcases, tote bags, for example, have become the material objects that interact, transport, and transform the shared values and build social cohesion among each other in the creative collectives.

In what ways are their creative and media-related practices contesting the dominant discourses of heritage/creative cities in Malaysia and Indonesia?

The research has looked beyond examples of political resistance to focus on cultural resistance. Cultural resistance by these creative collectives is an articulation for contesting the dominant discourses and practices on heritage city of George Town and creative city of Bandung. However, this cultural resistance is expressed in subtle ways through disruption on official cultural memory, for instance. The form of this cultural resistance is their subtle voices that can be read as an alternative narrative of cultural identity formation against the backdrop of discursive and material elements of the single narrative projected by the state, either the “nationalist heritage imagination” (Goh, 2012) or the top-down creative city imagination.

One example of this resistance includes the network of people from different creative collectives articulating their practices and identities – through material objects, social media, or creative practices – which lay foundation for them to contest the dominant discourses. This happens in the way some creative collectives resist or decline the city or private funding, and the ways they nurture fringe events, and cultivate inclusive interactions and participations within and among their collectives.

In what ways are urban spaces shaped and reshaped by the practices of these creative collectives, and why does this matter to the contextualisation and conceptualisation of media, space and cultural identity in the city?

The notion of commonality is vital for making the creative collective into an alternative space for those who share similar values. These spatial practices occurred in the creative collectives are different with, for instance, the top-down approach of the state-led creative hub. In particular collectives, craft-making becomes the ‘make-do’ of available cultures (Highmore, 2002) and allows members to perform inventiveness in their everyday lives. In other collectives who have different activities alongside crafts, the make-do and the inventiveness are found through the event organising, the creation of room for open activities, the participatory and open processes of creating exhibitions and performances.

These spatial practices are the way these creative collectives create ‘organic space’ that is maintained in a fluid way, recognising these spaces as containing potentials and challenges. The organic space here means the way in which these creative collectives perceive themselves as non-proprietary collaborative groups,

employing creativity as the very core of their everyday life, and interacting with each other and social actors in a fluid way. All these occur as an alternative voice to the way in which the imagined creative and heritage cities are officially designed, materialised and institutionalised by the state as seen in urban space through strategic approach of cultural memory on display and superficial visuality.

Why do this organic space and alternative voice matter in the city? First, the cultural and media-related practices of the creative collectives – ranging from the material objects they use, the craftsmanship, the social media, the local friendship group, the familial mood – enrich our understanding of cultural resistance and spatial struggles in urban environments. Second, the formulation of cultural identity for these city dwellers gives us insight into the material, the imagined and the lived city as interlinked. Their practices and identities are both specific to these collectives and their cities, and offer a wider perspective of the value of flexibility, resourcefulness and resilience, of trust and friendship, in creative urban spaces.

Overall, the creative voices in both cities in Southeast Asia take form as an articulation of subtle resistance. The studied creative collectives in both cities articulate their resistance in alternative ways through their everyday creativities in building their own social groups as the ‘home’ for the members and whoever else is involved within the home, the organic space (of training ground, creative studio, creative hub), and the spatial formation to express their spatial, cultural and social struggles in the city. The creative collective is also a space for social relations and building trust, a space of humility, but at the same time it is also a space of making do, trying to survive, preserving the sense of cultural identities. These are examples of subtle resistance, articulating with both creativity and make do of living in the cities flooded with dominant discourses and practices to be part of their processes in constructing (and struggling to maintain) their cultural identities.

Further reflections and future research

To reflect further on possible trajectories for future research, there are some points to raise about conducting a micro-scale ethnographically informed study. The creative, visual and material of the subject matter not only become the focused areas of the research, but have also influenced the way in which the research is conducted and analysed. Michel de Certeau once argued that the main intention in studying everyday life is to allow the everyday voices to be heard by positioning the researcher’s voice as one of many voices in the text, not a strategic master-

voice but rather in order to produce polyphonic or multi-voiced texts through varieties of both content and style (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998). The way I presented this study is inspired by a similar trajectory in showing the voices of everyday creativity and their relations with contemporary media and visual culture as practiced by the people who deal with creative works and live in cities on a daily basis.

Subjectivity and reflexivity have shaped the way I approached my subject matter, the way I interacted with the subject persons and groups, and interpreted the empirical materials. The two aspects, subjectivity and reflexivity, have also shaped my own experiences interacting with the people and the gathered information, and to some extent, shaped the way 'knowledge' was communicatively constructed through these encounters and relations during the research process.

Indeed, as an ethnographically and visually informed study, this research avoids generalisation either in terms of the subject matters (creativity, media practice, space of/in the city, identity articulation), the social groups (class, gender, demography, etc.), or geographical locations (the cities, Southeast Asia, or Asia). This research is better understood as a detailed investigation on particular aspects of articulation of media, space and cultural identities in contemporary cultures of Southeast Asian societies that can enrich both the academic and societal debates on topics relevant to heritage and creative cities, on creative collectives, and everyday creativity.

Since the phenomena of heritage city and creative city branding is a global trend, the research on investigating various voices responding to this trend and their responses in agreeing or struggling with the implications would be one aspect possible to research. In Southeast Asia and Asian region, the main narrative on heritage and creative city proposed by the state and supported by global cultural, financial or political agencies remain in place as a dominant narrative. Some city's governments begin to 'listen' to new approaches and consider more participatory ways in designing, building and governing the cities. Whereas in some other cities, the local (and also the national) governments tend to be more authoritarian in their public policies through the frame of populism shown in everyday politics. The impact on the creative milieu varies from one to another. It is then important, for instance, to map and recognise the variety of creative collectives in the city, based on their creative domains, intentions and main values, social and political aspirations, locations, or scale of activities and people involved. The result of such a mapping study might not address the voices of each collective or the members, but it would provide a baseline database that can be used by ethnographers and

cultural researchers to design their further research. Such a database is needed since the constant changing and dynamic movement of groups and issues in Southeast Asian cities, as well as the lack of comprehensive general information of the creatives and their relevant groups, are one key obstacle in beginning to conduct and build access for research in the region.

One critique raised by researchers is an over emphasis on technological, institutional, political economic explanations, or symbolic representations of media in urban environments (see Morley, 2009; Moores, 2012; Moores, 2018). Although such media foci have their own signification contribution within the academic debates in urban media and communications, it is important to address such a critique with the use of different perspectives, theoretical combinations and variety of methodological approaches and tools. Drawing from practice theory, the conceptual use of media-related practice in this thesis hopefully could address such a critique. By focusing on the micro level of cultural practices, media-related practices can be understood in various cultural contexts with different social or political tensions. Thus, one could develop the conceptualisation of media-related practices, and a more non-media centric approach, to social and cultural practices within particular historical, spatial and temporal contexts.

In this final part of the thesis, I am going to reflect on my own memories in interacting with my informants, organising the collected materials and writing the thesis. In my office room there is a world map I have put up more than three years ago. It is an upside down world map I bought whilst in Australia, and the artist has placed Australia in the north, thus changing the name, so the country can no longer be referred to as Down Under. In this map the Antarctica becomes the North Pole and the Arctic is located in the south. All the names of cities, places and other map legends are written normally with precise scale like a common map, only it is rotated 180-degrees. Initially I simply put this map as a practical joke for myself. But, while organising my empirical material, refining my field notes, re-listening to some recorded materials, and building the argument in writing, the map is no longer a creative joke to me. It is the very idea that resonates with the voices of my informants. A year before I finalised this thesis, I found another 'upside down' map in an art exhibition catalogue. I made a copy of the map, and put it up under the previous map on my office wall. The artwork itself is part of an installation art project by Ross Sinclair, a Scottish artist, entitled "Journey to the Edge of the World – The New Republic of St Kilda" (1999). His politically motivated artwork raises a critical voice on the cultural loss experienced by St Kildans since the introduction, and hegemony, of the so-called modern way

of living from the British mainland. Sinclair's 'upside down' geographical map installed in a public space in Edinburgh has created "a strong sense of 'making do', of being temporary [...] a space of simple constructions [of St Kildans' memories] ... also a space of repository, where St Kildans' culture and spirit is kept safe, awaiting its chance to be used once more" (Dean and Millar, 2005: 134).

Both maps have accompanied me throughout the reflective processes of this research, and these 'upside down' maps have symbolically become the constant reminder for me to understand the voices of the creative collectives. That is, offering an alternative perspective in looking at the space they live in (i.e. the collective, the city) and the issues that arise in their everyday practices that ought to be recognised and listened to within the established 'map' we are all too familiar with for creative cities and heritage cities. Their struggles as a subtle resistance are ongoing, and many times they face difficulties and constraints. The creative collectives and their members also experience boredom, frustration, or tiresome feelings. One scholar who studies community movement in the region says, "the story of an alternative space is not unlike the story of an ordinary human being; there will be times when he or she gets bored and needs to be imbued with fresh ideas" (Juliastuti, 2015: 267). I witnessed how these also occurred in every collective. However, each creative collective and every individual within it, has their own tactics both expressed in online and offline spaces to keep their respective creative collective nourished and sustained for the foreseeable future. I finalised this thesis during the Covid-19 pandemic year. Although my field research, the analysis and most of the writing have been concluded prior the global outbreak of this pandemic, I still had a chance to witness remotely the ways in which my informants cope with this situation. While business-as-usual was no longer the norm during this unprecedented time, I was surprised to see my Instagram newsfeed posted by informants. Some created new interesting projects from home, others switched into a completely different activity they usually do. A few people decided to move to other cities and pursue academic degrees, or do the same profession but in different city, whereas a few others remain in the same city. Overall, I witness not only the energy of resistance they have shared with me during my field research, but in this difficult time also the energy of resilience.

Back to the memories in Bandung, on one night in 2017, Tarlen had a short break from her work in Tobucil & Klabs. She went out from her studio, stretching her back a little bit, then looked to her smartphone. When I asked whether there are bookbinding orders or new news from friends, she replied that she was deleting her old post in her personal Instagram account. It is one of her routines since she

has two Instagram accounts, one for her bookbinding work and the other one is her personal account. “Like our place, these posts are never permanent,” she said it in smile, “but, the way we keep our key values are continued wherever we go or stay.” She uses her personal Instagram account for expressing a few moments with friends and family, but when the moments have passed and the contexts of meeting or activities have changed, she prefers to delete some old posts to avoid unnecessary comments, or irrelevant tags and so forth. She and other people in the creative collectives realise, there are many things that would not be permanent in their everyday life. The Instagram posts might be deleted sometimes, as the place of their activities could be moved to other locations too, but their values and resilience remain.

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Book, book section, journal article

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