

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS AS DOXA IN THE NETWORK PRACTICE OF ART COLLECTIVES IN INDONESIA

Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan sebagai Doxa dalam Praktik Jaringan Kolektif Seni di Indonesia

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengamati fenomena jejaring kolektif di Indonesia yang marak menjelang tahun 2020 dan keterkaitannya dengan wacana global Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan. Jejaring perkumpulan merupakan bentuk praktik sosial yang disebabkan oleh perubahan struktur objektif medan seni rupa dan internalisasi subjektif pelaku seni terhadap perubahan tersebut. Penelitian ini menerapkan teori praktik sosial Pierre Bourdieu dengan metode studi literatur untuk memetakan relasi-relasi sosial dan ekonomi perkumpulan pelaku seni dalam medan seni rupa di Indonesia tahun 2000-2024. Dengan menerapkan teori praktik sosial Pierre Bourdieu, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa: 1) struktur medan produksi artistik di Indonesia tahun 2000-2024 dipengaruhi oleh struktur pasar seni dan struktur donor yang mendorong perbedaan orientasi bentuk perkumpulan pelaku seni pada dua kutub heteronom berbeda; 2) jejaring perkumpulan pelaku seni rupa di Indonesia didorong oleh wacana Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan sebagai doxa yang diproduksi oleh medan kekuasaan.

Kata Kunci: *Doxa, Jaringan, Kolektif Seni, Medan, Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan*

ABSTRACT

This study examine the phenomenon of networks of art collectives in Indonesia, which proliferated in the period leading up to 2020, and their connection to the global discourse of the Sustainable Development Goals. These networks represent a form of social practice that emerged from the transformation of the objective structure of the field of art and the subjective internalization of such changes by art practitioners. The research applies Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice and employs a literature study method to map the social and economic relations of art collectives within the Indonesian art field from 2000 to 2024. By using Bourdieu's framework, this study reveals that: (1) the structure of the artistic production field in Indonesia from 2000 to 2024 has been shaped by the art market and fund structures, which have driven the differing orientations of art collectives along two distinct heteronomous poles; (2) the network practices of visual art collectives in Indonesia are propelled by the discourse of sustainable development as a form of doxa produced by the field of power.

Keywords: *Art Collectives, Doxa, Networks, Field, Sustainable Development Goals*

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of networks of local community-based from various regions in Indonesia, along with the growing popularity of the term *kolektif* [collective] to describe them, became a distinct phenomenon in the Indonesian art field in the period leading up to 2020. This development was preceded by the appearance of art organizations initiated by young people in major cities where art discourse is concentrated in the early 2000s. Over time, the increasing use of the term *kolektif collective* began to replace earlier designations such as “*ruang alternatif*” [alternative space], “artist-run-space”, and others that were commonly used in the early 2000s. Several research projects—most of them conducted by art and collectives practitioners themselves—have indirectly indicated this shift in terminology. For instance, the *Fixer* program, initiated by North Art Space and later developed by Gudskul Ekosistem, employed different terminologies in its two editions: the first *Fixer* in 2010 held the exhibition “*Pameran Ruang Alternatif dan Kelompok Seni Rupa di Indonesia*” [Alternative Spaces and Art Groups in Indonesia] (Yunanto, 2010), while the second *Fixer* in 2021 presented “*Pembacaan Kolektif seni Indonesia dalam Sepuluh tahun terakhir*” [A Reading of Indonesian Art Collectives in the Past Decade] (Purwoadi, 2021). Another example can be found in the cataloging project undertaken by IVAA in 2012, titled “*Kolektif kreatif: Dinamika seni rupa dalam perkembangan kerja bersama gagasan dan ekonomi (kreatif) (1938–2011)*” [Creative Collectives: The Dynamics of Visual Art in the Development of Collaborative Ideas and (Creative) Economies (1938–2011)] (Murti, 2012).. Similarly, Soetomo’s “*Direktori Peta Kolektif Indonesia 2010 - 2020*” [Directory of Indonesian Collectives 2010–2020] (2021) expanded the scope of such associations beyond the visual arts.

Academic research has also sought to interpret the phenomenon of collective practice in Indonesia. Two important studies in particular underscore the significance of global conditions in understanding the emergence of such collectives and highlight how discursive shifts within collective practices are closely tied to the objective structures of the artistic field, especially in relation to economic and social aspects. Hujatnika & Zainsjah (2020) situated their analysis within the Indonesian socio-political context after 1998, linking it to broader global processes of globalization and internationalization in order to identify forms of collectives in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Suryajaya et al. (2023) examined the discursive evolution from *alternative space* to *collective*, interpreting it as a response to the need for consolidating networks and the communal management of resources. Building upon these insights, the present study investigates how the phenomenon of collective networking is intertwined with the discourse of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which has influenced cultural policy globally since 2015.. The recent development of networks of collectives in Indonesia, therefore, cannot be separated from both the objective structures of Indonesian society and the broader global structures of the cultural field.

This study applies Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, which integrates the analysis of objective structures with the socially formed mental structures of individuals that in turn shape practice (Johnson, ed., in Bourdieu, 1993). As an entry point into practice theory, Bourdieu developed the concept of the *field* to understand these objective social structures. Within a field, social agents occupy positions determined by their objective relations to others, based on systems of ownership and the distribution of various forms of capital. They are simultaneously engaged in struggles to gain access to different kinds of benefits. (Bourdieu, 2013) The field also shapes the mental structures of individuals through *doxa*—the pre-reflexive assumptions of social agents produced by the dialectic between objective opportunities and agents' aspirations. By internalizing social order and structures of power, agents develop a "sense of reality" regarding the boundaries that govern their perception of what is deemed possible or appropriate within social life (Bourdieu, 2013).

This study seeks to connect the objective structure of the Indonesian art field—shaped by the influence of the SDGs—with the economic relations that, through processes of negotiation, have compelled art practitioners to form networks of collectives. The study conceives of networking as a form of practice arising from changes in the objective structure of the field and the internalization of those changes by art and collective practitioners. As a contextual boundary, this research focuses on the practices of art collectives in Indonesia and their relationship to the field of power within the time span of 2000–2024, with the SDGs as the dominant discourse operating throughout this period.. The study employs a literature review method, collecting documents related to dominant cultural discourses produced by the field of power, as well as records of art events and collective practices in Indonesia between 2000 and 2024. This research addresses two main questions: (1) How has the structure of the field of artistic production in Indonesia shaped the practices of art collectives between 2000 and 2024? (2) How was doxa shaped the formation of art collective networks in Indonesia?

DISCUSSION

The practices and representations of art practitioners can only be explained by reference to the *field of power*, a field that encompasses and dominates the field of artistic production and its evolution over time (Bourdieu, 1996). In relation to the field of power, art collectives in Indonesia can be mapped according to their strategies for political and economic survival. Within the structure of the field of artistic production, the areas most responsive to changes in the field of power are those located closest to its dominance, namely those oriented toward the heteronomous pole (Bourdieu, 1993). The more an artist or collective depends politically or economically on the structures of the field of power, the more they are subjected to the rules imposed by that field.

The field of art in the Indonesia post-reformation era has been shaped by the growing activity of the local art market and philanthropic funding from international institutions. These developments created two structures within the field of power: the art market structure and the funding structure. Both serve as sources of economic capital that provide survival opportunities for art collectives in Indonesia, while imposing distinct “rules of the game.” These divergent rules have led to a division in the orientations of art collectives toward different social fields, producing differing artistic tendencies. The two categories of collectives identified by Hujatnika & Zainsjah (2020) illustrate this differentiation: *old collectivism*, motivated by the need for affiliation while continuing to function as individual artists, and *new collectivism*, which encompasses practices of public art, the development of local art, and broader forms of public mediation. The former relies on income from the art market and is thus heteronomous to the market structure, targeting segmented social groups such as collectors. The latter depends on public funding from donor institutions and is heteronomous to the fund structure, addressing broader social groups. These two structures have produced differentiation between two camps of collectives, each gravitating toward distinct heteronomous poles.

In the 2000s, the art market was dominated by neoliberal principles that weakened the role of the state within the field of power. According to Hujatnika (2011) this was evident in the growing popularity of international art fairs operating under a rhizomatic neoliberal market system, where market mechanisms functioned as if without a central locus. A clear sign of this anomaly was the record-breaking sale of Indonesian artworks in 2008, at the very moment when the international art market was experiencing a downturn (ibid.). Some collectives functioning as affiliations of individual artists developed ties with the art market, such as Neo-Pitamaha, Jendela, and Sakato (Hujatnika, 2020). Several members of these collectives were exclusively represented by dealers and depended more on the local dominant ecosystem (ibid.). The dominance of neoliberalism within the Indonesian field of artistic production functioned by establishing a social order in which the legitimacy of art was grounded in the symbolic figure of the “authentic genius” individual. Within the art market, social agents—such as artists, curators, gallerists, and collectors—collaborated in commodifying the symbolic capital of artists as “geniuses” into economic profit. Artist and their collectives working within this framework gravitated toward the heteronomous pole of the art market structure.

At the other heteronomous pole, certain forms of art collectives sustained themselves economically by accessing public funds through philanthropic institutions). The internet boom strengthened the social, political, and economic networks these collectives established with international institutions, making them less dependent on the local art market system (ibid.). A 2016 survey conducted by Koalisi Seni Indonesia of 227 communities across Indonesia revealed that respondents relied on multiple

funding sources: 80% practiced self-funding, 55% relied on individual donations, 12% received international funding, and 7% accessed domestic funding. Gumay et al. (2015) similarly found that art collectives in eight Indonesian cities obtained funds from multiple sources, with most depending on self-funding and individual donations, while a smaller portion received support from domestic and international funds as well as corporations. These surveys do not fully capture the degree of autonomy of individual funders in relation to the field of power, even though they imply a level of autonomy for collectives that survived primarily through self-funding. While not all of these practices can be directly located within the structure of the art field, they nevertheless demonstrate the role of international funding institutions in creating new dynamics for cultural practices in Indonesia.

Over time, however, the role of international funding institutions began to diminish. According to Suryajaya (2023), the reduction of regular annual grants from international donors forced collectives to shift their focus toward the management of the creative economy. This tendency cannot be generalized across all collectives receiving annual international funding, yet, around the same period, the state—which had previously been absent—reemerged to strengthen the funding structure by supporting art practices within the framework of public participation. In anticipation of 2020, the government allocated greater funding for cultural activities through agencies such as the Creative Economy Agency (Bekraf), the Cultural Facilitation program (FBK), and the Cultural Endowment Fund (*Indonesiana Fund*).

The creative economy sector began to draw government attention as a response to global economic conditions following the implementation of free trade policies under the WTO in 1995. The government systematically developed the creative economy sector beginning in 2009, followed by the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy in 2011 and the Creative Economy Agency (Bekraf - Badan Ekonomi Kreatif) in 2015. Highlighting the potential of several large-scale international art events, the government sought to position Indonesia as the center of Southeast Asian visual art. To that end, it formally included *visual art* as one of the 16 subsectors of the creative economy and committed to managing the field more seriously, for example through programs facilitating the construction of art and cultural spaces (Bekraf, 2017).

Art practitioners were able to access support through the Cultural Facilitation program (FBK-Fasilitasi Bidang Kebudayaan) and the Cultural Endowment Fund (*Dana Indonesiana*), administered under the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud). Meanwhile, Bekraf's funding scheme was restructured into the Government Incentive Grant under the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Kemenparekraf). Through this arrangement, the government effectively separated artistic practices into two perspectives: cultural advancement and the creative economy. State programs aligned with existing collective interests also encouraged the emergence of new collectives, which were often required to meet legal requirements

such as incorporation in order to access funding (Tukan, 2021). Furthermore, the government’s prioritization of cultural funding for *3T regions* (frontier, outermost, and underdeveloped areas) spurred the growth of new collectives outside Java.

The Structure of the Artistic Field of Production in Indonesia, 2000–2024

To map the field of artistic production in Indonesia in the context of 2000–2024, the author proposes two structures within the field of power: the art market structure, which operates within the framework of the art market, and the funding structure, which operates within the framework of public mediation. Each of these structures has its own *legal logic* that specifically influences the artistic tendencies of art practitioners positioned at each heteronomous pole.

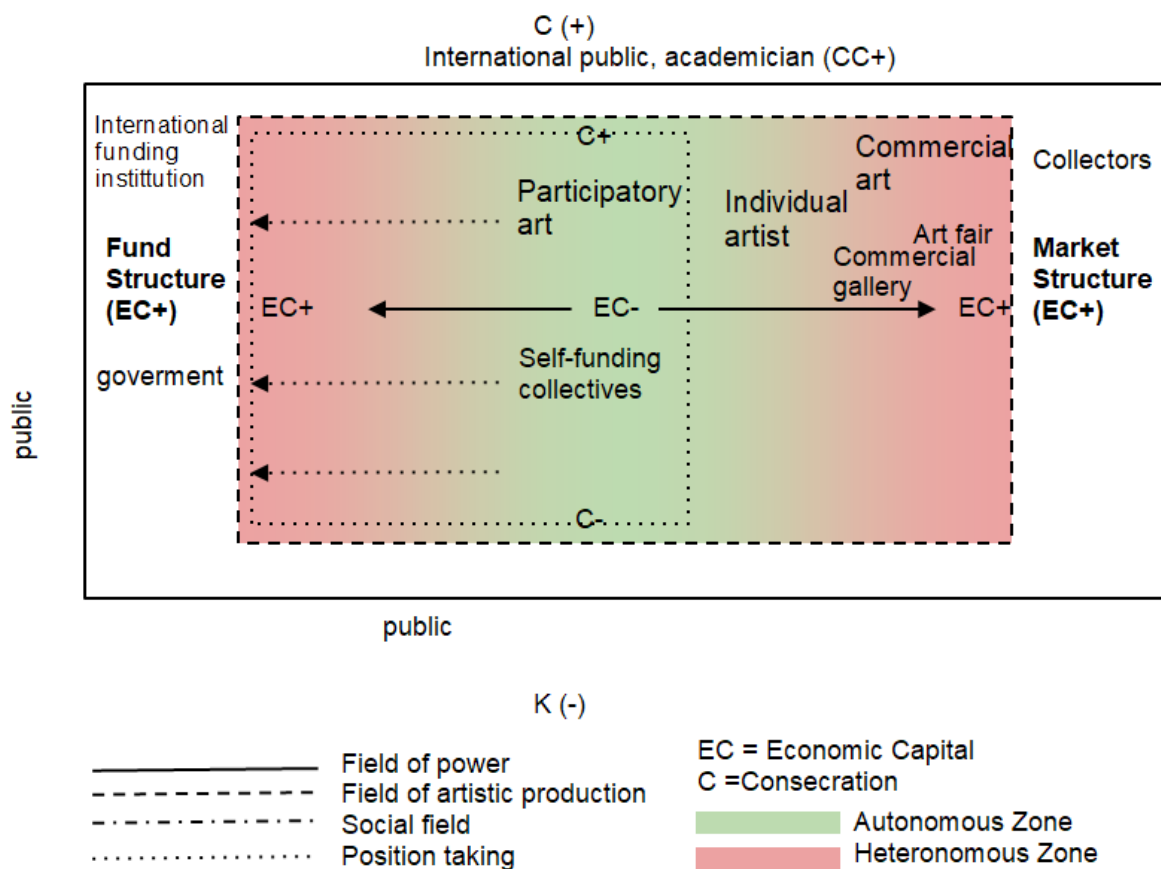


Figure 1. Field of Artistic Production in Indonesia (Source: Azmi, 2025)

Figure 1 illustrates the artistic field of production in Indonesia from 2000–2024 with two heteronomous poles, each representing funding structures and the art market structure. The autonomous zone is situated between the two heteronomous poles, with transitional zones indicating the degree of economic independence of social agents or art practitioners. The closer an agent is to the autonomous zone (green), the more economically independent they are and the less they are influenced by either the

market structure or fund structure. Individual art practices, art fairs, and commercial galleries are positioned within the heteronomous zone, with economic dependence on the art market structure. Meanwhile, participatory and collective art practices are located within the heteronomous zone with high consecration, enabled by the space of position-taking sustained through international philanthropic institutions.

In the autonomous zone with low consecration, there are several art collectives in the regions who do not yet have access to art funding or the market and who sustain their economic capital independently. These groups of agents have not yet found space for position-taking toward the heteronomous pole until the state's intervention, which reinforced the fund structure. With the strengthening of the fund structure in Indonesia through the presence of the state, a space of position-taking was created for groups or collectives to move closer to the heteronomous pole. Such position-taking, however, is only possible if these groups follow the rules of the game or *doxa* imposed by the field of power, since the philanthropic structure provides access to funding for collectives through the mechanism of proposal-based selection. *Doxa* thus regulates the artistic tendencies of collectives operating under the global development discourse of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The Implications of Doxa for the Field of Artistic Production

The word *commons*, which presupposes collective action for the common good (Jeong, 2018), has often been employed in United Nations development policies through UNESCO. As one of the institutions dominating the direction of global cultural agendas, UNESCO has sought to create global peace through the logic of internationalism and universal values (Elfert & Ydesen, 2023). Throughout the 1950s to the 1970s, UNESCO consistently used the term *Common Heritage of Mankind* in cultural conventions regulating tangible cultural heritage. According to Park (2022), it is unclear when precisely UNESCO shifted away from the exclusive idea of *Common Heritage of Mankind*. However, beginning in the 1980s, UNESCO gradually began to discuss new notions of culture and subsequently recognized intangible culture in the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. By shifting the focus of development concepts previously determined exclusively by tangible matters (housing, food, water, etc.) UNESCO emphasized the importance of reciprocal relations between material and spiritual well-being through intangible development (empowerment, participation, accountability, etc.) (UNESCO, 2002).

In 1987, responding to the impacts of unsustainable economic growth, the UN established the Brundtland Commission, which issued a report entitled *Our Common Future*, defining Sustainable Development as "...development that meets the needs of the current generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (Brundtland, 1987) Before evolving into the Sustainable Development Goals, the UN produced the *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment* (MEA). The

MEA developed the concept of *cultural ecosystem services*, focusing on the intangible benefits of ecosystems (spirituality, recreation, aesthetics, and traditional knowledge), which were considered to enrich life and enhance human well-being (MEA, 2005:40).

The MEA sought to strengthen local institutions where communities are proactively involved in ecosystem management by investing in social and human capital, directed toward enhancing knowledge of ecosystem functions and management (MEA, 2005:72). Through this scenario, the MEA highlighted the constraints of ecosystem management at the local level caused by failures in managing common interests globally and regionally, while offering local ecosystems opportunities to network and adopt effective solutions from one another. The MEA became the foundation for the SDGs, which were agreed upon by UN member states in 2015 in *Transforming the World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, establishing 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Ghorbani, 2020). UNESCO played a role in promoting cultural diversity as a shared heritage, framing it as a renewable resource key to achieving sustainable development (UNESCO, 2002).

As a member of UNESCO, Indonesia is obliged to periodically report on the progress of cultural heritage preservation, particularly intangible heritage. To this end, Indonesia ratified various UNESCO cultural conventions into legal frameworks that regulate dominant cultural discourse. Law Number 5 of 2017 on Cultural Advancement, Articles 43 and 44, stipulates the responsibilities of the central and regional governments to sustain and safeguard a sustainable cultural ecosystem. This law later became the legal foundation for the organization of the 2018 Indonesian Cultural Congress, the Cultural Sector Facilitation Program (*Fasilitasi Bidang Kebudayaan, FBK*), and the Cultural Endowment Fund or Indonesian Fund in 2021 (Sutrisno, 2021). The potential of local art collectives as agents driving cultural advancement was further maximized through the 2023 National Culture Week (*Pekan Kebudayaan Nasional*). With the growing circulation of economic capital through the state, the government has encouraged inter-local networks of art collectives while simultaneously promoting the increase of the Cultural Advancement Index (*Indeks Pemajuan Kebudayaan, IPK*). The IPK is an instrument derived from UNESCO's Culture Development Indicators (CDIs), designed to measure the performance of cultural development at the national and provincial levels, serving as one of the benchmarks for development success (Kemendikbudristek, 2023).

The access of art collectives in Indonesia to funding from international institutions has been made possible by the global power structures that foster networking among artists worldwide within a global development agenda. At the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development held in Stockholm in 1998, UNESCO recommended that member states adopt policies oriented toward maintaining and enhancing both tangible and intangible cultural heritage to promote cultural industries. One of UNESCO's policy recommendations was to prioritize the creation of networks at national, regional, and

international levels involving artists, project managers, and cultural facilities to improve access to culture (UNESCO, 1998). This convention opened opportunities for Indonesian artists to participate in residencies and cultural exchanges.

In Indonesia, several collectives in the 2000s began involving international artists in art events with diverse conceptual contributions (Darmawan, 2012). Conversely, Indonesian artists also participated in art events abroad. Ade Darmawan, one of the founders of ruangrupa, undertook a two-year residency at the Rijksakademie Van Beeldende Kunsten in the Netherlands in 1998 (ocula.com). This residency paved the way for ruangrupa to join the Rijksakademie Artist Initiative Network (RAIN) in the same year as its founding. RAIN focused on the formation of virtual networks and the exchange of artists, information, publications, and documentation between the Global South Africa, Asia, and Latin America and Europe. This network was facilitated by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Development Cooperation (*Kementerian Luar Negeri/ Kerja Sama Pembangunan Belanda*) (r-a-i-n.net). A similar opportunity was also seized by Common Room, a platform for diverse activities bringing together individuals, communities, and organizations, founded in Bandung in 2003 (commonroom.info). This space evolved from the Bandung Center for New Media Arts, which participated in the Third Asia-Europe Art Camp in 2005 (universes.art, 2005).

These collectives, mostly based in major cities on the island of Java, built an international networking base that fostered the recognition of knowledge on social collaboration in art practice through global symbolic interaction. This symbolic interaction was represented in the use of various loanwords from English commonly employed to designate collectives in this era, such as “alternative space,” “initiative space,” “artist initiative,” and “artist-run space.” These collectives operated within the framework of social participation (also called participatory art) outside of art commercialization. The framework of social participation was evident in the many collaborative efforts to intervene in public spaces through long-term recurring programs such as workshops, discussions, residencies, and festivals (Darmawan, 2010). The subjective structure of artists regarding the importance of inclusive public engagement aligned with the objective structure of the field, which enabled participatory artists to access public funding through international philanthropic institutions. Ultimately, the presence of international philanthropic institutions created a new dynamic within Indonesia’s cultural production field in the 2000s.

According to Bourdieu (1990), social agents enter the field by committing themselves to *doxa*, the unquestioned rules that compel individuals to collectively contribute to the reproduction of symbolic power within the field. The practice of *doxa* in the artistic production field guides agents to reproduce dominant knowledge by actualizing practices deemed most appropriate. *Doxa* thus explains how the recognition of knowledge in the terminology of the “collective” later became popular within the collective networks in Indonesia around 2020.

The emergence of collective networks in Indonesia is closely related to the international networking base that had already been established in the early 2000s. The formation of collective networks in Indonesia was generally initiated by a single art collective. Some examples include: Gudskul Ecosystem (initiated by ruangrupa, Serrum, and Grafis Huru Hara), Lumbung Indonesia (initiated by ruangrupa), SARTCAS (*Syndicate of Artist Collective & Alternative Space*, initiated by Hysteria), Timur Liar (initiated by Serbuk Kayu), and Arisan Tenggara (initiated by Ace House Collective). Among these networks, only Lumbung Indonesia was initiated by a collective that itself was not part of the network.

These networks initially emerged through collaborative research projects and exhibitions that sought to map and translate the development of such practices, as outlined in the introduction. These research projects were based in the mainstream centers of Indonesian art discourse and supported by international funding bodies such as Stichting DOEN, Hivos, and the British Council. With funding support, research projects on the idea of the “collective” opened access for certain collectives to meet and network with others. Even if a group did not or had not yet define itself with the term “collective,” projects or research that translated their practices into the category of “collective” contributed to displacing the terminologies that had been popular in the early 2000s. The term “collective” thus emerged as a seemingly singular representation of the diverse practices of art groups, perhaps because these research projects were often conducted by artists/collectives themselves. This underpins the author’s assumption regarding the production of particular knowledge embedded in the word “collective,” which symbolically actualizes power relations within the artistic network through linguistic exchange (see Bourdieu, 1991).

The development of collective networks of art practitioners in Indonesia around 2020 demonstrates how objective social structures enabled the expansion of global-local networks that reproduced the rules of *doxa*. This was evident, for example, in the participation of Lumbung Indonesia at *documenta fifteen* in Kassel, Germany in 2022, made possible through ruangrupa’s role as artistic directors. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government promoted similar inter-local collaborations through the 2023 National Culture Week (*Pekan Kebudayaan Nasional*), grounded in the Law on Cultural Advancement. The global structure also encouraged the presence of the state within the fund structure of the field of power, shaping the networking among art collectives.

Global *doxa* reproduces knowledge in terminologies frequently encountered in Indonesian cultural texts, including within the discourse on collective networks—terms such as “care,” “ecosystem,” “sustainability,” “tangible-intangible resources,” “diversity,” and so on. *Doxa* conditions the roles of social agents through the interpretation of cultural work, which has recently been adopted into the collaborative practices of collectives. Ultimately, the field of power creates objective structures that enable artists to survive economically by accessing philanthropic funding while simultaneously reproducing global *doxa* concerning sustainable development.

CONCLUSION

This research concludes two main points, each of which answers the research questions: 1) The structure of the artistic production field in Indonesia from 2000 to 2024 is influenced by two structures within the field of power: the art market structure and the fundstructure. These two structures drive different orientations of artistic collectives toward two distinct heteronomous poles. 2) The networks of artistic collectives in Indonesia are driven by the discourse of sustainable development as a *doxa* produced by the field of power.

The first conclusion was reached through mapping the funding sources of artistic collectives in Indonesia between 2000 and 2024. These two sources are the art market and philanthropic donor institutions. From this mapping, two structures of the field of power were identified, each enforcing different types of *doxa* on artistic collectives within their respective heteronomous spheres. The differences in *doxa* led to divergent orientations of artistic collectives within particular social fields, along with distinct artistic tendencies.

The second conclusion was drawn from an examination of the dominant discourse produced by the field of power within the fund structure. This discourse centers on the agenda of sustainable development, which operates at the global level through various UN and UNESCO policies. The strengthening of the state's role within the fund structure has further reinforced *doxa* or the rules of the game that encourage inter-local collaborations among artistic collectives. *Doxa* reproduces dominant knowledge through terms such as "care," "ecosystem," "sustainability," "tangible and intangible resources," "diversity," and so forth.

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