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Research Article

Precarity and State Liberal Approach toward Indonesian Local Game Industry

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to portrait the contemporary situation of Indonesian local game industry regarding the working-class issues and state approach to the development and sustainability. As Indonesian local game industry began a new era after state recognition in 2014, the industrial durability in the national creative sector is often questioned. A case study method is applied to response and diagnose one of the newest creative economic sectors in Indonesia. Interviewing various parties such as two related state ministries, twelve founders of local game studios, ten local game workers, and representative of labor union. The result exposes a liberal approach from the state in nurturing local game industry such as free-market competition, nescience, and quasi-patronage. This particular style of state's cultural policy to local gaming industry has resulted in precarious situation among local game labors as the state's instruments in contemporary creative industry.

Keywords: *cultural policy, game developer, Indonesia, precarity, video games*

Introduction

Technology changes the shape of creative economic flow and style. Creative economy sectors receive the most benefit from technology as information flows are easier and cheaper across the world. In theory, creative economy stands for activities that involved individual or group's creativity, skill, ideas, innovation and talents to stimulate a job creation and economic development Marchand & Hennig-Thurau, (2013); Hamid & Suzianti, (2020). One

of the most contemporary forms of creative economy is video games. A high-tech virtual playground combining both physical and cognitive practices with enthralling visual screen makes video games industry becomes the most promising economy sectors for years to come Kong, (2014); Chen & Dermawan, (2020).

Game industry combines artistic, pleasure, and technology into a virtual experience. Since everybody has personal computer, smartphone and internet access, everybody is able to

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consume game products at any time. Numerous countries across the globe are now contending each other to gain profits from their respective local gaming industries. Consequently, being a game developer turns out to be the latest potential career. Game developer performs a vital role as the cotemporary state instruments to produce GDP through creativities A. Y. Fung, (2016); Chung, (2016).

The role of government has also changed. Globalization drives authoritarian countries like China and Vietnam to open the market and investment to sustain their economic development while competing with other countries like America, Japan and England. Most of them try to adapt with certain points of adjustment such as China, and certain more countries deliberately go with the capitalist flows like developing countries in ASEAN. Creative economy is one of the major concerns for numerous developing-countries for boosting the economy and national branding with creative labors play as state instruments (Wee et al., 2019); (Tambunan & Rosdiana, 2020).

As both creative workers and state instruments, local game developers have unique characteristics. They are primarily young, full of innovative ideas, but forcibly adapt to the unstable market, working under precarious condition, and put their life for 24/7 as immaterial labors (A. Fung, 2016). Despite those various obstacles, as video games have become world's hottest commodity, the demand for the creations will be remaining in the market. Numerous local video game studios have closed due to an economic setback but plenty of new comers are established as a consequence of technological advantage.

Since 2014, Indonesia has recognized game or video games to be one of the national creative economy sectors. This was the first movement and recognition made by a Southeast Asian country for their local game existence. The recognition resulted in the status of the national creative workers for local game

developer talents, thereby making them deserve a special state budget and policy within their existence. Furthermore, it is interesting to explore the interplay between state and game developers as creative workers and state instruments. The interplay involves numerous issues of state patronage, precarity situation, and state approach in nurturing game as the national creative economy sector.

Southeast Asian region has become a major subject of their local game environment since Anthony Fung and his colleges (Bessant et al., 2017) started in investigating the vibration of Southeast Asian local game industries. One of the conclusions on Southeast Asian local game development was how Southeast Asian countries are so dependent on foreign companies for years before they started to grow their signature own local game tastes in 2000s. Nevertheless, Southeast Asian game expansion to the world and Asian market is slower comparing to China that just started to develop their local game environment in the year of 2010 (Chandra & Kurniawan, 2015).

There're several reasons regarding why Southeast Asian countries are slower to react and nurture their local game environment, particularly on labors, investments, contents, infrastructures, and policies. For more than 2 decades (1980's-1990's) Southeast Asia got too excited to be the market of US and Japanese game industries. Countries like Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines are major market places for foreign games (Rumata & Sastrosubroto, 2020). Despite having huge resources of local game developers and talents, there is a tendency that Southeast Asian game programmers and designers prefer to work for foreign game companies like Electronic Arts, Koei, Ubisoft, Square Enix and Gameloft as they opened representative offices in Southeast Asian countries like Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. The table below shows certain Southeast Asian countries' policies on their local games in the last 10 years.

Table 1. Policy Condition on Local Game Industry in Southeast Asia

| Countries | | Condition of State Policy |
|-----------|---|---------------------------|
| Singapore | ICT Policy, iN2015 | |
| Malaysia | Multimedia Supercorridor, Economic Transformation Program, Digital Malaysia | |

| Countries | Condition of State Policy |
|-------------|---|
| Philippines | Philippines Digital Strategy |
| Thailand | Thailand ICT Masterplan 2009-2013, Thai Game Cluster |
| Indonesia | Indonesian Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, Digital Application and Game Developer Section, 2014 |
| Vietnam | Ministry of Information and Communications, 2013 |

Countries like Indonesia has a special condition since the government has recognized video games as the national creative economy sector since 2014. Thailand with their game cluster policy has even initiated to create their own local game studio prior to their neighbors by establishing state-owned local game developer called Cyber Planet Interactive. Established in the year of 2000, it was the first local game developer studio to form in Southeast Asia ("Company-CyberPlanet Interactive," 2020). In addition, Malaysia and Singapore are two countries that opened their market to the foreign investment so that many of the local developers find themselves difficult to compete against foreign game companies in their native countries with their local-global relationship policies (Borowy, 2017).

Philippines and Vietnam shared the same story as they have a lot of game talents but the local game studios are difficult to find in their native countries. So, they have to work for foreign game companies to fulfill their passions and talents. Vietnam on the other hand progressing into more liberal and open to foreign market as the Vietnam War ended in 1975. The problem is, as they are a totalitarian country like China, the government conducts a strong censorship on game contents. In addition, the related government body organizing local game development are filled with those who had already been 40 years or above with unfamiliar background of game environment and lack of innovative policy (Suwanto & Kulau, 2022).

In Southeast Asia, local game industry develops from small and medium enterprises (Fung, 2016). As the new epicenter for local game development, Southeast Asian nations have already had a long history for the huge game market places. It makes the Southeast Asia region has a unique standpoint for its experience as a lifetime consumers of video

games. Most of them are used to be vivid gamers during their adolescences before becoming the creators of local game enterprises. Countries like Vietnam, Philippines provides plenty of their creative game workers to work at the international game enterprises at their own countries or overseas, while Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand are creating their vernacular identity though the game narrative and characters (Campbell, 2020).

The Indonesian local game industry just emerged for less than 15 years. Local game developer studios have been established before the government released 17 national creative economy sectors with game development is a part of them. Video games as leisure activity have emerged into a modern day of Indonesian society since the 20th century. Consoles like Nintendo, Sega, and PlayStation were among popular tools for young generations to fulfill their leisure time since 1980's until the early years of 21st century. By entering 21st century marked by technological advantages, Indonesian youths began to think to create their own game instead of just playing foreign and imported game series from Japan and USA as two biggest game exporters (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Like the rule of natural selection to adapt and progress, numerous studios are growing into well-known creative public companies. They can even hire more creative workers with monthly salary or project-based disbursement. The subcultural ethic remains the same but with different approaches as they're growing bigger after getting both national and international recognitions. This subcultural movement from the youth gained the attention from the government in 2014 as the state recognized video games as the national creative economy sectors. The state initiative has become a milestone for local game development in Indonesia. This attention triggers a huge excitement

among local game developers as they're officially recognized as creative workers in their own country (Poole, 2020).

The 21st century era requires a proper digitalization system for all creative economy products. The market has changed their very shape. Creative economy emerges with technology to boost the national economic prosperity by selling products such as national fine arts, film, culinary, tourism, game and digital media, fashion, and any other contemporary arts. In that perspective, commodities were no longer seen as only natural resources like palm oil, mineral coal, and herbs (Hadiz & Robison, 2017).

Instead, commodities have transformed into intangible intellectual properties with surplus values. Indonesian government set this contemporary economic concern into specific a government body called The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. The particular ministry organized any creative economy affairs including tourism as a part of their concerns. The ministry handles 17 the creative economy sectors consist of: 1) Culinary, 2) Fashion, 3) Craft, 4) TV and Radio, 5) Publishing, 6) Architecture, 7) Game Development, 8) Advertising, 9) Film, Animation and Video, 10) Photography, 11) Performing Arts, 12) Product Design, 13) Fine Arts, 14) Music, 15) Interior Design, 16) Visual Communication Design, 17) Digital Application.

The government initiative to recognize game development as one of the state creative economy sectors was a unique move. Comparing to the neighbor Thailand where the market of ASEAN games was the second biggest, but the government hasn't included a game development as their national economy sector (Wulansari, 2021). The way Indonesian government set a state intervention by establishing special state body belongs to the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy to organize game as creative economy sector is an interesting subject to expose.

In 2016, the ministry released a publication mentioned that Indonesian creative economy sector has contributed to 7.44% of national economic development. This percentage was even higher than Russia (6.06%) and Singapore (5.70%). Although the achievement from the

creative economy sector was still below South Korea (8.67%) and USA (11.12%), but how the government in a developing country maintained their creative industry deserved a huge credit (Menger, 2015).

According to the respective economic contribution, the subsector with the highest contribution for national economic development was Culinary (41.40%) or IDR 382 billion. The second place was coming from Fashion (18.01%) or contributed around IDR 166 billion and Craft subsector came as the third biggest revenue for national economic contribution with (15.4%) or IDR 142 billion. This statistical data seems pleasing at the first glance, but when we take a look a little bit closer, there is a problem with Digital Application and Game Developer Subsector as Indonesia has the biggest digital and video games market in ASEAN (The ASEAN Post Team, 2019). The less contribution from Digital Application and Game Developer subsector becomes an anomaly comparing to the linearity of huge food connoisseurs in Indonesia and its highest contribution to the culinary subsector.

Another data shows that local game products only contributed around 0.04% to the national revenues (Widhiyasa, 2017). In Indonesia, most of the video game products are dominated by foreign game products from Japan, US and Europe. Although Indonesia has around 43.7 million number of gamers and potentially yield USD 880 million or IDR 12.5 trillion (Newzoo, 2017), but in fact it contributed for less than 1% to the national GDP (Wahyono, 2019). Newzoo (2017) calculated that the game industry in Indonesia contributed for around 879.7 million dollars in 2017.

This number was even bigger than Malaysia (586.6) and Singapore (317.6). Despite this marvelous potency, as local game products only contributed for 1% to national market comparing to foreign games triggered a question on the implementation of the government policy and how the state maintains the video games as their creative economy sector. In the next ten years ahead global game industry will lead the entertainment market revenue as it continues embracing youth market through the disruption of technology and information.

Methods

This study applies a case study method with participant observation (Wartono & Segarwati, 2022) to investigate the characteristics of state cultural policy towards Indonesian local game development as one of the national creative sectors. The objective of this method is to expose thematic Indonesian state paradigm in dealing with workers' rights, precarity problem, and patronage to the national creative workers. The theories of cultural policy and immaterial labors are utilized as major principles and concepts to attain a proper understanding on current state affairs and approach.

The data were obtained with a snowball sampling technique (Parivudhiphongs, 2018) concerning important informants from the government's side and specific ministries (The Ministry of Manpower and The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Industry) which organize both national creative economy and creative workers. These 2 state ministries have several deputies with specific jobs depending on the creative economy sectors they handle. Interviews with associated government agencies that directly organize game workers were performed to evaluate a cultural perspective of the Indonesian government's policy towards the game as a national creative economy sector.

In addition, interview and observation are also conducted to the 12 founders of the first generation of local game studios, 10 experienced local game workers with various positions such as programmers, designers and writers. Furthermore, two representatives of Indonesian Game Association are also interviewed to grasp the core of the labor union in local game development, especially in the sustainability issues as creative workers in contemporary Indonesia.

Results and Discussion

Generally speaking, regarding to the game labor issues, the main problems essentially embracing various aspects such as workers' rights, patronage or investment, social securities and income stability (Phan, 2019). On the other hand, creative workers are different since they have distinctive features such as flexible working hour, idea-driven, less bureaucratic milieu, developing immaterial products and get more

room for innovation for self-actualization (Hartley et al., 2013). These characters interweave each other as creative workers are working for creative industry under a legal state policy.

Nevertheless, exposing creative workers cannot be separated from market and sociopolitical contexts where they lived and produces. The current research mentions that game labors are facing numerous challenges such as precarious market condition, overtime works, de-skilling, unstable state policies, stalled creativities and unhealthy competition among the workers (José Planells, 2017). Technically, these problems can be addressed to any creative workers at any creative sectors. Particularly for local game labors, these problems have different colors for each different nation. Countries like USA and Japan with a firm and sustain local game industry, have different labors' problems comparing to Southeast Asian nation countries where local game industry have just emerged in less than 10 years prior.

As Indonesian government recognized game as a creative economy sector in 2014, the basic assumption was that the state understood the strength of game industry for national economic development in the near future. Apparently, with no particular reason, the special Bureau of Creative Economy was combined with the new ministry called The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy with local game development becomes one of a subdirectory. Prior to that, the government already implemented cultural policy affairs on fine arts, museum, movie, music, even television. Game or video game is the latest art products being organized after several years of abandonment or less considered as a potential global commodity (Ruggill, 2016).

This inconsistent nomenclature and state infrastructure brought consequences to the local game industry, particularly for local game workers. The core policy has been changed after the fusion. The government conducted a huge festival like Bekraf Developer Conference and Bekraf Game Prime claimed as the biggest game event in ASEAN and succeeded in inviting ASEAN participants. This festival was supposed to be a significant event, but ended up as merely a ceremonial summit with developers

and publishers. There are no firm and sustainable policy model.

The current state structure handling local game is the responsibility of The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy via the Deputy of Digital Economy and Creative Product. This deputy leads a special directorate and sub directorate where local game development is managed by special section chief called Game Development Special Chief. It is the newest state's ministry structure that organized local game industry as one of the national creative economy sectors. On the next structure figure, we can finally see where the local game affairs are organized by the Director of Creative Industry of Film, TV and Animation.

A more specific sub directorate called Creative Industry of Animation and Game Development is taking responsibility to handle Game Development in their special section led by a specific section chief. Comparing to the last presidential cabinet's structure, this restructuring of game development sectors seems neglecting the importance of this potential newest industry. The complex structure of government body has made a game development sector plummeted into a sub directorate instead of being in a single independent body.

It's been 8 years since the government recognized games/video games as the national creative economy sector. There are major differences after the state recognition via The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy. To begin with, all of the Indonesian local game talents are involved into a specific area called creative labors. Meaning, those game creators share the same position as other 17 creative workers in Indonesia such as musician, dancer, painter, chef, sculptor, animator, actor, fashion designer, film director and so on. Based on the Indonesian national legal standing (Constitution Number 24, Year 2019), the creative workers who are working under 18 national creative sectors are recognized as professional workers and the state must fulfil their universal basic needs like incentive, standard-regional salary/basic income, health and security insurance, education and property rights.

However, his policy is only implemented when a game worker occupied in a legal incorporated local game developer enterprise.

Meaning, if they occupy for an indie studio, the universal state insurance won't be generated. Meanwhile, working as outsource or freelance company has another impact. According to The Indonesian Ministry of Manpower, the new policy for outsource workers and contract workers are organized under the same government regulation (Number 35, Year 2021). This particular law famously known as The Omnibus Law and comprises imbalance regulation for the Indonesian working-class as a whole. Furthermore, based on the brand new Indonesian Omnibus Law, the private companies or individuals have more room to recruit outsource and contract workers under the mutual agreement between workers and companies without providing a rigid basic universal need for workers.

At the same time, while artists expect the state in prioritizing their position as the national creative workers, but the state via related ministries forces a liberal and transactional patron-client style in nurturing creative economy sectors, including local game industry. The state has all access to facilities and infrastructure but at the same time state's unfamiliarity and incapability to understand gaming industry have led the local game developers to find an alternative route of this state's patronage style. Recently, the tension between state and developers recoiled as the state temporarily blocked Steam and Epic Games as the most popular global game repositories to register their business existences without providing alternative game distributor for local game products. This is the typical inconsistent state policy for local game affairs which eventually forced a game labour association to negotiate with the state reopening Steam and other game distributors in order to save the sustainability of local game industry.

This "pull on-pull off" policy constantly occurs in the Indonesian creative economy affairs. This problem occurs as state deputies are organized by older generation for the policy that imposed to young creative workers which are very affluent to the current global trend. In result, a generational conflict happens between two parties while sustaining creative economy sectors. Older generation comes up with an obsolete formula for the current creative business

structure like gaming industry when leisure times can't no longer be seen as unproductive activities (Smith & McKinlay, 2009).

Critics often point out to this particular system due to its tendency to excessively rely on liberal economic system. In theory, liberal economic system refers to the strong state support of free market competition, private ownership and the deliberation of individual access to the property rights and possession (Baalam & Dillman, 2015). The system is imposed to all creative economy sector in Indonesia, including game industry. Though the state never confesses applying liberal system in public, but there are indicators to show that Indonesian state does apply the liberal system towards its creative workers. Market-driven price, open market environment, limitless creativities, zero-state intervention, free competition and transactional funds are among the important pointers.

Precarious situation and liberal competition that Indonesian government flourish also brings to the unstable future. As local game developer enterprises are adapting with a liberal and unstable working-class environment, they have to conduct a side-project occupation with a tight contract and mediocre salary. Since majority of the workers originate from the middle-class family, they struggle to financially rationalize their small-medium game enterprises respectively. It is apparent that the climate of liberal environment which occurred in nowadays Indonesian creative sectors brings into a consequence to the studio owners to take an out-source market logic. A local game developer studio requires local game talents to run their creative company, while at the same time, they're struggling to pay the talents with the standard of universal basic income.

Working in the local game enterprises force video games to become more institutionalized. It's a good fact for local developers as they require a vibrant and legal environment with their fellow workmates. Indonesian game workers apprise their skills over institutionalization of video games as their daily professional lives. Since the recognition, every local game studio must transform the studio from indie to Limited Company and requires to pay the tax. This is the central obligation for any local

game developer studios gaining financial incentives and incubation programs from the state. Nevertheless, numerous indie game studios are hesitant in transforming themselves into legal company status due to a complicated tax bureaucracy, excessive expenditure, and long paperwork.

Long and buying-time administration flows are common in Indonesia. It embraces in any public services like social security system and IP. Complex system of legal administration organized by senior bureaucrats is a major obstacle for a creative sector like gaming industry. Local developers have to deal with an overdue list of paperwork to secure their basic income. Their position as the national creative workers only apparently occurs during workshop and incubation initiated by The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, The Ministry of Manpower and The Ministry of Communication and Informatics.

As the state applies liberal market system, precarity condition becomes a natural excess to the working-class society especially for young people working in private companies under tight contract system. To tackle this problem, prominent local game developer studios conduct alternative approach to balance the state cultural policy. Local game developer studios like Mojiken and Toge Productions accentuate independent working ethics among their inner circle. Prominent local developer studios from their respective cities perform a bottom-up working flows with sister company approach (Yin, 2018).

Political economy perspective examines this particular situation as a capital adaption to the new logic of labor-market (Bessant, Farthing, & Watts, 2017). In this case, state becomes a major agent in flourishing free-market ideas. Creative labors are utilized as the instruments for both national and global identities. Critics mainly note by Oli Mould (2018) as he states that the autonomy for creative workers is a myth, as they can't always perform their creativities due to numerous causes, such as unsupported government policy, exploitative working-class milieu, mediocre salary, and socio-political climate.

Market-driven price and open market environment also defines the situation where the

state or authorities leave the market law to control the price of products and so the universal basic income for creative workers (Menger, 2015). For example, there is no standard price for local developers retailing their products to public. Local game developer enterprises such as Mojiken, Toge Productions, Agate and Digital Happiness sell their game products around IDR 100.000,00 to IDR 200.000,00 (US\$ 68 to US\$ 1.75) per game on Steam platform. Other prominent local game developer company like Own Games sell it on the mobile Playstore platform while expecting revenues from advertising, download, and purchasing items from the players.

The explanation above explains the core essence of liberal system Indonesian government conducts to sustain local game development. The state leaves local developers to compete in an open market zone. State doesn't limit or control the flow from any market direction. Henceforth, workers have to develop a strong independent subcultural-network. The second consequence after the recognition is the provision of state investment fund. Indonesian government via the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy and National Creative Bureau had invested approximately IDR 500.000.000 (USD 34.393,25) from the year of 2014 until now for the chosen local game developer establishments. In reality, the amount isn't adequate to endure the financial durability of the local game developers as an average cost to develop a proper single game production is approximately 50-100 million rupiahs (USD 3.467-USD 6.952).

Despite all of the state claims about providing a local platform to publish local game product, the state in fact admits that the game industry is still unpopular in Indonesia and not much they can deliver from annual financial support such as incubation, workshop and exhibition. After all, Indonesian local game developers have to move along without a proper reliance from the state ministry as their major patron. Apparently, prior to this, a state-owned enterprise Telkom (specialized in telecommunication) established a special platform to compete with popular world game retails such as Steam, Playstation and Playstore. Ironically, the initiative is either stopped or unpopular among

developers and players who are more familiar and comfortable with popular foreign game platforms.

With a liberal market environment and limited budget from state agencies, local game developers as both business entities and individuals perform an autopoiesis system (Luhmann, 1986). The term that first coined by a sociologist Niklas Luhmann to refer a self-referential and self-creation system in the social system. The autopoiesis system emphasizes on the production flows of social activities within themselves to create a value which indicates to be the social identity (1986, pp. 172-173). The value will be later be maintained from within by the actors.

State initiatives often drives by Indonesian Game Association as they're more familiar with game development issues. Indonesian Game Association consists of prominent local game talents (predominantly founders, CEO, COO and senior members) which already familiar with video games from the very beginning. As state's ministries organized by senior chief who're unfamiliar with gaming industry, the state cultural policy is articulated and referenced from the workers themselves. In fact, the state support was claimed not adequately enough by local game developers with 97.1% from the total 1.136 of local game workers expressed the urgency of state's patronage (The Map of Indonesian Local Game Industry, 2020).

State's policy-makers set up policies with the encouragement and reference from association. Subsequently, the state provides mediocre financial assistance and annual workshop to be articulated by the developers themselves into community programs. In the end, state recognition to the local game environment merely appears as a supplement for a liberal market approach and places local developers to compete with other foreign game products. There's no limitation for foreign-game products in both selling and access. Meanwhile, the lack of external investors occur as the game talents are majority self-taught workers with no formal backgrounds in video game studies. Majority of local game studios have to conduct B2B practices like services and gamification projects to secure and sustain their existences. Acquisitions and sister-company approaches

are common practices among firm local game studios.

Precarity forces local game developers to discover an alternative method to accomplish their creations and creative lives. The most popular method is a crowdfunding scheme where the artists collect a special collective funds from fans to develop or finish a particular game project (Planells, 2015). This spirit of independence has been the core essence of local talents since their first emergence as independent youth culture as urban community. As they technically received occupational reference from inner circle, the bonds among employees and owner are strong.

Conclusion

Local game development in Indonesia has just begun in less than 15 years. Prior to this, like any Southeast Asian countries, Indonesia used to be a big market place for Japanese and Western game products. Indonesian 80s and 90s generations were vivid foreign game consumers. This habit has inspired and transformed a generation from game consumers to creators. At the year of 2014, Indonesian government via The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy recognized video games to be one of the national creative economy sectors, along with other 17 creative sectors. This recognition unfortunately hasn't followed by an adequate state support and patronage. The state indeed facilitates workshops with incentives but with a very limited financial support and complicated paperwork of tax and legalizations. Local game developers are forced to create their own support system by establishing the Indonesian Game Association (AGI) as a labor union.

At the same time, the number local game talents are technically inadequate. Most of them are self-taught developers. Local game developers as both artists and labors have to conduct a self-reliance sustainable method such as acquisitions among them, crowdfunding, sister-company business model, and conducting IT services outside developing video games. These movements occur in order to save and preserve their existence and creation in developing games.

Transactional interplay between state and game developers has become the most critical point in contemporary local game development. State inability to comprehend digital mindset since it's organized by senior deputies. The state asked the local game talents to generate more contribution for national GDP before getting more state's financial support. This tension even grew into a boiling point when the state tried to control popular game retail such as Steam and Epic Games before being settled through negotiation facilitated by local game labor association. The non-existence of alternative local game retail platform causes a high dependency over global game distributors such as Steam and Epic Games.

What has happened to the structure of local game development in contemporary Indonesia is the independency of workers in both market perseverance and sustainability. State comes as ceremonial actor as innovative ideas and program originate from the workers and association. When the state tries to muscle their power towards handful and outdated policy and regulations, the workers and its association appear as a pressure group to reduce tension despite being constantly under a precarious situation.

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