
AMERICAN INFLUENCE THROUGH YOUTH CULTURE: REPRESENTATION ANALYSIS ON PUNK SUBCULTURE IN INDONESIA

Yunia Dewi Fathmawati
Universitas Brawijaya
Email: yuniadewif@gmail.com

Ida Rochani Adi
Universitas Gadjah Mada
Email: idaadi@ugm.ac.id

ABSTRACT

As globally sprung up, punk subculture is evidence of how American influence has penetrated many life facets, including through youth culture. Indonesia becomes one of many countries that accept and practice the subculture. The discussion of the punk subculture in Indonesia can reveal the relationship between both countries, in which America becomes the powerful party while Indonesia is the submissive one. To find the American influence in the spread of punk subculture in Indonesia, Hall's representation theory is applied in the research. The theory is used in observing the punk community in both Indonesia and the US on Instagram platforms, particularly some posts that contain punk elements. By using qualitative method, the result of the research uncovers that Indonesia absorbs American punk elements in two ways: By assimilating it without adding other elements outside of punk and by integrating it into the Indonesian context. Both ways show the submissiveness of Indonesia in absorbing the foreign subculture. Yet, especially for the latter, it shows how Indonesia still has the power of resistance in accepting punk subculture by still maintaining mother cultural elements in practicing it, and in the end, it adds a new different color to the global punk scene.

Keywords: *American influence; Indonesia; punk subculture; representation theory; youth culture.*

Article information (Filled by Editorial Management)

Received: 24 May, 2022
Revised: 12 October, 2022
Accepted: 17 March, 2023

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.22146/rubikon.v10i1.74853>

Available at <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/rubikon/article/view/74853>

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

INTRODUCTION

With the solidification of identity, the urge to define the future, and increasing mobility, youth or adolescence becomes a

crucial period for a human being. The term 'youth' itself is fluid, arbitrarily defined, and varied across cultures and eras (Brown et al., 2002), but, according to the United Nations

(n.d.), the youth category is individuals who are 15 to 24 years. In the period of youth, they oftentimes question their identity as well as existence since they live in a society with a number of norms and rules they have to obey. Those who obey the norms and have similar values to their surrounding will accept how the system works, but those who do not will find their way out to find places that suit their vision and state. The latter is the grounded reason for how youth culture is established around the world.

Youth culture is a cultural practice that centers on youth's physical health and beauty, values, tastes, and needs, in the forms of dress, speech, music, and behavior (Ayuningtyas & Adhitya, 2021, p. 154). It is born both as the extension and resistance of the wider culture of society (American Psychological Association, n.d.; Buchmann, 2001; Steinberg et al., 2006). The crucial part is that even though there is the term 'youth' in it, youth culture is not only special for a particular age group, instead, it focuses on 'youthfulness'.

Claydon (2005) mentions that in most ways, global youth culture is originally established in America. It is because the development of youth culture gets high exposure to the influence of American culture, especially in this era of globalization or "Americanization". Having such a role in the establishment and development of the global youth culture can be seen as evidence of how American influence also penetrates youth culture in particular and the global world's culture in general.

A source of influence, America utilizes soft power as a tool to spread its culture. Nye (2008), who first coins the term, states that

soft power is the ability to affect others to gain particular outcomes that one wants from another. In soft power, charms and appeals are exploited rather than coercion and force. Soft power is used to make other countries follow, admire, emulate, or aspire to a powerful country. In the context of America, the nation applies soft power through culture to hegemonize other countries. To be the most powerful country in the world is maintained through American products such as McDonald's and credit cards that have been globalized (Dukut, 2015). Furthermore, other products, such as film, music and arts also play a role in it. It requires two parties in the practice of influencing and hegemonizing other countries. In the case of American cultural influence, the nation becomes the ruling party that leads the process of accepting cultural meaning, value, and products while another country that is influenced by America is called the subordinate party (Pramono, 2013).

Many life facets have been influenced by America. Particularly in Indonesia, one of which can be seen through youth culture as punk. Punk is known as part of youth culture (Mattson, 2001; O'Connor, 2004; and Worley, 2015) and gets its huge popularity among Indonesian youth. This is proven by the fact that the Indonesian punk subculture has thousands of members and makes it the largest punk movement in Southeast Asia and one of the largest in the world (Wallach, 2008; Munn, 2014).

Punk (Public United Not Kingdom) itself first appears as a loud and aggressive music genre. It is known for its fast-paced songs and hard-edged melodies. Punk is originally established in London, England, in the late 1970s as a resistance of the working class

towards the government and aristocrats. The music is born as a sentiment on Elizabeth II Queen that is accused of the cause of economic inequality towards the working people. The existing monarch system is seen only to give benefits to the upper-class society. Furthermore, the music hugely grows because of Thatcher's controversial policy that suffers the working-class people (Pickles, 2000; Patton, 2018; Grimes & Dines, 2020).

In general, punk exists as the antithesis of sociocultural norms (Marchetto, 2001; Whiteley, 2012; Ambrosch, 2015; Wilujeng, 2017), which are made by the dominant culture to be reinforced to the whole society. Punk becomes the group that is against this kind of system. In this case, punk subculture existence can be seen in the context of power relations. Punk subculture grows as the medium of voicing political and social issues, and also those who want to express themselves as an individual. Since it is dominantly followed and practiced by the youth, punk is used by them to "escape" (Tucker, 2008; Prasetyo, 2017 Billet, 2020), meaning that through the subculture, they can chase as well as build their identity by themselves. This is done by practicing the principles and ethos of punk as the DIY culture punk subculture has built.

DIY ethos in punk is seen as a form of resistance towards mainstream society. It becomes the medium to express the community's political voices. DIY ethos become an important part of the punk subculture. The ethos itself is manifested through fanzine, underground music venues that can be used for performers of all ages, the network of independent music and fashion labels, and also the structure of punk

bands (Schmidt, 2006; Savage, 2016; Williams, 2016). Those elements contain ideology and principles of punk. According to Kahn-Egan (1998), there are five key principles of punk:

1. The Do-It-Yourself (DIY) ethic centers on self-independency;
2. A sense of anger and passion;
3. A sense of destructiveness to deliver the voice of the oppressive institutions;
4. A willingness to take others' pain to make them noticed; and,
5. A pursuit of the "pleasure principle".

Speaking of the original countries where punk is born, it is America and England (New York and London to be exact) that are entitled to it (Hebdige, 1988; Ambrosch, 2015; Dunn, 2016; and Patton, 2018). Both countries give such a big influence in developing the music style, ideology, collective identity and community of punk. Most people see that England has the most impactful role in the global punk subculture, which is proven by the abundance of researchers who concern about the development of the UK punk band, like Sex Pistols. Many do not know that American punk also has an important role in spreading both the music and the community's ideology. This happens when some notable American punk bands, such as Green Day, Rancid, NOFX, and the Offspring that are officially commercialized in 1994. Since American punk contains a more universal and without-context-kind-of-punk ethos and mentality compared to Britain (Dunn, 2016), this is why American punk is more accepted by the world. This is emphasized the influential role of America in spreading punk

subculture to the global society, including Indonesia.

Based on the explanation above, it is interesting though to uncover American influence over other countries through punk subculture. In the context of the punk subculture in America and Indonesia, the latter country submissively accepts what America “offers” through punk. In Indonesia, punk itself operates among Indonesian youth to help them find meaning, community, and self-expression (Wallach, 2008), since Indonesia lacks expression media for such things. Furthermore, due to the Indonesian socio-political condition as in Soeharto’s Reform Era, making its people, especially the youth, find a medium for them to be able to express their protest and also to find social justice and equality.

With the different cultural and socio-political backgrounds in both countries, America and Indonesia, the accusation that Indonesian punk subculture is influenced by American punk is interesting to be found out. A question arises about how American punk is represented in the Indonesian punk subculture through its elements, either by being fully adopted or hybridized, it needed to be analyzed and discussed. The answer to that question becomes the objective of this research.

This research is conducted under the discipline of American Studies, particularly through the perspective of transnationalism. The perspective of transnationalism in American Studies is used to find out how America’s cultural production is reimagined as the result of social and political movements in the twentieth century, and how it travels and is received by other countries

(Rowe, 2010 & Shu & Pease, 2015). Additionally, as mentioned previously, to achieve the main objective, the researcher applies Stuart Hall’s Representation theory to see how the Indonesian punk subculture reflects American punk. Hall (1997) explains that language is defined as the medium in which we understand something as making sense. Language operates as a representational system that appears not only in form of spoken or written words, but also in form of signs, symbols, images, musical notes, and many else. Through language, meaning is eventually produced and exchanged.

Hall, (1997) mentions that meanings are made. It is also added that giving meaning means identifying oneself, specifically in terms of who he or she is, where one is from, or to which group one belongs. Meaning is produced and exchanged on a personal level or through social interaction. Through meaning, rules, norms, and conventions are arranged. This concept is manifested in language as the media of culture and summed up in a flow chart called ‘the Circuit of Culture’ that consists of five elements: Representation, Identity, Production, Consumption, and Regulation. Further, to know how representation through language works in Hall’s Representation theory, three approaches can be applied: Reflective, intentional, and constructionist approaches. The first is referred to as mimetic, seeing that language functions as a mirror or to reflect the true meaning. The second approach focuses on the language spoken and how the speaker imposes their unique meaning through language. Finally, the third one centers on those who construct the language meaning by using representational systems as concepts and signs.

This research employs a qualitative method. It is done by interpreting the data based on a particular perspective, strategies of inquiry, and methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009). The analysis is done inductively and interpretatively, meaning that the researcher does the observation by building themes from the bottom up, interpreting what they see, hear, and understand, and developing a complex picture of the problem or issue.

The material object of this research is the punk subculture in Indonesia and America. The data will be gotten from the social media platform Instagram. As the first step in collecting data process, the researcher obtains the data from several Instagram accounts which include punk bands, individual members of punk, and punk communities, in both Indonesia and the US. In addition, the researcher also gets the data by tracing some hashtags as #indonesianpunk, #punkindonesia, #americanpunk, #jakartapunk #anakpunk, #punkjalanan, #punkpeduli, #punkbukankriminal, #crustpunk, and #crusties. Since the posts are unlimited, therefore, the uploaded content from the past seven years, 2015 to 22, are chosen as the data.

DISCUSSION

The Assimilation of American Punk Elements by Indonesian Punk Subculture

Being globally spread, punk subculture in every country does have its regional flavor or accent (Dunn, 2016), but, they still share similar elements. Being directly interacted with American punk communities (Baulch, 2007 and Wallach, 2008), Indonesian punk is assumed of having similar elements to what is used and practiced in the punk subculture

of America through adopting, replicating, or mimicking the elements.

The Adoption of American Punk Fashion

Fashion is a language of non-verbal communication (Wiana, 2016). It reflects what is “inside” to be “spoken” visually. As a subculture, punk has its unique characteristic in terms of fashion that can identify the members as part of the subculture as well as differentiate them from any other groups. Fashion is the most significant symbol for the members to identify themselves as part of the subculture and also to express rebelliousness and independence (Cunningham & Lab, 1991).

Punk fashion in general includes layers of dayglow fabrics; ripped clothes held together by safety pins or wrapped with tape and hand-written with marker or paint; leather, rubber, and vinyl clothing; tight “drain pipe jeans”; T-shirt with provocative texts or images; Converse sneakers; jackets with slogans which are made on the back with spray paint; pin-back buttons or patches with flaunt taboo symbols as the swastika or Iron Cross; safety pins and razor blades to be worn as jewelry; spiky hairstyle, cut into Mohawk or another dramatic shape, colored in vibrant; or any other kinds of mixed styles (Dunn, 2016 and Sfetcu, 2021). The elements are worn to outrage propriety and conformity.

Among many, the boldest signifiers of punk include tattoos, Mohawk hair, and piercing. Tattoos have different purposes (Oanță et al., 2014 Faulkner & Bailey, 2019). Oanță et al. (2014) state that since the 1970s, tattoos in industrialized nations, like the US, is used by particular professions or members of cultural movements. Body art gets its high

popularity among American youth and adults by 1990, and among them, punk becomes the first tattooed group (Greenberg et al., 2009).

In the Indonesian punk subculture, tattoo functions in many ways, one of which is to represent their visual expression. Tattoo is worn by punk members to show their love feeling towards their parent, especially their mother, rebellion against the binding rules, and also the expression of self-identity and idealism (Suriandari, 2015 and Sari & Hanum, 2021). Many members of the Indonesian punk subculture wear tattoos to express themselves, this is as seen in Figure 1. In addition, it is not only the male punk members who have tattoos, many female punks also have it, proving that both genders have equal levels when it comes to self-expression (Figure 2).



Figure 2. A Female Punk with Tattoos

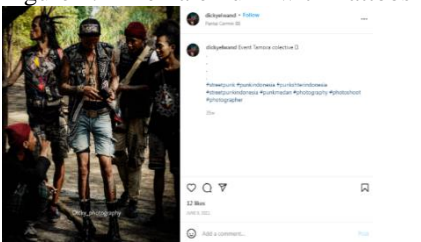


Figure 1. Street Punk in Medan

Mohawk hair also becomes the most visible symbol of the subculture. Similar to tattoos, mohawk hair is adopted from the West, particularly in the US. The name is taken from the Mohawk people, an indigenous tribe who inhabit the Mohawk Valley in Upstate New York. The hairstyle is initially worn by the Pawnee who lives in

Nebraska and North Kansas (Lecklitner, 2019). Mohawk itself is a hairstyle in which the hair is all-shaved except for a single narrow strip of varying length running from the forehead straight back (Falk & Falk, 2005). It is commonly styled vertically or horizontally spike. The length and color are varied, from short to very long, from red to green.

Among Indonesian punk members, the mohawk hairstyle is worn in many forms and colors. It is either long or short and dyed in bold colors like red, yellow, or orange. The hairstyle not only can gain the wearer's self-confidence, further, it also symbolized a particular message. For instance, yellow mohawk hair can be viewed as a resistance towards tough life and injustices. The hairstyle is commonly not dyed fully, sometimes, the wearer lets the natural color hair still remain. This can be seen as a self-strength to fight capitalism norm in society (Putri, 2011).

One of Indonesian punk members who frequently wearing and changing mohawk hair as well as its color is Eenx, the vocalist of Maksiat, a Bandung-based punk band. On his Instagram page, Eenx repeatedly posts some photos of him and also his band in mohawk hair. The colors are varied, from yellow to pink. Further, the motives too are variable, from plain to polkadot (Figure 3 & 4).



Figure 3. The Colorful Mohawk Hair of the

Members of Maksiat Band



Figure 4. Variable Motives and Colors of Mohawk Hair of Maksiat Band Members



Figure 5. The Colorful Mohawk Hair of Einx ‘Maksiat’

Besides tattoos and mohawk hair, there is piercing as the most visible punk element that will catch everyone’s attention. Piercing is the practice of making a hole in the surface of the soft tissues of the body to insert or wear adornments (Sheumaker & Wajda, 2008). Piercing is popular in numbers, especially in the community of punk. It is first introduced to the subculture in America and England in the mid-1970s, in which the members prefer to wear non-ear piercings on the lip, nostril, or cheek (Sheumaker & Wajda, 2008 and Steele, 2019).

Piercing in the punk subculture is considered “louder” than piercing in other scenes (DeMello, 2007). The members of the subculture sometimes wear “extreme” jewelry utilizing knives, long chains, and bones. Not only that, but they also wear stretched piercing or multiple piercings on the face. Figure 6, portrays a member of the Indonesian punk subculture wearing a big bone piercing, cutting through the soft tissue

of his nostrils horizontally. Meanwhile, Figure 7 depicts a member who wears multiple piercings made of metal and small-sized.



Figure 6. Piercing Made of A Big Bone on A Member of Indonesian Punk Subculture



Figure 7. Multiple Piercing on the Face of A Member of the Indonesian Punk Subculture

Besides those three elements, the fashion clothes of punk members can also be seen to identify them as part of the subculture. In the Indonesian punk subculture, the styles are divided into some types. There is no fixed categorization of the punk fashion in Indonesia, but it can be classified based on the subgenre of punk the wearer follows or enjoys. As seen in Figure 8 & 9, a Surabaya-based punk band, Radiocase, is portrayed frequently wearing a Hawai’ian shirt in its Instagram posts. Not all members wear that kind of clothes, some still maintain a punk identity which is closely related to dark-color clothes. The combination of the members’ style, which includes Hawai’ian shirts and black T-shirts, implicitly can show the band’s identity and the subgenre they play, which is ska-punk.

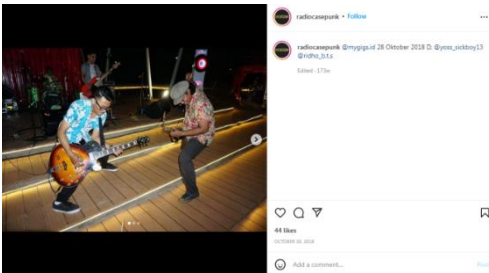


Figure 8. Two of Radiocase Members Wearing Hawai'ian Shirt



Figure 9. One of Radiocase Band Members Wearing Black T-Shirt While Another Member Is Wrapped in Hawai'ian Shirt

Historically, a Hawai'ian shirt is initially created in the 1930s when Hawai'i was an American territory. The shirt is made of textiles with a floral print like tropical flowers as a representation of Hawai'i's cultural and natural diversity. Eventually, the shirt is adopted by surfers and becomes a symbol of a carefree attitude toward life ("Ethnic Dress in the United States," 2015). It is no wonder that the shirt is oftentimes worn on casual occasions, since besides its tropical print, the shirt material is also from light-weighted fabric, as if, adding the casual "vibe" of the wearers.

Among the American punk subculture, there is Reel Big Fish who is also consistently wearing this kind of punk fashion theme (Figure 10). Similar to Radiocase, even though not all members wear similar shirts, the lead singer, Aaron Barrett, "represents" his band to wear a Hawai'ian shirt. His position as vocalist on stage as well as in some photos, in which he is in the center, catches most attention and

becomes the trademark of the band as a punk group who brings Ska as the subgenre.



Figure 10. Hawai'ian Shirt Worn by the Frontman of Reel Big Fish

In the punk rock subgenre, Indonesia has the renowned Superman Is Dead (SID), a Bali-based punk band. Punk rock itself is the mixing of punk and rock n' roll. Many say that SID is the Indonesian version of Social Distortion, a California-based punk rock band (Setyawan, 2021). Not only the music, the fashion look of the members is also similar, especially the one that is shown by JRX or Jerinx, the drummer of the band. JRX is frequently mentioned as resembling Mike Ness' fashion style. Mike Ness himself is the vocalist of Social Distortion and known with his eccentric look. As seen in Figure 11 & 12, Mike Ness and Jerinx are portrayed wearing fashion elements which include white tank-top and black trousers or jeans, that completed with belt, necklace, and formal shoes. Further, the tattoo of JRX is even spelled 'SOCIAL DISTORTION', Mike Ness' band, emphasizing from where he gets the fashion influence. In an interview, JRX admits it that the style inspiration from Ness since it has a bold nuance of rock (Dethu, 2019).



Figure 11. Fashion Style of Mike Ness 'Social Distortion'

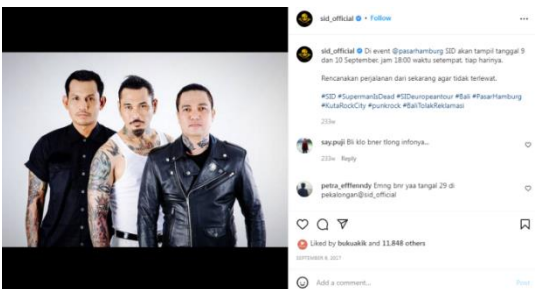


Figure 12. JRX (Middle) Who Resemblances Mike Ness' Fashion Style

As stated by Avery-Natale (2016), punk across local or countries, even though are separated by geographical boundaries, still, share similarities. Therefore, it is no wonder that many elements of Western punk are adopted, worn, or used by Indonesian punk subculture members. It is because both countries' punk communities share the same 'cultural codes' or "sets of concepts, images, and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world, in roughly similar ways" (Hall, 1997). In this context of the discussion, punk elements of America that are represented in punk subculture in Indonesia are similar as the symbol of expression against the mainstream, conformity, and the system (Sklar, 2013).

English as a Means of Domination

Since the punk subculture is born in the Western, hence, English is highly implemented in its practice of it. Even though many Indonesian punk members

come from the middle class with such a low level of education and do not understand any English, yet, its application in the subculture is popular. The fact that Indonesia's national language is Bahasa Indonesia but the nation prefers to use English in the punk subculture's practice is an indication of how the subculture can be seen as a form of domination. In this case, it is American domination over Indonesia. The appliance of English can be found in many forms of elements.

The first form is in terms of band-naming. Indonesia has an abundance of punk bands that are named in English. Some are popular bands like Superman Is Dead (SID), Submission, Stupidity, Total Jerks, Rosemary, and Young Offender and some others are local bands, like Error Crew, Superiots, Radiocase, Dead Germs, Pollution Attack, The Cramsid, The Sabotage, Antiseptic, Closehead, Molotov Cocktail. According to Dwiani (2020), Indonesian punk bands that apply English are way more than those that use Bahasa Indonesia in their band name.

In sum, band names in English can be categorized into some themes. The first is animal-themed. Indonesia has Turtles.Jr is a punk band with an animal containing its name (Figure 13). The band uses turtle in plural forms, added with the abbreviation 'Jr' that refers to the word 'junior'. Another example is Sexy Pig, a Jakarta-based punk band. Pig oftentimes refers to filthiness and dirtiness. Not only in Indonesia, animal-themed band names are also seen in the US punk bands as The Dogs, Reel Big Fish, Cobra Skulls, Gorilla Biscuits, and Rhythm Pigs.



Figure 13. An Indonesian Punk Band (Turtles.Jr) with Animal-Themed Names

The use of animals for band names is to give a unique identity to the band. It strengthens the theatrical identity of the band as well. The idea of giving a band name with animal names can be taken from many sources, including by adopting the previously existing band names. For instance, the band name of Indonesia's Turtles.Jr is assumed to be inspired by Dinosaurs Jr., an American rock band. Even though the genres of both bands are different, yet, the naming pattern is similar. Both use an abbreviation of 'Jr' that is put after the animal name. This indicates how the Indonesian punk band gets influenced by the American band, particularly in terms of band naming.

Besides animals, another band-naming theme can be taken from the names of popular figures. Mad Django, Pee Wee Gaskins, and Squadward are three examples. For the former, it is a Jakarta-based punk band. It is not clear yet from where the name Django is taken, but it is assumed that the name 'Django' is taken from the Western movie entitled Django which is parodied and starred by Benyamin Sueb through Tiga Janggo (Nawi, n.d.). The name is followed by the adjective word 'mad' to describe the Django.

Meanwhile, Pee Wee Gaskins name is inspired by the name of Donald Henry Gaskins, a name of an American serial killer.

While Squadward is taken from the name of a Western character in Spongebob Squarepants animation, Squidward Tentacles. In the American punk scene, this pattern, the appliance of figure's names for band names is also found in many bands. Among them, there are Dead Kennedys (Figure 14) and Reagan Youth. Both get their name inspiration from former American presidents: John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan.



Figure 14. An American Punk Band (Dead Kennedys) with Person Name-Themed Name

The use of English for band names is because for some reasons. Besides the origin of the subculture being from the West, another reason is "to form of being well-educated, intention to go international, easily approached by international fans, represent the characteristic or identity by personnel are related of how social prestige depicted band's member on using English", as mentioned by Dwiani (2020). In the end, the final reason is to "attract" the international audiences so that Indonesian punk bands use English.

The Imitation of American Punk Lifestyle

The term 'lifestyle' in discussing punk in Indonesia, as explained by Wallach (2008), refers to punk's way of life rather than to the term in Bahasa Indonesia 'gaya hidup'. Both terms 'lifestyle' or 'gaya hidup' are oftentimes associated with consumerism, but the reference is way different when talking about punk. The term here refers to some

activities of punk that include “hanging out in public places with other punks, attending punk concert events, drinking alcohol, and wearing punk clothing and hairstyles”.

The dominant Indonesian commoners usually refer to punk as ‘punk jalanan’ or Indonesian street punk who lives, makes money, and hangs out in the street. The street becomes their home to sail through this harsh life and also to help others. As seen in Figure 15, two punk members are captured sleeping on the pavement. Meanwhile, Figure 16 shows punk members who make money by being street musicians.



Figure 15. Two Punk Members of Punk Jalanan Sleep On the Street



Figure 16. A Group of Punk Pengamen Bringing Musical Instruments for Their Street Performance

The life of punk jalanan is presumably adopted from the lifestyle of the punk subculture in America, specifically gutter punk or crust punk. Based on Urban Dictionary, Gutter punk or crust punk is “a member of the subculture of punk, who lives primarily on the streets, and who sleeps in alleyways, bushes, parks, on rooftops, and in friends’ homes” (Urban Dictionary, 2005).

They refer to the activities of squatting, panhandling, and voluntary homelessness and are majorly found in U.S. metropolitan areas, such as New Orleans and Texas which have mild weather compared to other states in the US (Cooper, 2019).

Crust punk is also popularly called crusties or crusty kid. The use of crust punk to define such punk is also more popular than ‘gutter punk’. This is proven by how frequently the hashtags #crustpunk, #crusties, and #crustykids portray their life and activity on the street. As seen in Figure 17 and 18, crusties are depicted sleeping and making money in the street, similar to activities that are done by Indonesian punk members in the previous figures.



Figure 17. The Life of Crust Punk in America



Figure 18. A Crusty in New York City Making Money as a Street Musician

The Integration of Punk Subculture into the Indonesian Context

Western influence is suspected found in the phenomenon of the punk subculture in Indonesia. This is because punk itself is originally born in England and America (Dunn, 2016; Patton, 2018). In this research,

it is found out that there are many negotiations Indonesia does in receiving the subculture. The negotiation is done by accepting the subculture but still maintaining the mother culture and context, making it a unique identity apart from their identity as part of the global punk (Avery-Natale, 2016).

Sustaining National and Local Identities

Maintaining national and local identities in the Indonesian punk subculture is done especially through band-naming that applies Bahasa Indonesia and/or local languages totally, or mixing it with English. Some Indonesian punk bands that use Bahasa Indonesia in their names include Kontrasosial, Alarm Pagi, Krass Kepala, Sosial Sosial, Marjinal, Bunga Hitam, Lingkar Cendala, Berandalan, Kuman Laut, Suntik Mati, Peluru Kendali, Akar Hitam, Desa LukaNegara, Jeruji, Bombardir, Buron Sel, Tendangan Badut, Amook, Krisis Jantung, Saos Tomat, and Maksiat. The numbers are suspected way higher since many regional and local bands use Bahasa Indonesia for the band name.

Indonesian punk bands that use local languages as the Javanese language are Bengax Bengox (taken from the word ‘bengak-bengok’, which means shouting), Gombal Laplapan (dustcloth), and Lambe Bejat (dirty mouth). Three of them are punk bands from Malang, in which most of its people speak Javanese. Meanwhile, a punk band using the Sundanese language is Ayaayawae (Figure 19), a Karawang-based punk band. The band name is taken from the words ‘aya-aya wae’ (‘ada-ada saja’).



Figure 19. Band-Naming in Sundanese Language in An Indonesian Punk Band (Aya-Aya Wae)

In general, band-naming in Indonesian punk subculture, particularly that uses Bahasa Indonesia, can be divided into two big themes: Eccentric and resistance. The eccentric theme can be in form of animal names theme as in Milisi Kecoa, a Bandung-based Indonesian punk band. ‘kecoa’ (cockroach) is included as an insect which is considered as disgusting and oftentimes is killed, while the word ‘milisi’ means militia or “a part of the organized armed forces of a country liable to call only in emergency” (“Militia,” n.d.). Presumably, Milisi Kecoa is named as a form of mockery towards the military force (represented by the word ‘milisi’) followed by ‘kecoa’.

Another eccentric theme can be in form of geographical-themed band name. One of them is Begundal Lowokwaru (Figure 20). The latter word is taken from the name of a district in Malang, East Java. It is used as a dedication to the band members’ friends who got jailed in a regional prison in Malang namely Penjara Lowokwaru. It is stated by the members that the band name is their lucky charm (Tommy, 2011).



Figure 20. Indonesian Punk Band (Begundal

Lowokwaru) with Geographical-Themed Name

Another eccentric band-naming is by applying particular words that sound ear-catchy. Indonesia has *Coba Lo Tanya Panitia*, or in English, it means ‘ask the committee!’. Further, there are also Indonesian punk bands that use an acronym in their name. Two of them are Purbalingga-based punk bands, S.K.O.K (System Kerja Otack Kotor) and TWB (Tinny Winny Bitty). Even the long names of S.K.O.K is as ear-catchy as *Coba Lo Tanya Panitia*, and TWB is considered unique due to its similar name to an Indonesian snack product, *Tini Wini Biti*, but both bands are more known by their abbreviated name than their long name.

The second big theme in the pattern of Indonesian punk band names is resistance. Resistance can be seen through the chosen words in the band names that include one or more words. The first common word type that is used in this kind of theme is swearing words. Bahasa Indonesia knows several swearing words including ‘bajingan’, ‘bangsat’, ‘brengek’, ‘edan’, ‘goblok’, ‘gila’, ‘jahanam’, ‘kampret’, ‘keparat’, ‘laknat’, ‘sialan’ and ‘tolol’, to express anger, annoyed feeling, or furious. Some Indonesian punk bands that apply this theme are *Keparat*, *Durjana*, *Total Ngehe*, *Bajingan*, and *Bangsat Terhormat*.

Another word typically used in Indonesian band names considered as a form of resistance is a damage-referred word. The words here can be in form of command words, single words, or groups of words. According to Merriam-Webster, damage means ‘loss or harm resulting from injury to person, property, or reputation’ (“Damage,” n.d.). Some Indonesian punk bands that use

this type of word in the band names include *Rusak Moral*, *Bakar!* (Figure 21), *Keotik*, *Bombardir*, *Hantam Rata*, and *Brontak*.



Figure 21. Indonesian Punk Band (*Bakar!*) with Damage-Referred-Themed Name

Besides through band names, maintaining national and local identities in punk is also done by injecting Indonesian cultural elements into the subculture’s practice. This is seen in *Serdadu Bambu Tradisional Punk*, a punk band from West Java. The band uses *angklung* as their trademark represented not only through its name but also in their musical performances (Figure 22 & 23). *Angklung* itself is a traditional musical instrument, originally from West Java. The instrument is made of two or more bamboo tubes attached to a bamboo frame and tied with rattan cords. It is played by shaking or tapping it (Indonesian *Angklung*, n.d.).



Figure 22. A Graphic of Mohawk Punk Bringing Angklung Instrument in Serdadu Bambu Band Logo

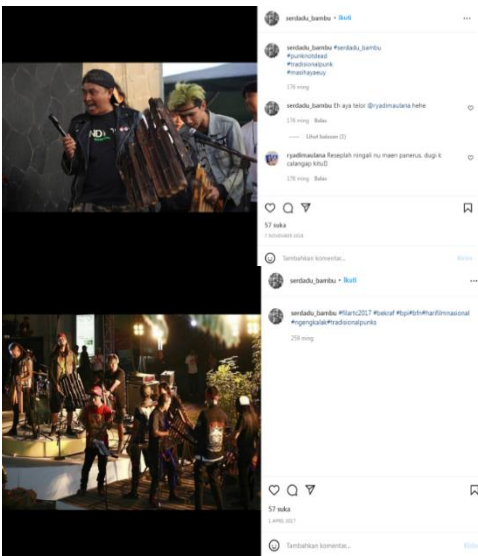


Figure 23 & 24. Angklung Instrument in the Performances of Serdadu Bambu Punk Band

There must be some reasons why local cultural elements, like language and musical instruments, are injected into the practice of Western punk in Indonesia. The common reason is to show the local culture to an international audience by using Bahasa Indonesia or local languages in their songs (“Maha Band Ingin Lestarikan Bahasa Bali Lewat Bermusik,” 2017) and also traditional musical instruments in their performances. Music as the global universal language can be the medium to reach more people as well as expand their understanding of the language and culture in Indonesia (Zu-Xiang, 2021).

The Adaptation to Indonesian Socio-Political Situation

As a safe place to give voice to the voiceless, punk communicates their message through fashion, music, and other leisure goods to transmit ideology and also protest statements. As Hebdige (1979) mentions, “anxieties concerning class and sexuality, the tensions between conformity and deviance, family and school, work and leisure, were all frozen there in a form which was at once

visible and opaque”. One of the most visible mediums to shout a protest out is fashion, particularly through lettering or urban graffiti as typography and social statement about a property and public expression written or drawn on it (Sklar, 2013).

In Figure 25 & 26, two Indonesian punk members are portrayed wearing jackets with graphic image on the back side of it. In Figure 25, the jacket contains of writing statement ‘freedom’ on the upper side and ‘sawah habis di negeri agraris’ on the lower side, while a graphic image of a female wearing farmer hat and gas respirator mask. Assumably, the female figure is a farmer who are protesting, especially since gas respirator mask itself is a common tool to be used in a protest action (Wibawa, 2019). Meanwhile, Figure 26 shows Munir Said Thalib is drawn on the back part of the studded leather jacket the punk member is wearing. Munir Said Thalib or Munir is known as an Indonesian human right activist who is murdered (Sixteen Years On, How Many More Years Before Munir’s Killers Are Found?, 2020). Until today, the suspect of his murderer remains unsolved. As a form of honor, Munir is frequently found not only in the community’s fashion statements but also in posters and song lyrics.



Figure 25. A Protest Statement (‘Sawah Habis di Negeri Agraris’) and A Graphic Image of A Female Farmer Protestor Emblazoned on the Back Side of A Punk’s Jacket

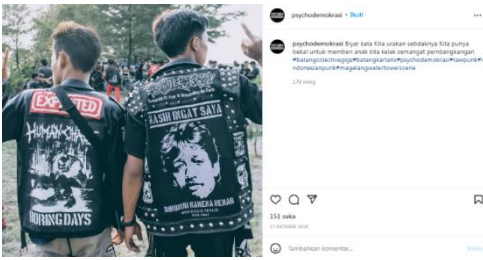


Figure 26. Protest Statements ('Masih Ingat Saya' & 'Dibunuh Karena Benar') and A Portrayal of Munir Said Thalib Emblazoned on the Back Side of A Punk's Jacket (Right)

Negotiating Islamic Identity

With more than 87 percent of its population considering themselves Muslim, Indonesia is entitled as the largest Islamic population in the world and is known as a Muslim nation (Statista Research Department, 2021). Hence, it is no wonder that Islamic values have been internalized in enhancing national morality in Indonesia.

There is a unique interaction between this music-based subculture and Islamic orthodoxy in Indonesia (Wallach, 2008). Being seen as morally destructive, the Indonesian punk subculture does not want to keep that entitlement any longer. Some of the members establish a sub-community called 'punk Muslim' (Figure 27), that combines punk and Islam religion. Punk Muslim is a community consisting of a group of punk who consistently practice Islam religion (Hidayatullah, 2014). They try to restore faith in the punk subculture that is associated with a permissive, hedonistic, bohemian, and anarchy lifestyle. Punk here is used as the medium of da'wah and to strengthen their identity as Muslims. It is a way to lead their previous harsh life to the more positive one. The activities of its members are surely related to Islam, starting to transform their appearance to be more modest, reciting Qur'an, and also doing salah (Figure 28).

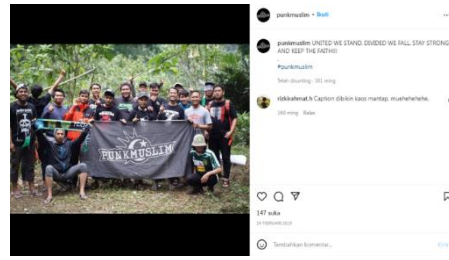


Figure 27. The Community of Punk Muslim

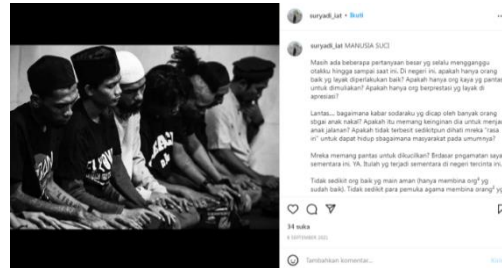


Figure 28. Punk Muslim Portrayed Doing Islam Praying

The negotiation for Islamic identity is also manifested through solidarity acts, like giving free takjil (snacks consumed right after fast-breaking). As shown in Figure 29 & 30, both are flyers of the upcoming agenda of punk groups in Bengkulu and Rembang to give free takjil. Their involvement in this kind of program is to show some respect to Muslim people as the majority in the nation. Further, the groups try to build a good relationship with organized religion, especially Islam, with a motto to "respect the religious" (Wallach, 2008). Presumably, this act is done to gain some respect from society since along this time, they oftentimes are seen by just one eye.





Figure 29 & 30. Flyers of the Giving Free Takjil Upcoming Agenda of Punk Groups in Bengkulu and Rembang

CONCLUSION

American punk elements are represented in many local, regional, and national punk scenes around the world in many forms. It can be assimilated into the punk scenes without injecting other elements outside of punk. Yet, the different cultural and socio-political situation makes cultural hybridity very likely to occur. Indonesia absorbs the subculture in two different ways. The first is by completely assimilating American punk elements to be practiced by the Indonesian punk subculture while the second is by integrating the elements into the Indonesian context. In the end, either by assimilating or integrating, both ways are not only to see how American punk is represented in Indonesia. Further than that, it also attests to how the phenomenon of punk subculture can be viewed as America's domination over Indonesia, revealing how the former country is so powerful that it can penetrate its cultural element to other countries and how the latter country is powerless in accepting it.

REFERENCES

Ambrosch, G. (2015). American Punk: The Relations between Punk Rock, Hardcore, and American Culture. *Universitätsverlag WINTER GmbH*, 60(2/3), 215–233.

American Psychological Association. (n.d.). Youth Culture. Retrieved October 10, 2021, from <https://dictionary.apa.org/youth-culture>

Avery-Natale, E. A. (2016). Ethics, Politics, and Anarcho-Punk Identifications: Punk and Anarchy in Philadelphia. Lexington Books.

Ayuningtyas, W. P. E. & Adhitya, G. N. Fashion and Commodification: An Analysis on the Global Phenomenon of Supreme. *Rubikon: Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 8(2): 153-166. <https://doi.org/10.22146/rubikon.v8i2.69692>.

Baulch, E. (2007, September 30). Punks, Rastas, and Headbangers: Bali's Generation X. *Inside Indonesia*. <https://www.insideindonesia.org/punk-s-rastas-and-headbangers-balis-generation-x>

Billet, A. (2020, November 12). The Curious War between Punks and Ronald Reagan. *The Wire*. <https://thewire.in/culture/punk-versus-reagan-culture-war>

Brown, B. B., Larson, R. W., & Saraswathi, T. S. (2002). The World's Youth: Adolescence in Eight Regions of the Globe. Cambridge University Press.

Buchmann, M. (2001). Youth Culture, Sociology of. In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 16660–16664). Pergamon. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/02010-6>

- Claydon, D. (2005). *A New Vision, a New Heart, a Renewed Call* (Vol. 2). William Carey Library.
- Cooper, R. (2019, April 4). *The Gutter Punk or Crust Punk Movement* [Music]. LiveAbout.
<https://www.liveabout.com/gutter-or-crust-punk-movement-2803467>
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Cunningham, P. A., & Lab, S. V. (1991). *Dress and Popular Culture*. Bowling Green State University Popular Press.
- Damage. (n.d.). In Merriam-Webster. Retrieved March 4, 2022, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/damage>
- DeMello, M. (2007). *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment*. ABC-CLIO.
- Dethu, R. (2019, July 8). *Gempita Rockabilly Nusantara: Sejarah, Evolusi & Gemah Ripah* [Entertainment]. *DCDC Djarum Coklat*.
<https://www.djarumcoklat.com/special-author/gempita-rockabilly-nusantara-sejarah-evolusi--gemah-ripah/3?page=3>
- Dukut, E. M. (2015). A Popular Culture Research on American Hegemony in Transnational Women Magazine Advertisements. *Rubikon: Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 2(1), 70.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/rubikon.v2i1.34243>
- Dunn, K. (2016). *Global Punk: Resistance and Rebellion in Everyday Life*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Dwiani, L. A. R. (2020). The Name Patterns Among Indonesian Pop Punk Band Names. *Litera Kultura*, 8(2), 150–159.
- Falk, G., & Falk, U. A. (2005). *Youth Culture and the Generation Gap*. Algora Publishing.
- Faulkner, N., & Bailey, D. (2019). *The History of Tattoos and Body Modification* (1st ed.). The Rosen Publishing Group.
- Greenberg, B., Watts, L., Greenwald, R. A., Reavley, G., George, A. L., Beekman, S., Bucki, C., Ciabattari, M., Stoner, J. C., Paino, T. D., Mercier, L., Hunt, A., Holloran, P. C., & Cohen, N. (2009). *Social History of the United States* (10th ed.). ABC-CLIO.
- Grimes, M., & Dines, M. (2020). *Punk Now!!: Contemporary Perspectives on Punk*. Intellect Books.
- Gutter Punk. (2005). In *Urban Dictionary*.
<https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Gutter%20Punk>
- Hall, S. (Ed.). (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. SAGE Publications.
- Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. Routledge.
- Hebdige, D. (1988). *Hiding in The Light: On Images and Things*. Routledge.
- Hidayatullah, R. (2014). Punk Muslim: Ekspresi Identitas Keagamaan Subkultur Muslim Urban. *Kawalu: Journal of Local Culture*, 1(2), 145–164.
- Indonesian Angklung. (n.d.). [Culture]. UNESCO. Retrieved March 24, 2022, from <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/indonesian-angklung-00393>

- Kahn-Egan, S. (1998). Pedagogy of the Pissed: Punk Pedagogy in the First-Year Writing Classroom. *College Composition and Communication*, 49(1), 99–104. <https://doi.org/10.2307/358563>
- Lecklitner, I. (2019, May 18). A Spiky History of the Mohawk. *MEL Magazine*. <https://melmagazine.com/en-us/story/a-spiky-history-of-the-mohawk>
- Maha Band Ingin Lestarikan Bahasa Bali Lewat Bermusik. (2017, July 10). *Bali Post*, 10 July 2017.
- Marchetto, S. (2001). Tune In, Turn On, Go Punk: American Punk Counterculture, 1968-1985 [Legacy Theses, University of Calgary]. <https://prism.ucalgary.ca/handle/1880/40948>
- Mattson, K. (2001). Did Punk Matter?: Analyzing The Practices of A Youth Subculture During the 1980s. *American Studies*, 42(1), 69–97.
- Militia. (n.d.). In Merriam-Webster. Retrieved March 1, 2022, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/militia>
- Munn, K. K. (2014, November 28). Indonesia's Radical Underground Punk Scene [Text]. *Radio National*. <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/archived/360/indonesias-radical-underground-punk-scene/5919506>
- Nawi, I. (n.d.). Tiga Janggo (1976). Retrieved March 2, 2022, from <https://letterboxd.com/film/tiga-janggo/>
- Nye, J. S. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, 94–109.
- Oanță, A., Irimie, M., Brănișteanu, D., Stoleriu, G., & Morariu, S.-H. (2014). Tattoos—History and Actually. *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Brasov*, 7(56)(2), 125–133.
- O'Connor, A. (2004). The Sociology of Youth Subcultures. *Peace Review*, 16(4), 409–414. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1040265042000318626>
- Patton, R. A. (2018). *Punk Crisis: The Global Punk Rock Revolution*. Oxford University Press.
- Pickles, J. M. (2000). Dari Subkultur ke Budaya Perlawanan: Aspirasi dan Pemikiran Sebagian dari Kaum Punk/Hardcore dan Skinhead di Yogyakarta dan Bandung [Undergraduate Thesis]. Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.
- Pramono, R. B. E. (2013). Female's Silent Resistance against Hegemony in The Scarlet Letter, Bekasi Merah, and Belantik: A Comparative Analysis | Pramono | Humaniora. *Humaniora*, 25(2), 12.
- Prasetyo, F. (2017). Punk and The City: A History of Punk in Bandung. *Punk & Post Punk*, 6(2), 189–211. https://doi.org/10.1386/punk.6.2.189_1
- Putri, A. S. (2011). Fashion Punk and Identitas Remaja: Analisis Semiologi terhadap Simbol-Simbol Visual dalam Fashion Komunitas Punk Modis Solo Grand Mall (SGM) di Surakarta [Undergraduate Thesis, Universitas Sebelas Maret].

- <https://eprints.uns.ac.id/5882/1/191401211201106151.pdf>
- Rowe, J. C. (Ed.). (2010). A Concise Companion to American Studies (1st ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sari, S. D. P., & Hanum, E. F. (2021, October 8). Gaya Hidup Punk dan Tato, Ternyata Juga Sebuah Proses Pencarian Jati Diri. *Lensamedia.co*.
<https://lensamedia.co/gaya-hidup-punk-dan-tato-ternyata-juga-sebuah-proses-pencarian-jati-diri/>
- Savage, J. (2016, May 6). Fanzines: The Purest Explosion of British Punk. *The Guardian*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2016/may/06/fanzines-purest-explosion-punk-music-british-library-exhibition-punk-1976-1978>
- Schmidt, C. (2006). Meanings of Fanzines in The Beginning of Punk in The GDR and FRG. *La Revue Des Musiques Populaires*, 5(1), 46–72.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/volume.636>
- Setyawan, A. (2021, September 14). 18 Tahun Album Superman Is Dead, Kuta Rock City [Music]. *Pop Hari Ini*.
<https://pophariini.com/18-tahun-album-superman-is-dead-kuta-rock-city/>
- Sfetcu, N. (2021). American Music. Nicolae Sfetcu.
- Sheumaker, H., & Wajda, S. T. (2008). Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life. ABC-CLIO.
- Shu, Y., & Pease, D. E. (2015). American Studies as Transnational Practice: Turning toward the Transpacific. Dartmouth College Press.
- Sixteen Years On, How Many More Years Before Munir's Killers Are Found? • Amnesty Indonesia. (2020, September 7). [Human Rights]. Amnesty Indonesia.
<https://www.amnesty.id/sixteen-years-on-how-many-more-years-before-munirs-killers-are-found/>
- Sklar, M. (2013). Punk Style. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Statista Research Department. (2021, September 7). Share of Indonesian Population in 2010, by Religion [Statistics]. *Statista*.
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1113891/indonesia-share-of-population-by-religion/>
- Steele, V. (Ed.). (2019). The Berg Companion to Fashion. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Steinberg, S. R., Parmar, P., Richard, B., & Quail, C. (2006). Contemporary Youth Culture: An International Encyclopedia (Vol. 1). Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Suriandari, D. A. (2015). Estetika Seni Tato Komunitas Punk di Surakarta. *Brikolase : Jurnal Kajian Teori, Praktik dan Wacana Seni Budaya Rupa*, 7(2), Article 2.
<https://doi.org/10.33153/bri.v7i2.1599>
- Tommy. (2011, July 28). Interview with Begundal Lowokwaru [Electronic Zine]. *Salah Cetax Zine*.
<https://salahcetax.wordpress.com/2011/07/28/interview-with-begundal-lowokwaru/>
- Tucker, B. L. (2008). Punk and the Political: The Role of Practices in Subcultural Lives. Ohio University.
- United Nations. (n.d.). Youth. United Nations; United Nations. Retrieved

October 10, 2021, from
[https://www.un.org/en/global-
issues/youth](https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/youth)

- Wallach, J. (2008). Living the Punk Lifestyle in Jakarta. *Ethnomusicology*, 52(1), 98–116.
- Whiteley, S. (2012). Countercultures: Music, Theory and Scenes. Volume !. *La Revue Des Musiques Populaires*, 9(1), 6–16.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/volume.3572>
- Wiana, W. (2016). Fashion as a Language of Non Verbal Communication.
- Wibawa, S. W. (2019, September 24). Belajar dari Demo Mahasiswa, Cara Tepat Lindungi Diri dari Gas Air Mata [News]. *KOMPAS.com*.
[https://www.kompas.com/sains/read/2019/09/25/130700423/belajar-dari-
demo-mahasiswa-cara-tepat-lindungi-
diri-dari-gas-air-mata](https://www.kompas.com/sains/read/2019/09/25/130700423/belajar-dari-demo-mahasiswa-cara-tepat-lindungi-diri-dari-gas-air-mata)
- Williams, J. K. (2016). “Rock against Reagan”: The Punk Movement, Cultural Hegemony, and Reaganism in The Eighties [Graduate Thesis]. University of Northern Iowa.
- Wilujeng, P. R. (2017). Girls Punk: Gerakan Perlawanan Subkultur di Bawah Dominasi Maskulinitas Punk. *Dialektika Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi*, 1(1), 103–115.
- Worley, M. (2015, January 25). Punk, Politics and Youth Culture, 1976-1984 [University Blog]. *READING HISTORY*.
[https://unireadinghistory.com/punk-
politics-and-youth-culture/](https://unireadinghistory.com/punk-politics-and-youth-culture/)
- Zu-Xiang, T. (2021, March 8). Smashing Hit: Singing in One’s Mother Tongue | BOXING [Culture]. *Indigenous Sight*.
[https://insight.ipcf.org.tw/en-
US/article/471](https://insight.ipcf.org.tw/en-US/article/471)