
CONTENTS

Special issue: Punk Indonesia

Guest editor: Jim Donaghey

Editorial

- 181–187 Punk Indonesia: A brief introduction
JIM DONAGHEY

Articles

- 189–211 Punk and the city: A history of punk in Bandung
FRANS ARI PRASETYO
- 213–232 A.C.A.B. – studying up the rule of law in Banda Aceh, Indonesia
MARJAANA JAUHOLA AND YUDI BOLONG
- 233–261 ‘Life in the positive way’: Indonesian straight edge and the limits of lifestyle politics
SEAN MARTIN-IVERSON
- 263–289 ‘Nevermind the *jahiliyyah*, here’s the *hijrahs*’: punk and the religious turn in the contemporary Indonesian underground scene
HIKMAWAN SAEFULLAH

- 291–314 Researching ‘Punk Indonesia’: Notes towards a non-exploitative insider methodology
JIM DONAGHEY

Book Reviews

- 315–318 *A European Youth Revolt: European Perspectives on Youth Protest and Social Movements in the 1980s*, Knud Andresen and Bart van der Steen (eds) (2016)
KIRSTY LOHMAN
- 318–320 *Punk and Revolution: Seven more Interpretations of Peruvian Reality*, Shane Greene (2016)
KIRBY PRINGLE

Gig Reviews

- 321–325 Bearded Theory Spring Gathering, Convoy Cabaret Stage, Catton Park, Derbyshire, 25–28 MAY 2017
MIKE DINES
- 326–332 Memphis Punk Fest 5, Memphis, Tennessee, 1–4 JUNE 2017
PAUL MEGO

EDITORIAL

JIM DONAGHEY

Punk Indonesia: A brief introduction



Figure 1: Detail from Aceh Revolution compilation, (Rusty Knife Records, Guerilla Vinyl, Folklore De La Zone Mondiale, Keponteam, Svoboda Records, Ronce Records 2013).

humour straight away, and in fact there is little chance that harassing punks in Indonesia will get any international media attention at all. This sort of

Calling all regional governors, police forces and religious conservatives! Are you looking for a way to attract the attentions of the world to your local punk scene, spawn numerous support campaigns for them, and bring journalists and even academic researchers to the area to write accounts of their resilience and punk-as-fuckness? If so, take a leaf from the book of the Banda Aceh Civil Police and Aceh's Deputy Governor Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal and arbitrarily abduct and torture several scores of punks (remember to take photos, publish them and brazenly defend your actions against any criticism). The world will be watching – guaranteed!

I'll apologize for the bleak

1. This figure was widely reported as 64, but Marjaana Jauhola and Yudi Bolong's article here suggests that the figure is 65 and gives more detail in terms of the gender of those abducted (three women, 62 men). Other accounts have suggested there were as many as five women (Moore 2012). This discrepancy points to the difficulty of researching matters related to law enforcement in Indonesia, with a general lack of clarity and no access to formal arrest documents. Accounts given by punks are not much more reliable than those given by the authorities, of course, and in any case small variation in the exact details should not distract from the basic ramifications of the incident (and others like it).

2. International coverage included: *The Guardian* (Associated Press 2011b), *Huffington Post* (Plumb 2011), *Hurriyet Daily News* (Associated Press 2011a), BBC (Vaswani 2011), ABC (Agence France-Presse 2011) and *MaximumRockNRoll* (Curran 2011).

3. For example: Aborted Society Records' "Mixtapes for Aceh" campaign; *Punk Aid: Aceh Calling* (Punk Aid 2012); *Aceh Revolution* (Various 2013).

4. For a video of the attack on the Indonesian Embassy in Istanbul, see: Punkas FAK (2011).

repression, whether through the state or at the hands of religiously motivated vigilante mobs (and frequently in a combination of the two), is a mundane reality for Indonesian punks – and not just in Shariah law areas such as Aceh. The abduction and torture of 65¹ punks in Banda Aceh in December 2011 garnered such huge media publicity² because *it was meant to*. The whole incident was an electioneering stunt by Deputy Governor Djamal (and her brother, the Governor), and it was a popular one – the Djamals were returned as Governor and Deputy Governor, partly on a platform of ridding Aceh of the 'social disease' of punk. But, whatever the intentions behind the incident, this was the first exposure to 'Punk Indonesia' for

many people, myself included. And the support campaigns were very real – benefit compilations³ were created, pressed and distributed, protests took place at Indonesian consulates and embassies in London, Moscow and San Francisco (Balowski 2012; HECKSINDUCTIONHOUR 2011; Anon. 2011) and the embassy in Istanbul was attacked⁴ (Wolja 2011) – and there has been an identifiable spike in scholarly attention towards punk in Indonesia over the last five years. This journal issue brings together just some of the recent research into 'Punk Indonesia', and it is hoped that this is timely and illuminating.

The punk scene in Indonesia is, arguably, the largest and most vibrant on the planet (Wilson 2013: 1), and while the events of December 2011 remain iconic, such a massive and diverse punk scene cannot be understood through one incident alone. The articles collected here look at: the history of punk in the city of Bandung, and its relationship to place, cultural production and media (Frans Prasetyo); repression of punks through the legal system(s) in Aceh, and the lack of international solidarity post-December 2011 (Marjaana Jauhola and Yudi Bolong); the development of Islamist punk collectives and their role in filling the gap left by an apparent decline in anarchist and socialist activism in Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya (Hikmawan Saefullah); straight edge punk and hardcore collectives

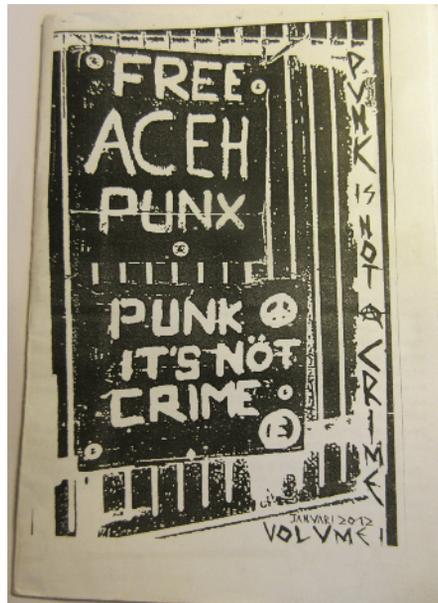


Figure 2: Free Aceh Punk zine, Bandung, January 2012.



Figure 3: 'Hit neo-liberalism', sticker in Jakarta.



Figure 4: Patch of Keparat, punk band from Bandung formed in the 1990s.



Figure 5: Antifa imagery on sweatshirt in Bandung (front and back).

in Bandung, their politics, production practices and development (Sean Martin-Iverson); and the complex challenges of researching punk in Indonesia, especially from the perspective of those in the 'Global North', which risks a retrenchment of Orientalist academic approaches and compounding of globalized neo-liberal inequalities (Jim Donaghey). This represents only the tip of the iceberg of recent (and not so recent) scholarly work on Punk Indonesia. As a pointer towards further reading, see work by: Emma Baulch, Jeremy Wallach and Emma Pickles (research from the 1990s); Sean Martin-Iverson, Erik Hannerz and Harriot Beazley (research from the 2000s); and more recent research from Hikmawan Saefullah, Frans Prasetyo, Muhammad Fakhral Ramadhan, Yudi Bolong, Marjaana Jauhola, Ollie Ward, Matias Tammiala, Kevin Dunn, Anthony Fiscella, Ian Wilson and myself (see the reference list for some selected articles, theses and books).

The genesis of punk in Indonesia started in the very late 1980s, with a proliferation of bands and scenes across the archipelago during the 1990s. The relative lateness of punk's emergence in Indonesia (compared to neighbouring scenes in Malaysia and Singapore) is attributable to the repressive regime of General Suharto (1967–98), which shunned western cultural influences (though, as a stooge of US imperialism, opened Indonesia to resource exploitation by US-based corporations). This suspicion of 'the West' is a legacy of the colonization of Indonesia by Portugal, Spain,

5. A clip of an interview with the US television network CBS, where Sukarno makes this comment, is available online here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKKF8-RgjzU>. Accessed 22 April 2015.
6. Suharto received support from the CIA in this endeavour – see Katsiaficas (2013: 345). See also *The Act of Killing* documentary by Oppenheimer (2012).
7. For example, an ‘anti-anarchy’ police division was established to tackle rioting... by conservative religious fundamentalists (Arnaz and Sagita 2011)!

Britain and most prominently the Dutch East-India company and later the Dutch state, which was bloodily overthrown in the years after World War II. The first president of the Republic of Indonesia, President Sukarno, tried to ban rock ‘n’ roll in the 1960s, likening it to a ‘mental disease’ (Wilson 2013: 2). He also jailed a rock band from Tuban called Koes Plus (Farram 2007) and, ominously, ‘instructed police to cut the hair’ of anyone suspected of ‘Beatlism’, in a precursor of the fate of punks in Aceh and elsewhere.⁵ The early development of punk during the 1990s was entangled with the emergence of the opposition movement that finally toppled Suharto’s militarist regime in 1998, in the aftermath of the 1997 Asian



Figure 6: Turtles Jr merchandise, boasting their longevity.

Financial Crisis. Suharto’s fascistic dictatorship was bloody and repressive, with three genocides to its name: ‘the still ongoing onslaught in Papua, in which at least 120,000 people have already died’; the 1975 occupation of East Timor which ‘liquidat[ed] [...] around 30 per cent of the people of that nation’; and the massacre of ‘[b]etween 500,000 and 3 million communists, intellectuals, artists, teachers, trade union leaders and members of the Chinese minority’, murdered in 1965 (Vltchek 2012: 2). Suharto’s role in directing the butchery of supporters of the Parti Komunis Indonesia (PKI or Communist Party of Indonesia) in 1965⁶ paved his way to power, and the continued repression of socialist ideas has resulted in a persistent taboo against leftist politics in Indonesia (Berger 2013), with Marxist ideology and symbols associated with the former Communist Party continuing to be banned (see Saefullah’s article in this journal issue). However, punk’s primary political companion, anarchism, is fundamentally misunderstood by the Indonesian state,⁷ and, as Saefullah and Prasetyo highlight in their articles here, anarchism and anti-fascism were key components of the anti-Suharto movement, especially where punks were involved (see also Pickles 2007; Donaghey 2016).

International connections facilitated the arrival and early development of punk in Indonesia. For example: a Dutch band called Antidote sent punk music, along with anarchist literature, to early punk adherents in Bandung (Donaghey 2016: 93); articles from US-based zines, especially those associated with anarchism such as *Profane Existence*, were translated and reproduced in local zines (Pickles 2007; Prasetyo’s article in this journal issue); people were exposed to neighbouring punk scenes in Singapore and Australia, and zines from those places made their way to Indonesia and were circulated (see Prasetyo’s article here); and leaked radio signals from Australia were picked up by early Indonesian punks (see Prasetyo’s article here). By 1996 there were several active scenes and numerous punk bands



Figure 7: Teruslah Bersinap (*Keep Shining*), patch in Indonesia.

but there has been a strong increase in academic work on punk in Indonesia coming from Indonesian scholars themselves – including three of the six contributors in this journal issue (Yudi Bolong, Frans Prasetyo and Hikmawan Saefullah), and also keep an eye out for a future article in *Punk & Post-Punk* about Indonesian skinhead by Muhammad Fakhran al Ramadhan.

While punk in Indonesia can be identified as part of the ‘global punk scene’ (Dunn 2016), both in terms of its international connections and its aesthetics,⁸ there is also a locally distinct ‘Punk Indonesia’ – though, in common with defining *anything* about punk, it is difficult to put a finger on what precisely ‘Punk Indonesia’ is. One of the more locally specific aesthetic expressions of ‘Punk Indonesia’ is the groups of busking street punks⁹ (or *anak punk*, see Wallach 2008; Martin-Iverson 2014b) armed with ukuleles and DIY mini drum kits. But, again, Punk Indonesia cannot be pigeonholed by any single aesthetic, scene or group. The articles collected in this journal issue, and the suggested reading elsewhere, begin to reveal something of the high-energy essence of punk in Indonesia – but Punk Indonesia’s diversity and constant development mean it can never be understood in simplistic terms, and it is endlessly fascinating as a result.

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in Indonesia, but the gig by US corporate pop-punk giants Green Day in Jakarta that year has been highlighted as a seminal moment in the development and proliferation of punk in Indonesia (Baulch 2002). Indonesian punk continues to have significant international connections, but these connections are shaped by the unequal terrain of neo-colonial/neoliberal global relations – and this impacts upon scholarly research into punk in Indonesia as well. As is evident from the academic works cited here, most research into punk in Indonesia has been by scholars from the ‘Global North’. This is a situation that requires careful consideration,

8. Almost all genres, sub-genres and variations of punk can be found in Indonesia, but, to provide just a handful of prominent examples: d-beat and crust (Krass Kepala, KontraSosial, Milisi Kecoa, Zudas Krust, The Fourty’s Accident, Total Destroy); Oi! and street punk (Runtah, The Clown, Street Voices, Brigade Of Bridge, Puppen, Fisticuff 86, Anti Squad, Sosial Sosial, Apatride, Superiots, The End, Gamelanoink, The Gross, Stomper, Inasubs, Total Riot, Sexy Pig, The Jinx); hardcore (Keparat, Jeruji, Antipathy, Turtles Jr., Empatbelas, Blind To See, Septictank, Duct Tape Surgery, Attack To The Front); pop-punk (Superman Is Dead); grindcore (Injakmati); ‘digital hardcore’ (Kontaminasi Kapitalis); thrash/crossover (Total Anarchy, GunXRose). For you more obsessive record collector types out there, see Tien An Men 89 Records’ discography of Indonesian punk (though this does not appear to have updated recently) at tam89records.com.
9. Which is to say, punks who spend most of their days on the streets, rather than punks adhering to the aesthetics of the ‘street punk’ sub-genre – though the two are not mutually exclusive.

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Researching 'Punk Indonesia': Notes towards a non-exploitative insider methodology

ABSTRACT

Researching punk from an insider perspective throws up important challenges, and in the context of Indonesia these issues are further complicated and intensified. This article draws on the author's experience of, and reflections on, the process of researching 'punk Indonesia', augmented with reflective contributions from nine other social theorists, ethnographers and anthropologists, to suggest a research methodology that is dialogical and non-exploitative while remaining rigorous, analytical and critical. The academy's relationship to punk has often been identified as intrusive and exploitative – and with good reason – but it is argued here that academic research into punk can be included within punk's own tradition of self-critique, especially when that research emerges from insider perspectives. The lessons learned from insider perspectives may also be mapped effectively onto outsider approaches. A non-exploitative methodology is concerned with both research processes and research outputs, and these two aspects are closely entwined. Anarchist epistemological concerns are taken on board, along with engagements with Orientalism and Grounded Theory Method, to develop an approach that gives voice to the punks, involving them in a dialogical research process and creating research outputs that are useful to the scenes, cultures and movements that are being researched, while maintaining a high level of academic rigour, analysis and critique.

KEYWORDS

punk
Indonesia
methodology
epistemology
ethnography
Orientalism
grounded theory
anarchism

A TASTE OF PUNK INDONESIA

The surging crowd billowed backwards and forwards, arms and legs flailed, bodies surfed overhead, voices roared in unison. Those floored in the melee were immediately hoisted upright by a dozen helping hands. My flimsy skate-shoes offered little protection from the relentlessly stamping feet around me – better if I'd suffered the day's heat in my steel-toed boots after all. A metal-studded human projectile careered off the stage, scoring neatly parallel scratches into the skin of my bare arms. No matter, bumps and bruises are par-for-the-course in the cordial violence of any mosh pit. I was in my element within this throng – but jungle creepers dangling overhead placed me far from home. The familiar cacophony emanating from the stage resonated with me – but the people around me were strangers, and the stage itself, lashed together from bamboo canes, seemed exotic and alien. Just another punk gig – but in a new and foreign setting, halfway across the face of the earth. This was my first taste of 'punk Indonesia'.

(Donaghey 2016: 225–26)

This article opens with the above reflections on a gig in Indonesia to remind that punk scenes are spaces of exuberance and enjoyment (and no amount of academic dirge – of which there may be a fair amount in this article – should get in the way of that!). But this short vignette also points to some crucial issues that confront anyone who approaches punk in Indonesia from the perspective of a researcher – neither the locale nor the locals were 'foreign', 'exotic', 'alien' or 'strangers', *I was*. Yet, as an active participant in a self-consciously global punk scene, I was at that same moment 'in my element', this *was* 'just another punk gig', 'familiar' in so many ways despite being on the 'other' side of the planet. This article attempts to get-to-grips with tensions that arise in negotiation of this insider/outsider research perspective. Research that is conducted from within a scene, community, movement or culture has distinct advantages and challenges, but a concern that has particular resonance for many 'punk-academics' is the potential exploitation of punk by the academy. This article will contemplate approaches that contribute to a non-exploitative methodology from this insider perspective.

In addition to my own experience and reflections, this article draws on contributions from nine other people who have also undertaken research of 'punk Indonesia': Emma Baulch, Erik Hannerz, Marjaana Jauhola, Sean Martin-Iverson, Frans Prasetyo, Hikmawan Saefullah, Matias Tammiala, Jeremy Wallach, and Ollie Ward – many thanks to each of them. Rather than analysing their respective methodologies, this article draws upon the contributors' own critical reflections of their experiences of doing research in the punk scenes of Indonesia, based on responses to an e-mail questionnaire (sent out at the start of September 2016 and all replies received by the end of November 2016). (The questions are included as an appendix.)

RESEARCH AS 'SELLING-OUT' AND ANTI-ACADEMIC PUNK

During my second trip to Indonesia, while on tour with Die Wrecked in January 2015, an incident occurred that pointedly demonstrated the potential for research into punk to be exploitative. Two Swiss journalists were among those attending Libertad Fest, organized by Bandung Pyrate Punx on a tiny

island in the Java Sea. They were perceived as outsiders by the festival attendees because of their distinguishing aesthetic (i.e. not punk), because they kept to themselves and did not interact with the punks, and aroused suspicion with their expensive camera equipment, especially when taking photographs without permission. After some discussion among concerned festival attendees and the festival organizers, the journalists were questioned about their motives, with an especially strong emphasis on their publication intentions. Initially, they suggested that they would sell the story to a magazine in Switzerland. This was met with objection in the strongest terms by the festival attendees, so the journalists compromised and suggested they would provide the story to the Swiss equivalent of *The Big Issue* (likely *Surprise Strassenmagazine*). In fact, and assumedly as a direct result of the objections from the festival attendees and the pressure placed on the journalists, they produced a 'zine-style' publication titled *Poison Island* (Willi and Joliat 2015). They write: '[o]ur experiences inspired us to make a fanzine – reviving the subcultures' [*sic*] almost forgotten and wonderfully subjective information service' (Willi and Joliat 2015: n.p.). The journalists neglect to mention the friction their presence at the festival caused and display profound ignorance of the flourishing zine culture that still permeates punk. However, to their credit, they do assert that '[a]ll profits from sales of *Poison Island* will go back to the local scenes' (Willi and Joliat 2015: n.p.). As of December 2016 they had not sent *any* money to Indonesia, because the 'zine' had yet to turn a profit (though the tote bags in which the zine is packaged were sourced from DIY punk producers in Bandung). This incident reminded me that my own position as a researcher a few years previously in 2012, armed with a notepad, voice recorder and camera, was not so dissimilar to that of the journalists. The journalists negotiated the objections to their perceived selling-out of the punk scene in Indonesia by asserting an intention to return profits to the local punks, but not before the simple fact of their presence had caused a brouhaha at Libertad Fest 2015. The considerations to be drawn from this are twofold: the research process itself must avoid discomforting or upsetting those being researched, with a focus on consent, engagement and collaboration with the people being researched; the produced research outputs should not be exploitative, and should be of use to the researched community, or otherwise be to their benefit – and as will be discussed further below, dialogical research processes are crucial in developing non-exploitative research outputs.

These ethical considerations are all very well, but the former editors of the *Punk & Post-Punk* journal note the 'extent to which anyone professing an interest in punk academia has to negotiate suspicions of their role from [...] the punk community' (Kiszely and Ogg 2014: 3). There is considerable hostility to 'punk academia' from some punks – as Sean Martin-Iverson notes, 'there are those who are, with some justification, sceptical of academic attention and concerned about the appropriation, misrepresentation, or domestication of punk'. This scepticism applies in any punk scene, but within the Indonesian context Marjaana Jauhola describes a piece of research on the punk scene in Aceh that exemplifies some of the very worst approaches:

[T]wo local researchers had conducted research on the Banda Aceh punk scene (Syam and Hasan 2013). I decided to ask them for a meeting to learn about it [...] one of the researchers had been a Ph.D. student [a] few years ago, who had quite dramatically attacked one local women's

activist for being western and anti-Islam, and for having advocated for gender equality of post-tsunami recovery programmes (Hasan 2008).

In our meeting I realized that the punk community had refused to be studied by these two local researchers who instead had conducted a survey within the neighbourhoods where the punks were known to hang around. They had published the results in an Indonesian academic journal *Pendidikan Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan* [Humanities and Social Science Education]. After having gained access to the article and their description of the aims of the survey it was rather clear that their agenda was to provide a case [for] how the municipal government had failed to fulfil the wishes of [the] Banda Acehese population and wip[e] the punks out of Aceh.

Going through the article, which is assumedly peer reviewed, it became clear that it had major problems methodologically and ethically [...] I decided to bring the survey and the journal article to the attention of the punk community – as we had, over the weeks, been discussing how the local civilian authorities, police, military, and the media were using their power to tell the story of the punks, and how *local academics were also obviously involved*.

(emphasis added)

As evidence of just how poor this piece of research was, Marjaana points out that the authors 'used images that were not from [the] Banda Acehese punk scene, but were photos taken from a famous [comedy] movie that had been released few years earlier (*Punk in Love*, 2009)'. The tradition of academic analysis of punk which fails (or refuses) to actually speak to punks stretches right back to Dick Hebdige's (1979) *Subculture*. This has repressive consequences in terms of representation, but in the context of Indonesia the academy is used to repress punk in a more blatant manner. As Frans Prasetyo argues:

[...] punk is a disregarded part of society. Punk is cornered more and more [...] The fascist state[s] legitimacy through the role of the police and military fuelled by the perception of the majority of civil society, reinforced by religious legitimacy, corners punk with premature perceptions.

In Indonesia, where punk is actively repressed, these sorts of academic intrusions into punk are dangerous, and punks' hostility to academia is more than justified. Of course, in the case of Syam and Hasan, punks' hostility did not prevent them carrying out their research, because their chosen method completely excluded the punks anyway. But even research which *does* include punks has been twisted and used to repress punk, as has happened with Marjaana Jauhola's work in Aceh:

[t]he provincial government used my 2012 visit to the mayor's office to label me as a supporter of their [anti-punk] policies by feeding a falsified story to a local newspaper (*Serambi Indonesia*) that released it one day after the original meeting.

Marjaana read this as

[...] an attempt to communicate to me that I should stay out of criticizing the establishment during the research process [...] and it led to very interesting discussions about how the political elite controls and concretely feeds news favourable for their agenda.

(For more on this with regards to the LGBTI community in Aceh see Jauhola 2015).

Penny Rimbaud, formerly of Crass fame, also identifies the academy as a malign intrusion into punk in his analysis of the infamous 'No Future? Punk 2001' academic conference in Wolverhampton in 2001:

[w]hat the Wolverhampton conference proved to me was the wholly collusive nature of the relationship between corporate capitalism, politics, the media *and academia*. If history is to serve the interests of the dominant culture [...] then its writers [...] must toe the line, which isn't very difficult given that corporate capitalism finances most academic institutions.

([2009] 2015: 14, emphasis added)

Rimbaud rejects academic intrusions into punk as part of capitalist attempts to neutralize its subversive aspects and recuperate it safely into the mainstream. Frans, in addition to the 'hard' repression detailed above, also pointed to 'domestication' of punk in Indonesia, as exemplified in the case of a band called Rosemary playing at a Bandung police station in 2012. Willi and Joliat note that Rosemary have had to cancel gigs recently for fear of acid attacks by former 'fans' (2015: n.pag.), and Frans highlights the lyrical response to recuperation of punk in Indonesia by Milisi Kecoa in the song 'Punkrock, Terdomestikasi' ('Punkrock, Domesticated'):

Punkrock jadi hiburan di panggung. Punkrock papan iklan berjalan.
[Punkrock becomes entertainment. Punkrock advertising boards.]
Punkrock dibayar untuk menghibur. Sekalian saja ikut kampanye parpol.
[Punkrock paid to entertain. I might as well join the political parties!]
Punkrock tak punya sikap. Netral itu dungu!
[Punkrock with no attitude; the neutral imbecile!]
Punkrock doger monyet, semua bertepuk tangan!
[Punkrock dance like monkeys, all clapping].

(2011)

Milisi Kecoa provide further explanation on their blog, describing 'domestication' as:

a relation that reflects domination and exploitation [...] punkrock has been domesticated like a lion in [a] circus tent. Punkrock lost its tusks, tamed and turned into an 'entertaining object' like a bear riding a bicycle. Punkrock is not a threat anymore like when it first appeared [...] it's just a spectacle now. So, is that what you wanted? Do you want to be nothing more than just entertainment onstage?

(Milisi Kecoa 2012)

So, while Indonesia is a context where blatant, harsh repression of punk is common (and in which academia is implicated), the 'soft' repressions of recuperation and domestication are also at work here. As Rimbaud notes, academia plays a key role in this 'soft' repression, and it is in these terms that academic forays into punk are most often identified as intrusive and unwelcome.

MaximumRockNRoll zine has been a prominent voice among the attacks on academic incursions into punk, especially in two of its recent content coordinators Mariam Bastani and Lydia Phelps. Bastani identifies herself 'as a person [who] constantly slams and loathes "punkademics"' (2013: n.p.), describes the 'recent slew of "academic punk books"' as 'garbage' (Bastani 2012: n.p.) and reviewed Zack Furness's *Punkademics* (2012) simply as 'shitty' (Bastani 2013: n.p.). The 'Education Special' issue of *One Way Ticket to Cubesville* (Cubesville 2012), which Bastani reviews in *MaximumRockNRoll* #356, includes interview material from myself and other 'punkademics' in the United Kingdom (Charlotte Spithead, Michelle Liptrot and Alastair Gordon). Despite Bastani's clearly espoused oppositional stance, she writes:

I was interested in seeing another take on this very subject [...] [T]he convincing arguments here are the following: punk in academia is a way to hear lost narratives, highlighting perhaps an alternative to the ways we live our lives, reaching more people than just punks. And when it comes down to it, if we don't write and critique our own history, it is only a matter of time until other people attempt to do this for us (which is definitely happening). Who better to write about punk through an academic lens then [*sic*] a punk? I understand the argument, but I am still wary.

(2013: n.p.)

It is noteworthy that these arguments are found to be (at least partially) convincing by someone who is otherwise so sharply dismissive of punk academia. Rimbaud has also been a regular panel guest at recent conferences of the Punk Scholars Network (Rimbaud et al. 2013; Anon. 2014), indicating a similar rapprochement to punk academia on his part as well. Lydia Phelps was prompted by the 'MET Gala's Costume Institute exhibit titled *Punk: Chaos to Couture* (2013) to 'rant' in her regular *MRR* column:

[a]nother outsider, mainstream sociological assumption from an institution [...] Every attempt to define and describe punk falls flat, coming off more like dry academic observation, or stranger curiosity, even enemy propaganda. So many books written about punk, yet so few actually turn to the punks living and breathing today for an opinion. Probably just as well, most punks I know would tell a conservative mainstream magazine to shove it up their corporate ass [...] For us, *punk is by the punks for the punks*. Any other way has the iffy smell of sell-out bucks.

(2013: n.p., emphasis added)

Phelps hits upon the same two areas of contention as discussed above – research outputs must be critically assessed (or sniffed) for the 'iffy smell of sell-out bucks', and punks must be included in the research process. Ethnographic research methods do (usually) 'turn to the punks living and breathing today for an opinion', but even here some researchers encounter

hostility. As Jeremy Wallach notes, 'many punks find it inherently objectionable for a non-punk academic to write about punks, and [...] I don't pretend to be anything else – I'm an ethnomusicologist and a university professor, I don't hide that'. This 'outsider' research position is a crucial factor in how punks perceive the research process and outputs, but Wallach points out that:

[...] punks were the *only folks* who expressed hostility towards me (albeit a small minority of them), while musicians in other scenes, from jazz to traditional, were welcoming to the strange American ethnomusicologist. I guess that shows that they knew how to be real punks!

(emphasis added)

The hostility is ascribable to punk's opposition to the academy as an agent of repression (as above). However, there is also the sense that academics are stepping on punks' toes because punks have long been researching their own scenes and culture and have been engaged in a constant process of critical reflection, discussion and argument *by and of themselves*. Punks don't need an expert to wade in and tell them what punk means – however, there are a number of academic researchers (myself included) who position themselves within punk and view their research as a part of (or an extension of) punk's own ongoing dialogue of *self-critique*.

RESEARCH AS PART OF PUNK'S (AUTO-)CRITICAL TRADITION

Punk is a fantastically self-critical entity, and has been since its earliest incarnations, as expressed through zines, record liner notes, inebriated shouting matches, and reams of Internet forums tackling the minutiae of what punk is (or, more often, what it is not!). Academic research can be included as part of this tradition of auto-critique in punk, though this largely depends on a researcher being sufficiently identified as a punk *insider*. For example, Frans Prasetyo's photography-based research has led to 'punk friends consider[ing] me as part of the punk collective in Bandung city because I have a complete documentation and record *according to them*' (emphasis added). Sean Martin-Iverson also points out that '[s]everal key members of the community [in Bandung] were studying or had studied in fields such as sociology or cultural studies, including some who have done research relating to the scene'. A critical approach is not limited to punks who are involved in academia, and as Sean points out, the 'ongoing argument about the politics of punk and DIY production' which permeates punk scenes is useful in terms of research:

[...] in addition to me asking them questions, we have engaged in discussion and debate on the issues – facilitated by the fact that this kind of analytical discussion about the scene and their own DIY activities was *part and parcel of the life of the scene itself*.

(emphasis added)

Sean also notes that he 'was encouraged to write about my research for a couple [of] local punk zines' and 'at the public lecture I gave at UNPAD [Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung] at the end of my fieldwork the punks in the audience outnumbered the academics'. The experience of academic research being supported by punks was reported by several of the

contributors here: Matias Tammiala said that '[t]he punks have been interested in my study from the beginning'; Erik Hannerz noted that he has 'so far only heard positive reviews from punks' and that he has 'received e-mails from punks in Indonesia who have read my work and that response has been positive'; Frans Presetyo went as far as to say that punks 'are grateful' for his collection of 'materials and medias', 'I have saved a record of their punk memories'. Hikmawan Saefullah noted a degree of ambivalence from "'apolitical" punks' but said that 'the "intellectual" punks who have a concern on the ongoing changes within their punk/underground scene' showed more interest. Sean Martin-Iverson reported that:

[w]hile my research could be read as critical of certain currents or positions within the scene, I haven't suffered any particular blow-back from this, and given the often rather heated debates, disagreements and criticisms that go on within the scene itself, I suspect that my relatively measured critiques don't really register as anything to get too offended about. All in all, I met little resistance to my research from people in the scene.

Echoing the rapprochement to academia by the likes of Bastani and Rimbaud above, this suggests that punks are not *intrinsically* opposed to academic research – hostility is generated by a perception of exploitation in the research methods and/or outputs.

Hikmawan, Frans, Matias, Sean and Erik all occupy research positions that are, to at least some degree, 'insider' in terms of punk (this will be explored further), but Marjaana Jauhola notes that, in her experience, 'punks actively wanted to reach out for outsiders like myself'. Marjaana's research is in Aceh, and she highlights a 'strategic "want" on both sides of being researched and researcher', with punks viewing visits by researchers 'as strategic encounters to spread their existence and stories out of Aceh – which would give them more space (and trouble at the same time) locally'. The support shown by punks to insider academic researchers is notable, but Marjaana's experience suggests that punks are not intrinsically opposed to 'outsider' research either, and once again it is the method and output of research that is crucial.

So while the suspicion of academia within punk is an important factor, the experience of many of the researchers contributing here actually builds a picture of punks being generally supportive of academic research into their scenes, which can be understood in terms of punk's tradition of ongoing self-critique – but this *also* extends, in some cases, to research conducted by 'outsiders'. It is not the fact of academic research into punk that is problematic, it is *the form* of that research.

INSIDER/OUTSIDER

The researchers whose contributions are included in this article occupy a range of outsider/insider positions and perspectives, but while some identified themselves purely as outsiders, no one identified themselves as unambiguously 'insider'. The issue of insider/outsider research positions is important in the consideration of non-exploitative research methods around punk – however, while this article focuses on insider perspectives, it is not argued that outsider perspectives are without value, and a core argument here is that the lessons learned from insider research can (and should) be applied in outsider research.

Emma Baulch and Jeremy Wallach were among the first to research punk in Indonesia through an academic lens (see: Baulch 2002; Wallach 2008), and one can only agree with Jeremy when he argues that he and Emma 'pave[d] the way'. They both place themselves at the 'outsider' end of the spectrum of research perspectives. Jeremy describes himself as 'unambiguously an outsider when it comes to punk': '[m]y approach has always been that of a[n] outsider-scholar who in 1997 quite unexpectedly came across the crucial importance of a music culture and a life philosophy among urban Indonesian youth'. Similarly, Emma '[a]s an outsider [...] approached the task very much as an academic exercise', 'more as a project about Indonesia and Bali, rather than one about punk'. Emma and Jeremy are clearly outsiders in terms of punk, and also to Indonesian culture more widely (Emma is from Australia and Jeremy is from the United States). This is not to say that either of them engaged in exploitative research methods, and indeed their approaches were generally sensitive to the perspective of the punks they researched, as will be discussed below.

Marjaana Jauhola also began as 'a total outsider' from the perspective of the punks in Aceh, but:

[...] soon discovered that in fact, what I was personally (as Marjaana, a researcher) to them, did not really matter that much initially, but rather I arrived as a continuum of other (white female) foreigners who wanted to hear and publish their story.

Marjaana was 'labelled as a punk researcher' in the local Acehnese press, which actually served as a useful ice-breaker and point of access, but also 'eased the pressure when studying other marginalized and oppressed groups/individuals'. Marjaana was 'allowed to become part of the community (or at least follow the groups) and document events and discussions'. However Marjaana also recounted 'moments when this "right" was questioned', which led to the issues being 'discussed in joint evening meetings and I would clarify and distance myself from the group, if that was required or requested from me'. This concern with distance was shared by many of the contributors here, and distance is actually sought as a useful analytical stance, but researchers from an insider perspective were not obliged to justify themselves in the way that Marjaana reports, pointing to some of the practical benefits of an insider research position.

Several of the researchers occupied a research position (quite similar to my own) of being insiders, to varying degrees, in the 'global punk scene' while being outsiders to Indonesian culture, and therefore also outsiders to 'punk Indonesia'. Ollie Ward (from the United Kingdom), Erik Hannerz (from Sweden), Matias Tammiala (from Finland) and Sean Martin-Iverson (from Australia) all shared a similar sense of this conflicted 'insiderness'/'outsiderness', and each of them negotiated this in enlightening ways. Ollie Ward considers himself 'an insider [...] in the global punk scene' while at the same time being an outsider 'in a broader [Indonesian] cultural sense'. Ollie noted that an insider punk research position allowed 'access to my subject that many academics would envy', but also that:

[...] being an 'outsider' gave me a different kind of access, a more considered and articulated kind of access where I had the space to form and ask questions from what I was experiencing and the other party had the opportunity to articulate their experience.

This sense of critical distance was also shared by Matias Tammiala, who ‘unconsciously took an academic distance from the subject, which was helpful when analysing and interpreting the data’. ‘Outsiderness’ enables this useful critical distance, and this is of especial interest for people researching their own local punk scenes, as Frans Prasetyo and Hikmawan Saefullah both discuss (below). Similarly to Ollie, Erik Hannerz’s experience in the punk scene bestowed him with ‘previous subcultural knowledge and status’, which proved useful in terms of access. But, while Erik began his research ‘with the firm belief that I was an insider’, he ‘[s]oon enough [...] realized that not only was this an impossible position epistemologically [...] it was also hindering the study as a whole’. Erik also reflected on how he was viewed by the punks in Indonesia:

[m]ost of the participants I followed identified me as a punk, albeit often as less authentic, as I had a real job at the university and was asking all these questions. Others identified me as being a former punk, someone who had dropped out, yet was still in touch with it. While to others still, I was someone from an unspecified outside sitting in on their discussions.

A key aspect of Erik’s research positioning, especially from the perspective of the punks he was researching, was his ‘willingness to remain in the field’. As Erik notes, this ‘proximity to the field’ stresses ‘the *interactive relationship* between the researcher and the researched instead of presuming it’ (emphasis added). This dialogical involvement of punks in the research process itself is a crucial aspect of constructing a non-exploitative methodology.

Neither Matias Tammiala nor Sean Martin-Iverson identified themselves as punks, but Matias did state that many of his friends view him as a punk and that he has ‘always been active in [the] local punk scene in one way or another’, while Sean described himself as “‘punk adjacent” in many of my cultural tastes and interests’. So already their ‘insiderness’ is more ambiguous than that of Ollie or Erik, but there remains a productive insider/outsider tension in their research approaches. Sean noted that he ‘was studying familiar activities and familiar ideas in an unfamiliar environment, which has its advantages and its disadvantages’ and emphasized the ‘cultural, political and social commonality with the community I studied [...] despite the rather different contexts’ and pointed to ‘the need for more attention to the significance of *ideological connections* in ethnographic fieldwork’ (emphasis added). This concern with ideological connections resonates with the methodological approaches identified below, especially in terms of the relationships between punk and anarchism. Matias noted that being an insider enabled access to the punk scenes in Indonesia and ‘made meeting new people more natural and the interviews much more relaxed’, but also pointed to methodological difficulties as ‘a person from Europe [...] being an apparent outsider gathered sometimes unwanted attention’. Sean also commented that being ‘racially marked as “white”, with all the contradictory status that that brings in Indonesia’ was an aspect of being ‘marked as an “outsider” in various ways’ – but it is interesting that his ‘status as a researcher’ was *not* a major factor in this ‘outsiderness’.

Hikmawan Saefullah and Frans Prasetyo, as locals in their respective research contexts, can be reasonably placed closest to the ‘insider’ pole of the spectrum of research positions laid out here. Hikmawan identifies himself as

‘an insider in the Bandung punk scene’ and plays locally in the ‘post-hardcore/punk band Alone At Last’, and Frans was the ‘founder and manager of IF Venue (2004–06) an alternative space for music, art and literacy, including for post-punk gigs that were not allowed to be in mainstream venues’ and has been a member of ‘Balkot since the collective was formed in 2003’ (BalKot is a DIY punk/hardcore community in Bandung that is involved in organizing gigs – see Frans’s article here, and Martin-Iverson 2012, 2014, and in this journal issue). Frans’s research emerged from his activities in the Bandung punk scene:

[i]nitially I never positioned myself as a researcher. I remained as a photographer [...] punk became a subject for me to learn photography. After that, I became intensively present at gigs. Punk fellows began to know me [better]. The camera that I carried made me look serious and professional.

However, in aesthetic terms, Frans ‘never dressed like punk by using punk attributes or fashion. Punk friends asked me why I never want to use [punk] attributes. Then I said that I’m not comfortable with them and they understand it’. Frans recalled one particular instance which cemented his ‘insider’ status in the scene, despite not adhering to aesthetic punk norms:

[o]nce, my camera smashed because it slipped out of my grip while I was also moshing. It was part of the risks I am taking to do the work. It gained me a respect from the collective friends that I [kept] on participating in the punk gigs even after the incident.

Despite being an insider in Bandung, Hikmawan is ‘considered “outsider” by punks from outside Bandung’. Hikmawan makes a crucial point that ‘the Indonesian punk/underground scene itself is large and fragmented’, and he makes use of his ‘networks’ to gain ‘access to the participants outside the Bandung scene’ in a similar way to researchers coming from outside Indonesia, but with the obvious advantage of deeper and more extensive connections, and by not being physically ‘marked’ as outsider in terms of ethnicity, as discussed by Sean Martin-Iverson and Matias Tammiala above.

It is telling that even those researchers who are most fully immersed in their research scenes do not consider themselves to be entirely ‘insiders’. Even though Hikmawan Saefullah is a long term and active participant in the Bandung punk scene he still places himself ‘as both an insider *and outsider*’ (emphasis added). This article argues that insider perspectives are generally advantageous, but the ‘nagging doubt’ of being skewed by closeness to the subject matter, as identified by Ollie Ward and others, necessitates a degree of ‘critical distance’. This is evidenced in the constant shift between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ on the part of most of the researchers here – even for those most closely integrated into the scenes they are researching. Marjaana, Ollie, Erik, Matias, Sean, Frans and Hikmawan all view their insider/outsider perspectives in research of punk in Indonesia as an ongoing negotiation – *their research positions are not fixed*. Ollie Ward describes his research position as ‘pretty fluid’; Marjaana Jauhola considers that ‘[a]ll in all after these ten past years, my positionality to do research in Aceh has been in a flux [...] someone who moves in and out of various groups’; Matias describes a shifting perspective through the research process itself – ‘being so intensively among punks and

discussing about punk related topics made me feel closer to the subject personally. In other words, I became more of an 'insider'; and Sean Martin-Iverson identifies an 'insider/outsider dialectic'. Sean's use of the term 'dialectic' is interesting and will be discussed further below, but the crucial point here is that these researchers are troubled by their research positions, and turn this concern into a productive engagement which enriches their research. This consideration goes beyond mere epistemology, it is crucial in developing a research method which is non-exploitative. To situate one's self as simply 'outsider' creates a distance between the researcher and those being researched – this distance is actually useful in terms of analysis and critique, but it runs the risk of turning the punks into research subjects, being *subjected to* research rather than being involved in the process. As Sean puts it: 'I tried to [...] adopt something of a critical distance towards this kind of critical distance [...] acknowledg[ing] the political and social value of a more direct mode of affective engagement'. On the other hand, identifying one's self as purely 'insider' limits the scope for critical analysis, especially in the assumption of prior knowledge. As Erik Hannerz considers:

[t]he problem of the insider/outsider distinction is the epistemological assumption that [it] carries [...] The consequence of this [...] presumption [is] a monopolistic, or at least privileged, access to knowledge [...] [on] the basis of one's group membership [...] [T]his distinction presume[s] that the cultural is both uncomplicated and uniform [...] it homogenizes [...] We are members of different groups at the same time, and thus in a structural sense always both insiders and outsiders regardless of the situation.

This ongoing negotiation is recognized by the 'insider' contributors here, but is especially prominent for those researchers who are 'insiders' of the global punk scene, but 'outsider' to punk Indonesia.

ORIENTALISM

An overarching feature of research into 'punk Indonesia' (in general and in this article) is that many of the researchers are from other parts of the world, which are economically advantaged by the distribution of wealth in neo-liberal globalized capitalism, a relation that is magnified by Indonesia's post-/neo-colonial situation. Most of the contributors in this article are from the 'Global North': from Australia (Emma Baulch and Sean Martin-Iverson), Northern Europe (Marjaana Jauhola, Erik Hannerz, Ollie Ward, Matias Tammiala, and myself) and North America (Jeremy Wallach), and Hikmawan Saefullah, though from Indonesia, has had his research funded through a scholarship from the Australian government. The unequal cultural flows which result from economic disparity are as evident in the international punk scene as in academia – indeed, it is often possible to read the neo-colonial relations of globalized capitalism in the relations between international punk scenes (see Lohman 2013; Dunn 2008; O'Connor 2004). The flow of bands travelling to play in different parts of the world is heavily influenced by macro-economic factors (and also cultural capital). This is evident in bands' ability to tour in different countries (in terms of affording the expenses involved, and being able to communicate in the lingua franca English, for example), and in the destination choices of touring bands. It is easier to recoup travel costs

while touring in richer countries, but some poor countries have a high level of cultural capital, so are desirable touring destinations, even when doing so at a financial loss – Indonesia is an increasingly prominent example of this. The relationships between different ‘national’ punk contexts are also evident in coverage of local scenes in international zines such as *MaximumRockNRoll*, *Profane Existence*, *Artcore*, etc. Even after the abduction and torture of 65 punks in Banda Aceh in December 2011 brought Indonesian punk to the forefront of international attention, a survey of the content of these zines reveals that economically advantaged South-East Asian neighbours such as Malaysia and Singapore still received far more mentions than Indonesia, which has a *much* larger scene than either of these places.¹

In one of the few interviews with Indonesian bands to appear in any international zines, Esa from Zudas Krust identified some of the issues mentioned above. The interviewer, Shane Hunter, asked:

Indonesia has many punk bands and what seems to be a very active and healthy punk scene, but there is not a lot of interest in these bands outside of Southeast Asia. Is this a fair comment? Why do you think this might be?

Esa replied:

[y]es, it is. We have hundreds of punk bands, have lots of labels, zines, etc. And yeah, I agree with you, there is not a lot of interest in Indonesian bands outside of Southeast Asia. I think there are two factors that contribute to this. One is our own internal problem, which is that most of us here don’t communicate in English. Some of us can understand basic English, and only a few can communicate proficiently in English. So there is a language barrier that prevents us from getting involved in the international hardcore/punk scene, because the international hardcore/punk scene uses English as its universal language. Second, the external problem: lack of international hardcore/punk solidarity, or the simple lack of open-minded punks. It is hard to get involved in the international hardcore/punk scene or to communicate with friends or bands from Europe or the USA knowing that we come from a far-far away land called Indonesia. I have found some stubborn punks who think that their scene is the best, or their band is big, so they don’t care to answer my e-mails or messages, knowing that because I come from Indonesia, I will not boost their popularity. I call it elitism!

(Esa Zudas Krust interviewed by Shane Hunter 2013: n.pag.)

The elitism Esa identifies is a danger in academic research into ‘other’ cultures too, and as Sean Martin-Iverson points out:

[a]lthough the importance of the Indonesian scene within global punk has been increasingly recognized by other punks, punk scholars have been rather slow to catch up and still sometimes seem to think that London or New York is the centre of the punk universe.

An insider positioning in the global punk community is in many respects outweighed by the outsider status in terms of local social and cultural aspects – and this is reflected in the insider/outsider positioning of many

1. The mentions that are made of Indonesian punk include: *MaximumRockNRoll* – #351 August 2012 review of a Straight Answer record, #353 October 2012 reviews of the Proletar-Greber split and the KontraSosial-Warstruck split, #356 January 2013 reviews of The Majestic, the Total Anarchy-Fucktard split, and ‘No Man’s Land’ Oil compilation, #355 review of Zudas Krust (misspelled as Judas Krust) *Here Lies Your Gods* tape, #359 April 2013 features a centrefold photo spread with gigs from across Indonesia, #361 June 2013 review of Total Banxat *When The Death Comes True* tape, #362 July 2013 review of Salah Cetax zine, #365 review of Zudas Krust’s *Dogs of Doomland* record and an interview with Zudas Krust, #372 review of Milisi Kecoa’s split EP with Malaysian band Pusher, in *Ploppy Pants* #10 an article about Injakmati; and in *One Way Ticket To Cubesville* #14 a review of Zudas Krust’s *Here Lies Your Gods* tape.

of the researchers discussed here. A critical engagement with the ideas laid out in Edward Said's *Orientalism* warns against the tendency within western academia for simultaneous reification and denigration of 'exotic' cultures, and encourages vigilance against retrenchment of imperialist or neo-colonialist relations (Said 1985: 91). This 'exotic reification' is evident in Willi and Joliat's *Poison Island* 'zine' (2015). The photographs of Libertad Fest (which, as mentioned, were largely taken without prior permission) focus nearly exclusively on the punks who appear 'ethnically' Indonesian, even though perhaps 50 per cent of the festival attendees, and two of the bands, were white people from Europe, Australia and North America. It is also notable that several of the 'brown punks' photographed by Willi and Joliat are actually from Singapore, but since they neglected to actually interact with the punks or ask permission before taking photographs, they are ignorant of this detail. As Marjaana Jauhola identifies, '[a]nother aspect of [the] Asian/Indonesian/Acehnese punk movement is the question of geopolitics and of race [...] the gaze [is] on [the] Acehnese as they are "cute" or copying their western idols', or as Sean Martin-Iverson puts it, 'one more example of Indonesians filling a "western" form with a distinctly local content'. Willi and Joliat's selective representation of 'local' faces reifies these 'exotic' punks – their gaze is understandably drawn to a subject matter which is unfamiliar and interesting from their western perspective, but the international dimension of Libertad Fest is brushed aside in the process, resulting in a warped representation. In academia, Martin-Iverson identifies an expectation that:

[...] a study of a punk scene in Indonesia must focus primarily on their cultural difference in an ethnic, national or religious sense. At its worst, this becomes an assumption that white punks are just 'punks', and one can focus on their punk-ness, but brown punks are first and foremost *brown*, and one needs to focus on their brownness. (These days one can perhaps substitute in 'Muslim' for 'brown', but the effect is much the same). I do think this is beginning to change, and there's a growing scholarly interest in the globalization of punk and an awareness that the global 'centre of gravity' of punk is shifting, though perhaps not yet a real recognition that it has already shifted pretty substantially away from the West. It is becoming much less common that I am providing the 'token contribution about a scene in Asia' to punk-related projects or events, though it is still sadly rather rare for researchers *from Asia* to be invited to contribute.

(original emphasis)

Sean's point about contributions from Asia, or in this case more specifically from Indonesia, is key – and while Sean points to local researchers in this regard, contributions from those being researched are also vital, and this must be addressed in the construction of a non-exploitative methodology.

NOTES TOWARDS A NON-EXPLOITATIVE METHODOLOGY (RESEARCH OF THE PUNKS, BY THE PUNKS, FOR THE PUNKS)

The above considerations of research into 'punk Indonesia' have laid out a number of challenges that must be dealt with, but it is important that engaging with these issues is recognized as an opportunity to develop a research methodology which is beneficial not only to those being researched, but also to the research itself. This is more than an exercise in ethical tick-boxing, it creates

research which is dialogically engaged, sensitive, and deeply nuanced, while remaining rigorous, analytical and critical. To this end, Linda Tuhiwai Smith asks eight questions to appraise the potential for exploitation in approaches to ethnographic research among indigenous peoples, which are applicable in any number of contexts:

1. What research do we want done?
2. Who is it for?
3. What difference will it make?
4. Who will carry it out?
5. How do we want the research done?
6. How will we know it is worthwhile?
7. Who will own the research?
8. Who will benefit?

(Tuhiwai Smith 2000: 239)

These questions tackle the two core concerns highlighted throughout this article – research processes and research outputs. In addition to the now-familiar arguments around Orientalism, Said's critique also speaks to these particular methodological concerns. He champions:

[...] the right of formerly un- or mis-represented human groups to speak for and represent themselves in domains defined, politically and intellectually, as normally excluding them [...] Orientalism reconsidered in this wider and *libertarian* optic entails nothing less than the creation of new objects for a new kind of knowledge.

(Said 1985: 101, emphasis added)

This libertarian strand in Said's critique points to the usefulness of anarchist theoretical frameworks. Anarchism is concerned with oppression in all its forms, which lends it very well to the construction of non-exploitative methodologies. As suggested above, anarchism also provides a good 'ideological' fit with punk, not only in the practical overlaps between punk scenes and the anarchist movement, but also in punk's broader theoretical underpinnings (see Donaghey 2014, 2016). Further, with regard to the focus on 'insider' perspectives in this article, Uri Gordon highlights a tradition within anarchist theory and study of retaining 'a close relationship to its authors' activities as militants' (2007: 16) – anarchist research has often been, and continues to be, from an 'insider' position. Gordon continues:

[t]his type of theorising activity is, I think, part of what makes the anarchist tradition unique, or at least distinct, particularly from orthodox Marxism. To think like a Marxist is, first and foremost, to adopt an ontology and epistemology (dialectical materialism, class analysis), then to read off any political consequences from that basis. To think like an anarchist is, first and foremost, to adopt a certain orientation to doing politics, while acknowledging that a *plurality* of ontological and epistemological frameworks can fit in with it.

(2007: 16, emphasis added)

The 'plurality' identified by Gordon speaks to an anarchist deployment of the Kantian concept of antinomy, a core approach within anarchism from

its earliest theoretical explications by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon describes the concept of antinomies as the 'plurality of elements, the struggle of elements, the opposition of contraries' (Proudhon cited in Morgan 2010: 302). This echoes Sean Martin-Iverson's identification of his research position as an 'insider/outsider dialectic', but I would stress that this is a dialectic without any resolving synthesis (i.e. not a Marxist-Hegelian dialectic). Diane Morgan makes clear that, in Proudhon's use of antinomies, these tensions and antagonisms are expressly *not* to be synthesized: '[o]ut of these antinomies, their conflicts and precarious equilibrium, comes growth and development; any fusional resolution or the elimination of one of the terms would be the equivalent of death' (Proudhon cited in Morgan 2010: 301, emphasis added). As Nicolas Walter puts it: '[w]e [anarchists] see history not as a linear or a dialectical development in one direction, but as a dualistic process [...] This tension is *never resolved*' ([1969] 2002: 30). An antinomous understanding avoids misleading simplifications of punk and its myriad contradictions and tensions. Stephen Duncombe, when questioned by Roger Sabin about the 'confused picture' that punk often presents, replied: '[w]e revel in that confusion!' (Duncombe in Sabin 2012: 107). This is the only useful approach for analysis of punk – any attempt to smooth over this confusion results in skewed and dishonest reflections. In addition to the 'ideological' connection with anarchism, there is also here a theoretical connection with punk. Punk is not understandable in terms of a linear narrative, and any claim that punk 'is' something can readily be countered with an equally valid claim that it 'is not'. There is a clear recognition that punk is made-up of innumerable influences that cannot be bulldozered into simplicity, and that these antagonisms within punk provide the tensions along which it constantly evolves. Punk is an excellent example of antinomy at work within the realm of culture, providing this theoretical and methodological 'fit'. Punk's amorphous character is identified by Sandra Jeppesen, who writes that 'there are as many categories of punks as there are bands' (2011: 36). Tim Yohannan, founding editor of *MaximumRockNRoll* zine, similarly argued that 'if you ask any two people who say they're into punk what it is, you're just gonna get totally different answers [...] It's *not a definable thing* any longer' (Yohannan interviewed by Turner 1995: 182, emphasis added); Brian Cogan observes that 'punk is best seen as a virus, one that mutates constantly and *resists efforts at understanding and codification*' (Cogan 2007: 79, emphasis added).

The ongoing negotiation of the contributors' insider/outsider research perspectives, discussed above, fits well with the embrace of complication that antinomy allows. In this respect Said re-emerges as a key point of reference, embracing 'a plurality of audiences and constituencies' rather than:

[...] working on behalf of One audience which is the only one that counts, or for one supervening, overcoming Truth [...] On the contrary, we note here a plurality of terrains, multiple experiences, and different constituencies [...] [W]hat might be called a decentred consciousness, *not less reflective and critical for being decentred*.

(Said 1985: 105–06, emphasis added)

Grounded Theory Method, at least in the form explicated by Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, embraces this plurality, so stands as a methodological approach that operates consistently alongside the anarchist antinomous framework suggested here. As Strauss and Corbin put it:

[b]ecause they embrace the interaction of multiple actors, and because they emphasize the temporality and process, [Grounded Theories] indeed have a striking fluidity [...] They demand an openness of the researcher, based on the 'forever' provisional character of every theory. (1975: 279)

So while maintaining empirical rigour, no theory which claims to be 'definitive' should be trusted. In terms of being dialogical and non-exploitative, Strauss and Corbin assert that 'interpretations *must* include the perspectives and voices of the people whom we study' (1975: 274, emphasis added). This emphasis on 'giving voice' is shared by Emma Baulch and Jeremy Wallach in their research into 'punk Indonesia'. Emma says that she 'was keen to explore ways of writing that enabled the voices of the musicians to come through', while Jeremy asserts that '[t]he way [to] truly understand punk in Indonesia is to go to working-class neighbourhoods and hang out on the streets'. Frans Prasetyo takes this approach into his photography work as well:

I usually get [a] free ticket [for] major, underground or small gigs. Although I can get free access to the backstage, I rarely went there. I prefer taking photos from [the] audience's point of view [...] I want to feel how the audiences [do], taking photos from their spot. But if the show is a smaller gig and exclusive, organized by collectives like Punk PI/Pyrate Punk or Balkot, I participate in the arena, moshing while also taking pictures.

Jeremy adopted an 'attitude [...] of humility' and 'rarely challenged what people told me because I wanted to find out what they thought and valued'. While this is certainly effective in terms of giving voice to the punks, it risks an absence of critique, or, by not discussing critical points with the punks themselves, confines critique to post-fieldwork analysis by the researcher. Gordon pushes the emphasis on 'giving voice' further, to argue that:

[...] the process of generating anarchist theory itself has to be *dialogical*, in the sense that both the people whose ideas and practices are examined, and the people who are going to be formulating theory on their basis, have to be involved in the process of theorising. Only from this dialogical connectedness can the anarchist theorist draw the confidence to speak.

(2007: 14, emphasis added)

Gordon points to similar perspectives as espoused by Marianne Gullestad and Sandra Jeppesen to argue that the voice of the intellectual should no longer come 'from above, but from within' (Gordon 2007: 14, citing: Gullestad 1999; Jeppesen 2004). An insider anarchist approach dovetails with Grounded Theory Method's emphasis on 'giving voice', and contributes to a methodology which is dialogical and non-exploitative.

Many of the researchers included as contributors to this article employed methodologies which put a similar emphasis on inclusivity and dialogue – not just 'giving voice' to the punks being researched, but also including them in the analytical aspects of the research process. As noted above, discussion, argument and self-critique are an integral part of the punk scene and both Erik Hannerz and Sean Martin-Iverson engaged in this analytical

dialogue during fieldwork to enrich their research. During his fieldwork, Erik 'frequently discussed the initial analysis with my key informants, my focus then being on what they disagreed with rather than approved' – so Erik intentionally focused discussion on controversial aspects of his analysis, adding depth and nuance, but could do so in the knowledge that (self-)interrogation of this sort is accepted as normal within punk. This also speaks to Said's 'decentred consciousness' – the inclusion of the punks being researched at the analytical level *does not diminish the criticality* of the researcher or the research. Sean Martin-Iverson echoes Strauss and Corbin's emphasis on 'the "forever" provisional character of every theory' and the 'openness' that this engenders in the researcher:

[...] theory is not just applied but is enmeshed in the research process itself; indeed, discussing and debating social theory was a key aspect of my participation in the community. In a more general sense members of the community I studied are involved in critical analysis of their own practices as a key part of their practices. So, I can't readily separate out my conceptual analysis from my fieldwork data, as they are already deeply entangled.

This dialogical approach is maintained beyond the fieldwork context as well. Frans Prasetyo stated his openness to criticism: 'Responses will be varied but everything is good. If there is a criticism, [it is] received well and I will fix it. *It's a communication matter*' (emphasis added). This approach was manifested in my own research method through sending draft versions of the research case studies to the interviewees, with an invitation for comment, correction, and critique, and even veto over content attributed to them. Importantly, this gave final control of their own representation back to the interviewees. This approach was successful in ironing-out some factual misunderstandings and spelling errors, as well as enhancing the logical aspect of the research method. However, it must be noted that the majority of interviewees did not respond to the e-mails containing the draft work. This might be due to inaccurate e-mail addresses (though the bounce-rate was actually very low), and in the Indonesian context is also likely to have been influenced by the language barrier. Even respondents with a high level of conversational competence in English are likely to find academic 'formal' writing to be challenging (or just boring!). In all cases it might simply be the case that interviewees lacked the time or inclination to read through draft work and offer comment, and they were under no obligation to do so. While this approach did yield some useful and enlightening feedback from interviewees, its success was limited. But even without interviewee responses, this methodological approach promoted a democratic, decentred consciousness on the part of the researcher in terms of representing interviewees' testimony accurately, and any subtle temptations to do otherwise were closed-off.

This dialogical approach serves to blur the line between researcher and 'researchee' (they are no longer merely 'research subjects', after all). This blurring is most complete in collaborative work with punks in Indonesia, and brings insider/outsider considerations to the fore once again. For example, Marjaana Jauhola, as an outsider to 'punk Indonesia', has collaborated with Yudi Bolong who is involved in the punk scene in Aceh (Jauhola and Bolong 2014, and their article in this journal issue), and Sean Martin-Iverson, as an outsider to the Indonesian punk context, has collaborated with Frans Prasetyo (Prasetyo and Martin-Iverson 2013, 2015). These collaborations

are simultaneously dialogical in their research process *and* research output. Marjaana describes this collaboration as ‘a joint process of learning about local “punk politics”’:

[f]or me this process was a very important way of reversing the gaze, and allowing the punks to do analysis of the impacts of the academia, especially the ones who collaborate with the authorities – but also engage in discussions about informed consent, research ethics, and [...] reclaiming voice [in] research.

Marjaana was also explicit about the importance of the form of research outputs:

[...] experimenting [with] these forms of [joint] analysis and publications [...] challeng[es] [...] forms of research that are kept behind paywalls, or just by academic language (be it Indonesian, or any other language) exclude the researched, or at least make it difficult for them to gain access to what has been written of them [...] How often do ‘we’ consult the people before our final products are published, and how do we make such publications available to the communities that we research, or write about?

In terms of research output, two of the most crucial questions asked by Tuhiwai Smith, above, are: Who will own the research?; Who will benefit? To answer these questions in relation to my own research, the outputs are in some sense ‘mine’, in that I am the researcher and author, but the views presented remain those of the individual interviewees, and their role in developing analysis and critique is readily acknowledged. In terms of proprietorial ‘ownership’, I assert no copyright (despite the requirements of academic journals to include copyright assertions). To use Creative Commons licensing terminology, I regard my work as ‘Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International’ – to be shared freely (though not for commercial use), preferably with authorial attribution. In terms of who benefits from the research, of course I have benefitted, financially in terms of three years of funding for Ph.D. research and additional travel funding, and personally from being able to engage in fulfilling, relatively unalienated work for the last four years and more, and having the opportunity to travel and meet a huge number of inspiring people in Indonesia and elsewhere. New empirical information and critical analysis is of benefit to the academic community and there is also a contribution (or challenge) to the anarchist movement and punk scene by providing material, framing debates, and offering analysis, which participants may find useful in (re-)evaluating their own perspectives.

As Marjaana Jauhola emphasizes above, access to research outputs by those being researched is crucial – these outputs must be accessible by them and be of benefit to them. Matias Tammiala highlights the alienating effects of the academic format: ‘I am not saying that non-academic people are not able to read these kinds of studies, but [they] can be tiresome to read with all the “extra” stuff in them’, and to address this issue he intends ‘to write a non-academic piece based on my thesis, one that focuses on the subject matter, leaving theories and methodologies out’. As mentioned above, Sean Martin-Iverson has written about his research in local Bandung zines, Frans Prasetyo

'always distributed the results of my research to the public and of course punk friends. *That is my contribution to this scene*' (emphasis added), and I have so far published three zines related to my academic research into punk (Anon. 2013; Tilbürger and Kale 2014; Zindiq 2016). Online formats represent another crucial point of access in this regard, but it is clear that the form of research outputs, and their accessibility by punks, is a prominent concern for insider research into 'punk Indonesia'.

Two methodological principles can, then, be condensed out of the above considerations:

1. Research processes should be dialogical – this moves beyond simply 'giving voice' to those being researched, to also involve those voices in the analysis and critique.
2. Research outputs should be accessible by, and beneficial to, those being researched.

Not only do these basic approaches help to avoid the myriad potentials for academic exploitation of punk, they also help to build research that is nuanced and representative – these approaches are beneficial in terms of both ethics and rigour. These principles are also highly flexible and non-prescriptive. In terms of my own research this was manifested through engagements with anarchist epistemology, Orientalism and Grounded Theory Method, but they are not limited to these theoretical and methodological approaches. As discussed, these considerations have largely been drawn from engagement with insider research perspectives, but, again, these can equally be applied in outsider research as well.

CONCLUSION

As is evident in this article, research into 'punk Indonesia' brings numerous important issues to the fore in interesting ways. Reflection on research approaches in this context is particularly useful in developing a non-exploitative methodology, and the range of perspectives of the contributing researchers here has deepened that critical reflection. The vignette at the beginning of this article, of a gig in Indonesia, served to remind of punk's energy and exuberance. Admittedly, there has been a fair amount of academic dirge in this article, using lots of rarefied academese (see Ryde and Bestley 2016), but the point of all that has been to find ways to research punk that represent that energy and exuberance faithfully, while protecting punk scenes from exploitation. The focus here has been on insider research, and as Mariam Bastani of *MaximumRockNRoll* argued above, if we don't research and critique our own punk scenes/movement/culture, other people will, and with far less concern for the effects that research has. However, it is crucial that we don't repeat the research methods that have already done so much to exploit punk – and the non-exploitative methodologies we develop as insiders can then be adopted by outsiders to enhance their research as well.

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APPENDIX

E-mail questionnaire sent to contributors:

1. Why study punk? And why study punk in Indonesia? How did this research focus come to your attention? Was it easy to do (in terms of access, funding, institutional support, etc.)?
2. How are you positioned as a researcher? I'm interested in the idea of being an 'insider' in some respects and an 'outsider' in others. How did this positioning affect your research? Was it something that you gave a lot of consideration to?
3. What was it like to do the research? Please include details of how long your research lasted, where you visited, which scenes you were engaged with, etc., but I would also be interested to hear anecdotal stories of your research experience. How did you feel during the process?
4. In retrospect, is there anything you would have done differently during the research? Would you have taken a different approach in general? Did any new avenues of investigation appear that you would like to revisit?
5. What was your approach to analysing the research data? To what extent did you apply theory? To what extent did you critique the research information? Were your research subjects included in this process in any way? In these questions I'm interested to understand the role of the researcher in terms of interpreting information, especially interviewee testimony. Do you take the interviewee at face-value, or are you more critical?
6. How has your research been received (both by the academy and by the punks)?

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musical excreta include a riotgrrrrlfolk outfit called Gulder, some conscious hip hop called Themuns (feat. Yousuns), and a subtle-as-a-brick d-beat/hard-core band called Lawfucker.

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