Hybridisation as territorialisation:
The development of the Balinese punk scene, 1996-9[1]

Introduction

Over the course of 1996 – 9, Balinese punk underwent considerable transformation. It emerged in early 1996 amidst media deregulation policies, by which the government surrendered its monopoly over television and opened the recording industry to foreign investment. In this context, Bali's budding punk scene was nurtured by the media's heavy promotion of US punk band Green Day's February 1996 concert in Jakarta.

As well as a number of newly-formed Green Day cover bands, the Balinese scene also included some older, Nirvana-inspired grunge bands. However, it wasn't until early 1996 that these became collectively recognised among local musicians as an alternative scene (*anak alternatif*). Owing to the conflation of the terms *alternatif* and *punk* in local discourses, and due to the seminal role of alternative music in the subsequent development of a punk scene, I have referred to the genre of punk which emerged as a scene in early 1996 as alternapunk.

In spite of its disparate condition, the alternapunk scene was characterised by its adherents' common identification with a metropolitan 'core of disorder'. As I argue in the first section of this paper below, this can be read as an instance of rupture or dislocation, and is supported by the fact that, as interviews with them reveal, alternapunk musicians experienced their lives as a dual existence made up of, on the one hand, spaces and moments of 'Balinese-ness' and, on the other, those of release and spontaneity.

As of early 1996, the punks' idealisation of 'disorder' was yet to be indigenised via a territorialisation into local spaces, nor was it embodied as a distinctive aesthetic. By 1999, however, after a series of transformations, Balinese punks had laid claim to a number of public spaces around Denpasar where, by virtue of mohawks, leather jackets, chains, spikes and jackboots, they cohered around a distinct punk style. In addition, underground gigs at which punk bands performed took place several times a month, a number of local punk bands had produced albums and distributed them by way of local underground networks, and developed their own aggressive version of the dance style known as the pogo.

In the second section of this paper, I show how the punks' attempts to ground an ideal disorder in their locale took the form of a progressive transformation as described briefly above, and in which issues of style, territory and solidarity were intricately bound up. Specifically, I argue that the nature of this transformation raises three important points.

Firstly, the progressive indigenisation of 'disorder' in Balinese punk challenges the idea that subcultures are necessarily fated to recuperation (Hebdige, 1979). In this way, it confirms subsequent analyses of punk in various places which have demonstrated a capacity to elude co-option (Fuchs, 1998; Goldthorpe, 1992; Davies, 1996). That Balinese punk may have begun as relatively unspectacular instances of mass culture consumption does not necessarily preclude subsequent subversions.

A second important point that emerges from observations of Balinese punk is the interconnectedness of embodied style and space, for the genre's changing aesthetic followed its territorial shifts. Thus, below, I argue that in order to read Balinese punk accurately, we need to look beyond style to its roots in a politics of space. This point challenges Lyman and Scott's (1989: 32) contention that "exercising freedom over body territory provides a more fruitful approach to those for whom public territories are denied and home territories difficult or impossible to maintain." That is, it demonstrates, the interdependence of the existence of home territories in which intimacy and solidarity among particpants I secured, and sartorial spectacularity. This can further be read as an affirmation of Maffesoli's (1996: 10) point that an aesthetic paradigm merely expresses a "sense of fellow feeling", for "whereas the individualistic logic is founded on a separate and self-contained identity, the persons

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can only find fulfilment in his relations with others."

The case under study challenges the idea that globalisation tends to dilute the salience of centre-periphery divides, for in Balinese youths' consumption of alternative music, centre-periphery discourses featured highly. Further, Balinese alternapunk disproves hypotheses that globalisation promotes diversity and can help liberate youths from oppressive state discourses. Rather than resisting the increasing ubiquity of a centre perceived as 'neo-colonial' in a prevailing regionalist discourse, Balinese alternapunk musicians idealised the metropole as a sanctuary of the essential values inherent in their genre of choice – an essence which, in their view, was not present in 'Balineseness'. In this way, Balinese alternapunks effected cultural renewal not by incorporating a global code into pre-existing Balinese repertoires and thus spawning hybrid forms, but by defying a local regionalist discourse and identifying with the "periphery's 'foreign' Other, the centre" (Warren, 1995: 385).

I. Creating a scene, 1996

Notes on the scene
In Bali, the promotional work for the Green Day concert had already taken audible effect by the end of 1995. Although they had only played in the capital, and with ticket prices at a prohibitive Rp60,000, Green Day's music echoed throughout the province. Local teenage boys were coming together in threes and fours, in bedrooms and studios to organise as alternative bands. This became evident at Sunday Hot Music (SHM), Bali's only regular, pan-genre gig, which had been held over four consecutive Sundays in the month of May in 1994 and 1995 but, due to increasing numbers of bands applying for selection, went bi-weekly in the beginning of 1996. A broad range of genres performed at SHM. The event showcased six bands per gig, three of which were 'senior'[i] bands who were invited by the organisers and three of which were selected from the bi-weekly auditions. Any one gig thus included a combination of classic rock, pop, reggae, heavy metal, death metal/ grindcore/thrash and alternative/punk.

In the context of the official restrictions rock musicians suffered in the aftermath of the Metallica riots, SHM provided the kind of pan-genre, public event that the local band scene had been lacking. Furthermore, it added four such events to the island's annual gig calendar - significant indeed considering that the event offered genres of rock music the kind of performance space they had been denied for the rest of the year from 1993-1996. And yet, the musicians I interviewed in early 1996 remembered this as a gig-less period, a quiet time, a vacuum, and a lull, thus intimating that SHM's Month of Sundays was unable to keep pace with the sharp increase in the number of bands over the same period. Indeed, many recalled the formation of increasing numbers of bands that had preceded SHM's bi-weekly event. Further, there was a common perception among non-alternapunk musicians that, not only was the band boom characterised by particular enthusiasm for alternative music, but that it was specifically dominated by Green Day cover bands.

The line-ups at the eight SHMs that took place in 1996 do not support this view. Nevertheless, this essay does not aim to pursue an objective truth, and the above-mentioned exaggerations only serve to reinforce the validity of remembering as a practice of identity.[ii] Below, I show how the perception that Green Day cover bands dominated the scene, if falsely premised, was politically significant. Green Day, that is, was symbolic of a metropolitan superculture which musicians experienced primarily as a media (specifically television)-scape. Non-alterna-punks perceived this mediascape as uncompromisingly foreign – both antithetical and threatening to a pre-existing and authentic youth culture of which they were a part. In this way, the othering of alternapunk parallels a regionalist discourse that had been taking place in the broader society.

The othering of alterna-punk as regionalist discourse
A common feature of scholarly writings on Bali's experience of globalisation is cartoons. Rubinstein and Connor (1999), Vickers (1996) and Picard (1996) all make use of such images by Balinese artists, and Warren (1998) refers to such caricatures as part of a local critical discourse which contested official formulations of development and progress. Land ownership and territoriality were frequent themes in the works of Balinese

cartoonists throughout the 1990s. Their caricatures ironically superimpose symbols of indigeneity (live pigs, Hindu shrines, bare-chested men dressed in *sarong* and the Balinese *udeng* head-dress) upon those of the metropole's local presence (golf courses, the concrete jungle, television). The comic value of these superimpositions highlights the unlikelihood of such co-existence.[iii] A dichotomy is thus achieved.

Warren (1998) refers to the role of cartoons in popularising dichotomous notions of Balinese culture in the context of a mass reflection on Balinese identity, prompted by the tourism boom which began in the late 1980s.[iv] She observes how caricatures of Balinese identities regularly published in the <u>Bali Post</u> set big capital against the little person, private against communal interests and cultural pollution against cultural authenticity. In her prolific commentary on the emergence of a regionalist discourse in Bali, she posits (1995:385) that

The use of environmental tropes by critics - reference to the natural and cultural erosion, the 'concrete jungle' of the urban cultural landscape and so on - is frequently associated with a contentious expression of distrust of contempt for the peripheries' 'foreign' other, the Centre. This perhaps suggests the beginning of a regionalist discourse of considerable import to the hold of the previously dominant form of centrist nationalism.

The discourse of alternapunk bore similarities to this nascent regionalism, for reggae and death metal musicians commonly associated compliance, naivete, lack of creativity, vulnerability and 'ABG'[v] with the practice of alternapunk. Further, Green Day, television and Jakarta were equally implicated in the perceived 'cultural grey-out'[vi] of the local band scene. In this way, the othering of alternapunk depicted alternapunk musicians as caricatures which relied on dichotomies such as those identified by Warren (1998) in cartoons in the local press. That is, to non-alternapunks, alternapunk represented the rootless pollutant against which death metal and reggae musicians defined their respective authenticities.

Of particular importance in shaping the definition of alternapunk was the space of the shopping mall. Shopping malls mushroomed all over Indonesia in the 1990s, effecting considerable transformation of urban landscapes across the archipelago. Frequently, malls accommodated subcultural practices. Nevertheless, in Bali, the dominant portrayal of malls was as symbols of an encroaching metropolitan superculture – a kind of neo-colonialism in action, which threatened to obliterate the agrarian values and local livelihoods contained in the traditional marketplace. For example, in a spate of articles which appeared in the local press in 1995-6 and decried the chaotic and imposed nature of Denpasar's development, the shopping mall was strongly implicated in the city's transformation.[vii]

As demonstrated above, the alternapunks were viewed with contempt by 'senior' musicians across the board. But in this performative aspect, the important role of the dialogue between death metal and alternapunk musicians in shaping the discourse of alternapunk becomes clear. Significantly, death metal musicians performed their othering of alternapunk via a conspicuous absence from the mall. In their explanations of why they chose not to display themselves at the mall, death metal musicians reconjured the caricature of the alternapunk musicians as a definitively rich, compliant teenybopper.

But if the death metal musicians demonised the metropole, the alternapunks idealised it; if the death metal musicians practised a conspicuous absence from the shopping mall, the alternapunks gestured towards it. [viii] One is tempted to view alternapunk's idealisation of the metropole as evidence of its incorporation into a dominant, hegemonic discourse. But as I shall attempt to demonstrate below, it is also possible to view alternapunk's quest for deracination as an attempt to unhinge from a dominant discourse specific to this 'peripheral' locale.

Alternapunk: 'lifestyle shopping' or 'ludic practice of resistance'?
Several writers have drawn on theories of *ludus* (play) to highlight the importance of play in social practice. Victor Turner for example, asserts that "the way people play is perhaps more profoundly revealing of a culture that the way they work" (1983: 104). Some writers have cited even conviviality, humour and play as strategies

deployed by the weak, or the masses, to survive authoritarianism. For example, Appadurai (1996:7) mentions humour as one of the strategies people deploy in their critical consumption of images of the mass media. Citing his childrens' (naively) subversive idealisation of communist villains, Heryanto differentiates such "convivial misreadings" from "resistance ala James Scott's <u>Weapons of the Weak</u> (and) Mikhail Bakhtin's topsy turvy carnival" (1999b: 162). Rather, he draws parallels between the New Order's autobiographical meta-narrative and Mbembe's simulacral regimes which "free up the potential for play, improvisation and amusement within the very limits set by officialdom" (Mbembe in Heryanto, 1999b: 163). Writing of the everyday idiom *koh ngomong* ('I can't be bothered talking about it')*,* Santikarma (1995:2) claims that the "weak engage in tactical procedures of consumption", and in doing so create spaces for "integrity and humour at the expense of the powers that be." Hetherington further links ludic strategies of resistance with liminoid practices (see Turner, 1997: 37), and asserts that "expressive identities are established through liminoid practices that embody carnivalesque modes of ordering" (Hetherington, 1998a: 101).

Play and conviviality, however, may not always appear subversive. For example, Hetherington (1998a: 1) refers to lifestyle shopping as "consumption practices and lifestyles that are indicative of the playful and style conscious arena of identity performance and bricolage among urban, middle class young shoppers interested in malls and designer labels", thus recalling death metal's depiction of the alternapunks as compliant fashion victims.

In the current discussion, it is useful to examine Hetherington's proposed link between carnivalesque modes of ordering, ludic and liminoid practices and identity formation. The Balinese alternapunks hinted at a similar nexus, for they attributed both oppositional and ludic qualities to their genre of choice, as the following comments reveal:

Alternative music is easy to digest and simple to play.

<div align="right">Obligasi</div>

Grunge I reckon refers to freedom. Playing freely, more expressive… spirited… energetic.

<div align="right">Utero</div>

There's more freedom of expression in punk and you don't get tired listening to it.

<div align="right">Rest in Peace</div>

The concept of punk is freedom of appreciation. Free! Yell whatever… Punk is anti-establishmentarian.
… We are fed up with everything (*jenuh dengan segala sesuatu yang ada*), actually. The crux of it is that we want to be different. Whatever the mainstream likes, we hate it.

<div align="right">Superman is Dead</div>

These comments, particularly Superman is Dead's call to "yell whatever… punk is anti-establishmentarian." Yet, in an effort to ascertain the local implications of such anti-establishmentarianism, when I asked the musicians how their professed desire for freedom connected with their own lives, they were quick to deny any link.

It's hard to be carefree (like Kurt Cobain) here… you can't really in Bali cos our lives are ordered by tradition. It's not that we want to be released (*lepas*). We still believe in God. We have to choose the right moment: if we're hanging around with our friends, it's OK to let go. But if there's a ceremony we have to forget all that… we have to be flexible.

<div align="right">Obligasi</div>

Our anti-establishmentarianism is not a lifestyle (sic.). We want to have a good life… only to be anti-establishment in our music.

<div align="right">Superman is Dead</div>

These comments suggest that an aspiration to some kind of liberation, release or anti-establishmentarianism was inherent in the practise of alternapunk. And yet, whenever I urged the musicians to explain how they grounded those aspirations in the reality of their everyday lives, they constantly proved ungraspable, leaving little but a mild cynicism of alternity's ephemeral nature. Thus, when I sought to root alternapunk in pre-existing indigenous repertoires, the musicians did not refer me to a specifically local frame of reference or mode of non-compliance but, rather, back to the mediascape of alternity itself, as if alternity touched nothing of real value for young Balinese and as if, indeed, it was hyperreal, that it "denegated the real and the reality principle", thus causing the "disappearance of meaning and representation": that it was its "own pure simulacrum" (Baudrillard, 1993: 4). At first glance, that is, alterna-punk seemed to be little more than an example of Hetherington's above-mentioned lifestyle shopping (1998a: 1).

This hypothesis is supported by the alternapunks' stylistic blandness and performative unresponsiveness in the spaces they frequented in the first half of 1996 – the shopping mall and SHM. Such seeming unresponsiveness contrasts the shots of the Jakarta Alternative Pop Festival published in Hai magazine which portray alternity as a convivial style. The punters depicted in Hai sport brilliantly coloured hair, an abundance of cheap jewellery, and swimming goggles. The are photographed grinning awkwardly, brimming with enthusiasm, revelling in the celebratory atmosphere of the mosh pit where child-like bodies are tossed skyward and, limbs flailing, cushioned from the hard earth by a sea of upturned palms.

The performance of Balinese alterna-punk at Sunday Hot Music in early 1996 was in stark contrast to these images. At SHM, when Superman is Dead and Utero performed in March, and Triple Punk and Obligasi did so in May, they sparked none of the celebratory and aggressive energy suggested by Hai's alternative imagery. Rather, fans and friends remained firmly and solemnly planted, cross-legged, and in their silence and motionlessness rendered the performance similar to a television show. Nor was the Festival's convivial style repeated at SHM. Whilst some of the performers followed Green Day's Billy Joe in donning a slip, or shirt sleeves and a fat novelty tie, the punters formed a 'straight' mass of jeans and t-shirts. Thus, in spite of the fact that two members of Superman is Dead, Jerink and Bobby, had attended the Green Day concert in Jakarta and excitedly recounted the abundance of jackboots, chains and mohawks there, the Balinese scene remained untextured by the true grit that had peppered the Green Day gig.

Stylistic blandness was also a feature of alternapunk's performance in the shopping mall - a space with which, as mentioned above, alterna-punk had become stereotypically associated. In 1996, the alternapunks' choice of hangout was Nu Dewata Ayu (NDA). Unlike Matahari and Siwa Plaza, the other two malls that existed in Denpasar at the time, NDA had no food halls and thus no space where alterna-punks could legally gather and interact in a spontaneous fashion as they might have done at Matahari. Whilst they could gather in booths at Matahari's KFC or Swensen's without being compelled to consume, the McDonald's that served as an annex to NDA was reserved for conspicuous consumption, and loiterers were moved on. When the alterna-punks entered the building they were therefore channeled directly to Timezone, where verbal interaction was minimalised and the attention focussed on objects of consumption. When they gathered at NDA, it was the alternapunks who appeared to be consumed.

This was first brought to my attention when, after interviewing them for the first time in April 1996, SID members invited me to join them on an afternoon out at NDA. I accepted eagerly, expecting to join other musicians and enthusiasts there and to sit around chatting. Instead, I was led up the escalator to a space in one corner of the unused top floor, and a scene reminiscent of my own teenagehood where bleeping and roaring video games obliterated any possibility of conversation; then left alone to feign interest as the boys engaged with their screens.

The question of intent
In its performative aspect, therefore, alternapunk identity appeared to be in line with the naïve and compliant stereotype that had been cast. Yet, in hindsight, this is clearly not the case, for over the course of 1997-8, the

alternapunk musicians developed as an increasingly aggressive and oppositional punk underground movement. The stereotype of the alternapunk musicians as naïve and compliant also does not gel well with the sense I gained from conversations with them as responsive, creative people who harboured sharp senses of irony.[ix]

It may be that their initial unresponsiveness can be attributed to the role of media imagery in inspiring them to establish alternative bands.[x] Indeed, one aspect of the stereotypical images with which the alternapunk musicians concurred was the role of media imagery in inspiring them to form alternative bands. That is, whilst they acknowledged the role of SHM in affording them with a performance space, like those observers who identified television, video and cassettes as the source of enthusiasm for Green Day and alternative music in general, it was the a-theatrical process of media consumption that alterna-punk musician's identified as the source of their genre of choice.

The role alterna-punk musicians attributed to the media in inspiring them to embark on careers as musicians raises questions about how they related to these images. To what, specifically, did these images link them? Their answers to this question contain a number of common themes and reveal some curious instances of subversive readings. One of these themes is the idea that the media images issued from a core ('Jakarta' or 'Java') which contained not only the heart of the nation's music industry but also certain ideal values perceived as the essence of alternity.

Jakarta, therefore, featured highly in the alternapunks' self-definitions, just as it did in the reggae and death metal musicians' perceptions of them. Notably different, however, is the ways in which these two groups related to the metropole. Whilst the non-alternapunks identified Jakarta as the source of cultural pollution, the alternapunks associated it with authenticity.[xi]

By locating alternity's cultural centre at the heart of the music industry in the national metropole, interviewees constructed Bali as peripheral to the scene; as a fringe where alternity's core values were significantly diluted. That is, their idealisation of the metropole served as a counterpoint for their characterisations of Balinese youth. Specifically, the alternative musicians I interviewed lamented local youths' unresponsive (*loyo*) consumption of media images which, in their opinions, ran counter to the ideals of sponteneity and disorderliness contained at alternity's metropolitan core. These critical characterisations of local youth served to distance the alternapunks from the 'fashion victim' stereotype with which alternative music had become associated.

The alternapunk musicians also identified themselves in opposition to death metal and reggae, respectively. They associated reggae with the spaces of the tourism industry, and a realm in which artistic freedoms were restricted. The Balinese alternapunks thus shied away from performing in tourist bars, similar to the manner in which death metal musicians performed an absence from the shopping mall. In contrast to death metal musicians, which they cast as primarily concerned with virtuosity, order, frustration, angst, melody and exclusivity, alterna-punks reified disorder, egalitarianism, release, grunge, lack of control and openness.

The clarity and consensus among alterna-punks in the way they positioned themselves vis-a-vis the metropole, reggae, death metal and the stereotypical 'fashion victim' image of alternity suggests that they were (self-)consciously engaged in a practice of negotiating identity, thus defying their stereotyped reputation in the local band scene as naïve and vulnerable. This reading forces a reappraisal of the musicians' hesitance to link alternity's core values with what it meant to them to be Balinese, interpreted above as an example of the alternapunk's temporary and ephemeral nature. In the present context, such hesitance becomes evidence of the fact that the young men who played in punk and grunge bands understood their lives as a dual existence made up of moments experienced in, on the one hand, the restricted, tradition-ordered realm of indigeneity and, on the other, the release, freedom and anti-establishmentarianism possible when they played their music.

II: Territorialisation: *punk moderen*, 1997 – *punk anarki*, 1999

1997: punk moderen as 'scene'
Whilst the musicians I interviewed in early 1996 idealised disorderliness, spontaneity, aggression and spiritedness, the absence of a spectacular performativity made alternapunk appear lacklustre and non-responsive. Punk bands performing at Sunday Hot Music (SHM) in 1996 were met with a blank, motionless mass whose body politic rendered them indistinguishable from those who attended the gig for professional reggae and Top 40 bands. However, by the time SHM recommenced as a 'month of Sundays'[xii] in mid 1997, the punk scene had metamorphosed.

As always, the line up at Sunday Hot Music included a variety of genres. When Superman is Dead (SID) played at SHM in 1996, they were largely ignored as the audience anticipated well-practised reggae or Top 40 covers bands. But, if the audience had little time for SID at SHM in 1996, when they headed the bill at the 1997 event, the vast majority of punters had come expressly to revel in their set at the end of the night. This was evident in the abundance of punk uniforms, consisting of black t-shirts (most of which announced the punk slogan 'Punk Not Dead', the anarchy symbol or allegiance to either NOFX and Rancid), motorbike helmets, oversized key chains and padlock pendants, as well as in the crowd's roared response to a microphone test as the band was setting up. When the band finally struck up, the entire basketball court, which until then had accommodated a seated mass, rose and formed a vast pit, resembling a whirlpool as punters spiralled to a psychedelic, swirling guitar intro.

Alternapunk was marked off from its successive *moderen* and *anarki* phases by the genre's increasing coherence as a scene. As described in the previous chapter, the alternapunks' orientation towards the mall was ambivalent. Whilst SID members associated their musical identities with a presence at the NDA, the mall was not, to coin Lyman and Scott's (1989: 25) phrase, an "interactional territory" in which social gatherings occur and which are surrounded by "a kind of social membrane". Alternapunk had no such "membrane" at NDA, nor did ritual alternapunk gatherings take place there. If the alternapunks cohered at all, it was around a common idealisation of the metropole, but this was not embodied in spatial practice. Thus, unlike death metal, which cohered around warungs and banjar halls, the alternapunks allegiance to a space was weak. Their interactions only took place on an imaginary level in a mediascape, for in physical space they never came together informally. Each band seemed to exist in isolation from the others, and displayed a nonchalance and indifference towards the work and experiences of fellow alternapunk bands.

The imagined nature of alternapunk's coherence does not necessarily make it any less authentic than death metal as a 'scene'. As Cohen (1999: 242-3) notes, literature on popular music scenes is fraught with a tension between, on the one hand, the notion that "scenes are associated with notions of community, heritage and local identity" and, on the other, more recent efforts to reconceptualise scenes "in order to shift emphasis from music as local culture to music as global, mobile culture."

In his argument for the latter definition, Straw (1991: 369) critiques rock sociology's ethnomusicological insistence on linking authenticity with geographical rootedness. Rather than as communities, Straw defines scenes as cultural spaces "in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other and a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization." Further, such cultural spaces may often be imagined, rather than real:

Popular music scholars and analysts of the cultural industries have generally been less attentive to ways in which…migrations of populations and the formation of cultural diaspora… have transformed the global circulation of cultural forms, creating lines of influence and solidarity different from, but no less meaningful, than those observable within geographically circumscribed communities.

My analysis of alternapunk presented above supports Straw's argument. Whilst the practice of alternapunk was not clearly rooted in a local territory, its 'scenic' nature is suggested by the fact that alternapunk musicians commonly associated the practice of alternapunk with an idealisation of the metropole, which they identified as

a core of ideal values, such as sponteneity and carefree-ness. Thus, authenticity remained key to the construction of an imagined alternapunk community, but such authenticity was geographically dislocated, rather than rooted in the locale. This was a uniquely Balinese rendering of the metropolitan-based practice of alternity, thus affirming Cohen's (1999: 249) observation that "scenes both produce the local and move across and connect disparate places".

Nevertheless, if Straw (1991: 369) emphasises the increasingly global nature of "lines of influence and solidarity" in the creation of scenes, he fails to discuss the spaces in which such solidarity is enacted and maintained, thus inferring that such connections take place in a neutral nowhere. Olson (1998:271) criticises Straw for his inattention to the effectivity of scenes or, in Straw's own words (1991: 371) "how particular musical practices 'work' to produce a sense of community." If Straw's essay argues the need to free the definition of scenes from essentialist notions of local authenticity, Olson attempts to reground the scenic in the spatial. In building his argument (1998: 275) that "any theorization of, say, the Seattle scene must mark the relationship between Seattle, the city – a spatially bounded and geographically specific entity – and Seattle, the scene" , Olson (1998: 271) asserts that "…it is inaccurate to describe Straw's conception of scenes by using the common metaphor 'containers'. Containers possess the very powerful effectivity of containment – radical territorialization – but Straw's scenes do not seem to possess any effectivity at all."

The nature of Balinese punk's development suggests that such "radical territorialization" is both key to and influential of the evolution of identity practices within scenes. Clearly, an absence of territory makes for cultural stasis, for without a space in which to interact, the "possibilities of self-consciousness that represent the only means by which subcultures could transcend the ritualistic/ symbolic form of opposition and actually get around to changing social relationships" (Davies, 1996: 4) will always remain unrealised. Sara Cohen (1999: 240) acknowledges the importance of social interaction for the creation of scenes:

The scene is created through… people and their activities and interactions. Many forge close relationships with each other and form clusters or cliques, while others are part of looser networks or alliances. Such relationships involve a regular circulation and exchange of: information, advice, and gossip; instruments and technical support, and additional services; musical recordings, journals, and other products.

Such alliances and interactions were not a part of the alternapunks' world in 1996. That is, their interactions only took place on an imaginary level in a mediascape, for in physical space they never came together informally. Thus, Lyman and Scott's (1989: 22) schema, in which they posit that "the opportunities for freedom of action … are intimately connected with the ability to attach boundaries to space and command access to or exclusion from territories," offers some useful explanations as to the transformation of alternapunk's bland unresponsiveness into the more textured style which subsequently developed. In their view (1989: 22-26), the role of territory in identity formation becomes clear when it is understood as consisting of four categories: public territory ("those areas where individuals have freedom of access, but not necessarily of action"), home territories ("where regular participants have a relative freedom of behaviour and a sense of intimacy and control…"), interactional territories ("any area where a social gathering may occur"), and body territories. In this way, Lyman and Scott link intimacy, control, interaction and embodiment with spatial practices and practices of identity. Notably, the practice of alternapunk contained none of these territorial aspects, whilst the punk of the following year was very clearly territorialised.

Territory: punk jam
The dance and dress style that emerged around SID fandom in 1997 was prefaced by a spatialisation, whereby Balinese punks migrated towards an "interactional territory" (Lyman and Scott, 1989: 24) in which they rehearsed an embodied punk aesthetic.[xiii]

SID's drummer, Jerink, lived alone on the top floor of a 3-storey shopfront, owned by his parents who lived in rural Tabanan, and located on the corner of Kuta's frantic main drag and the notorious Poppies Lane - a

winding, pot-holed road lined with drug dealers that leads from Kuta's beachfront esplanade to the main drag. The ground floor of this building housed a CD and cassette store, whose clientele were drawn from the throngs of tourists to pass by every day. On the second floor of the building, Jerink installed his own drum kit and an amp and began renting this Independent Studio to local punk bands for practise. The studio doubled as a gig venue, for the wall was knocked out leaving only the studs dividing it from the spacious landing and the balcony beyond, and a regular punk jam commenced there every Saturday night.

It was such punk jams which, in the absence of other gigs in Denpasar, inspired the formation of the generation of punk bands that flooded SHM's 1997 month of Sundays. It was also at Independent Studio that a punk dance style , pogo, was developed and performed in the landing, which functioned as a de facto mosh pit.[xiv]

The role of territory in the development of embodied style becomes evident in this light, recalling Goldthorpe's (1992: 37) comment that "the kind of pop subversion the Sex Pistol's deployed… required a countercultural space… in which to hatch." For most of the young punks who ritually motorbiked there from Denpasar, Kuta must have felt like foreign turf, for Jerink's set-up was a far cry from the family compounds in which the majority of them lived. It could be argued, therefore, that the SID fans fled, rather than confronted, their 'parent' culture, for the punk jam in Kuta exemplified 'deracination' to the extreme, and served as a kind of cubby in which the embodiment of punk was rehearsed. Independent Studios served at once as an outpost and a womb.

As well as being pivotal to the continued presence of the punk jam as an interactional territory, SID's role in the *punk moderen* scene was also influential of the kinds of interactions that took place there. The enthusiasm and optimism which infused the punk jam's counter-cultural spectacle and drove the explorations of style that took place therein were sparked in anticipation of SID's climactic debut album launch, itself provided only by the band's eagerness to negotiate the interface between their anti-pop punk ideals on the one hand and both the 'mainstream', commercial culture on the other. *Punk moderen*'s ambivalent relationship to style – its penchant for mock mohawks and uniformity - may be seen as reflective of the hierarchical nature of the scene, in which both territory and activities via which punk negotiated cultural space were controlled and managed by a select few. In 1997, therefore, the interface between 'punk' and the 'establishment' they allegedly opposed was narrow indeed. It was not until the following year, as the community that centred on SID fandom dissolved and scattered, that a less uniform, more individualistic, unexpected and shocking punk dress style emerged.

Chaos and anarchy, 1998
When SHM 1997 wound up with SID set in August, the punk style was uniformly characterised by motorbike helmets, and black t-shirts announcing allegiance to major label punk bands. Following Turtle Junior's performance in September, by the time Total Uyut was staged in October, the motorbike helmet-mohawks had almost disappeared. The line-up of punk bands at Total Uyut displayed more experimental and individualistic styles, thus modelling a texture that had not been by SID. At Total Uyut II, among punk musicians and fans alike, mohawks were in abundance, as were spikes, tops in various colours now advertising the hardcore wheel, the Union Jack, the Confederate bars and stars, as well as spiked belts and ankle-length boots. Moreover, Total Uyut II was the first gig at which local punks attempted to repeat the closing over of the gap between performers and pit by bringing feigned brawls and bodies made sharp by pointed elbows and an abundance of spikes, onto the stage.

The links between territory, style and communality therefore become evident in three ways. Firstly, the enthusiasm for Total Chaos and The Exploited revealed that Balinese punks were beginning to favour the kinds of punk music only available via 'secret' underground networks, and not at the music outlet of the local mall. Secondly, as dress and performance styles developed at gigs, punks' displayed a greater willingness to perform punk identities in public spaces devoted to the consumerist ideal. Thirdly, as punks placed increasing emphasis on audience participation in the performance of chaos, territorially speaking, the scene began to devolve and scatter. In 1998, the Balinese punk scene moved towards forming smaller punk communities based in Denpasar and away from the central hangout in Kuta's 'foreign' space.

***Punk anarki*: aesthetic and performance**

The growing enthusiasm for *punk anarki* could be seen in the increasing numbers of such bands to form over the course of 1998 by which time the punks' dependence on SID had defused significantly. This was evidenced by the declining role of SID fandom in punk practice, and performed at Total Uyut II in October 1997 where, in contrast to the euphoric response to their set at SHM in August, their performance failed to inspire a single pogo-er. Below, I include excerpts from interviews with three Balinese *punk chaos* bands: Suckerfinger and Criminal Assholes, both of which formed in the first half of 1997 but gained a name for themselves on the increasingly active gig circuit in 1998. I interviewed both bands in mid 1998. Djihad formed following Total Uyut II in December 1997. As did these bands, most of the *punk chaos* bands to dominate the gig circuit in 1998 began as The Exploited or Total Chaos cover bands. This set them apart from the generation of NOFX, The Ramones and Bad Religion cover bands that preceded them[xv], for whilst the latter were available at commercial outlets, Total Chaos and The Exploited albums had to be obtained via underground networks, which extended in two directions. Firstly, beginning in late 1997, Balinese punks became increasingly linked in with the Java-based, Bandung-centred underground scene, and would frequently commission acquaintances traveling to Bandung to procure albums produced independently by Bandung bands and foreign albums unavailable commercially in Indonesia. Secondly, whilst peripheral to the national underground scene, Balinese punks were nevertheless placed at the forefront of an international interface by virtue of the role cruise ships played in employment opportunities for young Balinese men. Cruise ship workers provided Balinese punks with yet another source of procurement of those rare and coveted albums unreleased in Indonesia. Lunatic Merchandise's Lolot, for example, obtained cassettes "via a friend, who works on a cruise boat" (Interview, 1/5/99) and Suckerfinger also got their Total Chaos cassettes in a similar manner (Interview, 23/10/99). Further, the contribution of this evolving underground system of exchange to the definition of Balinese punk authenticity is evident in Djihad's comment that if "you can't buy it at the shop…, that's good, too. It means people have to go to a bit of effort to seek out that music. If they don't like that music, they're not going to be bothered to look for it."

But to the bands I interviewed, 'chaos and anarchy' referred to more than simply a style of music – it also inferred particular styles of dress and styles of performance, which necessitated audience participation, as the following comments demonstrate:

We must dress in accordance with the music we play… if we play chaos we have to dress chaotically… The dress style has to go with the music… punk chaos accessories are a leather jacket, safety pins, spikes, a spiked belt, three-quarter length jeans tucked into boots…
Everything comes alive. The vocals come alive. The main thing is so that every element in the performance is alive, the atmosphere is alive, so that the audience really want to pogo, so that they get off their arses and get in the pit, rather than just sitting there motionless…
We want to cultivate a fan base that is really into chaos, so that there is some kind of action every time we perform. Movement. If there's no movement in the pit, what's the point of us jumping around on stage? I may as well not bother to perform at all.

<div align="right">Criminal Assholes. Interview, 21/6/98</div>

When we say anarchy we are talking about our stage antics. Our movement. Our stage.

<div align="right">Suckerfinger. Interview, 23/10/98</div>

Our performance requires a full audience (*Gimana aksi panggung biar penuh penonton*). If the audience was just still and quiet, so we would be too, onstage. We wouldn't be able to perform like we usually do.

<div align="right">Djihad. Interview, 1/5/99</div>

Thus, as the abundance of black t-shirts and motorbike helmet mohawks decreased, and as real mohawks and

more varied and individualistic styles appeared, and as the gap between stage and pit closed over, punk became a 'total theatre' in which the fans embodiment of punk (via movement and dress style) was as key to the performance as the music itself.

Devolution not dissolution

As did *punk moderen*, *punk anarki* also had its roots in a shifting territorialisation. Over the course of 1998, three spaces emerged in Denpasar as significant punk hangouts. Sabdo Moelyo established Underdog State, a practice studio exclusive to underground bands, merchandise outlet and café in one, which attracted death metal and punk bands, including Criminal Assholes and Paralel, and their hangers-on, alike. Lolot, who had left Obituary cover band Behead in late 1996 to for the hardcore band Knucklehead Nation, established Lunatic Merchandise on the busy Jl Waturenggong in Yang Batu. This became the hangout for bands such as Djihad and Commercial Suicide. Chaos Merchandise opened on the similarly busy Jalan Gunung Agung. Among others ska band Storing, and punk chaos bands Runamuck and Suckerfinger frequented this space. These places, referred to by local punks as 'Underdog', 'Lunatic' and 'Chaos' respectively, served as points for the dissemination of information about forthcoming gigs, the production of compilation albums, and increased the number of Balinese punks in contact with the international mail-order market and Bandung underground, from whence much of the merchandise they sold derived.

The emergence of Lunatic, Chaos and Underdog was significant for two reasons. Firstly, they nurtured an active and participatory underground economy. These were no idle hang-outs, but places of activity, where merchandise (stickers, t-shirts, cassettes) was bought, sold and ordered, gigs were organised, and compilation albums recorded. Thus, the increasing aggression and harshness of *punk anarki* style did not signal the scene's movement towards a hardline oppositional stance in which the scene became increasingly enclosed and exclusive, but a broadening negotiative interface between the punk's 'anti-establishmentarianism' and established forces of capitalism.

This broadening interface was nurtured by the new, Denpasar-based territories around which the *punk anarki* scene centred, and was evident in the increasingly participatory way in which punk cultural products were being made. For example, if *punk moderen* was in anticipation of SID's climactic debut album launch in mid-1997, during the *punk anarki* period, no one band put out an album, but many participated in the production of several compilation albums, which bore the name of the various punk merchandise outlets, and showcased a variety of local punk bands.[xvi] Further, interviews with punk musicians in 1998 and 1999 reveal not only that a sense of chaos and anarchy were key to their performances, but also that the more participatory and collaborative the mode of gig organising, the more likely they were to attain such states.

A second point of significance of the Denpasar-based territories was their role in supporting the accommodation of punk-ness within Balinese-ness. Rather than signal its recuperation back into the fold of the parent culture, the emergence of punk home territories within the *banjar*s and near the family compounds of which the punks were a part brought punk into the realm of the everyday, both for the punks themselves and for other Denpasar residents to whom the practice's existence was now more clearly exhibited. The way in which punk was accommodated within localness is evident in the way in which mohawks and other elements of *punk anarki* style came to be (begrudgingly) accepted within local contexts. Members of Criminal Assholes, for example, elicited surprise but not scorn when they wore their punk gear to a *banjar* meeting, and the band's vocalist claimed that in spite of his parents' disapproval, he "went on with wearing his mohawk at home anyway". He further recalled how he forewent taking part in preparations for his wedding in favour of auditioning for a gig:

They don't agree, but I just went on with (wearing my mohawk at home) anyway. I often dip out of things that I have a family responsibility to attend. Once, it was the day before my wedding., Everyone at home was rushing around preparing for the wedding. But I had to attend an audition. Everyone was looking for the groom at home. I was in the studio. I put my shoes and stuff in a bag and went over the back wall. I do have principles! Even if I was getting married, I still attended the audition. I didn't care so much about the wedding. It's easy to organise a wedding…

…My in-laws don't like my hair like this. They think it's not normal.

The punks' parents' perception of mohawks as "nor normal" to a domestic setting recalls the response elicited by the ill-fated mod Jimmy Cooper, the main character in the film 'Quadrophenia', who was constantly chided by his mother for favouring a dress style that was "just not normal". However, unlike Jimmy Cooper, who was thrown out of his English working class home after participating in the infamous Brighton mod/rocker riots, the Balinese punks remained firmly within their family compounds. Whilst acceptance of *punk anarki* style was contested in the domestic setting, as the above quotes show, it was not demonised there as it was in both the shopping centre and, in some instances, the mass media. 'Local tradition' thus did not feature as a target of the punks' ire – a point which was clearly and constantly articulated by various punks throughout the period 1996 – 1999, who clearly differentiated between their genre of choice and pre-existing local repertoires. SID, for example, identified the English language as "a perfect fit for punk, and claimed that they were "not interested in, inserting traditional sounds into our punk music" because "punk music's too different " (interview, 10/4/96); Rest in Peace were of the opinion that "it's difficult to perform alternative music in Indonesian (interview, 31/5/96); and Suckerfinger answered my enquiry as to whether there was any contradiction between being a committed punk and fulfilling the demands of Balinese tradition in the negative, qualifying that they had "never taken religion to task" (interview, 23/10/98).

Nevertheless, in domestic settings, Balinese punks stood their ground, continued to refuse to 'Balinise' their music, and retained their mohawks at home, at work and at traditional rites. This demonstrates that whilst the punk scene devolved with its reterritorialisation back into a number of home territories scattered across Denpasar, it did not dissolve but, rather, became increasingly coherent. Djihad's above-cited comment that Chaos Day was "great" because it "proved to those people who believed the punk underground to have splintered that in fact it had not splintered at all" is suggestive of such coherence, which is also evident in the punks' increasingly bold performances of 'chaos and anarchy' in the mall.

Thus, punk's anti-systemic performances did not bring about conflict within the domestic setting, nor did they incite clashes with police. Rather, *punk anarki*'s confrontational behaviour took place in the shopping malls, where the punks performed an opposition to *gaul* ('new rich') culture in a way that frequently brought them face to face with the *satpam* (security guards). In 1998, the tendency of punks to make their bodies lethal and sharp with mohawks and spikes, and their performance progressively violent with feigned brawls, was paralleled by their greater willingness to confront the *anak gaul* (rich kids) and the *satpam* in the shopping malls. As punk performance at gigs became increasingly aggressive, so did their willingness to perform an alternative identity in public spaces devoted to a dominant consumerist ideal.

Coherence
Over the course of 1998, punk's ritual counter-cultural exhibitions shifted from the exclusive space of Kuta to the more public space of the malls in Denpasar. By confronting the *satpams* and the *anak gaul*, the mall's traditional patrons, the punks betrayed their assurances that 'chaos and anarchy' were confined to punk performance at gigs. As early as 1997, SID's Jerink had expressed the need for punk opposition to *anak gaul*, but it wasn't until mid 1998 that *anak gaul* and *satpam* began to feature in my interviewees' self definitions.

One of the ways the punks tried to bait the *satpam* was to provoke the *anak gaul*, the malls' traditional patrons. Such provocation was, for the large part, curiously non-violent. Brawls between *anak gaul* and *anak punk* were rumoured to haven taken place in Yogya, Malang, Bandung and Jakarta (major cities on the island of Java), but Balinese punks seemed to prefer disruptions that used imagery and noise over physical encounters. Suckerfinger, for example, recounted how, at the Ramayana mall, "all the punks are under suspicion" because they "like to make a lot of noise… take a ghetto blaster up to Timezone and play punk music, just to liven things up" (interview, 23/10/98).

This raises another point of difference with the underground's mall presence in the city of Malang, East Java. In spite of their numbers, Malang's Saturday night ritual gathering on the footpath opposite Mitra Plaza was relatively silent. If you crossed the street to the entrance of the Plaza, the quiet hum of undergrounders chatting was barely audible. There seemed to be no attempt here to irritate the mall establishment and patrons with the sounds of the underground – this particular show of force was purely visual. In Bali, where a similar shock aesthetic was not possible, for reasons discussed, punks amplified there presence in the mall by virtue of noise, suggesting that, failing to amass the strength of numbers, Balinese punks attempted to transform themselves into irritating sounds.

Laing (1985: xii) notes how selection and organisation operate among adherents of subcultures in their attempts to gain mastery over the production and maintenance of certain discourses. Differentiation, selection and agency also operated actively in the evolution of Balinese punk. This was evident in the way in which punks forced the 'parent' Balinese culture to accommodate them without acceding to the incorporation of linguistic or stylistic elements of 'Balinese-ness' into their art, thus defying dominant notions of Balinese culture's inherent syncretism. Such resistance rendered Balinese punk nonetheless local, or syncretic. Rather, like the Liverpudlian bands studies by Sara Cohen (1995: 225), in contrast to mass media portrayals of rock music as a "commercial and superficial product", both geographically and ideologically speaking, Balinese punk is also firmly grounded in the local. The indigenisation of punk by local youth was apparent in their creative adaptations of Java-based underground styles to conditions specific to the locale. Thus, rather than physical migration, the punks' like Hetherington's travelers (see Hetherington, 1998b), practised a 'utopics', which prompted them to establish a local reality in which these utopian values were manifest.

These utopian values were inherent in the terms 'chaos and anarchy', which can be seen as symbolic of a broadening interface between the punk subculture on the one hand and the dominant, consumer culture on the other. This broadening interface was evident on three fronts.

Firstly, the shift to styles of music only available through underground networks forced a broader participation in the maintenance of an underground economy. This 'economy' consisted of flourishing interactions between Balinese and Java-based punks, as well as the emergence of the aforementioned merchandise outlets which served as hangouts, or "home territories" to a number of scattered punk sub-communities around Denpasar. In this way, punk became indigenised not via incorporation into a pre-existing local repertoire, but spatially, into a public realm of the everyday. That is, the territories on which *punk anarki* centred, were located in or near the punk's places of origins, and the lines which separated these punk territories from the public realm were porous. This contrasted the exclusive and foreign nature of the territory in which the punk jam had proceeded at Kuta.

The emergence of these territories within the spatial bounds of the punks' own *banjar*s represents a second aspect of punks broadening interface, for it eased the scene's high level of dependence on a 'foreign' territory affiliated with a single band. A third aspect of this broadening interface was the increasing cohesion of the punks' anti-*gaul* rhetoric, and the related transformation of the *punk moderen*'s 'jam' - a counter-cultural spectacle in Kuta - into *punk anarki*'s sporadic, spontaneous, anti-*gaul* interventions in a number of Denpasar's malls.

Conclusion
It is currently standard among scholars of identity politics to view the global order not as a series of centres and peripheries responsible for mediating the imposition of a Western cultural imperialism upon their citizens, but as a chaos: random, disjunctive, disorganised and fragmented. Globalisation, that is, has entailed not a one-way process of homogenisation, but simultaneous unification and diversification (Tomlinson, 1991; Appadurai, 1996; Gilroy,1997).

In the early 1980s, when the "full deployment of satellite transmission created the possibility of the simultaneous broadcast of performances on a worldwide scale" (Garofalo, 1991: 327), scholars of pop and rock

music (Mitchell, 1996; Garofalo, 1991; Frith, 1991; Laing, 1996; Shuker, 1995) began to emerge as prominent critics of the cultural imperialism thesis. Many have argued that globalisation of the music industry has followed a post-imperial model. For example, recalling Appadurai (1996: 31) assertion that "as (electronic) media link audiences and performers across national boundaries, we find a growing number of diasporic public spheres: the crucibles of a post-national order", Frith (1991: 267-8) maintains that multinational recording labels no longer "share some supranational identity… to be imposed culturally around the globe".

The issue of audience reception is also important in critiques of the cultural imperialism thesis, and the notion of hybridity is premised on the idea that compliance and passivity rarely characterise consumption of media texts. Proponents of hybridisation argue that the cultural imperialism theorists' fears of homogenization or "cultural grey out" (Mitchell, 1996: 50) is unrealistically purist, for it sets an imagined (Third World) indigeneity against the West, perceived as essentially inauthentic.

Asia provides numerous examples to support this view. Lakha (1999: 261) describes how "local tastes and even resistance" on the part of Indian audiences saw Indian language channel Zee TV surpass Rupert Murdoch's STAR TV in popularity, thus forcing the latter to localise its content, and leading Lakha to conclude that "it appears that globalisation is, to some extent, bound by the demands of local culture." Wright Neville (1996: 39), reporting on a rock concert in Kuala Lumpur, warns readers to

…make no mistake, these are no underground versions of the ubiquitous, polite but incredibly tedious cover bands that one finds in hotel lounges and Hard Rock Cafes throughout Asia. All perform mostly original sets, with Western artists providing the stylistic raw material that is subsequently adapted to local circumstances.

Many scholars of rock and pop music also assert that non-western consumers of western media texts tend to negotiate the meanings of such texts as they seek discursive ammunition with which to resist local oppressions (Laing, 1986; Shuker, 1995). Thus, as Hesmondhalgh (1998:166) notes, "the effectiveness of the criticisms of the CI thesis is rooted in (a) sense of pop's odd radicalism".

Again, a number of recent studies of the impact of rock and pop in Asian countries with authoritarian states have also argued this view. In separate reports, both McClellan (1996:8) and Anonymous (1996: 92-7) review Metallica-inspired Burmese heavy metal bands' implicit defiance of the SLORC military regime. Reporting on (New Order) official sanctions against Indonesian rappers, Hadiz (1995: 7) contends that

… youth culture provides an outlet for normally blocked aspirations, and a channel to convey social criticism. There is space within youth culture for non-conformity in a society where stifling conformity within state constructed values has been the rule.

In their book on the Indonesian media under Suharto's New Order, Sen and Hill (2000:169) cite alternative music as an instance of how foreign musical codes "… were indigenised into conscious political opposition to the New Order, and more frequently into disorganised, carnivalesque disorderliness that shows up the cracks in the New Order's attempts to control cultural production and create 'cultural order' and 'ordered culture'".

In his reassessment of theories of the globalisation of the music industry, Hesmondhalgh (1998: 178) concedes that there is abundant evidence to suggest that the globalisation of rock and pop music has encouraged diversity, but maintains that certain aspects of the CI model remain as salient contributions. In particular, he presents evidence to support his above-mentioned argument that "… there are still strong senses of exclusion and marginalisation at work in many places." Similarly, Dowmunt (1993:2) introduces his anthology of essays on the reception of global television in local contexts with the observation that

The factor which perhaps more than any other explodes the concept of a unified global village is economic inequality… Even… for those of us who do have access to (television) sets, other kinds of inequality and difference come into play.

The case of alternative music in Indonesia provides a prime instance of the important role inequality and difference play in the local mediation of 'global' or 'foreign' codes. Specifically, it shows how such localisation can actually serve to further limit the accessibility of global codes, rather than the converse. Initially, most Balinese musicians knew alternative music as a mediascape, not a moshpit. First and foremost, that is, they experienced the genre as a media image, rather than a sound or a dance style. This disproves Appadurai's (1996:31) hypothesis that the globalisation of electronic media "link(s) audiences and producers across national boundaries". In fact, the global system in which images assumed increasing importance in the marketing of music served, if anything, to defuse the oppositional potential of Indonesian music codes. In New Order Indonesia, television and the print media was subject to a much greater degree of state regulation than the relatively unregulated recording industry.

Indeed, local hegemonic discourses played important roles in the transmission of alternative and punk music to Indonesian youth. In this way, the globalisation of alternative youth culture did not *directly* provide Indonesian youth with foreign repertoires with which to resist local forms of oppression, or to effect carnivalesque inversion upon local cultural hegemonies.

Nor is it apt, however, to characterise alternative music as a tool of the ruling class. That is, consumerist, hedonist media images linked to alterantive identities contrasted the stodgy official ideal of youth as humourless patriots. It also contradicted the increasingly anti-liberal morality being espoused by the military at the time (Honna, 1999: 77-126).

The ideological complexities implicated in mediation conflate notions of hegemony and resistance, state and civil society. Alternative music emerged in Indonesia at a time when dominant and official discourses were increasingly un-systematic and disorderly, thus obscuring instances of carnival in social practice. To cite one example, the President's grandson, Arie Sigit, who was widely rumoured to be the nation's ecstasy boss, and frequently appeared in the media grinning smugly and/or partying wildly, puts alternity's comparatively meek frivolity to shame, and highlights the difficulty in discerning the 'prevailing truth' from the carnival.

The scenes described in the thesis favoured *differance* over resistance – a fact which augmented rather than defused their political effectivity. The Balinese youths' increasing mastery over cultural performances, predicated, in turn, by their increasing control over territory, is testimony to their progressive empowerment. They did not use the spaces that came under their control to subvert or resist domination. Instead, they used it to manipulate and 'play' with dominant notions of transgression and compliance.

Balinese society is so famed for its syncretic capacity that this has often been used as a justification for neverending cultural incursions, in the form of tourism development. In the early 1990s, this syncretism appeared to have reached its limits. Balinese people began protesting the negative impacts of tourism, and the environmental havoc it had wreaked. The progressive rapprochement between punk identities and Balinese-ness, which became territorially evident in the late 1990s, nevertheless points to syncretism. The accommodation of punk by its Balinese 'parent' culture, is testimony to the latter's great flexibility. In Java, underground scenes came under fire from the media and religious organisations much more frequently, and the contrast between underground and dominant discourses appeared to be much sharper.

In the beginning, punk enthusiasts referred to their fandom as opposed to Balinese-ness. Such opposition was expressed spatially, for enthusiasts fled their family compounds to create respective home territories. The progressive rapprochement that subsequently took place forced moments of Balinese-ness to co-exist with those of punk-ness, which came to define itself in line with a nation-wide punk movement. In this way, a youth identity with pan-Indonesian allegiances was accommodated within a local ethnic identity.

Balinese punk can be seen as a specific response to a period of political transition, in which fierce

competition between various dominant discourses emerged (See Heryanto, 1999a). Balinese punk constantly juggled, but never resolved such competing discourses. Owing to such lack of resolution, enthusiasts avoided reprimand and maintained mystery and ambiguity. This shored up scene coherence. Further, lack of resolution should not be attributed to subcultural impotence, but necessity, in a highly dynamic discursive context.

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Endnotes

[i] Bands considered as senior by SHM organisers were those with experience in bars, as well as those which had performed, and been successfully received, at a minimum of two major gigs.

[ii] As Thornton (1997: 208), writing of English club culture, observes: "Interestingly, the social logic of subcultural capital reveals itself most clearly by what it dislikes and by what it most emphatically is not." In the same article (1997: 204), she reflects on clubbers who lament the perceived commodification of their 'underground' culture thus:
> …whether these 'mainstreams' reflect empirical social groups or not, they exhibit the burlesque exaggerations of an imagined 'other'… to quote Bourdieu… 'nothing classifies somebody more than the way he or she classifies'.

[iii] This contrasts a painting by I Made Budi, used in an advertising campaign for Garuda Airlines, in which tourists, depicted videoing, surfing, waterskiing, and riding pillion on motorbikes, are well accommodated by a darkly verdant, flourishing nature-scape (Picard, 1996: xiv-xv).

[iv] The boom was sparked by the introduction of deregulation packages which eradicated restrictions on foreign investment in tourism projects. This attracted a barrage of Jakarta-based entrepreneurs to invest in Bali's tourism industry, setting off a trend in resort development, resulting in land speculation and massive increases in land values in certain areas. Jimbaran, mentioned by Agus Lempog above, was a case in point. There, resort developments invited land speculation and prompted sharp increases in the value of surrounding rocky and undulating land. Some local smallholders took advantage of this, and some enjoyed their new found wealth by investing in luxury items and lifestyles stereotypically associated by educated middle class locals with a Jakartanese nouveau riche class.

[v] ABG stands for *anak baru gede*, which literally translates as 'recently grown up kids'. ABG refers to junior high school age adolescents, and is probably best translated as 'teenybopper'.

[vi] Lomax, quoted in Mitchell (1996: 50), depicts the cultural imperialism hypothesis as "an assumption that the predominantly one-way flow of cultural products from the west to the rest threatens to produce a cultural grey-out".

[vii] Among others, the local daily Bali Post published 'Mejeng dan Rekreasi Jadi Bagian Berbelanja Masyarakat Denpasar' (Hanging out and recreation become part of the shopping experience for Denpasar dwellers), Bali Post, 11 July, 1996; 'Pasar Tradisional, Sebuah Alternatif' (Traditional Market – an alternative) in Bali Post, 17 July, 1996;

'Mejadikan Bali Shopping Centre-nya Indonesia'(Making Bali into the shopping centre of Indonesia) in Bali Post, 23 July 1996; 'Jumlah Pasar Swalayan Sudah Mencukupi, Izin Perlu Disetop' (Enough supermarkets already, new permits should be barred) in Bali Post, 4 July, 1995. Further, Suardika (1999: 8) laments the rapid transformation of Denpasar's urban landscape thus:

> Shopping malls are but one example of how the rearrangement of Denpasar's physical landscape has precipitated the emergence of a new, urban culture. The housing estate boom has had similar cultural consequences. This is not to say that the original Balinese residents want to ditch the *banjar* for a modern, urban lifestyle, for the housing estate boom is largely a result of in-migration. The Balinese remain attached to their *banjar* s, but as more and more housing estates pop up, Denpasar is looking increasingly urban… Instead of village-like communities, an increasing proportion of the city's residents now live in the bourgeois suburbia of housing estates. Moreover, most of the housing estates are built on the city's periphery, turning what was once predominantly rural communities into satellite cities, complete with mini-markets, billiard halls and even hotels. Here, routines that used to be dictated by planting and harvest now centre on commuting and nine to five.

[viii] I say 'gestured' because the alternapunks allegiance to the mall space was weak. Whilst a number of alternapunk bands associated their musical identities with a presence at the mall, they never came to gather there en masse, and their interactions only took place on an imaginary level in a mediascape. That is, if the alternapunks cohered at all, it was around a common idealisation of the metropole which, somewhat subversively, they identified as a 'core of disorder'. However, unlike the media images of alternative identities, in Bali, alternapunks were non-responsive at gigs and on the whole their embodied styles lacked spectacularity.

[ix] My interviews with alternative musicians are peppered with insightful, tongue-in-cheek quips on their everyday lives, thus affirming Appadurai's (1996: 7) assertion, cited above, that "images of the media are quickly moved into local repertoires of irony…".. It is similarly difficult to reconcile alternapunk's apparent blandness with the active and eager will to know that drove Bobby and Jerink to travel all the way to Jakarta to witness Green Day first hand, and with the inspiration and creativity required of them when, on their return, they went to pen their own lyrics and arrange their own songs, or Jerink's lamentation that Hai magazine was "too rightist, not extreme enough", and his characterisations of punk as "anti-commercial", "against the grain", "anti-commercial". Finally, it is difficult to reconcile the alternapunks behaviour at NDA as passive, compliant consumers with the transgressive spirit that inspired Gus Unip to act out a sneering punk-ness for my lens, and with that to challenge official formulations that "to be Balinese" to fit in with the tourist image, you should have a cute smile, be submissive and exotic" (Kusuma, 1994:10).

[x] This hypothesis accords with Baudrillard's (in Merrin, 1999: 128-9) pessimistic view of the effect of television on symbolic exchange. He states that

> Consumption dominates as the organising principle of the modern world. Everything we are is no longer the product of our relations and experience but of a combination of signs consumed in their referential significance.

This prophecy seems to have been enacted in the transmission of alternative music from Jakarta to Bali. Like most 'periperhal' Indonesians, Balinese alternapunks did not experience the JAPF as participants in a mosh pit where spontaneous expression was sanctioned and encouraged, but as consumers of a media image, and their performance of alternative identities were significantly dull in comparison to those who attended the Alternative Pop and Green Day gigs.

[xi] Death metal and punk musicians' contrasting views of the metropole recall the alternate paths followed by hippies and punks in the US. As Goldthorpe (1992: 38) notes: "If the hippy sought to ascend to a light 'n' lovely pastoral heaven, punk wanted to dive into an urban hell."

[xii] As mentioned in the previous chapter, when Sunday Hot Music commenced in 1994, consisted of four events which ran over successive Sundays in the middle of the year, as was thus dubbed a 'month of Sundays'. This format was followed in 1995, but in 1996, due to increasing numbers of bands applying to audition, Crapt Entertainment decided to hold the event every second Sunday, which it did until July, when the gig wound up ostensibly due to the decreasing quality of bands applying for selection. When the event recommenced in 1997, it returned to the aforementioned 'month of Sundays' format.

[xiii] The choice of Independent Studios as an interactional centre for punks in 1997 was as much due to pragmatic as ideological reasons. In 1997, Independent was the only rehearsal studio on the island to accommodate punk bands. When I interviewed them in 1998, Criminal Assholes reported that:

Because we play hard music many of the commercial studios barred us from practising there, they feared we might damage their equipment, especially after we damaged some of Crapt's equipment when we played at SHM in 1997. For some time, Independent Studio was the only studio we could rent.

Criminal Asshole. Interview 21/6/98

[xiv] Balinese punks saw the pogo as a potent identity marker for, in their view, it functioned to apart from the headbangers who, both in responses to interviews and verbally, reified order:

Jerink: Those headbangers they're more ordered than us, that I confess, they are more ordered. They have schedules and everything. Schedules of when to headbang.

Bobby: If it's this kind of a song, they have to form a circle.

Jerink: If it's that kind of a song, they have to form a star… punk fans are more spontaneous.

SID. Interview, 6/7/97

[xv] Q: How did you come to choose punk chaos?

A: At the time (when we formed in December 1997, ed.) there were few punk bands playing punk chaos. Most of them were Bad Religion bands.

Q: Now what, in your opinion is the reason for the ascendancy of punk chaos in Bali over the modern punk style of SID?

A: Punk chaos is freer on stage, it's different to NOFX and Bad Religion.

Q: Even though a punk chaos band, Total Riot, performed at Total Uyut I in December 1996 in Bali, it wasn't until after Turtle Junior performed here in September 1997 that many local bands appeared to pick up on punk chaos.

A: Yeah, their (Turtle Junior's) performance left a deep impression. It was certainly different.

Q: How does the scene now compare with that of the Bad Religion era?

A: Now there's more punk anarchy around. Before, musicians would at the most colour their hair or wear a tie. Now musicians are like The Exploited, they wear spikes in their jackets. It's very different now.

Djihad. Interview 1/5/99

Most bands play punk chaos now. Straight punk (*punk biasa*) is rare.

(ska band) Storing. Interview, 20/4/99

Q: What kind of punk do you play?

A: Punk chaos…

Q: Do you like SID's music?

A: Yeah, it's OK.

Q: But you wouldn't play that kind of music?

A: It's a completely different genre, NOFX, I think.

Suckerfinger. Interview, 23/10/98

Q: What genre of punk do you play?

A: Punk chaos… We used to play The Exploited covers.

Q: How did you come to choose The Exploited?

A: Their spiritedness (*semangatnya*) drew us to their music. We felt at one with the music. From their dress style, their accessories. It was all a little bit chaotic… Actually, it was after Total Riot played at GOR. When we saw how chaotic, how anarchistic their music was, we got excited. We like music like that. Chaotic music.

… When we had to play on the same stage as Total Idiot, who also play The Exploited covers, we swapped to Total Chaos just so we would be that little bit harder, more anarchistic, more brutal.

Criminal Assholes. Interview, 21/6/98

[xvi] In mid 1998 Underdog Records released the 11-track 'Underdog Society', a compilation album featuring originals by local punk, hardcore, death metal and black metal bands. In April 1999, Lunatic Record released '100% Attitude: a definitive guide to rock n'roll radio stars', which featured 12 tracks by local punk and hardcore bands.