

1.1. The folk underground music as culture revivalism: mixing the sundanese traditional musical instruments and underground music as the struggle for culture sovereignty

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Abstract

This paper is endeavor to describe the underground musician as an agent of Sundanese culture revivalism. Indonesia as a multiculture country have more than 300 indigeneous culture and ethnics. The Sundanese is the second largest ethnic in Indonesia which have blurred identity by many hegemonic factors such globalization, the Javanese culture (the largest ethnic in Indonesia), and also by the nationality homogenization by Indonesian nation state. As a reaction of these factors, the Sundanese artist doing the social movement to revive the Sundanese culture.

The qualitative approach of this research have been done to construct the meaning of the underground musician in context their act of playing the Sundanese traditional music instrument. Data collected by participant observation method and also support by deep interview to the underground musicians.

The result point out that the underground musician was endeavor to mix their music with multiple Sundanese traditional musical instrument as their methods to revive of the Sundanese culture. In recent years, Sundanese beliefs system, values, and arts can be view as a political movement by the underground artist as their way to counter to the hegemonic culture, such as the globalization, the Javanese, and the homogenization of Indonesia nation-state. They can not be view as the sparatist movement but as the struggle for sovereignty of all Indonesian cultures and ethnics.

Keywords: underground, revivalism, culture, sovereignty.

Introduction: the multicultures or the hegemony

The notion of multicultural society seems particularly attractive to the scholars who studying Indonesia. As a multicultural nation-state, according to Geertz (1963 in McVey, ed, 1963 in Shiraishi, 2001, p. 6) Indonesia has more than 300 ethnics and the largest multicultural nation-state. By the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), the unity of Indonesia became a consensus for whole cultures which lived in Indonesia. Artificially, this unity was constructed by the main ethnic, Indonesia. Thus, the value of the nation state based on Javanese cultural value. This artificial was imperishable by the New Order regime lead by Soeharto. As a Javanese, Soeharto develop the nation stability and also centralized its power within the Javanese values by *three-partite* such bureaucracy, military, and *Golongan Karya*. After all, Indonesian became Java and neglecting another culture which held by another ethnics in Indonesia (Vatikiotis, 2003; Kingsbury, 2003; Eklof, 2003; Henley and Davidson, 2007; Woodward, 2011).

Cultural inequality was happened in Indonesia since 1970's until 2000's. The dominant culture was reign above and marginalized the other culture. The Javanese value has been colored the local cultures which may unsuitable with local people. The repressive regime maintained and controlling by the military, so the local cultures demand are left in doubt. The local people seem have no power to establish their own culture because the oppressiveness of the regime. The local people will be rise their level in strata if they become "Javanese". Along with Eklof (2003, p. 7-8) the regime operate the political culture that should be understood as an abstraction from reality that is useful to highlight the fundamentally important but largely latent or less visible aspects of politics, as well as to provide an understanding politics in particular place during a certain period of time, an under certain constellations of power and social relations.

The New Order was endeavor to unite the Republic Indonesia by reconstruct the ancient Javanese Majapahit Empire. The Majapahit was rule the *Nusantara* (Indonesian archipelago) by the military in the hand of King Hayam Wuruk. The king then commands the priest namely Mpu Tantular to make a guidance for all the people to live in harmony below the Majapahit Empire define as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. From this ancient story, according to

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Woodward (2011, p. 14) in term of The New Order Regime “with the Javanese as a leader, Javanese culture occupies a position of “first among equal”.

According to Brown (2005, p. 8) after ensuring its grip on power, Suharto’s New Order regime moved to suppress all public discourse on communal differences in the name of national security, under the acronym *SARA* – suku (ethnicity), agama (religion), ras (race), and antara-golongan (inter-group). The *SARA* regulation was accompanied by a range of policies aimed at undercutting ethnic and regional affiliation and organization. This movement was neglect the existence of many local culture, substitute by the Javanese.

In the term of Gramscians, the Javanese value hegemonized the people of Republic Of Indonesia. In generic sense, hegemony is the way in which a ruling group (The New Order) establishes and try to maintain their rules as part of a larger project to dominate the other (Robinson, 2005, p. 2). Below the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the ruling group establishes their Javanese value implemented to the all Indonesian people who has many different cultures. The New Order was success to maintain their rules for more than 30 years in Indonesian history.

After the fall of the New Order Regime, Indonesia politically faces the new challenge called democratization and implementing decentralization. This era points out that the local cultures have a new chance to raise their form as one of many cultures which lived in the people of the Republic Indonesia. According to Henley and Davidson (2007, p. 1)

Since the resignation of President Suharto in 1998 after almost a third of a century of authoritarian rule, communities and ethnic groups across Indonesia have publicly, vocally, and sometimes violently, demanded the right to implement elements of *adat* or *hukum adat* (customary law) in their home territories.

The Indonesian terms of *adat* means custom or tradition (Henley and Davidson, 2007, p. 1). It lives in every ethnics community which characterized by the humble and rural cognition as the rule to regulate the harmony among its population. *Adat* is carry a connotation of sedate order and consensus. There are so many movement to revive the *adat* as its ignored when the New Order era (Henley and Davidson, 2007, p. 1).

Adat revivalism is not same as *adat* itself and its particular form of traditionalism rather than tradition itself (Henley and Davidson, 2007, p. 2). This may define as the movement to set back the Indonesian to their own local culture which held by each ethnic, not to reject the modernization nor structural transformation, but to vivify the local wisdom or local knowledge for their people to face the world nowadays. It means implementing the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in their own culture perception, not hegemonized by the dominant culture.

Futhermore, Henley and Davidson (2007, p. 3) noted that

.... there also two other, more abstract senses in which term of *adat* is use in contemporary political context. At first level abstraction, *adat* is a complex rights and obligation which ties togheter three things – history, land, and law – in a way that appear rather specific to Indonesia. The essence of this linkage is that laws and rights are historical inheritances rather than artefacts of government, that the most important domain of law is to control the land, and that the historical control of land is in turn the most important source of land rights... at the second level of abstraction, *adat* also represent a vaguely defined but powerful set of ideas or assumption regarding what an ideal society should be like.

Refer to what Henley and Davidson noted above, the *adat* was the same interpretation culture as a whole. Demand for their *adat* has the same meaning with demand for their culture. The local culture is belief to form the ideal society of one ethnic life. This ideal life as viewed by local cultures can be summed as the authenticity, community, harmony, order, and justice which neglected by The New Order Regime.

At the same time, Indonesia faces the globalization which cultures are diffuse from any region. These cultures such the west, the Arabs, the far-east, as Samuel Huntington noted, and any other foreigner cultures are mixed with the Indonesian customs. So, Indonesian became much more “multicultures”. Not only their local cultures but also the foreigner’s culture enrich the Indonesian and mix it into pupil’s everyday life. The multiculturalism further has arisen by both as a consequences of rapid creation of new nations and accelerated pace of geographical mobility (Watson, 2005, p. 87 cited by Kaur, 2006, p. 15). The globalization process has been generated a new face of Indonesian today, form the unity, locality, and the acceptance of foreigner’s culture.

Rather than acculturate the cultures, this may cause the hegemony of the foreigner culture to the Indonesian and it accepted without filtering the information about these cultures. The youth urban are the most easily accepted the foreigner’s culture then made it as their cultural orientation. This orientation is often appears in art. The youth in urban Indonesia adopted the foreigners to become their art performance, such in music, the popular music.

Youths in urban Indonesia were performing the popular music along with the growing musical industry in Indonesia. Most of them adopt the pop music, Korean Boys Band or Girls Band, or the Arabic "Nasyid Song". Hegemony embed in transnational culture diffusion and becoming transcended by transnational social forces and institutions grounded in the global system rather than the interstate system (Robinson, 2005, p. 3). The transnational social forces also deliver the wahabbism, an Islamic fundamental group, who have no tolerance with local culture (Wahid, 2009).

The abundant of the trans-national social forces were mostly targeting the youth. The commodification of the western culture, the Arabic/fundamental Islam, and the far eastern culture was largely absorbed by the youth. So youth culture in urban Indonesia is vary and they have mutata the culture or ideology been part of their life. That was not easy to define that the Indonesian urban youth culture is homogeneous but rather they much heterogeneous. Otherwise, we can define that the Indonesian urban youth are the consumer of cultural products from many regions worldwide supported by the information technology. As Solomon and Scuderi (2002, p. 13) note that the globalization of culture – the effect upon culture of the "increasing connection of the world and its people" – is perhaps nowhere more visible than in the changing nature of the relationship between the world's youth and their sense of identity.

The youth become a consumer culture. The relation between young people and particular kind of consumption rise dramatically as the result of expanding the culture industries. The role of consumption has been made the youth into uncertain transitions which characterized by temporary short time, individualized, and lack of political awareness. Bennett (2007, p. 29) noted that the youth is social category describing the cultural practices of the young people but also construct expressing an increasingly varied and in many cases, conflicting range of political and aesthetic sensibilities.

The precious explanation about the youth culture as consumer define by Bennett (2002). Post War period, the youth consumers dramatically increase as part of the consumerism become the way of life for many section of society. The consumer industries quickly realized that young people presented highly viable and lucrative market, and consequently, a whole range of commodity designed specifically for them began to appear (Bennett, 2002, p. 9). In addition to financial independent in Post war society, young people had much greater control over their leisure time than previous generation of youth (Bennett, 2002, p. 9). As Marxist strongly criticized consumer capitalism for fostering desires rather than need and saw the way that consumer were driven increasingly towards false needs, including more, better, cheaper material goods, device, and experience (Paterson, 2006, p.1). Bennett (2002, p. 10) nomothetically also noticed that the central to the new marketed youth identities were item such fashion clothing, magazine, and music. From these economic consumer capitalism turned to philosophical and cultural theory of the youth culture.

As Simmel describing the transformation of social life then occurring in increasingly large and bustling metropolis, he noted that we developed a "blasé outlook" (Simmel, 1997, p. 72; in Paterson, 2006, p. 40). Simmel made an important connection here between the urban environment, physical life, and the process of consumption and identity formation. The increased tempo and the overstimulation of color and sound of the urban may alter the way perceiving things (Paterson, 2006, p. 40). Paterson also notice that the style of fashion clothing, music, and behavior are exaggerated, eccentricities are in abundance, as our meeting and encounters with other in the urban environment are so fleeting and fast (Paterson, 2006, p. 40). Refers to Bennet (2002, p. 10), the youth identities item such fashion, magazine, and music closely relate with the urban environment as area of the new market.

Political economy and theories of mass culture also often tend to diminish the role of the consumer, seeing their acts of consumption as trivial within the largely deterministic system of global capital, advertising and media. At one with Bennett (2007), in many ways, the Indonesian youth have a lot sensibilities of politics in their way. Not just political of the state nor government, but rather the movement of their style.

In fact, these phenomena were much easily observed in youth performing music, mostly in urban. This rehears, at large, the Indonesian have complex cultural problems, one is internally voiced the local culture to raise their cultural sovereignty, and the other side, face the abundance of foreigner cultures. It simply said that the multicultural and the hegemony are joined together into the Indonesian lives. The destiny of local culture revival in doubt before the intersection of the underground music artist with the local culture again.

The local culture: sundanese culture, folk music, and musical instruments

The Sunda refers to a great reef which connected the South East Asia to the western Indonesian archipelago such Sumatera (Andalas), Kalimantan (Borneo), and Java. The Sunda also refers to one ethnic in Indonesia which their own way of life and have a long history before The Indonesian Republic declare their liberty from Dutch colonization. Many anthropologist claims that the center of Sundanese is Bandung (Bruner, 1977). The previous research conclude that Bandung is the models of the Sundanese as a dominant culture which the immigrant were adapted with its environment, an also the Sundanese people are open to the migrants. Bandung is the capital city of the West Java Province in Indonesia.

The Sundanese is the second of the largest ethnics in Indonesia, its population approximately over 40 millions and tend to live in West Java Province. Some of them lived in highland fertile rural agricultural and the other lived in urban area such in Bandung or Jakarta. With the large amount of the populations, ironically the Sundanese have played a minor role in Indonesian politics.

The Sundanese culture have main value of *silih asah, silih asih, silih asuh* (teaching each other as well as you teach yourself, loving each other as well as you love yourself, and taking care each other as well as you take care yourself). By this idiom, the Sundanese characterization as a humble communal people which integrated in conservative family.

The rural traditional agriculture scene made the Sundanese folk music dominated with gentle sound, humble, melodious, nearly the sounds of ballads. The Sundanese folk music, historically produced by those from peasant society, rural economic situation of subsistence consumption, hence produce the humble and gentle sound. This genre spoke in the sound of argot in relative isolation from one to another in region perspective and just deeply pleasant by specified demographic audiences.

The Sundanese folk songs have heavily connect with codes of moral of human being, the environment, and the spiritual life. It preaches the harmonization between human to their nature. Within this forms of Sundanese peasant, the music seem to cover all parts of daily life connected to their environment. The Sundanese tells the story about morality, often asking or searching the meaning and purpose human being life, seek for authenticity, suggesting the social order, and seek to challenge the ways in which we interact with the problems of present through sharing the people's experience in the past.

Islamic tradition of sufism was coloured the Sundanese folk songs. The Sufism is the offshot of islamic philosophy which preach to become humble and searching the meaning of life and its purposes. This not astonishing that the Sundanese was linkage with the traditional humble islamic sufism embed with the nature of rural agricultural life. The sufism tradition as filtered down to the little peasant religious tradition (Bowen, 1997, p. 113-137; and van Bruinessen, 1998, p. 203, in Rohmana, 2012, p. 305). As Weesing (1974; in Rohmana, 2012, p. 305) thesis that the islam in Sunda region simply provides the complementary context with its custom. Meanwhile, the relations between the Sundanese customs and islam tend to be harmonies as the Sundanese custom is maintained as far as it can be reconciled with islam (Rohmana, 2012, p. 305). We may figure that there was a "syncreticism" and superficiality between the local culture with islam. At recent time, the Sundanese-Islamic sufism has been neglected, along with the globalization and the hegemonization on the Sundanese.

The fertile-tropical land where the Sundanese live offer the abundance of material resources. Bamboo is the main material for the musical instruments for the Sundanese folk songs. The bamboo abundance was known by the Sundanese to make many musical instruments, such percussions, brass, flutes, or strings. Mix with the humble Islamic Sufism, the bamboo was choosed as it easily to find and may produce many melodic sounds with represent the Sundanese identity.

The underground music artist: the intersection

The underground music such punks, hardcore, grindcore, or death metal not Indonesian origin, but as the foreigner culture which absorbed by the urban Indonesian youth in 1990's. Bandung is one of the city which has a large number of the underground music artists. Jakarta and Malang is the next city which have large number of the underground music artist. The Bandung Underground is the biggest community underground music and their fans in Indonesia and made them the youth urban subculture. Their members are consists of many educated scholars as historian, social sciences, or arts and literature.

The underground subculture in Bandung was an alternative choice by urban youth to identify themselves. According to Moore (2004, p. 307) the underground subculture was constructed by the two divergent cultural practices and relating them to socioeconomic condition of postmodernity. The underground subculture in Bandung appear as a result of structural transformation which creating multiple possibilities for artistic and political response among youth. The artistic appearances are explicitly seen in their art and performance and the political responses was raise up from their own ideology which reject the cultural industry as the machine of cultural hegemony.

The underground music artist nomothetically have the same behavior. According to Moore (2004, p. 307), the underground music artist responds to the condition of postmodernity. The Bandung Underground as a part of the underground subculture is relatively the same as the underground subculture worldwide. They performing attitude and style which different with the main culture. The Bandung Underground also personified the boredom and purposelessness of youth subculture socialized as the spectators and consumer culture. The underground music artist also involved a quest for authenticity and independency from the culture industry thus renouncing the prevailing culture of media, image, and hyper-commercialism (Moore, 2004, p. 307). They successfully built their own institutions of their alternative media such recording their own music or self-produce magazines outside the culture industry.

Both of punks, hardcore, or metals adopted the "do-it-yourself" or DIY ethic. At some points, they have their independence not to join the cultural industry which producing pop culture but they could do everything by their own way such recording, clothing, or fanzines. They creatively "construct" the space for their own group which consists of peers, the same idea, and the same taste of style, and of course their own political orientation. This notion points that the underground music artist are the subject who creatively construct the micro-politics as a basis for their temporary life.

The Bandung underground music artists were consisted by two divided social classes. The metals, hardcore, and grindcore, and few of punks are the well-educated middle class. The punks are commonly coming from the working class up to the middle class, with secondary education. This evidence of their middle class origin was found at subcultural capital such purchasing records, wearing cloths which reflect one to the others, and donning piercings and tattoos which can only be purchased with "extra" money. This point that the fact, they may spend their earnings acquiring subcultural capital is an indication that someone else provides their necessities and, hence, exist as middle class citizens. It was a little different with the punks who came from the working class. Even they adopted the DIY, the punk has less capital rather than the metals, hardcore, and grindcore. But when they were unity in a scene of performing underground music, the two divided class were blurred as well as a unity. "... it is not a big problem if we are here together. We're here for the same purpose..."²

The fans have more variety class. Many of them are coming from the upper class well-educated of which have different ideology with dominant culture and have their own political orientations as a socialist-democratic. Then the middle class well-educated of which have the same ideology and political orientation with the upper class. The last are coming from the working class who have role as the followers, they temporary involve in the lives of subculture but doesn't have a strong ties to keep them straight involve to the subcultural movement. Also, the working class has the lesser micro-political underground ideology nor their political orientation.

The upper class and the middle class mostly become the leaders of the Bandung Underground. Their "well-educated" is the most powerful subcultural capital to reveal a great concern about the meanings of life and purpose of it all. According Rodrigues and Oliveira (2011, p. 15; in McKinnon, Scott, and Sollee, 2011) the underground music may acting as anger releaser. The underground music artist perform and releasing their anger with great concern of the meanings of life as individual meanings or collective meaning. They have an awareness of the problems within the wider society, thus criticized the society life which have no meanings in their life.

The underground music artist in Bandung seek the meaning in society life based on local custom. As the well-educated persons in art or history, they were able to discover the value and the meaning of the local custom which teach people to form an ideal society life with the "authenticity, community, harmony, order, and justice". Their concern of the discover the meaning and purpose of life was met with the values of the local culture. Rather just adopted the Sundanese values and custom, the underground music artist then try to explore the kind of instrument which meet with their sound. The bamboo musical instruments such *calung*, *karinding*, and other instrument such

² Interview with M. Rahman from Jasad

a *tarompet* (Sundanese traditional trumpet) or *suling* (bamboo flute). So they learn to play the traditional music instrument while they play their genres.

This intersection make the stronger willingness for the underground music artist to play the traditional music instruments while they always search the philosophical meaning and the story behind of the instruments. They found that the instruments are represent as the "victims" of the state hegemony and also the globalization. An activation of micro-political movement then forced by the underground music artist. As a reaction of the hegemony of the state and foriegner cultures, the underground music artist became the activist for the Sundanese cultural revivalism.

The culture revivalism: mixing the sundanese traditional musical instrument and underground music - the struggle for the cultural sovereignty

The Sundanese culture seem to revive by the underground music artist. This phenomena were evidence of the revivalism that have occurs in traditional value within traditional music when the traditional tunes were re-discovered, re-imagined, and re-played using the different genres and style by new musician as cited by Yarwood and Charlton (2009). The spirit of Sundanese culture revivalism then raise the awareness of the larger power which hegemonizing of the underground music artist. They often discuss with the traditional artist and historian to collect the knowledge of the Sundanese value. By several discussion, the knowledge were raised up that the Sundanese and the other culture was a victim of Indonesia's development carried by the Soeharto's New Order Regime which prior to the Javanese culture. This perceive as the colonization of Indonesia by the Javanese on pretext as development, stability, and unity. Rather than blaming the Javanese, the underground music artist was developing the deep comprehension of the values of any culture. This activity made them as the multiculturalist of which has an open mindedness for any other culture while holding their own culture, The Sundanese.

Along with the discovery of the Sundanese value mediated by the traditional music instruments, the underground music artist were goes far to the spirit of Sundanese culture revival. Their promoting the instruments in every gigs and reveals the sound of "back to the Sundanese value". "We found that the Sundanese and many local cultures have it wisdom, guidance for the best form of life." ³The local fans, mostly fairly in Sundanese language accepted very well even they still enjoy the riff of "concerivative" underground songs. Most of the fans are supporting the spirit of Sundanese, for example, the Sundanese cloths are dominated by black, meet with the underground clothing which dominated by black. "Yes, we enjoy the new sound of them and we're here to support the Sundanese custom"⁴

Supported by the local artist, the underground music artist found the "new place" to articulate their performance and their shared ideology of resistance. The intersection between the underground music and the local-traditional artist then formed into a fusion of the two subcultures to evoke the spirit of ethnicity of the Sundanese. They were sued the Sundanese for the authenticity with the "propaganda" of the Sundanese power to release them from state and foreigner's cultural hegemony. Although not to separate from The Republic of Indonesia, their demand for cultural identity was sounds then connected to the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which prior to the equality of each cultures to live and well recognize, free from every hegemony.

The underground music artist plays the Sundanese traditional music instruments while they were signing preach for the fans. As one of the underground music artist said that, "... here is what we looking for, the value for our life purpose. Within the underground music such metals, hardcore, or punks we meet our needs with the Sundanese value. But now is our obligation to spread these values to the audience"⁵. Yet, they were involved with the traditional artist and the Sundanese philosophers, they reconstruct the main theme of their music. According to Appadurai (1995), that is the best example of the "glocalization". While underground was spread wide by globalization, the spirit of the Sundanese values was the local culture.

The underground music artist later jamming their musical with the archaic Sundanese traditional music. "What an amazing, fuzzy cosmic when we play the punks with the young *tarompet* and *kendang* player. Our music

³ Interview with Cuki from Tjukimay

⁴ Interview with Rian an underground music fan

⁵ Interview with M. Rahman form Death Metal Band Jasad

become very dynamic and fans are love it. It is our new experience, and I must confess that the traditional instrument was forgotten by us. Its gave the powerfull sound we you mix it with punks at gigs" ⁶ When the California U.S punk/hard core Total Chaos world tour in Bandung, the Tcukimay was one the opening artist for the Total Chaos. In the stage their perform a new style of music, jamming with the traditional artis who played the *tarumpet* (Sundanese trumpet) and *kendang* (percussion). With the Sundanese lyrics, the persist the punk/hardocre riff while the *tarumpet* and *kendang* gave the cosmic of the locality.

Punklung (*punk and calung*) perform their music with the *calung* (mini percussion made of bamboo). They don't play a "concerivative instruments" which describe as the western-white superiority, such guitars, basses, or drums. But they open if other bands which play guitars, bass, or drums jamming with the Punklung. The Punklung members are learning the pentatonic tone from the traditional artist who have concerned with the punk ideology. Base on the pentatonic tone, the punk music apparently become a parody, but with the strong ideology of the liberation of culture through the destruction of capitalist system and liberation for the local culture.

The traditional music instrument increase in the underground music artist as they explore the sound and mix with their genres. Parallel with the using the instruments, they often found that the musical sound are more spiritually which much articulate by the Sundanese language and contend with its values. The ancient Sundanese poetry often launch to give an atmospheric Sundanese religio-spirituals. Later then the Makalangan a punk band not only mix the underground genre with the traditional music instrument, but also perform an ancient Sundanese dance in their stage performance. The underground music artist also announced that one of their missions is to conserve traditional arts from its extinction cause by the modernization or hegemony. Furthermore, they also announce the philosophical meanings of the traditional arts and so call the audiences support to conserve the traditional customs. That is what Hebdige (1979) wrote that we cannot underestimate the signifying power of spectacular subculture.

So, the underground music artists in Bandung became cosmopolitan which provide the sets of grounded and locatable, dicursive resources available to social actors which is variably deployed to deal with emergent agendas and issues, related to cultural diversity and the global, and the otherness (Kendall, Woodward, and Skrbis, 2009, p. 108). They had an emergent agenda to revive the local culture, specialy the Sundanese and it was related very closely with the cultural diversity in Indonesia. The foreigner's culture perceive as a threatment and it will extinct the Sundanese culture and its values is the next agenda to persist.

As Cross (2008, p. 10) noted, the underground music artist in Bandung are categorized as the collective anarchy which seek to maximize the social justice by minimizing the cultural hegemony or exploitation. For the collectivist, the agents of social change must be those who suffer most directly under the system of the hegemonized or exploitation. They perceive themselves as a Sundanese as the victims of the neo imperialism generated by political culture and must be opposed by culture too, the Sundanese culture to empower the Sundanese.

The most popular yet deeply recognised as the underground music artist who played the Sundanese traditional music instruments is Karinding Attack, lead by M. Rahman from Jasad. *Karinding* is musical instrument usually made by bamboo. In the past, *karinding* was used Sundanese ancestors for repel the insects from paddy field. As a Sundanese artist, Rahman call the underground music artist to embed the local values within their music genre. "As a Sundanese, I have an obligation to conserve the Sundanese culture, both in musical and everydaylife. I often call to my underground friends do not ignore the values of The Sundanese culture. Not in term culture as man made, but in term of the spiritual or religion aspects too. So, we choose to play *karinding* mix it with the death metal"⁷.

Local cultures are most relevant with the people in geographical context. The underground music artist sounding they perception about "what must it be? The cultural sovereignty". That is the cultural struggle between the local culture and the state which ignored the existence of the local cultures though the capitalist system, generated by the regime. And so on, the underground musical artist formed as the agent of cultural struggle. "Let the people live with their own culture and we want the liberation of all cultures in Indonesia without separate them with the nation"⁸.

⁶ Interview with Cuki form Punk Rock Band Tcukimay

⁷ Interview with M. Rohman form Jasad

⁸ Interview with M. Rahman from Jasad

Conclusion

The structural tension was made the underground music artist play an important role to the cultures sovereignty in Indonesia. There was a strong intersection between the underground music player's ideas with the traditional value. In other hand, they were still member of the Sundanese ethnics which have a big attention to conserve their culture form the threat of any culture even in term of national culture. From their own perspectives, the intersection enrich their genres and give more power to influence others.

The underground music artist as a subculture can be defined as a social movement. They build an alternative institution with a purpose to establish the plurality and equality of the local culture in Indonesia. As a social movement, they also must build the communication with the ordinary people to share their idea, allow them to participate in the cultural struggle in order to create the equality for local cultures in Indonesia.

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