Resistance against religious intolerance in Indonesia contemporary indie songs

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Abstract This study sought to examine any form of criticism and resistance against the growing religious intolerance in Indonesian contemporary indie songs. The study of indie music is often marginalised in media and communication studies, even though the music itself is an effective form of media to convey socio-political messages. Indie music shows an increasingly crucial role within the map of cultural products in Indonesia mainly because it is considered an important means of conveying messages and alternative media for new Indonesian youth. Indie musicians cover sensitive issues within their lyric, including religious intolerance perpetrated by conservative Muslim groups in Indonesia. Through the discourse analysis method by Teun Van Dijk, this study found three forms of resistance discourse found in Indonesian indie music: a critique towards middle-class Muslims hypocrisy, rejection against the imposition of the sharia law, and the lament over the loss of humanity in religious practice. The research findings show that indie songs serve as a medium of resistance to a more secular, youthful audience against many issues seldom covered in mainstream media.

Keywords: indie music; discourse analysis; religious intolerance; resistance; alternative music

INTRODUCTION

This article sought to analyse resistance against religious intolerance displayed in contemporary Indonesian Indie music lyrics. The cases of religious intolerance in Indonesia have increased dramatically with conservative Muslim groups' support, which slowly fills the vacuum of Indonesian political space after the '98 Reformation

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(Bruinessen, 2013; Hefner, 2018b; Menchik and Trost, 2018). Cases of religious-based violence increased sharply during the Presidential election in 2018 (Temby *et al.*, 2019). Previous research on contemporary Indonesian music development and its ability to act as a channel for delivering political messages are fairly limited (Sen and Hill, 2006; Weintraub, 2008; Lee, 2011; Martin-iverson, 2012).

Even less so are researches that specifically discusses indie music in Indonesia (Baulch, 2002; Moore, 2013; Barendregt and Zanten, 2015; Luvaas, 2020). However, the majority of this research agrees that attention to music and its relation to socio-political issues in Indonesia increased after the '98 Reformation era. Alternative music, especially rock and punk, has long been used to deliver political aspirations (Sen and Hill, 2006).

In its history, alternative music in Indonesia has long been used as a means of resistance against an authoritarian regime (Baulch, 2002; Sen and Hill, 2006; Martin-iverson, 2012; Barendregt and Zanten, 2015; Luvaas, 2020). Indonesian alternative music, which began to proliferate after the deregulation of the television stations and media ownership, became a symbol of resistance against order and conformity, two main characteristics of the new order regime (Sen and Hill, 2006). Both in terms of lyrics and performative appearance, alternative music often shows blatant rejection of the establishment, control, and worship of the concept of development which is always echoed incessantly by the New Order government. Along with the collapse of the Soeharto regime in 1998, the landscape of the Indonesian music industry underwent significant changes (Baulch, 2002; Weintraub, 2008; Barendregt and Zanten, 2015; Luvaas, 2020). The strength of large label companies in the Indonesian music industry is slowly eroded by technology development, allowing musicians to produce, record, and distribute their work more easily. This independently produced music, or what is known as 'independent' music, or 'indie,' began to rise in number and offer a new alternative music material in Indonesia. This study sought to investigate how Indonesian indie music is currently transforming the discourse of resistance and non-conformity in its lyrics. The target of this resistance shifted from resistance against the control and uniformity of the New Order regime towards the criticism against forced imposition of Islamic sharia law and religious intolerance after the Reformation (Barendregt and Zanten, 2015).

Many researchers agree that the strength of fundamentalist Muslim groups increased after the 1998 Reformation (Hartono, 2018; Hefner, 2018b, 2018a; Peterson, 2020). President Suharto's government actively suppressed the development of Islamic groups until the 1990s due to Suharto's suspicion of Islamic groups that were considered dangerous political rivals. The Soeharto regime began to change its policies towards Islamic groups in the early 1990s because Soeharto realised the strength of Islamic groups was getting stronger

even though the New Order government never really showed concrete support. The turning point was the Reformation period of the 1990s that witnessed all Islamic groups, whether they had moderate to extreme views, began to build their power influence along with state control that had considerably softened (Weintraub, 2008; Hefner, 2018a).

The current research focused on how the discourse of resistance against the increasingly high level of religious intolerance in Indonesia appears in contemporary Indonesian indie music lyrics. The objects of this study were seven songs from five prominent Indonesian indie group bands, which include "*Hari Akhir Peradaban*" (The Last Day of Civilisation) and "*Orang-orang di Kerumumunan*" (People from Crowd) from FSTVLST (read: festivalist), "*Terang*" (Bright) and "*Nista*" (Insult) from Tashoora, "*Peradaban*" (Civilisation) from FEAST and "*Berita Kehilangan*" (Obituary), and "Arabian Playboy" from The Panturas.

The rise of conservative Islamic groups in Indonesia began with the resignation of President Soeharto in 1998. The reformation event triggered a reaction from various Islamic groups in Indonesia, both in the context of the student movement, political parties, and even radical movements (Heryanto, 2014; Hefner, 2018b; Luvaas, 2020). Since 1999, these conservative Islamic groups have been actively and openly appearing on the public stage to promote Islamic politics. Specifically, these groups want to re-establish religious rules in the form of legalised sharia law. They also advocate for the broader accommodation of Islamic legal traditions through various means, even if it contains violence and discrimination against other religious followers. This movement received a response from Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, two of the largest Muslim organisations in Indonesia. NU and Muhammadiyah key figures such as Nurcholis Madjid and Buya Syafii Maarif consistently voice their opposition towards conservative Muslim groups' movements (Menchik and Trost, 2018).

Conservative Muslim groups that emerged after the Reformation were ultimately considered drivers of increasing religious intolerance in Indonesia. The militant group FPI (Front Pembela Islam or Islamic Defenders Front) used the power vacuum in the early post-Reformation period by demonstrating their strength and influence through various illegal actions directed towards various businesses and social establishments (Heryanto, 2014; Hefner, 2018a). FPI is specifically regarded as the main initiator of various attacks on minority religious groups in the past two decades. FPI's actions range from labelling minority religious movements as 'deviant' (kafir) to monitoring and rejecting the construction of non-Muslim houses of worship in urban areas that are considered Muslim enclaves (Hadiz, 2016; Hefner, 2018b).

Efforts to strengthen accommodation for Islamic sharia law also take place in the legislative channel, both at the national and regional

levels. In 2001, two major Islamic parties in Indonesia attempted to propose a law draft that required the state to impose coercion on any Muslims who do not abide by sharia laws. Although these efforts ultimately failed, with the broader system of regional autonomy, many similar efforts were soon found in various regions in Indonesia. These regional regulations seek to regulate all aspects of people's lives, especially in terms of cultural behaviour, such as clothing, art, and entertainment (Buehler, 2010; Buehler and Muhtada, 2016; Hefner, 2018b). The sharia-based regional regulations are often discriminatory in nature and tend not to be accommodating towards other religious groups, such as restrictions on the establishment of places of worship and celebrations of religious holidays. Until the administration of President Jokowi decided to ban it in 2017, militant groups such as Hizbut-Tahrir and the Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (Indonesian Mujahidin Council, MMI) has been actively and openly continued their activities to enforce the full implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia and openly declared that the democratic system as heresy (Menchik and Trost, 2018).

The Islamic narrative that became increasingly dominant in Indonesia after the Reformation, in turn, influenced the entertainment realm, especially film and music. Since late 1999 Islamic groups 'hardliners' has begun to pressure popular musicians in the mass media to follow religious standards. They also actively criticise musicians who were deemed to exhibit behaviour that was "contrary to religious norms" (Barendregt and Zanten, 2015). For example, blues singer Oppie Andaresta was once accused of insulting Islam when he joked about music that "ruined the religious formula" in one of his songs. Certain Islamic groups initiated an unofficial boycott movement that forced several television stations to avoid working together with Oppie for almost three years (Barendregt and Zanten, 2015).

Efforts to 'regulate' the entertainment industry, especially music, are remnants of the New Order censorship strategy that continues to be carried out by conservative Islamic groups in Indonesia (Weintraub, 2008). Although the New Order government did not carry out a strict ban as President Soekarno did with rock music in the early 1960s, the Soeharto government actively tried to suppress certain music genres based on nationalism. For example, in 1988, the national television station, TVRI, banned 'sappy' songs, which were considered to make young people 'soft' and render them unable to participate in nation-building. In 1995, Minister of Research and Technology BJ Habibie attacked the popularity of rap music, which was considered "dirty and disgusting" (Sen and Hill, 2006). However, this kind of effort was never truly successful. Romance and rap genre remain popular on various national and regional radios.

Nevertheless, it seems necessary to see that efforts to control or ban particular cultural products in Indonesia cannot be truly successful unless this ban receives universal support from the masses. The

clearest example is the controversy over dangdut singer Inul Daratista in 2003(Weintraub, 2008). Although dangdut itself is clearly not part of the indie music genre, Inul Daratista case can illustrate how non-mainstream musicians from a small town in East Java can be the focus of political and cultural debates around multiple subjects, including the Sharia law to gender inequality. The Indonesian Council of Clerics (MUI or Majelis Ulama Indonesia) issued a *fatwa* (official statements from a council of clerics) that both the costume and dance performed by Inul contained pornographic elements and were therefore considered *haram* (forbidden). Local MUI in the Semarang area even forced the local police force to forcibly stop Inul's stage in their city (Weintraub, 2008).

Efforts by conservative Muslim groups to control cultural products has been carried out since the formation of the Indonesian state, for example, through attempts to suppress various forms of traditional dance from across Indonesia that are deemed incompatible with Islamic teachings (Weintraub, 2008). This movement also indirectly supports the popularity of the Islamic music genre in mainstream media, especially national television (Otterbeck and Skjelbo, 2020; Weng, 2020; Laan, 2021). Nevertheless, it is crucial to understand that Islamic power is never a singular entity in Indonesia. It consists of various views and opinions, especially regarding music and art. Inul is not the first dangdut singer to use erotic dance and vulgar lyrics to attract the audience's attention. The historical record of Javanese culture has recorded many forms of traditional dance that place women at the centre of the performance, such as *tayuban* in Central Java and *ronggeng* in West Java (Hefner, 2018b). However, efforts to ban these singers and dancers are sporadic at best and never achieve the same level as Inul's, although their performance is no less erotic than Inul. Inul's controversy started after her popularity skyrocketed propelled since her appearance on national television stations. Indonesian Dangdut Queen Elvi Sukaesih stated that the element of hip shake (the element that was considered the most problematic of Inul's appearance) had been around since the 1960s and began to be the subject of discussion Inul's presence on television (Weintraub, 2008).

The controversy faced by Inul Daratista arose for at least two reasons. The first is due to the increasing popularity of Inul in Indonesian mainstream media. This popularity is caused by the widespread narrative debate from conflicting ideologies after the 1998 Reformation. As discussed by cultural observer Emha Ainun Najib, the discussion about Inul is not really about Inul's body but about the issue of censorship in the entertainment world, women's bodies, regional politics, the rise of fundamentalist Islamic movements, and various other interrelated issues (Weintraub, 2008). The second reason is because of the growing popularity of dangdut since 1993. Dangdut, previously considered 'lower class music' or 'plebeian music,' slowly gains a foothold in mainstream media shows (Sen and Hill, 2006;

Weintraub, 2008). These two arguments present the concept of 'fame' as a dilemma for Indonesian musician after the 1998 Reformation. Singer such as Inul, who sang non-popular music genres and originated from a small city in East Java, on the one hand, turned out to be able to penetrate the music industry, which was dominated by major labels from Jakarta, and gained huge popularity on a national scale. However, at the same time, this popularity attracted the attention of Islamic groups that arose after the Reformation, which used the mainstream media as an anchor to conduct surveillance against any cultural products' that were considered contrary to religious norms.

The definition of 'indie music' is still the focus of debate, especially to explain what is meant by Indonesian indie music. There is a mixed definition between alternative music, which emphasises its dichotomy with popular music, and indie music, which emphasises production and distribution independence. David Hesmondhalgh defined indie music as a variant of melodic rock, which dominated by guitar and started with the popularity of the 1960s punk and pop music (Hesmondhalgh, 1999). Other researchers such as Bannister try to move from technical definitions and turn to the ideologies that emerge in indie music: simple, uncomplicated, and loyal to an amateurish appearance (Bannister, 2006). Some Indonesian music media themselves have difficulty providing limits to indie music definition (Sabrina, 2018). Nevertheless, it is almost agreed that indie music always holds to two aspirations that are sometimes dilemmatic; the authenticity of the work and the autonomy of production and distribution(Luvaas, 2020). Indie music, which originates from the concept of 'independent', mainly refers to the context of economic business in which the production process and distribution are done independently outside major recording companies.

The Indonesian 'indie' label originated from a shift in ownership trends in music studios in the 1990s (Moore, 2013; Luvaas, 2020). In contrast with the 1950s or 1960s, music studios were initially owned by a handful of music producers who had very dominant power and control in determining the creative process of musicians. The turning point of the development of contemporary alternative music in Indonesia can be seen since the media deregulation policy in 1988. The central government stopped the monopoly policy on television and began to open the Indonesian record industry to multinational music label companies (Baulch, 2002).

In the mid-90s, many singers began to build their home-based studios, equipped with the latest recording types of equipment from Singapore (Barendregt and Zanten, 2015). This began a significant shift in the context of the music business in Indonesia, where the ability to record and produce music materials is now not only monopolised by label companies. Home studios, which began from the popularity of the principles of punk DIY (Do-It-Yourself) such as the A-

System and Blue Turtle studios, succeeded in producing the names of famous musicians such as Potret band and Indra Lesmana (Martin-iverson, 2012; Barendregt and Zanten, 2015). This change in the music industry scheme significantly influences label ownership and the expansion of music tastes and genres in Indonesia. MTV Asia is considered the most significant influence of the widespread popularity of rock music, which is marked by the emergence of innovation and new enthusiasm from local rock bands in Javanese urban areas (Baulch, 2002; Martin-iverson, 2012). For example, in the early 90s, many bands with various genres were born and proceed to gain popularity in the next several years, such as Suckerhead who carried the trash music genre, Pas Band, which was known for its hardcore funk style, Neutral with its new-wave punk style, and Rotor which specifically carried the industrial genre flag. Starting in 1994, the local major record company began to sign a contract with local bands, which were eventually given the 'alternative' label. There are many similarities between the development of the indie music scene in Indonesia and that which occurred in the United States, where most bands try to carry on the musical style from particular international artists or bands (Baulch, 2002).

The development of Indonesian indie music itself has skyrocketed after the internet. Previously, limited access to mainstream media and lack of resources made many Indonesian musicians unable to present their work to the broader public (Moore, 2013). Internet then comes as an alternative medium that is relatively inexpensive and easy to use, which at the same time also provides space for musicians to expand their autonomy control both over the process of production, distribution, and criticism of music(Moore, 2013). There are countless new Indonesian indie musicians from various genre and styles trying to make a name on the internet.

There is serious debate and criticism aimed at the definition of 'indie'. Many experts have long expressed criticism of the concept of independence and freedom from mass-market tastes and their almost militant rejection to major label company that are always echoed by indie music. In fact, many record companies are subsidiaries of major labels (Hesmondhalgh, 1999). Other Indonesian indie musicians, such as Jason Ranti, who is well-known for his peculiar lyrics, depends on the major labels for the distribution or marketing of their work (Fonarow, 2006; Luvaas, 2020). This condition is increasing rapidly with the presence of the internet medium.

On the one hand, the internet's presence has given Indonesian musicians autonomy to create more authentic and autonomous works through streaming services such as Joox or Spotify (Moore, 2013; Luvaas, 2020). However, at the same time, the internet also opens more opportunities for commercialisation and economic control over indie music content, two things that have long been a considerable debate about the principle of independent music (Hesmondhalgh,

1999; Luvaas, 2020). The presence of a streaming platform makes promoting songs easier and makes competition between indie musicians very tight with each other. Tight competition and a system that allows users to quickly skip music created a new music culture that music critic Jon Caramanica called 'spotifycore' (Caramanica, 2018), a way for songs to be made more 'streaming friendly'. Artists do this by ensuring that the song's chorus or hook appears faster to be more popular and successful in the market (Ario, 2019).

Even so, it seems some indie musicians still show a spirit of resistance through lyrics that contain specific political views and social criticism. Music in Indonesia has long served as a location to deliver opposition messages to the ruling regime (Sen and Hill, 2006). In the 1950-1960 era, President Soekarno declared a ban on the music of 'ngak-ngik-ngok', which referred to the rock n roll genre popularised by singer Elvis Presley and the Beatles. The band's second albums were subjected to sweeping in the early 1960s before burning them in public. The legendary music group Koes Plus was arrested and thrown into prison for about three months until 1965, after switching to playing the Beatles style music. Such censorship by the government strengthens the image of rock music as a symbol of resistance to state authority (Baulch, 2002; Sen and Hill, 2006; Luvaas, 2020). The perception that rock is a symbol of resistance, anti-establishment, and anti-conformity is getting stronger with the introduction of songs from new western rock bands, especially Rolling Stones and Deep Purple, which then inspired The Rollies and Godbless. The lyrics of rock bands that emerged in the early 1990s, such as Boomerang and Slank, also often contain criticism, especially against the New Order bureaucratic system full of corruption and is considered to impede the freedom of expression of the young generation. Both Boomerang and Slank firmly held independent and DIY principles at the beginning of their careers, both in musical production and promotion.

Sen and Hill (2000,169) stated that alternative music that initially originated from abroad was transformed into Indonesian cultural contexts to become a form of political opposition to the ruling regime. Although its influence and effectiveness is still debatable, alternative music has become a media of resistance against the Suharto regime, which forcefully strove to establish cultural order and uniformity through control of the mainstream music industry. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that alternative music genres are not the only means of delivering political messages and social criticism, especially in the Reformation Era. Pop music became one of the important vehicles during the protest in 1998 (Barendregt and Zanten, 2015). However, alternative music has its own strengths because of its ability to display messages of resistance, both in terms of lyrics and visual performance, without being limited by the economic interests of the label company.

The autonomy and authenticity offered by Indie music provide an opportunity for Indie musicians to perform music with much bolder lyrics (Luvaas, 2020). The image of resistance is not exclusively owned by musicians in the rock or punk genre. The presence of new media, especially private music stations that continued to the presence of the internet, revolutionised the process of producing and disseminating music in Indonesia and encouraged the proliferation of genre variants of Indie music (Moore, 2013). Many Indie musicians from various musical styles keep trying to convey social criticism and political views through their lyrics. Indie singer Laze clearly expressed his views on consumerism and community alienation through his single titled 'Budak' (slave), released in 2016. A song titled 'Lagu Hidup' (song of life) by an indie singer from Yogyakarta, Sisir Tanah, became an anthem for victims of forced eviction in Kulonprogo airport. Indie music also became the channel chosen by Fajar Merah, the youngest son of poet and activist Widji Thukul, to convey his father's work in the form of a song titled 'Bunga dan Tembok' (Flower and Wall). This song became very popular and was read several times during the 2018 Student Protest. One indie band that is brave enough to express criticism on religious intolerance and the rise of conservative Islamic groups in Indonesia is the Milisi Kecoa with its single 'Ini Bukan Arab, Bung! (this is not Arab, Man'). Milisi Kecoa is a punk-style band under the umbrella of Doombringer Records, an independent Jakarta-based label that consistently vocal on political issues. Their single 'Ini Bukan Arab, Bung!' implicitly expressing critics towards Islamic groups who have tried to enforce the sharia rules by force:

You force us to obey| But we are not in Arabia at the time of the Prophet, Hurry up and die, collect your reward in heaven. Your paradise. My hell.

Although the lyric itself is quite bold, Milisi Kecoa still provide a disclaimer that officially states that the lyric "*Ini Bukan Arab, Bung!"* is not aimed at one particular religion. A similar disclaimer also used by Feast in the music videos of "*Peradaban*" and "*Berita Kehilangan*." The issue of religious intolerance is a sensitive matter to be discussed openly in Indonesia. Therefore, open critics directed towards Muslims, who are the majority of religious adherents in Indonesia, is considered risky and often discouraged.

METHODOLOGY

This research used the discourse analysis model developed by Teun Van Dijk. Teun van Dijk's discourse was chosen because understanding the holistic meaning of a text is not only based on the text. An in-depth analysis is needed that sees the text as the result of a production practice influenced by certain ideologies, knowledge, and discourse, which can be examined by the discourse analysis proposed by Van Dijk. There are three important parts in this analysis: First is the text itself, or micro part, which represent the topic of the problems

in the text. The second part is called the macro part, which deals with social practice(Van Dijk, 2008). Finally, Van Dijk made a bridge that connects the elements of social structure with elements of discourse called social cognition. Social cognition has two meanings. On the one hand, it shows the process of how the text creator produces the text. On the other hand, it illustrates the values of society which absorbed by the audience's cognition and finally used to produce the text (Van Dijk, 2008). This research will look at song lyrics as a text that contains discourse that is ready to be explored and analysed. The research analysis model of this research will be discussed below.

Figure 1. Research Model Analysis Based on Van Dijk Discourse Analysis Theory
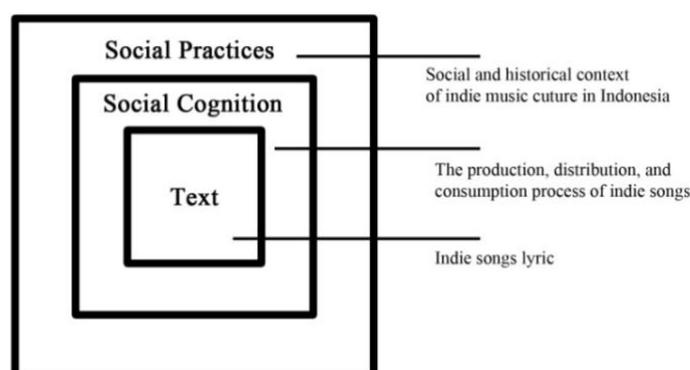
Source: Van Dijk (2008)

In this study, the definition of 'indie music' referred to David Hesmondhalgh's, who saw the definitive roots of indie music rests on an independent process of production and distribution, not the style of music displayed (Hesmondhalgh, 1999). This definition is quite important because, in Indonesia, indie music is not limited to melodic rock style music dominated by guitars that departed from the 1960s English pop and punk (Bannister, 2006) but consisted of a variety of styles and genres (Luvaas, 2020).

The five indie bands chosen in this study still use independent label companies to produce and distribute their albums. The band Tashoora collaborated with three independent label companies from Yogyakarta and Jakarta, namely Degup Detak Records, Juni Records, and Naradama. .Feast is under the Sun Eater Jakarta label, which also oversees other indie musicians, such as Aldrian Risjad, Mothern, and Hindia (a highly popular solo project from .Feast vocalist Baskara Putra). The surf-rock band The Panturas is under an independent label from Jakarta, La Munai Records, while FSTVLST chooses to carry out the production and distribution process independently without any label company. Details of every indie bands included in this research are listed the table 1.

Table 1. Indie Bands Genre and Background

Group Band	Background
FSTVLST	The Yogyakarta-based rock surf-rock indie band is known to combine music with visual arts, including their performances and provocative lyrics.
Tashoora	The Yogyakarta-based indie band has strong ties with the bohemian style in both their songs and performance wardrobe. Many of their songs focused on social problems in Indonesia.
.Feast	The Jakarta-based rock indie band gained immense popularity when they released the single "*Peradaban*" in 2018. .Feast is well-known for its contemplative and critical lyrics.
The Pantura	The Jakarta-based surf-rock indie band mostly write and sing about marine environmental issues in Indonesia.

Source: Sabrina, 2018.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
The hypocrisy of middle-class Muslim

The most powerful discourse found within the lyrics of the seven songs above is the critique towards middle-class Muslims that are considered hypocrites. FSTVLST's song called "*Hari Akhir Peradaban*" (The Last Day of Civilisation) is the most explicit about stating this narrative. FSTVLST is known for its brave and provocative lyrics, and in their songs, FSTVLT focuses on the issue of religious intolerance in Indonesia. In "*Hari Akhir Peradaban*," FSTVLST offered criticisms of the obsession of contemporary Indonesian Muslim groups that mixed the need to display personal piety with the inability to escape from the temptations of pleasure offered by media. This discourse is clear from the opening lyrics:

> *And this is the day for women |Become a slave to his genitals*
> *Embrace religion without God | Whose worship is shopping*

FSTVLST openly criticises Indonesian Muslim women who seem to only care about their religious symbol and pious image, which appear through never-ending consumption but lack a substantive understanding of religion. This discourse presented by FSTVLST is in line with Ariel Heryanto's analysis of the rise of the Indonesian Muslim middle class who "...want to show spiritual depth but are unable to distance themselves from the temptations offered by the media industry and the modern market..." (Heryanto, 2014). The rise of Islamic groups in Indonesia is also suspected to be caused by the increasing socio-economic conditions of Muslims, especially the middle class, who are slowly beginning to show their economic power by consuming unnecessary goods, such as vacations, karaokes, or lavish dinner at luxurious restaurants. According to Heryanto, this Islamic middle class felt an urge to show their Islamic identity through visible visual symbols (Heryanto, 2014). A situation that some critics consider

to be a conflict between two opposing stances. The first is religious piety that should be transcendent, sacred, and free from the influence of 'worldly' temptations against modern life, offering pleasure through tempting market products. Although Heryanto himself sees this situation as a form of accommodation shown by Muslims in modernisation, many see it as hypocrisy.

Criticism against the so-called Muslim hypocrisy, which seems to obsess over the image of holiness and piety, but at the same time cannot get out of the capitalistic temptations also appear in the "*Arabian Playboy*" song by The Panturas. The Panturas is a band from Jakarta that well-known for its surf-rock style. The Panturas' lyrics mostly show their concern for environmental issues, especially regarding Indonesia's marine crisis. However, in one of their songs, "*Arabian Playboy*" from the album "*Mabuk Laut*" (Seasick), the Panturas implicitly displayed a parody of the hypocritical Arab Muslim who only cares about wealth and enjoyment of life through uncontrolled consumption and hedonism.

> *Here's a tale of a slick man | Pictures of heaven on his brain*
> *And golden watch on his hand | Had Angels' round the oceans*
> *Told them to bend down the trend*
> *Ah yes, it's Abdullah the Playboy| Watch him when he moves my friend*

In the lyrics of this song, The Panturas shows a humorous parody of "Abdullah the Playboy," a wealthy Arab Muslim figure who is a stereotypical oil entrepreneur from the Middle East (Said, 1978). On one side, Abdullah cannot escape from his religious identity, but at the same time, he is trapped in decadence and consumerism (*pictures of heaven on his brain and golden watch on his hand*). This irony seems to be used by The Panturas to express criticism of middle-upper Muslim groups, especially in major urban areas such as Jakarta, which often show two contradictory images. Enthusiasm in showing their Islamic identity is shown through Arabic identities and symbols (Heryanto, 2014), with consumptive behaviour that seems excessive. Arabian Playboy song portrays Abdullah's figure as morally bankrupt, promiscuous, untrustworthy, and hedonist. It should be noted that the name 'Abdullah' (meaning servant of God) is ubiquitous in Muslim societies and is considered quite sacred because of its position within Islamic historical traditions. Giving hypocritical attribute to the figure confirms the Panturas implicit criticism of the image of piety believed by Muslim communities.

Rejection to the Forceful Implementation of Sharia Norms

Indie songs still seem to continue the tradition of alternative music as young people's way to resist authoritarian control. In his analysis of Indonesian government sanctions on rap musicians in 1994, Hadiz stated that youth culture had provided an outlet for previously limited aspirations. There is always a place in youth culture to oppose the

rules dictated by the authoritarian regime (Hadiz, 2016). The structure challenged in Indonesian indie song itself has changed dramatically from the authoritarian regime of New Order to Islamic fundamentalist groups that were considered trying to impose sharia norms, which often led to violence.

Of the five band groups whose song chosen in this study, .Feast is the indie band that raised critic against enforcing Islamic values by some fundamental Muslim groups. .Feast is one of the indie bands from Jakarta which gained national popularity when they launched their album titled "*Sectumsempra.*" .Feast songs specifically contain social criticism delivered in bold lyrics, especially on violence against adherents of minority religions in Indonesia. One of Feast's most popular song is titled "*Peradaban*" (civilisation). The lyrics to this song implicitly show two elements of resistance. The first is a critic of the unilateral, forceful actions of a particular conservative Muslim group who seek to police and monitor Indonesian cultural behaviour, even for those who do not adhere to Islam. .Feast uses the term 'civilisation' as a euphemism to religion in general and their practice, including rituals to houses of worship which radical Islamic groups repeatedly target.

> *Because civilisation will never die*
> *Although blown up, threatened, or to be treated*
> *Because civilisation revolves forever*
> *Immune to stab or insult*

The second elements of resistance seem to be directed at Indonesian Muslim communities as a whole who are considered to be passive, indifferent, and divided on issues of violence against minority religions (bring this message to your fellowship / place of worship on fire again / take this message to run to your family / our name is trampled again). This is supported by the visual elements in the album cover and the video clip of the song Peradaban itself, which shows various unresolved religious-based violence in Indonesia. This video clip opens with an introductory narrative about the high number of religious intolerance and cases of religious-based terrorism in Indonesia and the fact that the wider Islamic community feels indifferent and reluctant to discuss violence towards minority religious groups.

As anthropologist Clifford Geertz points out, one of the characteristics of Indonesian Muslim society is its multivocal form (Geertz, 1968). Various Muslim sects developed throughout Indonesian history. Most researchers agree that the Indonesian Muslim community is different from Middle Eastern Muslim groups. Indonesian Muslim communities are considered more tolerant of other religions, especially since the advent of the Islamic Renewal Movement in 1970-1980, initiated by Muslim leaders who supported pluralist and moderate ideas. However, in the past two or three decades, these views of 'tolerant Indonesian people' have begun to be questioned, given the

increasing number of violent cases in the name of religion committed by Muslim groups in Indonesia (Bruinessen, 2013). The rise of conservative Islam group mainly can be observed from numbers of *fatwa* (authoritative opinions) from the Indonesian Council of Clerics. The fatwas are increasingly intolerant to Indonesia's religious diversity (Bruinessen, 2013; Menchik and Trost, 2018). Some examples include the prohibition of worship and joint prayers, the prohibition of congratulating other religious holidays, as well as the prohibition of inter-religion marriages, including the prohibition for Muslim men to marry non-Muslim women, which is actually permitted in the Qur'an (Bruinessen, 2013; Hefner, 2018b). This resistance in the discourse is increasingly more visible in the rest of the Peradaban song:

> *Because life is not tarnished*
> *Or lost its meaning if you disagree with us*
> *Because death is a personal event*
> *Not belong to anyone*
> *Culture and language revolves eternally*
> *Don't try to control our way of speaking*
> *Life is not as short as a man's penis*
> *Don't try to adjust our way of dressing*

The authoritative attitude of the conservative Muslim group also criticised by the indie band group Tashoora in their song entitled "*Terang*" (Light). Just like the song Peradaban from .Feast, two songs from Tashoora were inspired by a case of the former Jakarta's vice governor Basuki Tjahya Purnama or Ahok in 2016. Ahok is Chinese-Indonesian Christian who ran in the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election. He was accused of blasphemy when during a campaign. Ahok created a controversy, mainly due to his unique position within strong political polarity from 2016 to 2018, especially on the eve of the presidential election (Temby et al., 2019). Ahok's case was seen as an attempt to maintain domination of Islam in the broader aspects of national life and suppress the presence of religious groups and ethnic minorities in politics. This controversy extends to the sentiments between political supporters and religious groups, leading to open conflict and violence, especially around Jakarta. One is this occurred to two older women named Mrs. Hindun and Rohbaniah. Both experienced harassment because they showed personal support for Ahok. This case is featured explicitly in Tashoora' "*Terang*" and "*Nista*".

> *Grief comes without sound*
> *Silent greeting and silenced with the words "defend the*
> *heretic"*
> *Anxious face that left*
> *Sky crying, frantically speaking*
> *If dying end with torment, I will knock on His door*
> *If it's fire that waiting me there, I will gladly embrace it*

Criticisms found in songs "*Nista*," "*Terang*," and "*Peradaban*" were directed at the Blasphemy Law, which had long been the object of discussion and controversy in Indonesia. Although normatively, this law created to protect official religions in Indonesia from any attempts of blasphemy or abuse, in reality, Blasphemy Law often touches a broader and multi-interpretative context (Peterson, 2020). The Blasphemy Law recognises the right of the state to restrict religious activities for public security. It explicitly distinguishes the higher hierarchical position of 'religion' than 'beliefs' (any form of belief that fall outside six legal state-recognised religions). It gives authority to the state to act if there any suspicion of blasphemy, harassment, or abuse against state recognised religion. Blasphemy Law, which began in the NASAKOM era initiated by President Soekarno (Hefner, 2018b; Peterson, 2020), has long been criticised for being discriminatory, especially for minority groups in Indonesia.

The last resistance discourse found in Indonesian indie music concerns the substance of humanity and peace in religious activities. The contradiction between human values and blind obedience to violent religious dogmas is an issue in indie songs. This finding is evident especially in the lyrics of "*Hari Akhir Peradaban*" by FSTVLST. FSTVLST's criticism extends not only to Muslim women and their shopping obsession but also to groups of Indonesian Muslim men who are considered self-righteous, arrogant, and easily initiate acts of violence based on religion.

(People) don't agree so they began to fall apart
(People) don't agree so they began fighting
The faithful began to condemn Forgetful crowd,
That you, me, and them are the same
Just a human A human
Who should embrace each other like brother and sister
Take care of each other like a family

The same criticism is also found in the song "*Terang*," where Tashoora criticises conservative Islamic figures who always cite religious verses to justify various acts of violence and intolerance directed at minority groups. The lyrics of "*Terang*" contain criticisms of conservative Muslim figures that can easily label other groups with differing religious views as 'infidel.' This debate is not only limited to religious scripture, but also on the political levels, such as the case of local elections. The increasing power of conservative Muslim groups is easily identified with the increasing numbers of religious violence, one of the Indonesian people's main problems, especially since 2005 (Bruinessen, 2013). This is added by several cases of terrorism directed at minority religion, especially Christians and Catholics (Aritonang, 2018). One of the most highlighted cases is the suicide bombing case in Surabaya in 2018, where a sympathiser of the radical ISIS organisation took all of his family members to carry out suicide bombings in three different churches. This case is one of the

culminations of acts of violence directed at minority groups in Indonesia, which also inspire "*Peradaban*" and "*Berita Kehilangan*" by Feast.

The analysis shows that the Indie music genre has provided space for expression and a medium of resistance to raise sensitive issues that cannot be discussed openly in mainstream media. Indie songs fill this role through two main functions, namely exclusivity and autonomy. Indie music provides an exclusive and limited discussion space that provides security from the wider public's attention. Indie music also provides more significant opportunities for singers and bands to process messages in their lyrics without thinking about financial responsibility for the record company. The results appear in the lyrics that come out of the general themes of the mainstream music industry, including discussing the issue of religious intolerance in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Based on our analysis, critic against religious intolerance is found strongly within Indonesia contemporary indie songs. There are at least three forms of resistance that appears in the song lyrics examined in this study. First is the criticism towards hypocritical middle-class Muslim. The rise of Indonesia's Muslim middle class at the same time also brings contradictory lifestyle; a strong need to show religious piety through various symbols on the one hand and a never-ending consumptive lifestyle on the other (Heryanto, 2014). Second is the rejection of the imposition of sharia norms by conservative Muslim groups. Members of conservative Islamic groups continue to push towards more accommodation of sharia values that are often at odds with the norms of other religions. This effort is often carried out violently and authoritatively. The final form of resistance is criticism against the loss of humanity and peace in religious life. Any efforts to implement sharia norms that often lead to violence are considered as irony by musicians. This kind of violence is clearly against any religious teachings that always uphold peace and understanding.

Indie music provides at least two main reasons for musicians to address religious intolerance issues in Indonesia. The first relates to the autonomy and freedom offered by indie music to produce a means for resistance. The economic-political relationship that exists between multinational label companies and the ruling government always sets boundaries for musicians. The ideology of indie music departs from the principle of DIY (Do-It-Yourself) British punk music groups who are suspicious of large label companies that are only concerned with economic profit. The second reason relates to the character of Indie music, which focuses on a specific group of listeners, who, in most cases, are highly committed and have a similar ideology. Indie music fans are mainly young people who live in urban areas and have better education (Hesmondhalgh, 1999). This exclusivity provides space for

Indie musicians to deliver songs that contain deeper narratives and are related to sensitive issues, such as the domination of Islam in Indonesia and the unfair treatment of adherents of minority religions in Indonesia. As explained earlier in the Inul Daratista case, the exclusivity of the mainstream media makes indie songs relatively safe from any attempt of control from conservative Islamic groups. This is further strengthened by the presence of internet technology, which facilitates the production and distribution of music material (Moore, 2013) and creates new genres and a particular group of fans. Indie music has succeeded in becoming one of the rare media for delivering criticism on sensitive issues usually ignored by other media, especially regarding religious intolerance in Indonesia.

This research only discussed the upper layer of indie music studies in Indonesia. The research method used in this study is limited to the analysis of song lyrics and has not included the communicative aspects. Nevertheless, this study is a starting point for studying music products as a medium for messages of resistance. It is hoped that the next study can deepen the scope of the study into a more expansive space, especially the analysis of the Indonesian music audience and their responses to song lyrics containing socio-political messages.

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