

HIJAB, PUNK, AND THE USE OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN COMMUNICATION

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Abstract

To date, the role of women in the world of subcultures, especially Punk, is still considered small, especially in eastern countries where the majority of the population is Muslim, such as Indonesia. The influence of the mainstream media on negative images seems to cover up the small voices of women who are in the Punk subculture environment so that the general public does not know about their involvement in the arena. The negative image is getting stronger when women wearing hijab participate in this culture. Another reason that might be related to this rejection is that the image of a woman wearing a hijab with an elegant and respectable class is very different from the image of the Punk subculture, which is full of nuances of resistance/rebellion. As time goes by, with the development of the world, which is changing rapidly due to the influence of technology, the cultural space of subcultures also participates in the flow of globalization organically. The rapid advancement of new media such as social media opens up opportunities for women wearing hijab to be involved in the Punk subculture and more actively voice their ideology and talents. The main aim of the study is to analyze how women who wear the hijab communicate their voices through new technology. This study uses qualitative research with ethnographic methods. With the advent of new media, women wearing the hijab can freely present information related to the image of women in order to counteract the negative image of the Punk subculture in the eyes of the public.

Keywords: *Social media, subculture, punk, veiled, women.*

INTRODUCTION

The concept of ‘alternative voices’, especially for Muslim women, has been studied by Calderini (2008). In her research on Islam and diversity, she examines two female academics who have views on contemporary Islam from a gender aspect. In conclusion, the leadership, social, cultural, minority issues that occur are not the true message of the Islamic context, but the consequences of political, historical, and traditional circumstances (including patriarchy) that make it deviate from the original/pure religious context. Therefore, the ‘alternative voice’ voiced by Muslim women (muslimah) aims to obtain gender justice, not as a defiance

of Islamic norms and values. Furthermore, the discussion of ‘alternative voices’ has developed in the current era of globalization, various platforms become a medium for voice and opinion.^[1] In the current era of digital technology, it turns out that there is room for women to get out of the clutches of the mainstream media which often set aside the role of women from various aspects. The presence information and Communication Technology (ICT) makes women have alternative media to speak up. Instagram Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube can be an important medium as an ‘alternative voice’ for women. According to Ragusa and Ward (2016), the formation of a community in cyberspace

becomes a link when the gap between social identity and the general public prevails, the expansion of information technology allows social interaction to be involved and minimizes discrimination.

Since the 1970s a number of Western feminist figures have taken a serious look at the power of the mass media and analyzed the industry as a very important force in the struggle for women's rights, this is because the mass media has discursive power about gender is evident when looking at advertisements that continue to spread the myth of the "woman of today" (Iswara and Pratiwi 2003). In Indonesia, it is essentially not easy to always broadcast content about the strength of women because these groups have to deal with stronger views where society is still shackled by patriarchal views and masculine domination. This situation actually makes the representation of women in the mass media become sidelined as in the case of dangdut singer Inul Daratista. Inul Daratista is a dangdut singer from Pasuruan East Java Indonesia, she is known as the Queen of "Ngebor". According to Oetomo (2003) Inul's identity as a dangdut singer has been changed with a sexy shake and a sensual smile, with this being a patriarchal commodities, namely men as the main consumer. This can certainly have a negative impact on women, because they become passive victims of the mass media. A similar fate also experienced by women belonging to the underground subculture, the negative impact appears by the mass media construction that frame the faces of women fans of metal music with distorted images. Making a counterculture movement against mass media capitalism is not easy, but related to the use of social media as a new medium for women's voices is an interesting social phenomenon to be studied more deeply.

Cultural studies researchers have debated the position of women in subcultures since the beginning of the development of this phenomenon. From the aspect of Education, Willis (1977) examined how the role of white

male children followed the learning process in British schools where most of them opposed school rules because they thought education was only for the elite. After that, other cultural studies researchers also criticized the study. McRobbie and Garber (1991a) criticized ethnographic studies of subcultures because the working-class context only considered working-class men. From this fact, men, including in the world of academic research, indirectly sideline women. After subcultures and popular culture developed, not all cultural studies researchers positioned women as marginalized subjects. From the aspect of popular culture Young (1988), examines the role of female singer Madonna for women through song lyrics and video clips. According to her, the political Madonna managed to achieve such a high status because it was able to form a public image as a strong woman who could gain power over the male half of the population.

As time goes by, many cultural studies researchers have paid attention to gender norms in the context of subcultures. McRobbie and Garber (1991a) raise the issue of gender in articulating the meaning of subcultures by stating the following; first, women have been ignored by male researchers. Secondly, women have been marginalized in the male subculture. Third, the culture of the female group is located in a different place from the culture of the male group. Furthermore, Huq (2006) also has a criticism of the study CCCS (Contemporary Centre of Cultural Studies) Birmingham UK, that women are often discussed as sexual objects by men rather than their active role in subcultural communities. From various analyses of the position of women in subcultures, most tend to put women in a low position. However, Brake (1985) looks at it from a slightly objective point of view by explaining that the absence of women in subcultures lies not only in the issue of feminine attitudes, but also in relation to their small contribution to the community and activities in it.

The imbalance between male and female Studies in subculture studies can be assumed to be due to the researchers gender alignments. Brake (1985) explained that male researchers only focus on adolescent boys because they have the same gender. In addition, the support of a male-dominated working-class culture. The position of subcultures born of working-class culture makes this study biased. Clarke (1975) has explained this situation long before the Skinhead subculture was born, that the main value of the subculture is in the traditional culture of the working class, which is reinforced by elements such as fashion, music, football, lifestyle, and other activities of the male class. The same thing is explained by McRobbie and Garber (1991a) that women are marginal in subcultures, it's all because they are marginal in the working world of men, and other spaces to enter and be active in the subculture world are only magazines and zines. The search for existence by women against men in subcultures will continue as long as this culture stands. Further exploration involving symbols of the working class is always going to marginalize women.

If it is related to the context of resistance (resistance) against Punk to women, then this meaning is a dispute between themselves and the dominant norms. Punk ideology is not only as a way of life but to achieve recognition of the ideology being championed. Women who enter the Punk subculture are critical women, therefore the music and fashion used as their personal images are in accordance with the punk ideology based on rebellion. According to the sociologist Davis (1979), the image of one's life can reflect identity and behavior. Davis's (1979) opinion is reinforced by Prabasmoro (2006) who explained that our daily life is actually a daily reality of ourselves, so every choice (product, fashion, music) that we use for our daily survival is a statement of our identity. It can be understood that the ideology including Punk Music representing the female self in the Punk subculture can be translated as a soundtrack of

life according to the social conditions experienced.

Along with the emergence of sub-genres of Punk music, fashion became one of the distinctive features inherent in the Punk subculture of both men and women. In addition, fashion is not only a social identity, but has become a lifestyle that is associated with personality, self-expression and self-awareness. This makes a difference to the general public. According to Prabasmoro (2006), the lifestyle represented by the way people dress is a way of how we align ourselves with what we want, we believe and may be more important to many people, and that makes us feel better. Entering the year 2000, as the development of subculture Punk, Metal, Hardcore and others slowly attracted by the hijab women. The phenomenon reaps pros and cons. Accepting the existence of women in the subculture is not an easy task. The culture in a space dominated by patriarchal ideologies makes it difficult for veiled women to express themselves.

According to Ibrahim (2007) in Indonesia, especially in the Javanese cultural environment, believing the concept that confirms that the nature of women as creatures with the main and noble task of connecting descendants, gentle, more emotional and less physically strong. Values such as these become an obstacle for women in hijab (hijabers) in the subculture to express themselves either through community activities, music or fashion. Although there is a lot of criticism, it cannot be denied that it is becoming a new phenomenon. According to Aditya Rahman Yani (2016) in his book about Islamic Punk, gender issues have been strongly criticized by feminist punks, but there is one thing where their understanding of gender equality clashes with the religious context, especially Islam. Although initially anger is directed at gender discrimination to the social conditions of society that constructs the position of women to be 'inferior' to men, but in the end does not accept the concept of Islam

because it is also considered to be the background of gender discrimination.

In the Book of Bidayatul Mujtahid, Imam Ibn Rushd explains that 'men and women are equal, because in the beginning the law of the two was one, until the establishment of the exception of Syar'i that explains it' (Yani 2016). From this statement it can be concluded that Islam does not view the position of sex and gender dichotomously, but is seen as a comprehensive and integral complementary to each other and mutually cooperative. The context of hijab and Punk should not be one thing that is opposed. Mulia (2007) saw religious texts in the form of the Qur'an and Sunnah are loaded with noble and ideal values, only when both interact with different human cultures of understanding and interpretation, then their implementation becomes distortive, this situation arises due to the intellectual stage and also the influence of socio-cultural background. In practice, the use of hijab in the Punk subculture is not easy to create a constructive meaning, but the interesting thing is that both aspects (hijab and Punk) become a space where fashion and movement (movement) struggle to achieve identity.

In the theories examined by the CCCS (Contemporary Centre of Cultural Studies), popular culture and subculture get almost the same problems when dealing with the mass media. The issue of power and also deviation is still often a tough challenge to overcome until now. From the beginning of mass media development, through the concept of "moral panic" and the "expansion of deviance", Thompson (1998) considers that mass media coverage plays an important role in creating and reinforcing a negative image of youth subcultural deviance. The Media often label subcultural behavior as deviant or disruptive. Although social media can act as a counter culture, this problem still continues because of the influence that has been entrenched for decades. This question follows the history of conflict between the older generation and the

younger generation by punishing each culture labeled young people (youth culture).

On the contrary, this punishment makes young people react by increasing deviation, so that a circle of rejection of deviation continues to move widely, but still falls into the trap of the mass media. Thornton (1995) previously refuted the concept that explains that the youth subculture is outside the circle of mass media and contrary to it, for him the culture of young people in the sense of the word subculture, is always inside the media circle, dependent on it and even difficult to ignore it so as to create a sense of constant dependence. In fact, the power of the mass media can indeed form a culture and become social institutions. In this sense, culture is something that lives in people's lives, with the help of the mass media and then merges in it and does something with it.

The young people in the subculture actually know that the mass media has been selling mods, punks, skinheads, metal in a false consciousness but cannot do much because of the power of the media itself. According to Burton (2008), the mass media reveals its power by creating false ideas about various values and social relationships, so that what people think they know to be true is wishful thinking, people's views on the world are largely shaped through the media. It was also explained earlier about the purity of subcultural values in the mass media. Thornton (1995) states that the idea of an authentic culture that is formed outside of the media is flexible but misguided due to differences in youth subcultures, in many cases media phenomena. With this without realizing it, the media is a container that forms the birth of subcultures and part of the formulation of young people for their activities. Media coverage of the negativity of a collection of subcultures precisely at the same time wants attention with the intent and purpose of marketing.

In the industry, the media has the power to present the news it wants. One of them is the exploitation of subcultures. Subcultures as a culture born of the working class and the middle

class become part of the negative news that then becomes an easy target for cornering public opinion. Schlesinger (1978) explained that in the era of industrialization, the text in the form of programs and news is not a “window of the world” without intermediaries, but a representation of the results of choices and constructions that form reality, the selection of various things that will be included in the program or news and special ways in which when a program has been selected, the story that the results of the construction will never be neutral again. Based on this explanation, it can be analyzed that when the mass media preach subcultures through a negative point of view, public opinion will quickly form. Thus, it can be concluded that the messages spread by the mass media have various meanings and can be interpreted in different ways according to social circumstances, class, and gender with different cultural resources.

When it comes to marketing Law, mass media owners can be the ones who benefit from moral panic marketing. In such a situation, indirectly their actions can form a false public perception and also an attitude of underestimation of the subculture by spreading false publicity, but the media seem to turn a blind eye because of the profit motive of sensational news. McQuail (1983), argues with the available evidence suggesting that within considerable limits, the media does have the power to achieve some influence for various reasons (through action or vision) the mass media protect or advance the interests of people who have greater economic or political power in their own society. It can be concluded that the war between subcultures and the mass media is essentially a process of a series of interests, namely the media to gain profit by disseminating news about subcultures and subcultures themselves get attention when shocked by the mass media.

The symbiosis of mutualism not only gives national attention to youth subcultures, but also a degree of uniformity at the international level. The mass Media reflect back to young

people a description of their world, what they do, which they then use. At the same time the media shape the identity of young people according to the goals of capitalism. Garrat (1997) explains that media coverage of subcultures has changed the content of this culture when the products of this underground culture are sold into fashion industries. The view that the mass media controls young people has been widely noticed by previous cultural studies researchers. Brake (1985) suggests that youth culture offers an alternative form of social reality for the participants of those cultures, a form that generates more pleasure and more self-esteem. This explanation implies awareness that the social identity of young people in subcultures is not only constructed by social relations between communities but the role of mass media intervention.

METHOD

This study uses qualitative research with ethnographic methods. The purpose of ethnographic methods in this study is to understand the point of view of the women of hijab on the use of new technologies such as social media in the context of Punk subculture. In-depth interview analysis technique was used in this study to gain an in-depth understanding of the value in accordance with the subjective interpretation of the hijabers against what is consumed in the world of Punk subculture through social media. In order to obtain data on the identity of the Punk hijabers, the informants in this study are two hijabers who actively use social media in the context of music, fashion and social activities. Among them are Meliani Siti Sumartini a youtuber and animator and also Sisca Aprilia a vocalist from a band called The Secret System.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Punk and Social Media Impact

If traced back to the 80's, Punk subculture movement cannot be separated from the role of alternative media. Alternative Media plays an important role in the dissemination of information about the development of Punk subculture in terms of the profile of Punk music bands to ideologies. The Punk community has carried out this Literacy Action by giving birth to zines. The Zine itself was born from an independent spirit that is an important part of the subculture because it displays issues of resistance to mainstream media. Of the various categories of zines, Duncombe (1997) looked at some of the main issues that became important issues in the development of zines, namely identity, community, consumption, working class and cultural politics. Overall, zines as a representation of identity become a medium that represents marginalized groups that have not been counted in society, and zines give voice to those who are excluded to express their political aspirations and their views and attitudes on an issue.

Unfortunately, in today's technological era zine has lost its power with the presence of various social media platforms such as Instagram Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and also YouTube, therefore the women including the hijabers in Punk community turn to social media in communicating and providing information about their voices are excluded. The emerging technology has slowly become a proving ground for women in the Punk subculture because it allows them to create program content that is segmented according to their interests and distribute positive ideas. Tracing the history of the debate about gender in the Punk subculture cannot be separated from the role of social media. In the context of mass media, the use of new technology can be a communication tool for spreading Punk music content and its culture and external aspects such as the social environment that intersects with the Punk community.

Meliani Siti Sumartini is one concrete example that successfully utilizes new technologies such as social media YouTube to spread a positive message about the role of women in the underground music scene in Indonesia through her talent to play the guitar. In 2014 he became popular throughout Indonesia due to the action of playing the electric guitar in YouTube videos. Meliani's appearance shocked the virtual world, she uploaded a video playing a song including from the Lamb of God Group titled Hourglass and Say Goodnight by The Bullet For My Valentine Group. The Video, which was uploaded on March 3, 2014, has been viewed 1,508,962 times until March 2016 for the Hourglass video while the song Say Goodnight has been viewed 313,655 times. Meliani's expertise in playing the guitar has indeed stolen the public's attention coupled with her age which is still considered young, but another factor that has become a public discussion is none other than because she is a hijab woman. In the era of Indonesian reform, the mass media is still a challenge for the progress of women, including women in hijab.

According to Amiruddin (2010a), reform has two impacts on Indonesian social life, on the one hand to provide free information, but on the other hand the media perspective in raising women's issues is still very biased such as discriminatory impressions of women, not a few moral messages to limit women in many television shows so that women are increasingly imaged as a domestic regional group and subject to patriarchal ideology. Thus, it is not surprising that this situation makes many women use social media such as Twitter, Instagram and YouTube for expression. For Amirrudin (2010b), non-mainstream media indeed face many obstacles and challenges, but the mass media can be an alternative means to undermine perceptions and myths that are wrong about the existence of women.

On the other hand, in research on information and Communication Technology in Indonesia, Laksmi and Pawestri (2010) explained that technology can be very effectively used for different changes in order to share information or even keep events in mind. This is what Meliani wants to show the general public that by using YouTube and Instagram, hijab women can also participate in the underground music world by playing electric guitar musical instruments and also as a symbol of the rise of women in the masculine world. Meliani explained in an interview conducted in 2015:

'At first I thought that Indonesian women rarely like to play guitar covers on YouTube.. most of the people outside.. I want to participate too.. as for the arena of increasing the level of guitar I let it continue to increase.. because there are so many people on social media who share everywhere, it finally becomes booming until they are invited to national televisions'.



Picture 1. Meliani Siti Sumartini

If Meliani's experience relates to the use of new technology, it can be analyzed that the convenience factor is the main reason for using

social media as a means of her voice. According to Destiana (2013) in the context of social media, causation leading to convenience means that

individuals do not require much effort in terms of time and also energy in learning the use of social media (in Destiana, Salman & Rahim 2013).

One interesting thing is that Meliani's journey to achieve popularity is not as easy as it seems because ridicule still comes through social media from various groups.

I was once ridiculed precisely in cyberspace.. I once shared a video of me on one of the forums on Facebook but was blasphemed because I used the word "Assalamualaikum" at the beginning.. a lot of people disagree with me and want me out of the group.. I finally got out of the group, out of pain.. I don't even know why.. just because I use the word "Assalamualaikum"...

Admittedly it is not easy to release the image of hijab from the nuances of Islam. The environment makes hijab not only a symbol of obedience and righteousness, but has made it an identity. Latifah (2003) explained that environmental factors become important in the formation of identity, in addition to self-definition, identity is also formed from the interaction between the environment and the self. At this point the hijabers get into trouble because the hijab is associated with a passive meaning, very contrary to Punk, which has an expressive meaning. In this context, the hijabers who entered the Punk environment were condemned as a source of problems. It is undeniable that Eastern culture makes women in hijab face with a high social expectation in which women in hijab must behave passively, therefore Punk becomes a taboo.

The fact that happened, despite the large negative public views of Meliani's existence as an underground guitarist in hijab did not reduce her popularity because of the much support given by the community and parents. Similarly with Sisca, vocalist of the Hardcore Punk group

Secret System, the creation of 'hijab punk' received a lot of positive response in the eyes of the public, she also finally got the blessing of her parents to experiment in the world of underground music because it is known through social media instagram. Because of the influence of social media is both parents Meliani and Sisca gave the green light to them to always akktif. Mustaffa and Ibrahim (2014), explained that the perception and use of social media or mass media is partly a social construct.

'Most of them are positive.. but there are also negative views that make me down.. before I went on TV, I was afraid to talk to my dad.. I'm afraid a lot of people sneer at me.. it keeps getting nervous.. but it is advised to continue with the family because this is a good opportunity not to come twice so just take it.. about the negative view I took a valuable lesson for my life'. (Meliani)

'Of course, my parents are worried, for them hardcore punk music is hard so they know that my heart is hard too.. such stubbornness. They do look at rock music negatively especially I like to hang out with children who are not clear, but over time they can accept and support because I developed my talent in the field of singing, especially underground music especially when I made the first "hijab punk" innovation they questioned why make this..? I said rather than I have to open the hijab when plunging in the underground community, I better create as what my hijab looks like in order to enter the community and at the same time I also do not leave my Islamic identity by still wearing a hijab that looks attractive'. (Sisca)



Picture 2. Sisca Aprilia

Referring to the role of the media in the Punk subculture, from the findings of this study it can be concluded that social media can be used as an alternative media role in building the identity of women in the Punk subculture, therefore this social networking technology can be a representation tool for constructing ideology that gives meaning to the group of women in hijab. Nisa (2013) explained, that mass media can be used as a form of strategy to market a particular subculture. Thus, social media becomes an alternative to fight the power of mainstream media that often affects the representation of women.

Tables and/or figures referred to from other sources must be mentioned, unless they are the results of the author's own research. The tables, figures and graphs included must be made in high resolution so that they are easy to print and display good results.

The discussion does not repeat the research results that have been included in the tables or figures, but discusses in more depth the meaning of the research results and their benefits. Please note that the manuscript will be printed in black and white format (grayscale).

CONCLUSION

Highlighting women for their role in subcultures is actually linked to the emancipation of women. Women want to achieve high success and change the perception of their involvement only in domestic activities. Hijab is one of the ways that women can be more easily accepted in subcultures and at the same time be valued more as a female figure. But as a group of women in hijab to be accepted in the world of this subculture is not without obstacles, not a few insults and scorn given by the community regarding the identity of the hijab which is contrary to Punk culture. Such a view can be associated with the concept of conformity, can be referred to as adjustment and adaptation of one's self to a social group because it is a form of insistence to comply with the group even though the demand is not confirmed (Annuar, Febriansyah & Ismail 2016).

In Punk subculture there is a gender bias because of unequal treatment in providing space and opportunities for women to participate in this world. The issue of gender discrimination in the Punk subculture is a problem that will continue, it just does not mean that women give up in gaining space in the culture. The women who wear hijab also do not have to remove their headscarves to participate in the Punk community. Related to the social environment, the pros and cons are risks that must be faced, therefore the hijab women must remain consistent with their hijab identity in order to foster a balance between social and community life. Religious identity is believed to be one way for women's human rights to be realized.

As technology develops, social media becomes a new medium that is effective enough to seize space in the culture. In the observation of this study, the use of media, especially zines and webzines, no longer fully creates a space for experimentation and becomes an intermediary medium for communication between hijabers and subcultural communities and the general public. Some of the reasons found include the

advancement of digital technology such as social media that makes communication lead to online systems making it easier to get information about the activities of the Punk community. Social Media is becoming a new space for women to gain freedom of expression to those who lack space in the Punk subculture. Thus, social media can be a means to show the existence and identity of women in the world of punk music to a wide audience. The hijabi women understand that the Punk community is not fully concerned with gender issues, so social media can at least be an alternative means of voice in order to get a real space in the Punk subculture.

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