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The New Metal Men: Exploring Model of Alternative Masculinity in the Bandung Metal Scene

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The New Metal Men: Exploring Model of Alternative Masculinity in the Bandung Metal Scene

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Abstract

The global metal scene has long provided narratives and methods for solving issues of masculinities since in their particular environment in the music industry, and they are generally considered masculine. This article explores the stereotypical construction of masculinities in the Bandung metal music scene. This analysis is based on in-depth interviews with Bandung professional metal male musicians who are aged 39-44 years old and are married. This investigation examines how these metal musicians negotiate alternative masculinities in various contexts, taking into account the predominantly Muslim culture in Indonesia. Using an ethnographic approach and borrowing from Millet's concepts of temperament, role, and status, this paper argues that metal music performers, who are generally considered hypermasculine, do not display the same construction when performing their functions in the family. Through their roles as breadwinner, musicians maintain normative Indonesian masculinity, as well as fulfilling their responsibility to their family. However, they negotiate equity in the private space, which regards household labor division, childcare, and sharing of income. This paper argues that to some extent, musicians in the metal music scene in Bandung provide a role model of masculinity that is more gender-sensitive and egalitarian.

Keywords: masculinities, Bandung, identity, gender equity, private, metal, musician

Los Nuevos Hombres del Metal: Modelo de Exploración de la Masculinidad Alternativa en la Escena Metal de Bandung

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Resumen

El panorama del metal ha ofrecido durante mucho tiempo una variedad de historias y estrategias para superar los problemas de masculinidad, pues generalmente se le ha considerado una escena masculina dentro de su propio entorno. Este artículo presenta la construcción estereotípica de la virilidad dentro de la escena del metal en Indonesia, basado en profundas entrevistas realizadas a seis músicos varones de metal, formados en Indonesia, de entre 39 y 44 años de edad. Esta investigación examina cómo estos músicos de metal negocian masculinidades alternativas en diversos contextos, teniendo en cuenta la cultura predominantemente musulmana en Indonesia. En un intento de recopilar datos, utilizamos un enfoque etnográfico. Tomando prestado, de Millett, el concepto de temperamento, rol y estatus, este artículo muestra que el metal, que se considera música masculina, no tiene un impacto significativo en el papel de los músicos dentro de la familia. Estos músicos intentan deconstruir ideologías orientadas a oprimir a los débiles y marginados y proporcionar un modelo a seguir de masculinidad que sea más sensible al género y más igualitario. A través de sus roles como jefes de familia, y los músicos mantienen la masculinidad normativa, así como la responsabilidad por su familia. Ellos negocian diligentemente su masculinidad igualitaria en un papel doméstico a través del reparto de los quehaceres de la casa, el cuidado de los niños y la división de los ingresos económicos con sus parejas.

Palabras clave: masculinities, Bandung, identidad, equidad de género, privado, metal, músico

In recent years, men have tried to deconstruct the traditional model of masculinity to problematize the privileges granted to them by the patriarchal system. The emergence of various models of masculinity, for example, soft manhood and positive masculinity, can be considered a response to the developments within the academic world of the problem of toxic masculinity or somewhat hegemonic masculinity (Flood, 2018). Efforts to deconstruct the development of the new paradigm of humanity rose in movements such as new and metrosexual people in most parts of the world, including Indonesia (Chan, 2018; Graaf, 2018; Monteiro, Widiyantini, & Suwandi, 2011; Preston, 2018). Such a debate is experiencing change and transition, so the question of masculinity becomes an important issue.

Indonesia is one of the most populous countries in the world, with the largest Muslim population (McFadyen & Dunn, 2008). Furthermore, 16,056 islands and 633 tribes in Indonesia shows that Indonesia is a country with diverse ethnic and cultural diversity (Kusnandar, 2019; Mujani & Liddle, 2009; Pitoyo & Triwahyudi, 2017; Wandu, 2015). Based on the statistics, the number of Muslims in Indonesia is 87.18% or 207,176,162 million people, and 50.34% are male male (BPS, 2020). According to Wandu (2015), masculinity is very much influenced by a culture so that masculinity is different among the many cultures in Indonesia. As a cultural and social construct, the ideology of masculinity is socialized through various media, traditional rituals, religious teachings, parenting, types of games, types of television shows, reading books, and the philosophy of life. The attribution, such as men should not be whiny, cry, graceful, and various characteristics that describe feminine traits, are unwritten rules that must obey.

We discuss issues on shift that happened in a small group of male musicians as they actively pursue a form of gender equity and belief that men and women can achieve equality both in public and the private sphere. Gender equity can be understood as freedom from prejudice or unfairness between sexes, which constitutes an environment in which both sexes have direct connections to fair and equitable opportunities, benefits, and resources (DeZolt & Hull, 2001).

The research subjects of this study are a group of men who are working in a masculine environment of metal music. Metal music is attached to a macho image because of its embedded history with young men as well as the lyrics frequently related to male cultures, such as aggression and battle (Kaiser, 2016). Kimmel (2005) stated that if many men have a connection but do not represent hegemonic masculinity, we need a way to theorize their specific situation. While metal culture has traditionally been considered a macho subculture, what happened in Bandung, Indonesia, shows a different situation. In their professional domain, as heavy metal musicians, they perform the macho model of masculinity, while in their private sphere, they uphold gender equality as their everyday practice.

Most Indonesian metal musicians are Muslims who practice and believe. As James and Walsh argue, most Indonesian metalheads agree that religion is a private matter for private practice and that the faith of an individual is irrelevant when participating in the metal scene (2019). Although Indonesia is not a religious state, Indonesian metal musicians still make religion the basis of their thinking. Most of them practice religious teachings while practicing metal music (McFadyen & Dunn, 2008). The linkages between gender construction, metal music characteristics, religion, and geographical locations are significant in constructing a specific Indonesian metal music identity. These issues are important because the study of masculinity in a metal scene is related to its musical characteristics (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Weinstein, 2000). Houston (2012) stated that the setting in a music scene becomes a conducive place for a group of men who practice alternative masculinity. As reported in several studies, metal music is full of hypermasculine imageries, which often give rise to the assumption of male dominance over women (Arnett, 1996; Baulch, 2003; Hickam & Wallach, 2011; Kahn-Harris, 2007; Walser, 1993; Weinstein, 2000). We focus on exploring how gender equality narratives enacted by Bandung metal musicians in their daily practices as a husband, father, and as part of the metal music scene. The purpose of this study is to criticize the metal music scene, hypermasculine images, and to contribute to the understanding of research subjects and gender construction.

Bandung Metal Scene, Indonesia

Bandung, West Java, is one of the largest cities in Indonesia and known as the mecca of the Indonesian metal scene. The spread of metal music groups is stable and fairly even, especially in terms of production, consumption, and distribution of albums and merchandise in Bandung. Musically, the records produced under the genre of the metal display the metal sub-genres. These subgenres come with varied sonic, verbal, and visual characteristics. The metal scene has diverse social backgrounds and is dominated by young people (Wallach & Levine, 2012). Musicians and metal music fans mostly use metal music to affirm class identity (Sekewaël, 2016). Furthermore, Andrew, Sihombing, and Ahmad (2017) argue that the influence of metal music can change the habits and lifestyles of young people in Bandung. The presence of clothing, media, and distribution stores is a marker of how the scene that was once considered unfavorable by the community slowly shifted into a dynamic new trend.

In the early 1990s, metal music is one of the media to express dissatisfaction toward the national regime and its policies. In subsequent developments, the metal music movement had a broader aim, namely, to distinguish itself from the mainstream (Luvaas, 2009). In the late 1990s, almost every urban area in Indonesia became home to the local metal music scene. The most prominent cities as the biggest bases are Bandung, Jakarta, Malang, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan, and Denpasar (Barendregt & Zanten, 2002; Baulch, 2003; Sen & Hill, 2000; Wallach, 2008). Furthermore, in 1996, the presence of internet technology changed music reference, performances, and distribution of Indonesian metal music. The internet not only provides a variety of important information about the development of metal music in the world, but also helps improve the knowledge, abilities, and quality of local metal musicians.

At least two of Bandung's major metal festivals are registered. The first is "Bandung Berisik," which sold nearly fifteen thousand tickets in 2014. The second is "Hell Print United. According to its even manager (Kajul, 2019), Hell Print sold a record number of twenty-four thousand visitors in 2018.

Bandung is also a city that hosts a metal band contest called “Wacken Metal Battle Indonesia,” to encourage the growth of the extreme musical sphere in Indonesia. According to the project director, Supriaman (2018), three hundred twenty two metal bands from across Indonesia participated in the event. James and Walsh (2015) stated that Bandung has one hundred twenty-eight active Death metal bands. The research of James and Walsh does not cover other significant groups within the heavy metal genre, such as thrash, metalcore, and black metal. So, it can be said that Bandung has more than a hundred unexplored bands. According to Wade, as quoted by Connell and Gibson (2003), popular music, including metal, becomes an integral component of forming cultural identity, both at the personal and collective levels. A masculine identity that tends to be different from normative masculinity, which seems to be on display in the Bandung metal music scene, becomes an essential reason in rethinking the impact of gender construction in the context of social change. The condition also provides a framework that is quite effective in developing studies of men.

Metal Scene and Masculinities

The term “scene” initially appears in journalism to describe the context when music, practice, and discourse produced (Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Kahn-Harris, 2007). The term “scene” was used in academics by Will Straw (1991) to define a cultural space in which there were various musical practices side by side, interacting with each other. Bennett and Peterson (2004) describe three types of scenes. First, local scenes that means groups that focus on a particular geographical area. Second, the trans-local scene that refers to local scenes that are widespread and have a unique style of music and lifestyle. The third is a virtual scene, namely to call groups that are spread out in larger cultural spaces and interact through fanzines and the internet.

This research will argue that the Bandung metal scene is a site for gender contestation, notably egalitarian gender. Arnett, Walser, Harris, and Weinstein (Wise, Dunn, & Fayden, 2005) showed the tendency for metal music to be male/masculine. In short, the adoption of metal music in Bandung

has consequently contributed to the construction of masculinity. Music, visuals, lyrics, fashions, and social behavior in groups become a marker of how the ideology of masculinity and metal music have long intersected in the practice of the global music scene.

Academics have used the image of metal as masculine music (Arnett, 1996; Baulch, 2003; Connell & Gibson, 2003; Hickam & Wallach, 2011; Hill, 2016; Kahn-Harris, 2007; Walser, 1993; Weinstein, 2000). A set of characteristics of metal music such as distortion, aggressive vocals, sarcastic lyrics, jeans, leather jackets, and spikes (Hjelm, Kahn-Harris, & LeVine, 2011) increasingly establishing the image of metal as masculine music. Metal is also attached to images as controversial music (Hjelm et al., 2011).

Although musicians and fans try to ignore this controversy, they actively change the image by addressing gender, race, and class through the media (Christe, 2003; Klypchak, 2007; Walser, 1993; Weinstein, 2000). Regarding this matter, Walser (1993) argues that metal music plays a role in the reproduction of ideology, including the reproduction of masculinity. Gender construction in metal music has a significant position because, in addition to reproducing and influencing assumptions about patriarchal ideology, it also becomes an essential part of music development and popular culture in general. We can view masculine elements in metal music in several aspects. Musical aspects that are strictly related to control of power and freedom. Power, strength, and control are drawn in the virtues of the musicians, while freedom emerges in the area of musical works (Walser, 1993, p. 108).

The issues regarding men and masculinity have only recently emerged into debate and movements in the academic realm. These issues also triggered the birth of male activists against hegemonic masculinity. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) reveal, hegemonic masculinity is a pattern of practice or behavior that becomes the ideal form of being a man in a society or culture that allows male domination of women to continue. This perfect form varies according to cultural and historical settings. Masculinity refers to social roles, behaviors, and meanings attached to men in a particular society at a time. As such, the term “masculinity” does not emphasize gender in the biological sense, and instead, it highlights the diversity of identities among various

groups of men. Much popular discourse assumes that biological sex determines a person's gender identity, experience, and expression of masculinity and femininity. Although gender is an aspect of internal character, masculinity is produced in community institutions and through daily interactions (Kimmel & Aronson, 2004).

Several studies offer issues about new men. One of them is Skradol's study (2009), which illustrates that modern men and their position in the world are critical factors for a better future. Not only the amount of violence against women will be reduced, but also encourage the roles and status of men and women in society. Regarding this, Morrell (1998) explained that the involvement of men in the gender equality or justice movement could be a new movement and continue to develop into a critical debate between the ways to be a man, gender reform, and peace.

Historically, the study of men developed and engendered a series of characteristics that would become the construction of new men (Beynon, 2010; Connell, 1993; Edwards, 1997; Morrell, 1998). As quoted by Song and Lee (2012), in western culture, the term “new men” emerges as a response to the first wave of feminists who have internalized and supported the principles of feminism including the assessment of the division of labor in the private arena and new commitments to father. Furthermore, Beynon (2010) explains that new men arrived in 1980 as a term that signifies a unique and considered version of masculinity that is better away from some traditional attributes.

New men are a reaction to social change and the changing role of men in the 1970s and 1980s, especially the response to the first wave of feminism. New men are trying to increase their awareness and encourage other men to become caring and sharing people. They voluntarily support the women's movement and take full roles in the private sphere, especially in terms of children caring. This man is usually middle class and well educated. Even from the results of the Christian study conducted in 1994, Beynon (2010) reported that the Christian study believed that commitment to it was still following non-sexist lifestyles and aimed to share roles as breadwinners with their partners.

Methods

This research relies on one assumption that a man is a man wherever he is, namely the problem of male and female dichotomy. As Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) point out, one of the main issues in gender studies lies in the dichotomy of men and women. Bandung metal scene, in certain situations, presents gender differences as something absolute and dichotomous, especially when viewed from a historical point of view, which often seems stable and repetitive. This study frames the construction of masculinity carried out by Bandung metal musicians on the different domains of their lives: private and public, as a husband/father/partner, and as part of the local metal scene.

Bandung is one of the biggest cities in Indonesia, known as the birthplace of the oldest metal scene with a hundred great bands and huge fans. Bandung is an ideal location where such dynamics take place. As the idea of masculinity or gender, in general, is fluid and situational (Beynon, 2010), this research will explore how these musicians perform and negotiate gender identity and how it has changed over time. For this purpose, the idea of masculinity constructed, created, and presented through social interaction will reveal the dynamics between diverse identities and gender power.

One of us is a part of this research and a part of the Bandung metal scene. Consequently, our research is informed and enriched by his experience and context. This study uses ethnographic methods as a qualitative exploration of cultural values and meanings (Barker, 2002). This study is obtained from semi-structural interviews (Bogdan & Bielen, 2007, p. 104). It is conducted intensively with six professional metal musicians who have high dedication in Indonesian metal, as demonstrated by the works and number of the tour that they have done.

To ensure that the research subjects have a complete perception of the construction of masculinity, we choose a metal male aging from 39-45 years as the representations of adult metal men who play an active role in the scene, as well as family heads. Five of the six research subjects were college graduates, and the rest graduated from high school, who later studied religion

at the pesantren (Islamic boarding school). Overall, they come from the middle-class.

The interview focused on exploring how this standard affected the masculinity construction carried out by research subjects off-stage or in private sphere. Six research subjects have a significant contribution and influence in Indonesian metal music, both as individuals and members of the band. They come from pioneering bands that influenced the birth of the next generation bands in Bandung, even Indonesia. Some selected groups are also well known in several Asian countries, Europe, and Australia. These bands include *Jasad*, *Burgerkill*, *Forgotten*, and *Konflik*. Their statements reflect beliefs about the meaning of being a man, which impacts their role in the family and the metal scene. We herewith attach a demographic of research subjects:

Table 1.
Demographic of research subjects

Name	Age	Marit status	Educatio n	Children	Band	Position in the group	Ethnicity	Religion
Ganjar Ginanjari	39	Married	High School	3	Forgotten	Guitarist	Sundanese	Islam
Yuli Heryanto	44	Married	B. H	2	Jasad	Bassist	Sundanese	Islam
Agung Ridho Widiatmo ko	36	Married	B. SS	2	Burgenkill	Guitarist	Javanese	Islam
Aristanto	44	Married	B. A	2	Burgenkill	Guitarist	Javanese	Islam
Ady Handy	42	Married	B.C	1	Forgotten	Vocalist	Sundanese	Islam
Yudi Setiawan	40	Married	B.A	1	Konflik	Vocalist	Sundanese	Islam

Interviews were conducted at home, the music studio, and the distribution store where they gathered. We also use social media to conduct interviews with some musicians who choose not to meet in person. Direct observations in the private (home) areas will also make the construction of masculinity in the Bandung metal scene interpretable from the viewpoint of the musician.

All data will be selected, focused, simplified, and elaborated (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This interactive model used as a parameter of how equality narratives do build by metal musicians in private spaces. As an analytical tool, we use Millett's sexual-political theory (2000), which offers concepts related to social politics, namely, temperament, role, and status. Temperament is related to psychological aspects, roles include social elements, and status is a political component.

The New Metal Men

From our interviews, we found that research subjects are acting in both ways; first, they do perform normative masculinity, and secondly: they negotiate alternative masculinity. All the research subjects affirmed their alternative masculinity through their roles in the family. This practice is suspected to be the impact of the influence of their personalities, characters, and status in society. As stated by Aristanto (Burgerkill Guitarist) that:

A man must look like a man, in their words, behavior, appearance, and body language. In my opinion, a man can be seen from his responsibilities, because the man is a leader in his family and community. Besides, a man must also know what he is doing, must be able to predict and prepare for what will happen in the future, and also we must have a target so that what we do has a purpose. Therefore, I prefer to be musicians rather than being office workers.

His idea of manhood proves to be intriguing. According to Aristanto, commitment, leadership, consistency, calculation, individuality, and being well-organized are some attribution of an ideal man and masculinity.

Attribution of masculinity to responsibility is also voiced by Adi (Forgotten Vocalist), “I see my father's figures independently like this is the responsible person who pays attention to his children.” Their response displays their belief that masculinity refers to the ability for balanced roles played both in public and in the domestic sphere. It also implies that outstanding men are family leaders and fathers who can manage their time for the family.

These metal musicians show how an adult's conception shows a strategic behavior of masculinity when going to play music and when they are in the scene. Some research subjects recognized that the way they play their role as a man is strongly influenced by their family and environment. The awareness that men are leaders is another spiritual thought. We argue that such expression that men are leaders is deeply grounded in Islamic teachings that have shaped their perspective of masculinity. The frequent reference and implication, such as men must support their families as their primary responsibility, is quite prevalent among all research subjects. In this case, a man must provide food, clothing, shelter, education, and health. The husband must comply to his wife, but a wife has to obey her husband as long as his instructions and demands are not against religious teachings. As Gangan said, “Men were created with a condition to be a Khilafah. That means men should be able to lead in any circumstances in accordance to the abilities we have. If we want to lead at things that we are not good at, learn about it first. Men's position is not superior to women's, but a man must be able to guide his wife, notably a man must be able to lead his family in prayer.” Gangan affirms that a man is first and foremost by God's order is the “leader” in a way that does not subordinate women, rather sees a woman as an equal partner. The general teaching of Islam puts men as leaders, although different Islamic scholars see what it means by “leadership” in differing ways. For example, Nasaruddin Umar argues that leadership, as it is put to men, also implies the recognition of men and women as being equal (Umar, 1999).

The male metalheads shifted perspective during the transition between children, adolescents, and adults. Generally, when children and adolescents in normative masculinity are taught to be male. In the identification of Levant and Williams (1996), the traditional masculinity ideology embraced by

parents viewed as being a multidimensional construction, which classified into four types; men should not be feminine; the man should try to have respect for his success; Men never should be soft; and men should try adventure and threats, including acceptance of violence.

Adolescence, for research subjects, has become an essential stage of mental agitation. During this critical time, nearly all research subjects claim that they were informed about masculinity and manhood through metal ideology, such as lyrics, videos, and biographical books by world leaders. As Aristanto said, “I like documentaries. I do not know how much I spend my time watching documentaries. I also like reading documentary books, especially about men’s characters”.

In further exploration, we also found out that ethnicities have shaped their attitudes and behavior to this day. As Adi recalled the teaching of his father,

I see that Sundanese cultures tend to be egalitarian. The roles of men and women tend to be regarded equal. Not only my father taught me to be diligent, educated, strong, consistent, hard-working, and willing to sacrifice for achievement, he also made me see that he does not treat my mother as someone to be led but rather as a partner who has the right to make her own decisions, and men are not always the decision makers.

In this context, we want to indicate that myriad factors have shaped these metalheads musician masculinity, which includes familial background, ethnicities, religions, and the metal scene. As agreed by most research subjects, the substantial figures to have given them the model of masculinity was their father. Likewise, the images of men shown within their musical context, for example, as seen on cassettes, DVDs, posters, and videos, have also played a prominent and formative influence. In turn, when they become fathers and/or husbands, religion, in this particular context, Islam, has greatly influenced them and persuaded them to be responsible leaders. This condition shows that during the transition between children, adolescents, and adults, the metalheads change perspectives. Some terminology, such as commitment,

consistency, reliability, leader, multitalented, solutive, indulgent, hard worker, protector, guard, well-organized, and also educated equally are regarded as the image of ideal men.

As we discuss the specific context of the metalheads in Bandung, we can also show how, to some extent, there are differences in the construction of masculinity in Bandung metal subculture compared to other subcultures elsewhere. In the case of extreme right skinheads in France, for example, they protest against progress and modernity through their type of masculinity manifested in violence. According to Petrova, this view is based on the hegemonic masculine ideology referring to the previous fictional history in which male and female roles are distinct (2006). However, in Bandung metal scene, we find that there is a sentiment for male domination, particularly in terms of the number of musicians (Vasan, 2011; Weinstein, 2000). However, our research subjects seem to be developing more soft personalities, including the way they treat women, despite the so-called nature of the genre of music they play. Solidarity, discipline, assessment, mutual respect, and mutual support, which are the central values in the Bandung metal scene, help contribute to the more gender-aware values in the metal scene. As Gangan affirms, "No harassment against women is committed even when a woman is a vocalist of the bands whose members are predominantly male. We behave politely despite our being metalheads. We respect and consider all of us as a family."

“I Speak Through My Style” (Eco, 1973): Appearance as Coded Masculinity

In social life, most metal musicians in Bandung play a double role. Some of them work on their appearance as bank staff, police officers, lecturers, traders, or journalists. However, metal with inherent values is an essential part of daily roles. There are some requirements of the appearance code if one wants to be considered a part of the metal scene. To be recognized as metalheads, they often wear black, metal band t-shirts, jeans, shorts, with long hairstyles or mohawks. This appearance is used on stage and backstage. As explained by

Weinstein (2000), biker costumes represent blue-collar values and idealized masculinity. Following Weinstein, we see that these musicians are trying to perform normative men on stage, looking tough, fierce, and macho. At the same time, in terms of their attitude, they believe that men should be responsible, multi-talented, and be the protector of the family.

Adi revealed the reason why they had to look as tough men and manly. According to him, “metal music is closely related to the body language of fierce, fearless warriors, and it tends to be offensive. We have seen harmony between the music and image displayed on the stage. They try to dress up with the aim of scaring the enemy using their appearances, such as black clothes, masks, and other accessories that are attached to the masculine image.” In general, they use music to distinguish themselves from the parent culture. Parents, in this case, are of hegemonic and authoritarian significance (Manea, 2016). These properties are used as symbols to attack the establishment. As Aristanto said: “Bandung Metal scene, like any other men, unconsciously attempts to break the existing order that a good male figure needs to be clean, smells nice, takes good care of himself, and goes to the gym.” Being a metal musician is also recognized by Aristanto to significantly influence the way he dresses on stage and in his everyday life. According to him, showing one’s identity in the metal scene becomes very important, because it determines one’s position and judgment of others, a marker of the identity of a metalhead while at the same time telling the construction of one’s knowledge (Narendra & Soerjoatmodjo, 2018). Beyond that, the most important thing is how the metal band t-shirts worn by the metal musicians become markers of their knowledge and show the ability to listen and digest music beyond the tastes of most people.

According to Weinstein (2000), the level of knowledge and involvement in metal music can be measured through the t-shirts that one wears. Weinstein contends that t-shirts become a cultural marker in metal. It also explains what Weinstein noted as a complete subcultural experience (Narendra & Soerjoatmodjo, 2018). Thus, metal musicians can be easily identified through an unaltered shared image, mainly through their appearance. Metal music implies behavior, including gender as cultural codes, which Butler (1993)

describes as something performative and repeated. Connell and Gibson (2003) further emphasize that music is an essential cultural space because it includes an identity that needs to be affirmed and reconstructed, making metal music a particular site where certain types of masculinity are performed and established. From this perspective, the process of identity-forming within and outside music takes place in different ways, influenced by power, ethnicities, gender, and socio-economic relations. Style as if interpreted by Bandung metal musicians as a statement against the dominant culture and affirmation of identity, including masculinity.

The Images of “Metal Head” Father

This section will explain the role research subjects act in the private sphere concerning the concept of masculinity, as well as the factors that underlie the process of masculinity reconstruction of a metalhead father. It seems crucial to reveal the extent of spatial planning carried out by research subjects. We find that most research subjects are willing to share domestic and child-rearing roles with their partners.

As revealed by Beynon (2010, p. 2), masculinity can never be free from a culture because masculinity is part of a culture, formed, and expressed differently at different times, places, and circumstances by individuals. We see that there is a practice of shifting ideology of masculinity in Bandung metal Scene. We consider that the metal music scene becomes a potential aspect of changing patterns of thoughts and ideas about fatherhood and masculinity, while still believing that the ideal father figure is the head of the family who is responsible for earning a living to support the family. A phenomenon that occurs in Bandung metal scenes reflects what was argued by Prianti (2017) that Indonesia is a patriarchal country that has a robust tradition of positioning men as breadwinner.

The interviews we conducted show there being two categorically different groups of thoughts. The first is what we would term as the old school, and the other is progressive. These ideas are contributing to the construction of new metal masculinity. Old school means they still practice ideology that comes

from their father, as stated by Agung, "a husband must support the family. In my opinion, it is not ideal if we cannot support the family." As quoted by Helfferich (2012), the relation between fatherhood, status, and age is a remarkable feature of masculinity. Being married and having children has indicated an overall social status because only those who had earned a life of sufficient condition were allowed to marry. According to Helffreich, in addition to being a father, men in the metal scene have to keep his family stable, to maintain their health, to travel, to send his children to school, and to buy things for his wife and children. In Aristanto's words: "We have good health, we gather with friends, we have good family relationships, we can send kids to the university, we can buy things for kids. I started to feel having this responsibility when I got married. Before that, I preferred to use my money to purchase all the items I like, such as vinyl and band clothes." Following Connell (2005), we find the controlling factors are the practices inherited from family, as well as the media and social construction. Many of the issues focus on equality and family welfare. Masculinity can be recognized not only through the use of its corporate resources but also by providing families with quality time to fulfill their obligations towards women and children (Prianti, 2017). We also discover that the role of this metal musician at home is equal. Some made it clear that they had no problems with the division of household work, childcare, even sharing of income to organize a family. One interesting thing said by Adi is that a man should be himself and he should not submit to certain standards because men have the same roles and duties as women. He said:

You are what you are. We do not always have to make a standard, for example, about the role of household relationship sharing. Each one has the same position; men need to be able to cook, take care of the house. Learning from my father, I could mop up, cook, clean up, and look after the baby. So relationships mean you each have the same position and mission."

Living in a masculine environment does not always mean that they adopt a metal ideology, as we interestingly found in our analysis. Masculinity itself is quite negotiable. Agung said:

I think it goes back to the man himself. When I go out to the mall, my wife is holding our children, so I have to carry my wife's bag, that things will not make me feel embarrassed. Going to the market and carrying shopping bags is not a taboo for me. I finally have my pride as a man; the role of parenting is equally shared. I think it has nothing to do with creating a certain image of myself but it does form part of the work of parenting

From his statement, it can be assumed that Agung felt proud of what he had done with his wife. According to him, the division of the role of child care has nothing to do with the metalhead image as a masculine male. He does not see the need to avoid feminine things.

According to our research subjects, division of labor with the women should be based on respect for the wives and men should have this consciousness. This has been made clear specifically to Yudi. As he said, “When my wife cooks or does other domestic work, I do not hesitate to share parental roles. In a different case, I try to share the part of preparing the child for lunch, when my wife have to sleep during lunchtime.” Yudi's statement reflects his egalitarian view on parenting. On the other hand, being a metalhead, he has the opportunity and capacity to become a role model in co-parenting, and simply a more hands-on father.

I am proud to be a role model for metal musicians. The same feeling is shared with my children, and they recognize that their father is an idol, which boosts my children's confidence. When I play with children, we play like friends. My children need to listen and obey me at some point. The hardest part of being a metalhead is pertaining to time management because we have to share our family time with our time as musicians. After all, we have to tour out of the city or even abroad.

What we try to convey is that on the one hand, Yuli's status as an idol of Bandung metalheads makes him closer to his children and can spend more time with the family. On the other hand, he actually has limited time to spend with his family because of his touring schedules.

Slightly different from Yuli, the metal subculture taught Aristanto to be disciplined and believe in mutual respect between individuals. He teaches his sons the life lessons he has gained from the metal scene. As he stated that "I have to teach discipline, even though they know their father is a metalhead, I try to keep my child disciplined since childhood. I constantly remind them [to be disciplined] without insulting them. That is also what we learn in the metal scene. If you do not want to be offended, if you do not want to be insulted, then do not insult others."

We can see that these Bandung metalhead fathers have specific ways in taking care of their relationships with their spouses and their children. They all share the idea that everyone has to share the burden of running a household. We argue that the metalhead fathers' view on homecaring and childrearing constitute their construction as new men who uphold gender equality. We observe that Bandung metal musicians has disrupted the reputation of metal as a scene of displaying hypermasculinity, violence against women, and male dominance (Hill, 2018). Even though they display a masculine image, they are practicing gender equality in their domestic sphere. In essence, the constructed alternative model of masculinity is a metalhead who is masculine, but non-violent. They display gender awareness that is in harmony with me-too movement (Murphy, 2019). In the case of parenting, apparently a metalhead father is just like fathers in general who demand their children to be disciplined and have respect for others. Contrary to the general belief regarding the metalhead disruptive performance, the ethics of discipline and respect are actually attributed by our research subjects as the attitudes and behaviors they learn by being part of the metal scene.

Conclusion

After analyzing the community of people who take part in a masculine setting such as the metalhead music, we found that in all stages of their life as a man, research subjects display a shift in perspectives. Their father is identified to be a figure who have taught them to be normative men when they were young in accordance to his cultural and religious teachings. Social interaction that they experience as an adolescent in the metal music scene has made them learn about equality. As an adult, a husband, and a father, the concept of equal treatment they have gained in the metal scene is subsequently practiced in their personal relationships as well.

We found that research subjects perform both normative and alternative masculinities. Some research subjects strongly believe that the critical positions of men are as leaders and as breadwinners. They do display masculine attributes that escape from the patriarchal ideas of domination over women by sharing the domestic work with their partner. The research subjects acknowledged that displaying out the roles generally attributed to women would make them ideal men. Various terms that emerged from the results of the interview pointed out that their gender image produced becomes more balanced. We can see how terms such as commitment, consistency, reliability, leader, multitalented, solutive, indulgent, hard worker, protector, guard, well-organized, and educated can represent the image of an ideal man.

Through this perspective, the process of constructing alternative masculinity occurs in the private sphere. We find a flexible masculinity model in the world of metal music in Indonesia. In a more specific context, we argue, the metalheads in Bandung West Java, Indonesia have broken the stigma that metal music is associated with hypermasculinity, violence against women, and masculine domination. The breaking up with the normative masculine values is made possible as their gender perspective is closely intertwined with their social status, ethnicity, and religious teachings.

These new metal fathers imply an indication of the emergence of alternative masculinity. This alternative masculinity implies a gender-sensitive masculinity model that enables them to create a metal subculture that

cares and respects women. We find that with their status as local as well as global metal artists, they have acted to create a starting point to develop this narrative of equality. Their being role models for equality to their numerous fans can give a meaningful contribution to the elimination of cases of violence against women, at least within the scope of the Bandung and Indonesian metal scenes.

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