

Building DIY (Do-It-Yourself) Based Resilience: A Denpasar Kolektif Experience in the Pandemic Crisis

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Abstract

This study shows that the Covid-19 pandemic has not reduced the existence of collectivism and activism of a punk community in Denpasar City called Denpasar Kolektif (Denkol). The pandemic has not only led Denkol to build resilience for itself. With all the capital available, they are more active in building resilience for other social groups, especially those marginalized during the pandemic. Denkol does not only accommodate the catharsis of young people in expressing themselves during and after the pandemic. They also maximize the function of public spaces that the punk community has not filled during the pandemic. By prioritizing a qualitative phenomenological approach, the study shows that Denkol has built an inclusive habitus while running creative events during the pandemic. This inclusivity is essential not only for opening up critical space for the Balinese people towards various issues such as environmental issues, marginalization, mental health, and other things affected by the pandemic but also for self-criticism within the punk body itself, which is considered hegemonic. The increasingly inclusive fields also gave rise to decentralized activism, emphasizing that punk as a subculture opened space for creating plurality, fragmentation, and relativity within it.

Keywords: *Pandemic, Activism, Punk, Resilience, Fields, Inclusive.*

Introduction

The dynamics of tourism development are increasingly turbulent when Bali cannot avoid the COVID-19 pandemic. The tourism boom that provides much space for subcultural community activities suddenly stopped. Bali tourism was destroyed, massive layoffs were inevitable, and tourism actors did not get certainty about the time of recovery (Cahigas et al., 2022; Syaifudin et al., 2022). This situation also led the punk community to limit themselves in terms of their primary activities (running gigs) and other face-to-face activities, including their socio-ecological activism. Some of them prefer to carry out individual resilience rather than community resilience. In addition to physical face-to-face restrictions, the government has also implemented a mandatory vaccination policy for all its citizens. As part of Indonesia, Bali must comply with and consistently implement the government's policy, considering Bali is one of the provinces with the highest traffic for foreign nationals entering and leaving Indonesia. (Subadra & Hughes, 2022; Suwendra et al., 2020). This policy has also spread to traditional villages, often used as alternative spaces for subculturalists to carry out exhibitions and other activities, including activism.

This situation narrows the space for most communities, including the punk community in Bali. Unfortunately, the pandemic came at a time when these communities could utilize many public spaces. Unlike before 2010, as in Baulch's (2002) research, the punk community in Bali finds it very difficult to get space for their performances due to their closeness to subversive things. Now, pubs, bars, clubs, and cafes no longer prioritize Top 40 music. Moreover, the success of bands like Superman Is Dead and Navicula has succeeded in erasing the demarcation line between underground and non-underground bands. Even with the development of independent online journalistic media such as Bali Bawah Tanah, it has contributed to spreading (socializing) underground music gigs.

Even in the post-pandemic era, the *Seka Teruna Teruni* (Youth Group) organization in traditional villages has begun to provide much space for punk bands to perform in Bale Banjar (meeting room or village hall).

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This refers back to Baulch's research (2003), which shows that towards the end of the 80s to the early 90s, bale banjar was often used for various art performances, both traditional and modern (contemporary), including punk music. However, since the jargon Ajeg Bali (purification and strengthening of Balinese Culture) emerged in the early 2000s, where the jargon was used as a cultural shield against the penetration of outside culture (western culture and Islamic extremism), practically almost all traditional villages were hegemonized to implement cultural purification and restrictions on arts that were considered not following the rules of Balinese Culture (Bagus, 2010).

This situation has made underground music no longer get much space and lose its intimacy with the youth of the traditional village. This is why when many underground musicians participated in the Bali Tolak Reklamasi movement, they indirectly deconstructed the negative stigma of everything associated with the underground community. After the pandemic, underground bands have again become a mandatory line-up if *Seka Teruna Teruni* holds a birthday party for their organization. Their performances are supported not only by facilities but also by the security of traditional village security forces, namely Pecalang.

The weak resilience of the punk community or collective during the pandemic was caused by weak economic, social and cultural capital in various fields in which they operate (Hilgers & Mangez, 2014). The pandemic has killed sources of income, social networks, and cultural activities, including the daily culture that defines the identity of the punk community in Bali. In addition, the lack of creative and idealistic driving actors not trapped by restrictions on physical activity is also a determining factor in the collapse of several punk communities or collectives. In the context of the city of Denpasar, most punk collectives are a mix of musicians or artists, students, middle-class workers and those who do business in the music sector (owners of recording studios and sellers of musical instruments) who are highly dependent on the conventional economic ecosystem. Punk in Bali, like punk in other regions in Indonesia, always tries to maintain their idealism. Even though Balinese culture provides space for synthesis (collaboration), the punk community tends to keep its distance from everything they have criticized (Dupont, 2020). As Moore (2013) saw, underground musicians (including punk musicians) in Bali have varied and complex artistic talents and identities.

Regarding how indie/underground communities (including punk) have demonstrated resilience during the pandemic, this has been shown through research by Simanjorang and Triastuti (2023), Breakwell and Jaspal (2022), Fife (2022), Gu et al (2021), and Wiedlack (2023). These studies explain that most underground communities make resilience efforts by prioritizing creativity and utilizing online platforms. The main thing they do is to strengthen intimacy with community members and build a small business to survive.

However, what happened in Bali became so complex when punk, as an antithesis of the dominant culture (Bali), faced two great powers: the state and the traditional village. Both synergize to form a policy contrary to how the punk community carries out resilience. Moreover, the punk community also has internal problems, namely when its members or participants, most of whom work in the tourism sector, must leave the community because they must struggle to support their families. In other words, compared to what happened in other places, the punk community, in this case, Denkol, in addition to having to carry out economic resilience, must also carry out identity resilience.

Denpasar Kolektif (abbreviated as Denkol) is one of the punk collectives or communities that survived during the Bali pandemic. The resilience they maintain is inseparable from the creativity and authenticity of this collective, so creative projects such as making zines, printmaking, making action posters, playing cassettes or vinyl, and being involved in several demonstrations can be carried out by this collective. In Bourdieu's perspective, as in the research conducted by Bryant (2018), Denkol can balance social, cultural, symbolic and economic capital. This is quite difficult for a punk collective in Bali to do, especially during a pandemic. They are genuinely what Guerra expressed (2018) as "Raw Punk", namely punk who does everything without commercial tendencies or changing to become more mainstream. That is why, even during the pandemic, Denkol can still be dynamic offline and online.

As the new normal era enters, Denkol's activism has been increasingly followed by new participants, some of whom are not punkers or punk music fans. His collective projects have become so inclusive. This

was very visible when Denkol held various workshop events, such as making and printing cutouts and running food activism entitled "*Punk Pangan*," which targeted families affected by the pandemic. Zines and cutouts made from cheap materials turned out to indirectly help their resilience process during the pandemic.

The question then is, what factors caused Denkol to survive and become more active during the pandemic? How does Denkol stay authentic amidst its diverse, inclusive projects?

This study analyses Denkol's survival strategy (resilience) by optimizing the capital they build with DIY values. The pandemic situation also caused Denkol to criticize not only the hypocrisy of the dominant culture but also the culture of the punk community itself. An equally difficult challenge is when Denkol also has to work hard to maintain its authenticity amidst the diversity of the city of Denpasar, thus leading them to create more inclusive community projects.

Method

This article is based on an ethnographic study of the struggle of a punk community called Denpasar Kolektif (Denkol) located in Denpasar City, Bali, to be resilient during and after the pandemic through the creation of authentic and inclusive 'Do It Yourself' (DIY) culture and activism. This research uses a qualitative interpretivism-phenomenological approach in which researchers try to interpret and understand the Denkol movements in building their collectivism during and after the pandemic. Research on collectives with this qualitative approach is in line with research on collectives or subcultural communities by Dwyer (2015), Sutopo et al. (2017), Ulusoy and Schembri (2018), Guerra (Guerra, 2018), Sharp (2021), Santala and McGuirk (2022), and Carrasco et al. (2023). The unique similarity of all these methods that can be adopted is the time spent understanding the phenomenon being studied. Specifically, for this study, a phenomenological design was chosen. This design is considered appropriate considering that most of the analysis in this study is based on real phenomena or activities of ritual activities and gestures as well as various views, perceptions and feelings of informants, most of whom are taking adaptive actions and struggling with the pandemic.

This approach was carried out on ten informants (two women) aged 16-37 living around Denpasar and Badung Regency. Most are active participants in the punk subculture community from Denkol. All informant identities, except for Gilang Pratama (called Gilang), a member of Denkol, are written with initials as part of privacy.

This research has been conducted since 2019 and presents its phenomenological approach through in-depth interviews conducted in several settings, namely musical activities (scenes/geeks) and workshops. Most of the informants have friendship ties with other informants. They are all active in the hardcore punk music scene activities organized by Denkol. Data was collected from June 2019 to March 2024 by observing participants' DIY activism during the pandemic. Face-to-face data collection during COVID-19 was carried out by following health protocols, and some were done online. Secondary data was primarily obtained from the participants' social media and, of course, the writings of various journalists and columnists who covered various activities carried out by Denkol. Four locations are the settings for this research: Haluan Coffee and Space, Toko Seniman Coffee, and the Secretariat of the Bali Environmental Forum (Walhi). These three locations are the ones most often used as places for Denkol's activism activities.

The theoretical analysis carried out in this study uses the help of Bourdieu's field theory analysis as expressed by O'Connor (2016) and the concept of Gramscian hegemony as carried out by Williams' research (2016) and Johansson et al. (2017). With Bourdieu's field concept approach, the punk community can be understood as a practice in a specific field, not just as a subculture with a shared culture and consensus on punk values. The field in Bourdieu's thinking is a relatively autonomous area where particular activities are carried out. This approach emphasizes the need to gradually discover the dynamics and structure of the field through empirical and participatory research. Through this approach, we will understand each social, cultural, and economic capital owned by Denkol in carrying out resilience during the pandemic.

In the context of resilience, this theory helps analyze how Denkol, through their interactions in various "fields," adapted to the situation and conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic. This theory also provides insight into how Denkol uses social, cultural, and economic capital to maintain the existence and authenticity of their DIY values.

While the concept of subculture in this article is not defined singly as the development and criticism of the concept of subculture from Hannerz (2016), Type (2022), Schirmer (2023), also the concept of counterculture from Williams and Hannerz (2014), the concept or theory of subculture often refers to groups that have identities and cultural practices that tend to be dynamic and have differences from the majority of society or social groups. Subcultures often emerge as a response to certain social situations, such as dissatisfaction, alienation and injustice, as demonstrated by the punk community. In this article, the author notes that the analysis of the existence and activism of the punk community is often in a situation of debate between theorists who support the subcultural theory originating from the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) and theorists who propose a more individualistic, agency-emphasizing and fluid post-subcultural understanding.

Findings and Discussion

Activism and Culture of Resilience

Resilience theory is a conceptual framework that is often used to analyze how individuals, groups, communities or collectives carry out the adaptation process to not only survive but also develop themselves in the face of pressure, challenges, and threats or disasters (Bhaskara & Filimonau, 2021; Breakwell & Jaspal, 2022; Gibson & Gordon, 2018; Stojanovic et al., 2016). This theory emphasizes overcoming difficulties and reconstructing life to recover as soon as possible after experiencing a crisis. Survival subjects involve various factors such as internal resources (psychological and emotional) and social support. However, as conveyed by Seema Arora-Jonsson in her research entitled "Does Resilience Have a Culture? Ecocultures and the Politics of Knowledge Production" (Arora-Jonsson, 2016) that the concept of resilience cannot be separated from the political and cultural context. This is because resilience is not only about ecological adaptation but also includes social, economic, and power dynamics. Arora-Jonsson (2016) criticized that often, in resilience studies, cultural perspectives are ignored, and the influence of power is not sufficiently considered.

In the context of Denkol's resilience during the pandemic, it is essential to understand how power and representation play a role. Denkol, present amid the diversity of communities in Bali, has challenges dealing with core cultural values that dominant groups often define. This can strengthen existing power inequalities and ignore the voices of marginalized groups.

Since its founding in 2010, Denkol has been involved in many activism activities, especially those related to environmental issues. They also organize events such as movie screenings, discussion groups, community markets, and art workshops on printing images such as zines and linocuts, even during the pandemic. The activism or events they organize are supported by fluid masses interested in becoming a strategic team to a core team. Although there is no coercion or obligation in their team participation, Denkol's activities are more secure and sustainable, including during the pandemic.

This is where Denkol has the slogan *Pertemanan Adalah Kunci* (Mutual Relationships are the Key) as the basis for the values of a collective social group. They analogize this with the philosophy of *menyama braya* in the social life of the Balinese people, who are altruistic and egalitarian. The situation in Denpasar, which is more pluralistic in culture, religion, gender and profession, makes Denkol very strict about preserving the right to that identity. Denkol's activism is called *Bergerak Bersama* (Act Together). They have a strong personal relationship, a shared identity, and a long-term commitment. Denkol can also be called a community rather than just a temporary collective.

Denkol members are also heavily involved in various programs organized by Walhi (*Wahana Lingkungan Hidup*) Bali. Denkol and Walhi were headquartered in the same location, so the two often collaborated. As

an NGO focusing on environmental issues, Walhi Bali has one division, the famous campaign division, which was once driven by Gilang, who is also part of Denkol. Through Gilang, this division often collaborates with Denkol participants to create workshops on campaign media such as posters, stickers, t-shirts and others using the cut printing technique. These activities also influence the formation of awareness and strengthening of the community, especially when they organize an event to take to the streets together with Walhi and other communities.

Gilang is a punk who disciplined archives zines, cassette tapes, books, knick-knacks, and everything related to the Hardcore Punk subculture. He is passionate about creating a more artistic, educational, and inclusive punk image. For him, hardcore punk also has a tradition of reading and writing (literacy), a distinctive visual art character, a production style with a DIY spirit, independence, a strong network of friends and social solidarity, and authentic political action. He also built a streaming radio broadcast entitled "Punk as Fuck", which aims to listen to the work of Punk bands both domestically and abroad that have not been distributed on the internet. Not only that, "Punk as Fuck" also accommodates punk music activists to share their views and even education related to socio-political and environmental issues. Punk as Fuck itself also helps Denkol in carrying out resilience, especially resilience between punk communities both in Bali and throughout Indonesia. For Denkol, streaming radio is no less critical than virtual concerts. Streaming radio allows anyone to tell stories about the resilience experiences of their listeners during the pandemic. The broadcast also accompanies punkers who are currently in isolation. Likewise, the delivery of socio-ecological issues during the pandemic indicates that Denkol's activism is always carried out through any offline and online platform. Not only that, the authenticity of punk is maintained when Punk as Fuck plays various physical releases, both CDs and cassettes, from hardcore punk bands that have not been found on any digital platform.

Denkol places social capital as the principal capital in this collective. The social network (friendship) built by Denkol is quite broad, covering various communities and organizations. Starting from networks from outside Bali, such as the Taring Padi People's Cultural Institute, which also inspired Denkol to popularize carving art among young people in Bali, to groups of farmer entrepreneurs who later contributed to Denkol's charity activities during the pandemic. They are also active with collectives abroad and often become a place of study for students or academics both domestically and abroad, as happened on June 12, 2019, when Denkol gave a zine-making workshop to students from the University of Georgia, US. For Denkol, this is not just accommodating the interests of participants but also developing social (and intellectual) capital that will benefit Denkol's future existence.

The way Denkol supports itself is not much different from other punk collectives. In addition to being supported by the collective of each member or participant, they also live from a DIY business that they call "*Sindikikat Pesta Kebon*". The *Sindikikat Pesta Kebon* is a small stall for buying and selling objects or goods related to DIY Punk culture and activism. The *Sindikikat Pesta Kebon* itself is a name that emerged due to intimidation against Denkol participants who were involved in the Bali Reject Reclamation action. The increasingly intense and massive intimidation at that time led Denkol members or participants to use the code "W" as a code when carrying out silent activism with Walhi Bali. Their closed and secret actions are analogous to a syndicate movement. "*Sindikikat*" in English means syndicate, while "*Pesta*" means party and "*Kebon*" means garden. The word "Kebon" is used due to the many activities in a garden not far from the Denkol and Walhi Bali headquarters.

The culture of resilience built by Denkol through solidarity, creativity and activism is a long process that does not just appear. Denkol has also experienced threats from dominant cultural structures, which have influenced its resilience. Since Denkol's involvement in the Bali *Tolak Reklamasi* (Rejects Reclamation) movement, various potentials in forming stigma and intimidation have often emerged against this collective. They felt that the Traditional Village or the authorities did not support their presence. They are used to being considered a subversive community even though this experience ultimately becomes a very valuable capital in strengthening mental resilience during the pandemic.

Creative Adaptation and Collective Solidarity

Denkol's activism during the pandemic was categorized as obedient and compliant with health protocols such as wearing masks and physical distancing. However, at that time, many punkers in Bali refused to comply and considered the COVID-19 pandemic as a form of global conspiracy. Denkol realized this dynamic, so many punkers were no longer involved in Denkol's activities. As expressed by Y (personal interview, 2021), who is a senior member of Denkol, he views that:

We cannot force the entire punk community to have the same strategy for survival. This has been seen during the pandemic. Let alone different countries or provinces, the punk communities in Denpasar, Badung and Tabanan are different when they face the pandemic. Those of us in Denpasar may be luckier because we are surrounded by many people who have resources. Many young people are from the middle class and are not bothered by how to survive daily. Moreover, each traditional village is different. Some are loose with restrictions; some are strict. The main problem is whether we can and want to use all available resources to survive.

For Denkol, the biggest challenge for the punk community in Bali is their resilience to the hegemony of local culture and the diversity of social identities that are increasingly complex. The hegemony of local culture has the potential to be a source of pressure that hinders resilience. In addition to the negative stigma, too much dominance can limit the expression of punk culture, whether in the form of music, fashion, or lifestyle. However, Denkol sees this as an opportunity to form creativity and innovation. Denkol continues to hold many discussions and collaborations with various communities, especially indigenous communities, which have been widely carried out, such as in the Bali Reject Reclamation movement.

Concerns about the establishment of exclusivity can indeed occur among subcultural groups. Katz's research (2020) showed that there is a relationship between punk rock music and white supremacy, as demonstrated by the Rock Against Communism (RAC) subgenre. Katz explains that punk rock music has a central role in shaping the culture and identity of the punk subculture. Although generally left-leaning or apolitical, there are several punk subcultures affiliated with the radical right movement, which emerged in the 70s as a response to Rock Against Racism, which aims to fight racial violence. RAC originated from the Oi! subgenre in England and the hardcore movement in the United States. This white supremacist movement took advantage of the political shift in the punk subculture to promote their bands and form a punk music genre associated with skinhead culture and white supremacy.

Denkol's dynamics during the pandemic are also inseparable from the background of affordable activism. Their capital is still sufficient to create affordable activities for Denkol and the participants, especially in a pandemic where everyone is trying to survive financially. However, various communities in Denpasar and its surroundings always provide financial support and charity and view Denkol's activities positively.

As with the carving workshop, which uses affordable materials and gets full financial support from Walhi Bali, the updates in this workshop are increasingly diverse themes. Participants can create their own carving designs. The finished designs are screen-printed on t-shirts and tote bags using manual screen-printing techniques. All participants will also practise the manual screen-printing method to experience a more humanistic printing process (not dependent on machines).

Many participants who joined this workshop indicated that carving is very foreign in Bali. Few artists are consistent in the manual printing art path (letterpress printing). In fact, according to Denkol, this graphic art of carving has a very strong visual character. For Denkol, carving symbolizes rebellion, suffering, and anarchism, which are relevant to activism activities. Now, the art of carving has become Denkol's symbolic capital.



Figure 1. Denkol Activism During the Pandemic

In addition to carving, there is a zine-making workshop that was developed in a revolutionary way during the pandemic with eight new things. These are diverse and creative themes, interdisciplinary approaches, creative techniques, collaboration, use of technology, exploration of new media, discussions and exhibitions, and zine exhibitions. A new habitus must be built among the participants and new communities that have not intersected with Denkol. This is done so that new participants do not face something that is cliché and has no practical value. The interdisciplinary approach also has an impact on increasing the inclusiveness of participants. This approach opens up opportunities for the growth and development of open discussions that impact the diversity of themes and forms of zines. Meanwhile, the zine exhibition is a form of Denkol's appreciation for the participants who have taken the time to participate in the workshop, even during the pandemic. As experienced by a participant with the initials A. Initially, his participation in the workshop was only as a first physical recreation during the pandemic. However, from there, he also found a change in the stigma towards punk. He is increasingly aware that punk is a reasonably complex community, and some of it is far from the stigma formed by the general public. So far, he knows street punk, a group of street musicians who dress shabbily with mohawks and live a free and nomadic lifestyle. This initial view is not to stigmatize punk, but he believes that every group or community has the right to practice and maintain its ideology. As expressed by A (personal interview, 2022) that:

Punk, for me, is a state of mind. We may not like punk music, but we practice DIY values daily. We are anti-racism and sexism and care about the environment. There is no need to have a mohawk. Gilang does not have a mohawk. But what he does is a punk pedagogy that I think is very much needed for the development of young people's creativity. Maybe his idea is not original for punkers. But this is something fresh for us, especially for Balinese, who artistically already have our standards.

The more significant change in A's perspective on the punk community was shown when he read the release of several booklets by Denkol regarding the socio-ecological conditions in Bali. The booklet, the result of a collaboration between the Kebon Party Syndicate (Denkol) and Wahli Bali, is the result of their analysis of the socio-ecological conditions in Bali before and during the pandemic. This proves how a punk collective can seriously carry out education with the DIY principle without losing the essence of the education itself.



Figure 2. Booklet by the Kebon Party Syndicate

Promoting the pandemic issue indirectly creates a transition of views from apolitical to political. Politics means jointly paying attention to and criticizing every policy that emerges and impacts society. The policy affects young people, mostly students and the middle class. However, like punk activism, Denkol chooses not to wait for government assistance and prefers to build solidarity with each other. Denkol prefers to help the less fortunate rather than just continuing to narrate criticism of various policies considered deadlocked.



Figure 3. Food Punk by Denkol

As a differentiator from other punk collectives, they are resilient to themselves and build resilience in other people or social communities. From there, Denkol initiated activism entitled *Punk Pangan* (Punk Food), which manifested in real action by collecting and distributing food supplies they obtained from several donors. *Punk Pangan* also emerged from Denkol's observations of marginalized communities or frontier groups, namely those who are isolated amid the pandemic and are not in a system that supports and helps them when they are struggling with the pandemic. People do not have much voice, so they tend not to get social security in the future if, at any time, a social disaster hits them. This community ultimately becomes a medium for those not affiliated with dominant social groups, such as traditional villages or other social groups established in terms of social structure. They are immigrants from outside Bali who become manual workers and tend not to have legal status as permanent residents but cannot return to their home areas due to various factors, especially economic factors.

In *Punk Pangan*, Gilang (personal interview, 2022) is of the view that:

We can't possibly let go of everything from politics, so we also have to get rid of the bad stigma about politics. When we try to have an impact (positive) on others (the environment), then that is politics. The difference may be in legitimacy, exposure, and recognition. What Denkol did during the food punk did not require recognition. Journalists did not need to cover or officials to acknowledge our activities. This was all purely a citizen-helping-citizen movement.

Punk standards or indicators do not have to have a band. Punk must be inclusive. As much as possible, attract as many people to be involved in a change even though they do not perceive themselves as punks. They can come from tailors, herbal medicine entrepreneurs, and food entrepreneurs. That is why many social groups want to be involved in the social movement initiated by Denkol. For example, when Denkol held a Punk Pangan activity that involved many food donors from various parties. Even so, Denkol applies one value: not wanting this movement to become an object of exposure. There was no photo documentation when handing over aid, even though Punk Pangan's social media would mention the donor's name. Denkol does not want the pandemic to become a marketing event for interested parties to boost the name of their individual or company. Denkol did this so that the value of solidarity was maintained. This charity does not seem to have a hierarchy between donors and recipients. This is a movement of citizens helping citizens.

The core of the Punk Food movement is not an effort to share food but to raise awareness of why many people are starving during the pandemic. Thus, the public knows there is a government error in handling the pandemic. Few recipients are finally involved in distributing food supplies, including those who are self-isolating or vulnerable groups excluded from the social safety net in Denpasar City and its surroundings.

Authentic Practice and Inclusivity

During the pandemic, Denkol succeeded in making the punk image a more inclusive subculture. Through various activists that they built together with their members and participants, the punk collective became something that could be dialectical to accommodate as many different points of view as possible. They tried to define issues around politics and rebellion intersubjectively with the participants so that it became a much more personal narrative. However, Denkol is not entirely deconstructing the connection between punk and politics. As expressed by Y (personal interview, 2020)

Denkol seems to suddenly become straight edge, a little alcohol, no strange things that have been the stigma of punk. Those who participate in our event come from young people with different ideologies, fashion, and tastes in music, far from punk itself. Our e-flyer shows that the punk community organizes this. There are mohawks there. Maybe they focus on the substance of the event. They get value from what we offer. Or they don't care about our appearance. Because so far, we have listened more than we have provoked. But I see many people are starting to understand at least Denkol's version of punk. Many people also buy stalls, especially the t-shirts. Everything runs naturally and organically. We also get a lot of input and inspiration from the participants. For now, we don't expect anything. At least in the future, we will try to become a more lively and solid community.

2023 is the year when many public spaces are increasingly accessible for holding gigs. In that year, Denkol consistently held workshop events, but its implementation began to expand into much more mainstream public spaces. Many Denkol members also began to carry out DIY activities independently (decentralized), especially those related to punk creativity. However, solidarity among Denkol members is maintained so that many events that are still personally focused on Denkol members or participants, such as the Klub Baca Zine (Zine Reading Club) and Workshop Bikin Zine (zines-making workshop) initiated by Gilang Propagila. Klub Baca Zine is part of a "Seniman Residency" program held at Toko Seniman Coffee Denpasar. The opportunity given by Gilang is also the result of the social network he built while holding events and workshops with Denkol. Gilang packaged the Zine Reading Club with a more inclusive model where everyone could read the old zine collection he had archived, discuss zine content, and provide opportunities for participants to submit topics or issues they thought were interesting to be raised in making zines. At that time, topics about resilience, such as hobbies during the pandemic, experiences of self-isolation, community service, and mental health issues, were examples of issues poured into zines.

Several participants also used zines to self-criticize the handling of the pandemic by both the government and traditional villages. The strength of tribalism and primordialism caused the social system in Bali to ignore the others who were non-Balinese. However, it also contributed to maintaining the development of Bali itself. They saw that the increasing socio-ecological problems in Bali were caused by the Balinese people not seeing social symptoms holistically. Something outside Bali was considered a threat, harmful and destructive. However, many participants understood that the narrative was often associated with various dark events such as the Bali Bombings I and II and the increasing crime rate along with the growth of urbanization in various areas of Bali, especially in Denpasar City and Badung Regency.

Some punkers who also participated in making zines poured out self-criticism towards their community. Like D, who has always seen himself as a punk who is trapped in a hegemonic political attitude in his punk community. As happened at the beginning of the pandemic, where many punkers seemed to have to accept that the Covid-19 pandemic was just a global elite conspiracy. Until the jargon emerged: "If you believe in a pandemic, then you are not a punk". Some even called the pandemic a "plandemic" or a planned pandemic. Here, D feels that there has been something hegemonic among punkers. This is sometimes formed by those who feel the most punk. Punk is often trapped in an image construction that is no longer relevant to current conditions. Punk is a subculture, but there are several situations and conditions where its members want to be politically autonomous. Here, punk can become very postmodernist. Punk, on the one hand, is political, but on the other hand, it provides space for plurality, fragmentation and relativity (Desmond et al., 2000; Rowe, 2017; Sharp & Nilan, 2015; Type, 2022; Weiß, 2015; P. Williams & Hannerz, 2014).

The DIY spirit should not be confined by the hegemony of one point of view. That is why, in the zine-making workshop, D made a zine that discussed the cooking made by his grandmother. He wanted to be himself. He (currently) did not want to pour out criticism about politics, nature, and issues that have long been the hallmark of the punk community. In an interview, D said:

Being a punk during a pandemic is problematic. On the one hand, you want to be idealistic; on the other hand, you have to survive. How to be a punk varies from region to region or country to country, especially during a pandemic like now. Punkers in Jakarta might find survival harder than in Bali, or vice versa. Or punkers in the US might find it easier to run their DIY business because the community ecosystem is better. But there is something much more important than just being able to survive during a pandemic, which is asking yourself what the purpose of being a punk is during a pandemic. It shouldn't be difficult because being a punk means being used to being far from the system. Now, how can we be punkers who are not trapped by ideologies that prevent us from being ourselves, including ideologies in the community? That's why I wrote about my grandmother's cooking. It's much more personal, freer, more yourself. I don't think there's anything wrong with a punk making this (a zine about grandmother's cooking).

This inclusive spirit also led Gilang to successfully bring punk aesthetics to Ubud, which is known as the area where world-class Balinese artist maestros gather. The exhibition "Every Punk Happens to Everything" displays Gilang's works, which he has used in DIY activism with Denkol and personally. So far, exhibitions of punk aesthetic products have been held more in community spaces or activist base camps. However,

with the network he formed from inclusive projects during and after the pandemic, this exhibition sponsored by Rodney Glick from Seniman Coffee can be realized. Of course, it has become a new field and habitus for Denkol, which has never been present and has competed in the elite art arena.

Gilang also explicitly uses the works displayed in this exhibition as a catalyst for awareness.



Figure 4. Rodney Glick (Left) and Gilang Propagila, and the Exhibition Atmosphere at Every Punk Happens to Everything in Ubud, Bali

The increasingly diverse cultures of participants involved in Denkol activism make the authenticity of punk from this community both fluid and complex. The authenticity of punk is currently at two extremes: pure DIY and commercial (pop punk). Meanwhile, the authenticity built by Denkol has a nature that grows through the habits of new participants. This time, they are trying to form, express and maintain it through the Covid-19 pandemic moment. The legacy of the pandemic is none other than an experience that fosters the identity and praxis values of Denkol itself. As Force (2009) explains, the authenticity of subculture does not lie in the entity of the subculture itself but rather in the authentic side of each participant who has differences from what has been shown to the public with the esoteric knowledge of the punkers themselves. Subculture does provide a very wide space for expressive actions. However, their expressions often have complexities that open up a space that becomes a challenge for the survival of its authenticity (Haenfler, 2004; Martin-Iverson, 2021; Weiß, 2015; J. P. Williams, 2006).

Conclusion

The pandemic for Denkol is not just about maintaining DIY but also about what and to whom DIY is maintained. DIY, maintained by Denkol, has grown as a capital that helps them carry out resilience during the pandemic. Culturally, the DIY attitude fosters creativity, which also impacts strengthening the economic and symbolic capital owned by Denkol. And Denkol, all of this capital is strengthened by the social capital they build with an inclusive and authentic attitude through their creative projects.

In its development, Denkol is strongly supported by members who have a militant DIY attitude, such as Gilang and also other participants, such as Y and D. Moreover, they often collaborate with Walhi as an established NGO that can be a forum for Denkol members' activism activities. Denkol not only maintains DIY values consistently and continuously but also makes it a value or culture that has good praxis for Denkol and communities or social groups outside Denkol, just as Gilang can accumulate and distribute all kinds of capital that influences Denkol's position in the social life of Balinese society through his creative projects.

However, this process must also be seen as a socio-politically dynamic urban area in Denpasar. Inclusivity is inevitable because diversity in this city is inevitable. The problem is that not many punk communities or

collectives in Bali have a regular agenda to hold events that uphold this value (inclusivity), especially when the pandemic hit when most were trying to save themselves, while Denkol did the opposite.

The idea for the *Punk Pangan* event emerged from observations of the social conditions around the city of Denpasar, which is demographically filled with immigrants structurally marginalized during the pandemic handling process. Or the increasing number of participants in printmaking and zine-making workshops are also filled with those culturally contrasting with Balinese society.

No less critical than Denkol events is their function as a platform to accommodate alternative expressions that do not have space in mainstream discourse. Moreover, it is a critical view of traditions considered stagnant or irrelevant, making them difficult to express and discuss openly. Through this event, we can understand how cultural commodification is carried out for tourism so that the existing meaning and values are reduced.

In the theoretical context, this research also bridges the contrasting differences in theoretical paradigms between subculture and post-subculture theories. Both offer valid perspectives but also complement each other. This research even shows the postmodernism side of Denkol as a punk collective that gave birth to decentralization practices, as carried out by Gilang through his autonomous DIY work, even though Denkol members and participants often support it.

This research ultimately shows Denkol as a collective that can survive with a culture of resilience that comes from its consistency in implementing DIY values. DIY also contributes to cultural resilience for several local communities, primarily through alternative media created by Denkol that are difficult to find in the surrounding environment.

Denkol developed its field character because it practised resilience during the pandemic. This theoretically also bridges the subculture and post-subculture theory paradigms, which offer both valid but complementary perspectives. Denkol is a collective that can survive with a culture of resilience from consistently implementing DIY values. Meanwhile, this culture of resilience also contributes to the formation of cultural resilience, which plays a very important role in maintaining the preservation of the socio-cultural values of the Balinese people.

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