Subculture Community Against Disharmony: Denpasar Kolektif Community on Bali Tolak Reklamasi Movement

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Abstract. Collaboration between subcultural communities and indigenous peoples in Bali Tolak Reklamasi is a concrete example of cross-group solidarity in fighting a development project that is considered detrimental and damaging to the environment and the rights of indigenous peoples. Subcultural communities (for example, punk communities) often have concerns about environmental and social issues. They often reject development projects that are considered environmentally unfriendly and have the potential to damage natural sustainability. In the case of Bali Tolak Reklamasi, the punk community became a natural ally for indigenous groups that felt threatened by the project. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach (phenomenology) with a focus on data collection in the Denpasar Kolektif (DenKol) community. The results of this study show three roles played by Denpasar Kolektif in the Bali Tolak Reklamasi movement: 1. Campaign and Joint Action; 2. Education and Awareness; 3. Resource Gathering

Keywords: Bali Tolak Reklamasi, Subculture Community, Indigenous people, Socio-Ecological Movement, Environmental and social issues

1. Introduction

Since regional autonomy took place, Balinese people have often struggled with the complexities of tourism development in their land. Perspectives among the community are divided between those who choose economic fulfillment and those who uphold nature conservation. In fact, the implementation of regional autonomy is showing an anti-submission attitude of the community by the central government. Not infrequently, tourism development efforts in Bali often lead to conflicts that are not only local but also regional and international. One of the most phenomenal conflict dynamics in the tourism development process is the Benona Bay reclamation plan. This plan was strongly rejected by most Balinese people. For the Balinese people, the effort to reclaim Benoa Bay is considered to damage the harmony of the three realms, namely the realm of the gods *(parahyangan)*, the human realm *(pawongan)*, and the environment *(palemahan)*. The three harmonious relationships that the Balinese refer to as

Tri Hita Karana have now become a universal diction and the identity of the Balinese people in fighting for socio-ecological rights. This identity represents the daily life of modern Balinese people who, although they look very capitalistic, still pay attention to the balance between the spiritual and natural worlds.

The struggle to stop the Benoa Bay reclamation project is not only considered an environmental movement but also a cultural movement. The construction of a cultural narrative becomes a binder as well as a reminder that can expand the movement network between traditional villages and also various communities. The customary decision through the pasubayan (moral agreement) of Bali's traditional villages, which was initially initiated by several traditional villages in southern Bali, later expanded to thirty-nine traditional villages. The Balinese people need to fight for the preservation of Benoa Bay because the meaning contained in Benoa Bay is not only related to ecological preservation but also the sustainability of Balinese culture, especially the communities around Benoa Bay. Balinese culture comes from the mountain and the sea. When one of these is damaged, the balance in Balinese culture will be disrupted [1].

The interesting thing that should be studied from the reclamation rejection event is the emergence of various community alliances that not only come from indigenous peoples and environmentalist forums but also from various subculture communities. The involvement of these communities is not just about taking up space to exist. They also move with careful concepts and strategies to garner several supports from the community to reject immediately. Their way of opposing and expressing their disapproval has characteristics that are acceptable to most people with similar views.

One of the subculture communities that joined the movement alliance to reject the Benoa Bay reclamation plan is the Denpasar Kolektif Community. This community, which is an urbanism of punk and hardcore music, not only takes the time to form a music scene but also a collective that will contribute to a socio-ecological movement.

These subculture communities also often lead activism movements and awareness campaigns. They organize protests, petitions, and social campaigns to raise public awareness on issues such as climate change, deforestation, pollution, and the use of plastic waste in Bali. The uniqueness of this community is that they don't just stop at campaigning through the music scene or taking to the streets, but also extend the reach of their message and mobilize the community in collective actions such as printmaking and zine-making workshops. This kind of collectivism also marks the rise of a more inclusive contemporary movement, not only for the sake of their own community but also for their social environment condition. Apart from that, the importance of this research is also based on the form of collaboration between the Denpasar Kolektif Community and local agents who are members of indigenous communities. Even though they are culturally contrasting, both operate with the same paradigm, criticizing tourism development policies which are considered to have a negative impact on social and ecological life.

Subculture communities often form partnerships with non-governmental organizations, educational institutions, and businesses that share similar socio-ecological goals. These collaborations strengthen their influence and provide a greater platform to voice issues that they deem important. For example, a collaboration between the surfer community and

environmental organizations can result in beach clean-up initiatives, plastic waste reduction campaigns, and marine ecosystem restoration.

Subculture communities in Bali are often pioneers in creating alternatives and systemic change. They develop sustainable lifestyle models, such as veganism, zero waste, or renewable energy, and practice these values in their daily lives. By encouraging change on an individual and community level, they inspire others to adopt more environmentally friendly practices [2]. The Denpasar Kolektif community does not only take to the field to carry out demonstrations regarding the rejection of reclamation. More than that, their consistency has become an important force in raising reclamation issues more inclusively and sustainably. Through activism, collaboration, and the creation of alternatives, the Denpasar Kolektif community has inspired positive change and become a driving force in facing Bali's increasingly complex socio-ecological [3].

2. Method

This research uses a phenomenological approach related to understanding the daily life and intersubjective world (life-world) of informants. According to Craswell [4], phenomenological research tries to explain or reveal the meaning of concepts or phenomena of experience based on the awareness that occurs in several individuals. Phenomenology is carried out in a natural situation, so there are no restrictions in interpreting or understanding the phenomenon being studied so that it is possible for researchers to freely analyze the data obtained. By using Alfred Schütz's phenomenology [5] this research rests on the theoretical footing that consciousness is never a single entity, but is always shared with other individuals; friends, family, friends, and others. This means that it is impossible for an individual's understanding or perspective on something not to be influenced by other individuals.

The main (primary) data sources in this research are words (stories or narratives) about the dynamic experiences of several informants who are members of the Komunitas Punk Denpasar Kolektif in carrying out activism and socio-ecological movements, which can be obtained from interviews, observations, FGDs, and workshops. Workshops are essential to discover phenomenologically the contents of the minds of community members who are poured through various artworks for the socio-ecological movement. Not only that, several narratives from academics, youths in indigenous communities, journalists, and members of NGOs are also used as primary data in this research.

Secondary data included documentation taken from social media feeds or reels on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Researchers also complement secondary data in the form of videos (films), photos, posters, documents, zines, cassettes, CDs, vinyl, and various punk attributes from the Komunitas Denpasar Kolektif. Some interviews recorded on social media or websites were also used as secondary data in this research.

For data validity, method triangulation is done by comparing information or data in different ways. As mentioned above, in this study researchers used interviews, observations,

documentation, FGDs, and workshops. To obtain reliable information and a complete picture of certain information, researchers can use free interviews and structured interviews.

The initial stage in data analysis in this study is phenomenological reduction. This reduction is a process in which researchers endeavour to separate themselves from their personal assumptions and views. The aim is to deconstruct the common view of the phenomenon under study and focus on the meanings given by the participants. After the interviews are completed, the data should be carefully transcribed. This transcription ensures that the interview recordings are correctly written and do not lose important nuances. The data is then organised in a format that allows the researcher to work with it efficiently.

In the analysis process the first step is open coding. The researcher begins to identify units of information or chunks of meaning in the text of the interview transcription. This coding is often in the form of words, phrases or sentences that cover key aspects of the experiences shared by informants especially when following the Bali Tolak Reklamasi movement. Next, the researcher identified key themes that emerged from the open coding.

The phenomenological analysis process involves an in-depth understanding of the identified themes. The researcher tries to understand the meaning contained in each theme and relate it to the context of the participants' experiences. This involves reflection and careful interpretation.

3. Results and Discussion

Denpasar Kolektif Community as Subculturist, and Also as Counterculturist

The theoretical foundation in discussing the Denpasar Kolektif community cannot be separated from the theory of subculture and counterculture. These theories are interconnected with each other considering that this community is a community that is in the process of forming its movement identity which is always intertwined with the development of Balinese, national and global society. In the local context, the Denpasar Kolektif community is a reaction to the socio-ecological conditions in Bali. However, the way they react also cannot be separated from the globally constructed Punk values. Through this community, we understand that punk is a community with values that continue to grow.

Subculture is a sociopolitical term that denotes a point of difference between a dominant or mainstream ideology and an alternative value system, thus creating a collective voice that can be considered a significant minority. Subcultures do not consist of formal leadership, formal membership, or any explicit organizational structure [6]. Instead, subcultures have loose and informal participation, as the boundaries of who and what embodies a subculture are debatable and fluid. Membership is not exclusive; subcultures can identify as part of a subculture and simultaneously interact with people in other social networks and cultures. As a result, the boundaries between mainstream culture and subcultures are often indistinguishable, as the two cultural domains can share ideas and coexist in the lives of individuals.

As subculturists, Denpasar Kolektif community not only share identities, but they also share values, practices, and cultural objects [6]. For example, this community values their community and their interpersonal relationships, they practice clean (substance-free) living, and

they buy important objects such as the most popular hardcore punk albums. As subcultures emerge, different meanings are formed to define unique practices in cultural scenes and objects and to distinguish subcultures from mainstream culture.

Subculture and counterculture are two concepts that have many similarities. The definitions of the two concepts are very diverse and sometimes overlap. One definition of subculture refers to the cultural variation displayed by a particular segment of the population [7]. In society, there are various sub-groups, which have their characteristic ways of thinking and behaving, sub-cultures that exist within the general culture are called subcultures [8]. In other words, there is a sub-culture within a dominant culture.

According to Dessaure [9], counterculture refers to a coherent system of norms and values that is not only different from the dominant system but also consists of at least one norm or value that requires a commitment to cultural change, aimed at transforming the dominant system of values and norms. Counterculture is seen as a coherent value system that is substantively different from the mainstream. Within this definition is a spirit of change for its adherents and implies a critical consciousness. In addition, counterculture adherents want to be recognized and try to challenge the mainstream [9].

This is why the Denpasar Kolektif community always strives to have a more inclusive movement model and method. Gilang Propagila, as one of the originators of this community, feels a responsibility to create a sustainable movement that can reach many people, especially the youth. "They should be given an insight or literacy into the current condition of Bali which has been trapped in a massive tourism industry. But we need more persuasive ways, where friendship is the key" (Gilang Propagila, personal communication, 14th May 2022). As in the case of Bali Tolak Reklamasi, Gilang initially invited hardcore punk music fans to collectively establish a scene. When the scene is running, the values of the struggle can be incorporated. We don't want a big change where everyone who plays in this scene will take to the streets to voice rejection of reclamation. But if the friendships are stronger, then the collective movement will be easier to achieve.

The distinction between subcultures and countercultures is quite clearly given by Braungart and Braungart [9] who state that subculture groups tend to withdraw from conventional society, whereas countercultures are groups that tend to be resistant and confrontational in expressive terms (e.g. punks) or engage in rebellious political activities. Agreeing with Braungart and Braungart, Langman [9] argues that counterculture tends to seek transvaluation of ethics, alternative lifestyles, and transformation of consciousness. He calls it a more ideological youth culture, which has a theme or style, a designed group. There is an ideology in a counterculture and a distinctive lifestyle for its adherents.

The concept of subculture was used in some early analyses of delinquent gangs to show how delinquency has social and cultural origins and is not the result of individual pathology. Delinquent gangs were considered a collaborative solution to the "status problem" faced by young males in working-class neighbourhoods [10]. Others criticised those who ascribed delinquent gangs to an underlying organisation and structure, which tended to "autistically distort gangs and gang behaviour towards gestalt intelligibility" [11]. In reality, Yablonsky argued, most gangs are "formless, diffuse and malleable", and resemble "close groups", which

he positioned midway on a continuum between cohesive "gangs" and disorganised "mobs"; close groups being convenient vehicles for youth who are "emotionally disturbed" and lack social skills. Thus, the process of subculture does not necessarily lead to gang formation but can lead to something looser or more dispersed collectivity [12].

Although subculture theorists later distinguished gangs or groups from broader and looser structures [12], most of the later analyses conducted in the 1960s and 1970s by those working in the UK under the auspices of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) or the "Birmingham School," examined subcultures that were quite tightly knit, distinctive, and coherent [12]. The approach was fuelled in part by a political desire to show how working-class youth subcultures were internally coherent despite legal perceptions of them as lawless forms. Therefore, CCCS used the concept of homology to show how their primary attention to the music and clothing of these subordinate groups revealed that they fit together organically to form a unified (and spectacular) subcultural "style".

For the CCCS, working-class youth subcultures were symptomatic of the disintegration of working-class society that occurred in Britain as a consequence of post-war reconstruction and re-housing policies. However, the subculture provided only symbolic solutions to the concrete problems associated with this transformation and offered no "real" solutions to the common problems residing in subordinate structural locations. There are no solutions, that is, to unemployment, dead-end jobs, education disadvantage, low salaries, and de-skilling. The symbolic solutions of working-class youth subcultures are realised in their style. Mod style, for example, is an attempt to embody, albeit in an imaginary way, the conditions of existence of socially mobile white-collar workers; the clothes and music of the mods reflected the hedonistic image of wealthy consumers.

Therefore, working-class youth subcultures cannot transcend the "real relations" of being in a subordinate class position. Instead, they express and solve the common class problems with a less concrete approach. Moreover, their critique of capitalism and modern institutions is limited to the cultural level. Therefore, they are unable to enter the arena of "politics proper", or challenge the institutional basis of their class subordination. This applied to working-class and middle-class subcultures, which marked their "tragic" final limit and raised "the whole question of the status and viability of cultural politics and struggles waged exclusively at the level of lifestyle" [13].

Not in line with the concept of subculture put forward by CCCS, the Denpasar Kolektif Community does something that goes beyond the symbolic. Their actions that sharply criticise the excesses of mass tourism in Bali are not a symptom of middle-class youth frustration. Amidst negative stereotypes about punk, along with other subculture communities in Bali, the community is active in environmental initiatives such as beach clean-ups, anti-plastic campaigns, and tree planting. They seek to address the negative impacts of tourism, including plastic waste, water pollution and environmental destruction. Not only that, they also increase environmental literacy in the form of zines as a manifestation of the DIY spirit. The strong DIY spirit in punk culture supports their efforts to live more simply and sustainably.

The community also plays a role in preserving local cultures that are threatened by mass tourism. They often collaborate with local artists, artisans, and indigenous communities to

support and promote local traditions. Through concerts, art exhibitions, and other social work, the punk community seeks to bring together Balinese culture and elements of punk counterculture. This community not only criticises mass tourism, but also tries to create alternatives. They often organise independent music events, art festivals, and performances outside the conventional tourism circuit. This allows tourists and locals to have a more authentic experience and supports a more sustainable local economy.

The counterculture built by the Denpasar Collective Community is essentially an alternative culture that is very important in grounding environmental issues such as Bali Tolak Reklamasi movement. Contextualisation of these issues is an absolute requirement for the growth of public awareness and participation in rejecting the reclamation plan. For Rendra (I Nengah Narendra, personal interview, 4th April 2023) the Balinese philosophy of ecology such as Tri Hita Karana (three relationships between God, Man and Nature that cause happiness) is difficult to be relevant if it is not grounded in ways that are popular with young people. Young people in Bali are very fond of punk music, and the punk scene created by the Denpasar Kolektif community provides a space for the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana to be sensitised to the values of punk itself.

The Role of Denpasar Kolektif Community in the Bali Tolak Reklamasi Movement

This community was established to create a space for artists, musicians, culturalists, and other creatives to collaborate, share ideas, and develop their creative works. Subculture communities also play an important role in community education and empowerment regarding socio-ecological issues. They organize workshops, seminars, and other educational activities to increase understanding of the environment, teach sustainable skills, and promote changes in attitudes and behavior for the better.

Punk has influenced and been influenced by popular culture in several ways. Since the beginning of the subculture, major record labels, haute couture, and mass media have attempted to use punk for profit. For the most part, punks have met this cultural appropriation with resistance as the ethical integrity of punk music often feels threatened by profit motivations. Many members of the original punk subculture, as well as some modern adherents, find the commercialization of punk a very disappointing choice. They argue that punk by definition must be unpopular (seeing "pop punk" as a contradiction in terms) and should remain so because it provides a necessary challenge as a counterculture to mainstream culture.

The description reflects in identifying who the members of the Kounitas Denpasar Kolektif are. This community has its headquarters (basecamp) at Jl. Dewi Madri IV No.2 Denpasar. However, their growing activism has led them to look for a more representative scene (a place or location for a music community to exhibit). Haluan Coffee Space in Denpasar is a location that is often used as a scene and meeting place (workshops, discussions, cinema, etc.) for those who are concerned about something nuanced punk.

This community then created an Event Organiser (EO) with a DIY ethos which they called Bergerak Bersama. They organize events ranging from music events to taking to the streets in demonstrations. The membership of the EO is voluntary, so there are no permanent

members. But as a community, there must be a figure with character, who is consistently present at every community event. Since 2012, the community has become not only concerned with hardcore punk music but everything that can be done through the punk ethos such as merchandise sales (t-shirts, books, cassettes, cd's, vinyl, stickers, artwork) and of course activism in the socio-ecological field.

This research identifies that this community does not use the term member. It is rather a hybrid membership that is both mechanical and organic. It is a headless movement where everyone is recognized for their involvement in the punk scene. Every punk fan can be identified as part of this community. Skinheads, skate kids, hardcore punks, street punks, metalcore and indie kids are all part of this community.

Fig.1. Bergerak Bersama 53. Fundraising Gigs ForBALI

Like the subculture aptly described by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in the 1970s, the Denpasar Kolektif Punk Community is currently pursuing an authentic existence. They do not want the identification of punk authenticity to be questioned based on the clothes or attributes they wear [12]. This community wants punk's ultimate authenticity to lie in social movements or political activity. It marks a terrain where people staunchly challenge urban sprawl, land conversion, vivisection, deforestation, racism, third-world exploitation, and many other manifestations of corporate capitalism. As the community has always said, punk is

no longer about fashion. But if any of the punkers are always concerned with posing, make sure the threatening poses (mohawk hair, tattoos) are the real "threat".

Komunitas Punk Denpasar Kolektif is a Bali-based learning and friendship collective. The collective started with an interest in Hardcore Punk and has continued with the belief that Hardcore Punk is not limited to music. It actively organizes gigs, picnics, film screenings, discussions, community stalls or markets, workshops, online radio broadcasts, zine libraries, and distribution of work from all over Bali [14]. Denpasar Kolektif remains open to other interesting things and learning outside of Punk. Denpasar Kolektif's name is based on the fact that most of its activities take place in the city of Denpasar, so it does not intend to limit itself based on geographical location. Denpasar Kolektif is open to anyone who wants to learn and be dynamic together.

The Denpasar Kolektif's involvement in this movement is inseparable from the involvement of its community members with the Indonesian Forum for the Environment in Bali (WALHI Bali) and several youth movements that also focus on environmental sustainability. Walhi at the time had a specialized division called popular campaigns, which was responsible for the movement's growth.

This movement grew not only when members of the community struggled to independently make music events (gigs), but also when the spirit to affiliate with various civil society movements that are very concerned with socio-ecological conditions such as Walhi (Indonesian Forum for the Environment), Bali Frontier and ForBali was poured through various concrete actions such as the Bali Tolak Reklamasi movement and various other socio-ecological movements. The punk spirit that has only been expressed through various manifestations of anger and disappointment on stage is now actually taking to the streets and there is a belief that what they do will have a significant impact on social and environmental conditions.

The fundamental role of the Denpasar Collective Community in the Bali Reject Reclamation Movement is to connect existing subcultural communities and create an inclusive space for dialogue between local artists and indigenous peoples. In this role, the community promotes alternative cultural arts that are not only Balinese, but also international. They initiate all forms of collaboration and artistic experimentation so that the issue of the negative impacts of reclamation is quickly spread and understood by most people.

In carrying out its role, this community consistently promotes DIY (Do-It-Yourself) values. They make manual campaign media such as screen printing and woodcut printmaking. For this community, the campaign model also increased the interest of young people to participate in the campaign. Even in the mass campaign, they took the time to organise a workshop to make campaign media that could later be used in the action against reclamation. Of course, in the workshops they organise, there are socio-ecological values that aim to build the awareness of the participants for more universal things.

In addition, there are several other forms of support from the Denpasar Collective community in the action of the Bali Tolak Reklamasi movement:

1. Active and Consistent in protest actions. This community is consistent and active in voicing rejection of the Benoa Bay reclamation, whether it is done massively on the streets or at certain moments involving many communities such as music and art events. Their

campaign materials are also constantly being updated to always appear fresh and contextualised even though they are always wrapped in DIY values. Through this action, more and more people understand the existence of the punk community which is far from the stereotype of punk so far. People become enthusiastic about punk art products outside of music such as zines that are increasingly popular with Balinese youth today.

2. Fundraising in artistic activities. As a music community, Denpasar Kolektif often conducts punk concerts on a small scale but strong and consistent in terms of audience numbers. In fact, they also often get support from big bands both from Bali and outside Bali whose ticket sales proceeds they collect and use to help the struggle against reclamation.

3. Socio-ecological collaborative movement. Apart from collaborating with NGOs such as Walhi (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia), this community also often carries out collaborative actions that are socio-ecological in nature with other communities. They do this collaborative action not only as a form of environmental awareness but also to attract people who can later join the action against reclamation. This action also triggers people outside the Benoa Bay area to always be aware of tourism development that can threaten environmental sustainability.

4. Critical and interactive discussion builder. Denpasar Kolektif community often initiates critical and interactive discussions related to Bali's environment. These discussions are not only held in exclusive spaces such as campuses, reading parks and NGO headquarters, but also in various public spaces that are presented persuasively. These critical discussions are also a space for the voices of indigenous peoples who are directly affected to be heard and understood by the wider community. This discussion is also a space for contestation of ideas for those who have alternative thoughts even though they have the same spirit, namely to preserve Bali's environment.

The support provided by the Komunitas Denpasar Kolektif in the Bali Tolak Reklamasi movement demonstrates their commitment to environmental protection, sustainability, and solidarity with local communities. Through their courage, creativity, and passion, they have made a valuable contribution to fighting the Benoa Bay reclamation and fighting for a better future for the island of Bali.

Fig. 2. More than 100 t-shirts symbolising the environmental movement were on display at the Bergerak Bersama Bali event by Denpasar Kolektif (Photo by Luh De, Mongabay)

Not only that, the community does not seem to stop as an exclusive punk subculture. Instead, it became a trans-local counterculture that spread throughout Bali and culturally reacted not only to the dominant culture but also to the punk community itself. They realize that what they present to the public may be a new thesis that is not fully accepted. While the youth are expected to maintain their Balinese traditions, many of them are immersed in the collective activism of subcultures. For this community, this is not something that should be contested. Denpasar, as the capital of Bali, is a very pluralistic city and Bali itself has long had cosmopolitan social relations. The members of this community are giving a big question mark to the Balinese people (especially the youth) who have been silent when the socio-ecological foundations of their island have been gradually damaged by massive development under the pretext of tourism development.

4. Conclusion

The transformation of the Denpasar Kolektif community into a counterculture movement in Bali is basically due to the members of the community who are also members of the NGO Walhi (Wahana Lingkungan Hindup Indonesia) Bali who see the poor quality of the three social buildings (social systems, social processes, and social relations) that have led Balinese society towards three risks both socially, mentally and of course ecologically. They have concerns about the rapid development of tourism that brings various kinds of risks to the socio-ecological conditions in Bali. They see that it is increasingly difficult for Balinese people to survive only by relying on the agricultural aspect of the area, resulting in Bali having to give up its

agricultural lands to be converted into tourism infrastructure. The Denpasar Kolektif community has played an important role in raising public awareness about the dangers of Benoa Bay reclamation. Through concerts, street art events, and social media campaigns, members of the punk subculture have voiced their disapproval of reclamation projects and their impact on the environment and local communities. They have exploited the provocative nature of the punk subculture to attract attention, thereby helping spread their message. Although the punk subculture ideology of the Denpasar Kolektif community has global roots, punkers in Bali have managed to forge connections between the struggle against the reclamation of Benoa Bay and larger global issues, such as environmental preservation and the rights of indigenous peoples. This helps portray reclamation as an issue relevant to the whole world, and not just a local problem.

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