

SOCIO CULTURAL DYNAMICS AND DOUBLE PRECARITY FROM THE DIY MUSIC SCENE IN PURWOKERTO, INDONESIA

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Received: 14th April 2025/ Revised: 28th July 2025/ Accepted: 29th July 2025

How to Cite: Rizkidarajat, W., Mutahir, A., Chusna, A., & Saadah, K. (2025). Socio cultural dynamics and double precarity from the DIY music scene in Purwokerto, Indonesia. *Humaniora*, 16(2), 89-99.

<https://doi.org/10.21512/humaniora.v16i2.13351>

ABSTRACT

The research explores the socio-cultural dynamics and double precarity faced by Voicehell, a do-it-yourself (DIY) music scene based in Purwokerto. It provides an in-depth examination of the intersecting forms of precarity experienced by a collective of young people, conceptualized as an intermediate generation navigating their life choices within the broader context of the global risk generation. Using a qualitative method combined with a biographical approach, the research presents a reflective biography of the youth involved with Voicehell. The findings reveal that the collective negotiates various manifestations of capital, which may undermine their authenticity and authority as a DIY music scene. Notably, the research does not present a simplistic account of Voicehell's challenges. Instead, it demonstrates that their distinctive position within both a provincial city and the broader Indonesian context exposes them to double precarity. The research further illustrates how such conditions may also affect other Indonesian youth groups, as well as those in the Global North, where collectives frequently contend with spatial inadequacies rooted in underdeveloped socio-economic contexts. These structural limitations sustain their position within the global risk generation. By analyzing the case of Voicehell, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of youth cultures and their negotiation of authenticity, authority, and precarity in a globalized world.

Keywords: DIY music scene, Global South, provincial city, double precarity, global risk generation

INTRODUCTION

The research contextualizes the concept of "global risk generation." Ulrich Beck (2016) argues that risk extends beyond traditional definitions by showing how modern threats reshape social and political landscapes on a global scale. In his analysis, risks are no longer confined by national borders; instead, they circulate transnationally, transforming both individual and collective identities. As a result, a generation emerges that not only perceives these risks as widespread and shared but is also compelled to create new forms of global solidarity and cosmopolitan citizenship. Beck distinguishes between two contexts

shaped by the idea of neoliberal risk: the Global South and the Global North. He emphasizes how globalized risks intersect with existing local vulnerabilities, creating a complex risk landscape that necessitates both a global perspective and tailored local responses to achieve fair risk governance.

In a more detailed analysis, Haug et al. (2021) delineate the conceptual distinctions between the Global South and the Global North. Their study defines the Global North as a collection of states situated in the Northern Hemisphere, while the Global South encompasses those in the Southern Hemisphere. This spatial classification provides the foundational criterion for their framework. Yet, the distinction

extends beyond mere geography; it reflects a colonial epistemological hierarchy in which the Global North is positioned as the primary producer of knowledge, whereas the Global South is relegated to the role of recipient. Such an imbalance reinforces asymmetrical power relations and perpetuates a legacy of epistemic dependency.

The authors seek to contextualize global risk generation within a cultural framework closely connected to young people, particularly through the lens of DIY (do-it-yourself) music. As a cultural phenomenon, DIY encompasses diverse forms of popular culture created by youth to challenge established cultural norms (Jones, 2021; McKay, 2024). Over time, these practices evolve and increasingly adopt more "professionalized" strategies to strengthen their negotiation capacities (Musgrave, 2023). At this point, the core values of authenticity and authority that underpin DIY culture intersect with neoliberalism as a global phenomenon. This intersection contributes to the formation of what can be understood as a "global risk generation" among young people engaged in such practices.

To support this claim, the authors conduct a comprehensive literature review of previous studies, which reveals two main themes. The first theme examines DIY music practices in Global North. A key reference in this area is the study by Everts et al. (2022), which describes a "juggling work" approach among DIY practitioners in the Netherlands. In this context, individuals often sustain their cultural work by taking on multiple jobs outside of their music or creative practices. The second theme is highlighted in Walzer's (2023) research, which discusses the self-directed knowledge production methods employed by independent professional musicians to justify their decisions to pursue creative careers.

In the specific context of Indonesia as part of the Global South, the research conducted by Sutopo et al. (2017) serves as a key reference for examining the role of young people, who remain at the center of contestation within transitional perspectives. This understanding of youth is applied explicitly to do-it-yourself(DIY) music practices in Indonesia, which are situated in the Global South based on distinctions made by Beck (2016). Sutopo (2019) further highlights the significant challenges that young people in the Global South face when pursuing careers in DIY music, particularly in comparison to their counterparts in the Global North. In addition, Martin-Iverson (2021) illustrates how young people emerge as pioneers of political activism within Bandung's DIY music scene. The research argues that the use of DIY music as a political medium plays a crucial role in the collapse of Indonesia's authoritarian New Order regime in 1998.

DIY music continues to serve as a platform for young people in Indonesian cities, enabling them to create spaces of resistance against dominant narratives. A comparative study by Guerra (2020, 2021) examines DIY practices in both the Global North and the Global South, offering a nuanced analysis of youth

engagement in these music cultures. The study argues that although young people in both contexts are part of what Beck describes as the "global risk generation," those engaged in DIY culture in the Global South face heightened vulnerability to a range of risks.

The second theme explores the strategies that DIY musicians employ to safeguard their authenticity and authority. In a global context, Oliveira (2023) identifies four types of methods used by DIY musicians in Portugal: catch-all, non-stop, mediator, and author musicians. Although each strategy has distinct characteristics, they all serve the same purpose of preserving the authenticity and authority of DIY musicians as they advance their careers.

In Indonesia, research by Sutopo et al. (2020b) provides a broader perspective on this issue. The study shows that youth engaged in DIY music practices in the Global South experience a form of "double precarity" shaped by neoliberal policies, particularly through the Creative Economy discourse and the absence of adequate social security for DIY musicians involved in this sector. To navigate these conditions, DIY musicians in Yogyakarta adopt a range of strategies, including the rookie, in-between, and aficionado approaches. Furthermore, Lukisworo and Sutopo (2021) argue that DIY music practices should not be regarded merely as survival strategies, since they are not perceived as legitimate forms of employment by musicians in Yogyakarta.

Building on these perspectives, the research situates its case study in Purwokerto, a provincial city in Indonesia with a longstanding tradition of DIY music. Research by Rizkidarajat et al. (2024a, 2024b) demonstrates that the dynamics of DIY music in Purwokerto extend over two decades and involve the participation of diverse actors across multiple spaces. Despite this historical depth, few studies provide an in-depth examination of DIY music practices as survival strategies for young people navigating neoliberal configurations linked to the "global risk generation." The authors note that only two studies explicitly engage with this theme.

The first study focuses on contextualizing the concept of "Risk Society" within digital workspaces, as conducted by Rizkidarajat et al. (2023). While it discusses "risk," it does not explore the concept of "global risk generation," nor does it thoroughly examine DIY music practices. The second study, conducted by Rizkidarajat et al. (2025), addresses strategies within DIY music; however, its discussion is overly narrow, focusing exclusively on career-related aspects. Consequently, the analysis of the various risks faced by youth engaged in DIY music practices is not sufficiently comprehensive.

This gap provides the central motivation for the present study. The research seeks to clarify the socio-cultural dynamics and double precarity faced by Voichell, a DIY collective in Purwokerto. The focus on this collective arises from empirical findings that highlight their strategies for maintaining authenticity and authority as a DIY music scene amid neoliberal

pressures. In doing so, the research offers new insights into the lived realities of youth engaged in DIY music in a provincial city context, which differs significantly from that of metropolitan centers (Mutahir et al., 2024; Rizkidarajat et al., 2024c). Ultimately, the youth in Purwokerto exemplify a condition of double precarity, positioning them as part of the global risk generation.

METHODS

The research employs qualitative research design, utilizing a biographical approach. Biographical narratives are treated as a unified whole that reflects the life trajectories of a group of youth. The purpose of this approach is to enhance understanding of meaningful community forms and to address the challenge of situating youth cultures within a broader context. In particular, it seeks to illuminate the connections between cultural identities and their material as well as structural positions (Hodkinson, 2015).

Biographical data are collected from young individuals involved in a DIY music scene called Voicehell. The decision to focus on Voicehell emerges from a preliminary research process conducted by the authors. Prior to selecting this collective, a comparative analysis is carried out with another well-established DIY scene in Purwokerto, Heartcorner Collective. The preliminary findings indicate that Voicehell represents a more suitable case study, as its participants display a strong commitment to both musicianship and activism within the DIY scene.

In contrast, individuals affiliated with Heartcorner Collective typically participate in DIY music on a part-time basis. The authors argue that members of Voicehell, who engage on a full-time basis, experience heightened vulnerability and greater exposure to risk. Data collection for the research takes place between October 2022 and December 2024, following the sequential procedures outlined below.

The authors initially conduct interviews with 20 young individuals associated with Voicehell. The sample size is determined through a snowball sampling technique, beginning with the primary representative of the collective, referred to by the initials "AL." This approach is selected because Voicehell does not enforce strict membership criteria. Instead, young individuals recognize their affiliation with Voicehell through an informal socialization framework, commonly referred to in local parlance as nongkrong (a hangout). As Sutopo (2019) observes, such informal settings often facilitate young people's engagement with specific social practices.

Subsequently, throughout the research process, informants are presented with questions that broadly encompass three core themes. The first theme concerns their introduction to the DIY discourse. The second examines their interpretations of authenticity and authority within DIY culture. The third addresses their understanding of the neoliberal configuration as it relates to the practice of DIY music in Purwokerto.

These questions are carefully designed to generate findings that reflect a sociological perspective on youth, allowing for an analysis that situates their experiences within broader cultural and structural contexts.

Three interrelated dimensions characterize this perspective. First, Precise and Nuanced Language emphasizes the avoidance of terminology that implicitly or explicitly positions young people as "the problem," unprepared, irresponsible, or inherently weak. Instead, it underscores the complexity of young people's lived experiences without moral judgment. Second, Structural Contextualization situates observed vulnerabilities within broader social, economic, and political frameworks rather than attributing them to individual deficits. For instance, limited access to formal labor markets or institutional support is understood as the outcome of macro-level policy decisions and cultural norms, rather than personal shortcomings. Third, Theoretical Distinctiveness highlights the use of youth sociological concepts such as transitions, precarity, and identity work to examine how generational positioning interacts with structural forces. This lens mitigates reductionist interpretations and foregrounds the dynamic interplay between agency and constraint (Bessant, 2020; Churchill & Khan, 2021).

Based on interviews conducted with twenty informants, the researchers subsequently reduced the dataset to six informants through a systematic evaluation process. This reduction is not carried out arbitrarily. Instead, it involves a careful assessment of each individual's level of engagement with Voicehell. The final selection focuses on participants who have sustained a relationship with the collective for at least five years. This criterion ensures both the depth and richness of the data, as long-term participants are best positioned to articulate specific social practices within the collective and to capture the multiple dynamics it has experienced over time.

The dataset, refined to include six long-term informants, is analyzed to uncover broader significance that encompasses both cultural identities and material-structural positions, in line with Hodkinson's framework. The material and structural dimensions relate to the ways in which youth participants in Voicehell construct their epistemological understanding of DIY culture through the biographical lens of their life course. Equally significant is their ontological positioning: these young people consciously adopt DIY culture as a deliberate life choice that frequently intersects with double precarity and contributes to the processes of global risk generation. This material-structural interpretation is systematically presented in the Results and Discussion section.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings of the research are organized into three main sections, followed by a discussion. The first

section presents an in-depth interview with AL, who serves as both an informant and a representative of Voicehell. This interview, conducted between October 2022 and October 2023, focuses on AL's mobility and his engagement with DIY discourse.

AL, a young man born and raised in Banjarnegara—located east of Purwokerto—gained exposure to the underground music scene during his youth. In the Banyumas area, the term "underground" carries both broad and narrow meanings. It encompasses various musical genres, including punk, death metal, and black metal. However, the concept of underground music remains primarily focused on these genres and has not yet developed into a deeper understanding of the practice (Rizkidarajat et al., 2024a). This perspective is illustrated in the following excerpt from the interview:

"In the past, as far as I remember, underground music was just bands. punk, death metal, and black metal. That's what I see every time I watch underground shows in Banjarnegara. That's all. I don't know what Do It Yourself is." (AL, October 22nd, 2022)

In 2011, AL decided to move to Purwokerto to pursue his studies at Universitas Amikom, a private university in Indonesia. While in Purwokerto, he becomes involved with the fan base of a rising Deathcore band called Revenge the Fate, also known as Colony. Through his experience with them, he gained valuable insights into gig organization, particularly during an event titled "Screamortal of Heaven" in 2013. Building on his foundational understanding of the underground music scene, AL aspires to create a collective that would encompass various aspects of underground music. This ambition led him to establish Voicehell, which eventually became a representation of that scene (Rizkidarajat et al., 2025). AL's move to Purwokerto to pursue higher education reflects the characteristics of an "intermediate generation" seeking a means to transition into adulthood through tertiary education. According to Sutopo & Jesica (2025, p. 10), higher education is one of the primary avenues for youth transition, alongside marriage and formal employment.

AL's move to Purwokerto provides him with the opportunity to connect with Heartcorner Collective, a youth collective established in 2005. This group successfully organize itself while shaping the local scene through DIY music practices (Rizkidarajat et al., 2024a; Rizkidarajat et al., 2024b). The concept of "scene" in DIY music practices is elaborated upon in the works of Gamble (2021), Guerra (2024), Sutopo & Lukisworo (2020, 2023), and Verbuć (2021). In these studies, the term "scene" is described as a complex space that extends beyond a singular identity. Within this space, young participants agree on practices that uphold both authority and authenticity in the discourse they enact.

Through his interactions with Heartcorner

Collective, AL deepens his understanding of DIY practices, particularly regarding the roles of authority and authenticity. At first, he perceives DIY practice as limited to underground music. Over time, however, he develops a broader perspective, recognizing that these practices encompass a wider notion of independence that includes self-production, self-distribution, and the creation of their own discourse. As a member of an intermediate generation that embraces mobility, AL also accumulates social capital, which enables him to exercise agency and construct his own music scene. From a theoretical standpoint, this process illustrates how the systematic accumulation of social capital fosters new forms of agency within social practices (Sutopo & Jesica, 2025, p. 16).

To affirm his position, AL intensifies his efforts to organize small-scale gigs that emphasize the authority and authenticity of DIY music practices. These efforts result in the creation of two events, Melodic Clinic and Mayuh Band-bandan (which translates to "Let's go to a gig" in the Banyumas language). Through these initiatives, AL and Voicehell begin to gain increasing recognition among young people in Purwokerto and its surrounding areas. This momentum sets AL's purpose in motion, strengthening his determination to establish a vibrant and sustainable music scene.

The second section summarizes findings from interviews with five young people affiliated with Voicehell, all of whom contribute to shaping the collective during its formative years. This section examines how Voicehell attracts youth participation and consolidates its position within the local scene. The first informant is RF, a band vocalist with a bachelor's degree who works as hospital staff. He was interviewed between December 2022 and April 2023 and has been involved with Voicehell since 2015, when he founded a band called Polkadots. Specializing in pop punk, a genre particularly popular among young audiences, Polkadots quickly develops a strong fan base in Purwokerto and its surrounding areas. RF, the vocalist of Polkadots, explains:

"We were formed in 2015. At that time, Voicehell was also starting to rise. AL then offered to manage us. We agreed based on friendship. After that, we started to rise. Perhaps because of our genre choice, and perhaps due to perfect timing as well. Because Voicehell can attract a large crowd of youth to every gig, it is like mutualism." (RF, January 17th, 2023)

RF explained that during his interactions with Voicehell, he and his band made an effort to understand the core values of DIY practice. They prioritized musical performance as the primary means of engaging in these values. Ultimately, they concluded that authenticity and authority are best expressed through their conscious decision as a band to avoid gigs sponsored by cigarette companies and to release albums independently, rather than through mainstream record labels.

RF's statement serves as general finding within the larger context of DIY music practices in Indonesia. This general finding can be traced back to the efforts of cigarette companies to infiltrate spaces created by young people starting in 2005. Since then, these companies have competed to sponsor DIY gigs organized by youths in major Indonesian cities such as Bandung, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta. However, the funding provided by these companies often undermines the authenticity and authority of a collective. As a result, a mutual understanding has emerged indicating that any collective that accepts sponsorship from cigarette products is considered to have "sold out" or compromised its integrity (Rauh, 2024).

The next informant is DC, who holds a bachelor's degree in communication and is currently engaged in precarious forms of employment. He becomes affiliated with Voicehell through his involvement with AL's band, Metroriot, where he has collaborated with AL in organizing gigs since 2015. As one of the practitioners who witnesses the early introduction of DIY discourse in Purwokerto, DC recalls how this shift is strongly influenced by the rise of DIY bands featured on national television in 2005, such as White Shoes & the Couples Company, The Adams, The Upstairs, and Goodnite Electric. Through these networking experiences, he develops an understanding of the authenticity and authority of DIY music practices across two interconnected dimensions: participation in musical performances and the establishment of dedicated exhibition spaces. In his interview, DC reflects:

"From the outset, when I first became acquainted with the term 'DIY,' I sought to understand that this practice was expressed both in musical performance and in creating dedicated spaces for musical exhibitions. I believed it constituted a comprehensive set of practices. When I initially encountered the term in 2005, I observed significant challenges in providing suitable venues for DIY bands to be heard and to secure broader recognition. Today, with access becoming increasingly effortless—primarily due to the Internet, the ongoing challenge is to sustain ourselves by upholding the long-established values of independence and by avoiding reliance on any external parties except our own peers." (DC, February 22nd, 2023)

It is important to highlight from DC's interview his strong emphasis on "upholding the long-established values of independence and avoiding reliance on any external parties except our own peers." This perspective reflects his lived experiences when attempting to secure funding from sources outside of the DIY network. He explains that such efforts often fail to establish equitable relationships between financiers and gig organizers. Instead, these arrangements tend to diminish the bargaining power of the DIY collective,

thereby threatening its autonomy and authenticity.

DC's insights are supported by observable patterns of power imbalances between DIY collectives and financiers, as shown in the research by Rizkidarajat et al. (2024b). The study suggests that a successful relationship between financiers and DIY collectives can only emerge within frameworks characterized by equal power dynamics. This imbalance highlights a lack of systematic efforts to negotiate the authenticity and authority of DIY collectives, which are often placed in a subordinate position.

The next group of young participants, interviewed between May and October 2023, includes two individuals, they are referred to by the initials AD and DV, who both have a high school education. Both have been personally connected to AL since 2015. Their ongoing involvement with Voicehell is mainly due to the Mayuh Band-bandana gig, which they consider a vital space for their socio-cultural existence as youth.

Analysis of the interviews reveals that Mayuh Band-bandana often functions as a venue for bands performing Hardcore music. Within this context, AD and DV articulate a nuanced understanding of DIY authenticity and authority as they pertain specifically to the Hardcore scene. In nearly identical statements, both informants explain:

"For us, Hardcore initially served as a medium for voicing our anger and youthful energy. That was only the beginning—likely stemming from our first exposure to Hardcore in the 2010s. Over time, we came to see Hardcore as a pedagogy of self-reliance: its sound is distinctly more aggressive, and its youth culture is manifested in practices such as moshing, which some equate with violence. However, paradoxically, Hardcore became our means of survival. Through Mayuh Band-bandana, we found not only a space to consume Hardcore music but also the opportunity to form our own bands and gain access to a performance platform." (AD and DV, August 18th, 2023)

The findings from these interviews suggest that Voicehell offers a platform for young people to express themselves transgressively through music. This form of transgressive expression, especially as showcased through musical performances, is commonly observed in youth cultural practices. Bennett and Kahn-Harris (2004) noted that transgressive music often serves as an entry point for young people to engage with specific social practices. In Indonesia's DIY music scene, genres such as hardcore, punk, black metal, and death metal often serve as gateways for youth to explore themes of authenticity and authority (Lukisworo & Sutopo, 2021).

HY, the final youth informant interviewed between October and November 2023, has been actively involved with Voicehell since 2016. Unlike earlier participants whose primary connection to

Voicehell is through DIY music, HY's distinctive role emerges from their engagement in photography. Serving as the collective's official photographer, HY frequently documents the gigs organized by Voicehell. HY explains this involvement as follows:

"I became affiliated with and close to Voicehell because their stages consistently offered an exciting environment—filled with young people, moshing, and bustling crowds. In early 2016, I photographed several of their gigs and showed the images to the attendees, who responded enthusiastically. As a result, I began documenting their performances regularly thereafter. I was struck by their palpable sense of freedom and collective energy, which made me feel genuinely accepted within the community." (HY, November 1st, 2023).

The interview excerpt with HY suggests that the method he uses to engage with DIY music is similar to that of other youth participants. However, he acknowledges that this engagement goes beyond mere music production to include acts of documentation as well. Through this expanded approach, he recognizes the authenticity and authority of DIY practice in Voicehell, as reflected by the collective ethos of its members.

Drawing on interviews with the five informants mentioned earlier, the authors aim to connect these insights to the production processes within the scene. As previously noted, the scene is understood as more than just collective production (Bennett & Kahn-Harris, 2004). It serves as a broader arena where young people contest, interpret, and uphold the values they advocate within a specific discourse (Whiting, 2021). Voicehell is seen as capable of generating a scene due to its ability to foster a collective space for young people. Moreover, these youths become deeply engaged in and actively seek to comprehend the values of authority and authenticity that underpin DIY music. At this point, Voicehell cannot be considered merely a collective, as it has effectively developed into a fully-fledged scene.



Figure 1 Road to Voicehell: End of The World Vol. 2
Source: Voicehell's Documentation

The final section presents findings on how Voicehell confronts capital penetration and transitions

into a survival mode. The year 2016 emerges as a critical turning point in the collective's evolution, marking a moment when it shifts from a locally sustained scene to one entangled with corporate sponsorship. During that year, Voicehell organizes a major concert titled "End of the World", which features nationally renowned bands alongside performance slots for local groups. Significantly, the event is sponsored by the cigarette company Djarum Super (see Figure 1), signaling the entry of external capital into a space that has previously prided itself on independence and self-reliance.

In an interview, AL describes the "End of the World" gig as his personal initiative, particularly in making the decision to partner with a cigarette company. He frames this choice as a strategic step to ensure the event's scale and visibility, despite its apparent contradiction with DIY values. AL articulates this perspective in the following excerpt from the interview:

"When I decided to accept Djarum Super as the sponsor for that gig, I actually made a mistake. First and foremost, it was a unilateral decision. I did not consult further with my peers. However, on the other hand, I felt compelled to turn my ongoing work with Voicehell into a revenue-generating venture. I deemed this necessary because, in the end, my friends also treated Voicehell's activities as a means of making a living." (AL, January 30th, 2023)

AL's decision generates two significant outcomes. First, he successfully organizes one of the most monumental and large-scale events ever held in Purwokerto (Rizkidarajat, 2016). Second, he formally employs the young people involved in the event for the first time, providing them with payments that correspond to their contributions. However, because this decision is made unilaterally, not all informants agree with him. While RF, AD, and HY support his choice, DC and DV articulate their dissent.

For DC and DV, AL's decision clashed with their views on authenticity and authority within DIY music practices. They believed that partnering with a cigarette company made Voicehell vulnerable. They argued that by relying on a sponsor, the collective would be placed in a weakened negotiating position, ultimately risking a 'sell-out' (Luvaas, 2009). Due to this disagreement, DC and DV chose to disengage from Voicehell for an extended break from 2017 to 2019. Unfortunately, what DC and DV had long feared came to pass in 2019. When organizing the event titled "End of the World 2019" (see Figure 2), Voicehell faced significant financial losses. In an interview, AL reflected on this outcome as follows:

"During the staging of this event, Voicehell suffered losses exceeding 40 million rupiah. Over time, I began to notice anomalies in what I had understood as DIY music practice. Djarum

Super seemed to be taking advantage of us. For example, they required us to sell 600 cigarette packs before they would fund a gig. In practice, none of the events touted as collaborations with them ever received full sponsorship" (AL, December 23rd, 2022).



Figure 2 "End of the World 2019", gigs that caused AL to suffer tremendous financial losses
Source: Voicehell's documentation

To compensate for the financial losses from the "End of the World" gig, AL decides to take drastic action by obtaining an illegal online loan. This option, although providing immediate access to funds, is against the law (Sartika & Larasati, 2023) and carries unreasonable interest rates for repayment (Asti, 2020; Sastradinata, 2020). In 2020, AL manages to settle his debts through this loan arrangement. He states:

"It's really a lot of platforms. Maybe more than 10 online loans. There are many platforms such as Kredivo, Akulaku, Kredit Pinter, Celengan Emas, and Kunci Emas. Even those under the guise of cooperatives or Sharia ones are the only ones I access. The most important thing is that I could pay my debt at End of The World 2019." (AL, December 30th, 2022)

To repay the debt incurred from "End of the World 2019", AL committed to a survival strategy. He frequently accessed illicit loans to sustain Voicehell's gig operations, using these funds to cover both event logistics and stipends for the young people involved in the collective. AL defined his survival methods in line with DIY values that he understands. However, his mistake in deciding to collaborate with the cigarette company ultimately undermined the "DIY spirit," which emphasizes independence and autonomy. This partnership restricted his freedom to organize gigs and added pressure to meet ticket sales targets. In contrast, the gigs financed through illegal online loans represented the true "DIY spirit," as he interpreted it in collective terms. He stated:

"Yes, I really understand that illegal online loan funds are illegal and make it even more complicated. The loan interest is very high. Nevertheless, with those funds, I can organize gigs where everyone can play. Free. There's no

target. There are no sponsor orders to bring in certain bands. The main thing is to play, have fun, not pay anyone, and only think about renting equipment from the place. After that, you get confused and look for other debts from other online loans. During that time, I was often threatened by debt collectors because I frequently missed payment deadlines. Nevertheless, I also have a way to trick them. Mostly, they just bluff. There are many loans that I don't pay off, and I'm just surviving to this day." (AL, December 30th, 2023)

Based on the interview data discussed earlier, AL's decision to engage with the influence of capital can be interpreted through the concept of governmentality. This term describes how young people, particularly those in the intermediate generation, continually regulate their behavior to construct an entrepreneurial self that can account for and justify their life choices (Boland, 2024). AL's effort to maintain his authenticity and authority as a DIY practitioner is evident, even when he faces various challenges. However, within a society deeply rooted in late capitalism, he struggles to navigate these forces. As a result, he finds himself in a precarious position, unable to respond reflexively or immediately to certain obstacles.

Following the presentation of research findings in the previous sections, this part of the research will connect those findings to its two central themes: double precarity and global risk generation. To initiate the discussion, the authors will present a theoretical framework for understanding the concept of double precarity. In many previous studies, double precarity has been defined as the dual burden experienced by young people in the intermediate generation. This phenomenon can be traced back to the rise of late capitalism during young people's transitions (Antonilli, 2022; Bloomer et al., 2021; Hrytsiuk et al., 2021) and the professionalization efforts within youth culture, particularly in DIY scenes. This concept often blurs the lines between DIY practices and mainstream economic activities. Crossley (2023) explored the professionalization of DIY cultures, documenting a significant shift that began in the early 1990s from an "idealistic and resistance-based stance" to a "more established, industry-based model." At this point, young people adopt strategic measures to professionalize their practices while still protecting their authority and authenticity within DIY communities.

In the research, the concept of double precarity is examined in relation to how young people transition into and perceive employment. The nature of work has long been in a state of flux. Blustein et al. (2023) highlight that late capitalism has given rise to a new social class known as the precariat, whose members rely on precarious survival strategies. As a transitional generation seeking entry into adulthood through labor market participation, young people are particularly vulnerable to incorporation into the precariat class (Lee & Baek, 2025; Woodman, 2020). This shift forces

young individuals to differentiate between a "job," which they see as activities undertaken merely to make ends meet, and a "career," which they perceive as a longer-term, strategic endeavor related to professional growth (Threadgold, 2018).

The interview findings with young people involved in Voicehell reveal that they do not fully grasp the ongoing changes in the contemporary labor landscape in which they participate. An examination of their educational backgrounds highlights a clear pattern: these youths are drawn to Voicehell because they seek engagement in cultural labor rather than traditional forms of employment. Cultural labor, as defined by Mackenzie and McKinlay (2021), refers to work that derives its social value from skills acquired through everyday practice, skills that formal educational institutions often fail to provide. In line with this, the DIY music practices that shape the daily lives of Voicehell participants are rarely, if ever, encouraged or supported by their formal education.

The situation does not reduce the risks that young people face in Voicehell. Their choice to pursue careers as DIY musicians or to stay within the independent music scene creates a dual precariousness. On one hand, they are exploited by the influx of capital; on the other, limited access to formal employment that matches their educational qualifications forces them to remain in the DIY sector. This dynamic hinders their ability to transition into adulthood through conventional career paths.

The second discussion focuses on the generation of global risks. Based on the literature review conducted by the authors in the introduction, this global risk generation is the most vulnerable to threats due to the spread of global risks brought about by modernity and late capitalism. Additionally, Farrugia's research (2021a, 2021b) explicitly identifies young people as the generation most likely to be trapped in the cycle of global risk. This conclusion is based on the understanding that young people hold an intermediate generational position, requiring them to navigate an ever-evolving environment as they strive to transition into adulthood.

Despite young people playing a crucial role in creating global risks, significant inequalities persist between the Global North and the Global South. Building on Guerra's arguments from 2020 and 2021, Sutopo et al. (2017) present detailed case studies from Indonesia, a key example of the Global South, illustrating how local youth collectives confront various compounded risks. The research highlights issues such as uneven access to digital infrastructure, increased exposure to environmental hazards, and unstable labor markets that uniquely shape the transition to adulthood for Indonesian youth. This underscores the disproportionate burden of late-capitalist modernity across different geopolitical contexts.

Furthermore, the research challenges dominant paradigms by emphasizing the need to understand "risk generation" within Global South environments. It reveals that young people in Indonesia strive to meet

the benchmarks set by generations in the Global North for their cultural and occupational pursuits, often obscuring their reality as a generation influenced by differing hemispheric and socio-economic conditions.

The authors reference findings derive from the Voicehell case and compare them with Sutopo et al. (2020b). The research demonstrates that young people in the Global South, as part of the global risk generation, face a "double precarity" when pursuing career paths in DIY music. This condition is shaped by Indonesia's neoliberal framework, which promotes the creative economy while lacking social security mechanisms for DIY musicians.

However, Yogyakarta presents a more favorable environment for creative and cultural labor due to its better infrastructure. In contrast, Purwokerto, the town where Voicehell is located and developed, serves as an intermediary urban center that does not provide a supportive ecosystem for creative and cultural endeavors. Consequently, Voicehell finds itself in a deadlock with no viable path forward. This situation is reflected in the experiences of the young people involved, who continue to navigate precarious circumstances without access to more secure alternatives.

CONCLUSIONS

The research situates DIY culture within the framework of global risk generation, emphasizing how young people in Purwokerto navigate conditions of double precarity. By focusing on Voicehell, a local DIY music collective, the study illustrates how challenges of mobility, knowledge production, and neoliberal pressures converge to shape the lived experiences of youth in a provincial Indonesian city. Despite their efforts to preserve authenticity and authority as a DIY group, the collective remains vulnerable to the structural constraints of professionalization and broader neoliberal transformations.

One key limitation of this study lies in its focus on a single scene, which necessarily restricts the generalizability of the findings. Nonetheless, the case of Voicehell provides an important entry point for understanding how global risk generation manifests in provincial settings, extending the discussion beyond the metropolitan contexts that dominate existing scholarship. This perspective enriches current understandings of the diverse socio-cultural dynamics shaping youth cultures in the Global South.

Future research should build on this analysis by examining multiple DIY scenes across different provincial cities in Indonesia and other comparable contexts. Comparative studies can illuminate both similarities and divergences in how young people negotiate precarity, authenticity, and authority under varying socio-economic conditions. Such inquiries not only broaden the empirical scope of DIY culture research but also advance theoretical engagement with the intersections of youth, neoliberalism, and

global risk. Ultimately, the research underscores the significance of DIY practices as both cultural resistance and sites of vulnerability, positioning them as critical spaces for examining the everyday realities of global risk generation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author gratefully acknowledges the Institute for Research and Community Service (LPPM) at Universitas Jenderal Soedirman for funding the research and publication of this article under the proposal entitled “Problematika Sosiologis dalam Realitas Ekonomi Kreatif di Kabupaten Banyumas”

Author Contributions: Conceived and designed the analysis (Conceptualized and designed the grand route of the research), W. R.; Collected the data (Collected field data from 2022-2024), W. R.; Contributed data or analysis tools (Provided analysis tool through global risk generation and double precarity concept), W. R., and A. M.; Performed the analysis (Performed the analysis through qualitative method-biography approach and sociology of youth analysis), W. R.; Performed the analysis (Performed the analysis through qualitative method and risk society), A. M.; Wrote the paper (Wrote the paper from first submission until accepted), W. R.; Wrote the paper (Wrote the submitted paper), A. M.; Wrote the paper (Translated the paper from Bahasa Indonesia to english), A. C., and K. S.; Other contribution (Professional English proofreading), A. C., and K. S.

Data Availability Statement: Data not available - participant consent. The participants of the research did not give written consent for their data to be shared publicly, so due to the sensitive nature of the research supporting data is not available.

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