KEEP IT SIMPLE, MAKE IT FAST!

AN APPROACH TO UNDERGROUND MUSIC SCENES

PAULA GUERRA
TÂNIA MOREIRA
EDITORS

2016

VOLUME 2

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Introduction

Why is important crossing borders of underground music scenes?

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The second edition of KISMIF International Conference 'Keep It Simple, Make it Fast! (KISMIF) Crossing Borders of Underground Music Scenes' was held in Oporto, Portugal, from 13th to 17th July 2015. Keeping the focus on underground music and its creative possibilities for resistance and DIY, we extend the analysis of music scenes considering the intersection and debate with other cultural, artistic and creative fields - film and video, graffiti and street art; theater and performing arts; literature and poetry; radio; graphic design, illustration, cartoon and comics; etc. Thus, exploiting the potential of theoretical and analytical development of the intersection of musical scenes with other arts, we have enriched its analysis through the theory of social development, but also through the interpretation of its role in the late modernity at a time of contemporary societal crisis (Guerra, 2014, 2015). The relationship of arts and music with social, cultural and political spheres composes, from our point of view, a very fruitful research platform, and it offers the possibility to consolidate the emergence of a knowledge domain that responds to the social challenges and changes that have been created by new technologies, identity reconfigurations, gender, lifestyle, spatiality, social class, age and ethnicity and difference. This knowledge domain is undoubtedly rooted in a fruitful array of networks, flows and transactions that characterize the contemporary art worlds, fields and musical and artistic scenes (Guerra & Silva, 2015).

Since the mid-1990s, the increasing centrality of the so-called 'cultural turn', as the focus of interest in Sociology, has brought to the discussion the relationship between public, cultural resources and everyday life (Prior, 2007, 2008, 2011). There is no denial of the structural constraints in day-to-day individuals' lives, but it begins to be considered the ability of them to negotiate these same constraints, to find an identity and to build a lifestyle that go beyond these constraints. In this scenario, it is considered that individuals are able to exercise their self-reflexivity and to achieve a critical distance to their social identity and to the management of their daily lives. In this sense, David Chaney (1994) argues that new forms of authority, such as the media and the industrial cultures, replace traditional forms of cultural authority, based on class, community and tradition, insofar as the individuals´ products have an increasing influence on the day-to-day (Becker *et al*, 2006). In an attempt to apply these ideas, we can say that, for example, the taste or the musical preferences are forms of reflective expression, by which the individuals can construct their identity instead of a structurally determined by social circumstances product.

In fact, the concept of subculture has been widely used by social scientists to explain pop music as an expression of class relations (Williams, 2007). However, in the recent years, the homologies' social determinants have been increasingly challenged. As an example of this approach, we can point out Will Straw's work (1991, 2006), that discusses the concept of scene by doing a sophisticated analysis of the music interaction with the taste and identity and by exploring the concept of translocalism and the notion that musical agents clusters geographically dispersed, thanks to the ability of music to transcend physical barriers, can engage themselves in collective cultural practices (Crossley, 2008). We put up here the need to review the subcultural model developed by the theorists of the Centre Cultural Contemporary Studies from Birmingham (Hall & Jefferson, 1977; Hebdige, 1979), since the empirical data have demonstrated that the complexity and fluidity of youth cultural practices can no longer be analyzed as homogeneous units of tastes and affiliations subcultures based on social classes (Bennett & Peterson, 2004). Bennett (2001) demonstrates very well this issue when he says that the neotribes belongings correspond to a wide variety of tastes in terms of music genres - that is, the same individual may have diverse musical affiliations. The neotribes (Maffesoli, 1988; Muggleton 2000, 2007) are thus a more fluid and transitory group setting as well as a subject of

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a fleeting nature to its members, by contrast to subculture affiliations (Redhead, 1997; Thornton, 1996). Likewise, the conception that 'subculture', as the parental culture against which it is defined, are homogeneous coherent formations which can be clearly marked, is subject to criticism: contemporary juvenile cultures are characterized by increasing complexity - especially in an increasingly interconnected world, where ideas, people, music circulate an unprecedented scale and speed - which demarcates from the dichotomy of 'monolithic mainstream' - 'resistant subcultures ' (Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003; Bennett & Kahn-Harris, 2004). The so-called post-subculture studies are now one of the most dynamic and challenging sociological reflection fields around music and how it relates itself to the increasingly liquid (Bauman, 2001) and hybridizing contemporary youth cultures.

Thus, this book aims to give an account of the debate around these issues made last July 2015. The publication of these texts aims to be a form of homage to the authors as well as a dedication to their efforts for participation and dissemination of these investigations areas. This book has its own thematic organization that takes you beyond mere meeting minutes: it is an actual book about the complex dynamics of underground music scenes in contemporaneity.

This work is organized into eight parts, or as we call it 'Theme Tunes'. The Theme Tune 1 named 'Music scenes, wide worlds and multiple horizons: from underground music to mainstream' brings together a whole range of approach prospects about the contemporary musical scenes, showing the clear dynamism of this issue at the heart of researches of social theory. A first approach topic focuses on increasing hybridization of popular music in the context of located globalization and here we have contributions around the folk-underground music as culture revivalism, namely by 'mixing the Sundanese traditional musical instrument and underground music as the struggle for culture sovereignty'. As it should be, the continuous transitions between the underground and the mainstream occupy the next topic. In this, are under review the underground music scene of the Basque radical rock scene and the appropriation of DIY music genres in Czech Republic. The whole debate around memory, heritage and legacy, the cultural and political legacy also occupies an important place in this theme. The structuring discussion of authenticity and identity in contemporary music scenes is assumed as a topic of utmost relevance here by analyzing the cultural manifestations inherent to the (re)emergence of rock and pop through the 'Neue Deutsche Welle', the intersection between punk and electronic music, the Brazilian funk, among others.

The Theme Tune 2 'Porto Calling Again: the ever changing features of punk and post punk in late modernity' leads us to a fruitful discussion. Did the punk die? Or did it change, did it transmute itself? It is around this theme and after 35 years of the publication of 'Subcultures - the meaning of style' that is structured this issue with the presence of Hebdige itself as Keynote Speaker at the International Conference KISMIF 2015. Thus, in this block, we present a range of texts according to the following questions: the restructuring of the alternative and underground through the commodification, the local-global dialogue in appropriations and musical contemporary identities, the directions and dynamics through music intervention in late modernity, the authenticity and hybridisms, the importance of style and its multiple meanings, among others.

The third part, the Theme Tune 3, or 'Ever Fallen in the City: Performing scenes, performance spaces, performing images', examines the relationship between territory(ies), art and creativity, exploring concepts like scenes and urban creative milieus and trying to disentangle the spatiality(ies) and the territorial conditions of cultural and creative practices. Here, the authors explores the possibilities of resistance, action and transformation in the (and of the) city, through artistic intervention and artivism, present in manifestations such as graffiti and street art or parkour, are discussed, emphasizing the potential of place, its image and performativity in public space as drivers of social change and political action.

The fourth part of this book is dedicated to the exploration of Theme Tune 4 designated as 'Under construction: Towards a framework of youth subcultures, tribes, neotribes and bands'. With contributions from different geographical contexts, in this theme are explored the concepts of subcultures, counter-cultures, tribes and neo-tribes, discussing aspects such as its authenticity, its power of resistance and the relations established with the political context in which they emerge. Starting from case studies developed at Italy, the first article examines how different musical genres can be assumed as forms of resistance and how they can promote social change. After, this theme discuss gender issues and (in)equality in subcultures such as hip hop, punk and underground music. Also, we can find here an approach to historicity and genealogy of youth subcultures that have emerged in realities as diverse as Spain and Colombia, exploring issues such as creative practices and their (political) meanings.

The Theme Tune 5, called 'DIY, entrepreneurship, social values and music scenes', is the fifth part of this book. This theme addresses issues related to DIY logics and practices in music, taking as premise entrepreneurship and

cooperation between different agents. The first two articles examine the challenges that the construction of a creative career in areas such as music or illustration has underlying. The other two texts of this fifth part explores the multiple strategies developed by creative professionals to ensure the sustainability and feasibility of its projects, and their potential for social inclusion.

The sixth part of the book consists of the Theme Tune 6 aggregate in the epitome 'Underground music scenes, fragmentation, borders and diasporas' and it is about all the heritage of knowledge and research that has characterized the underground music scenes in the field of cultural studies and sociology with respect to the study of youth subcultures and their links with the party, music, leisure and psychotropic consumption. Calling upon Hebdige (1979), subcultures can be seen metaphorically as noise, as representing a resistance and an appreciation of the underground, of the marginal. Such a perspective, as well as the one about the re-emergence of a potential political consciousness of the working class, are present in theorizing held in the last twenty years about the underground cultures. In this sense, and in a rush rooted in post-subcultural studies since the late 90s, have been emerging works falling within the complexity and fluidity of new youth cultural practices, multiplying the liminalities and diasporas in the context of post-colonial studies. The Electronic Dance Music (EDM) quickly spread throughout the world, becoming one of the youth movements with greater expression in contemporary society. Global phenomenon that attracts different people, EDM is now a real industry, closely related to the tourism industries, leisure, music (in a broader sense) and fashion. The metal and its (sub)cultural manifestations also extended to the whole world, and here are presented the cases of contemporary manifestations of Black metal - as well showing the fragmented glocalization of metal demonstrations nowadays. Multiple indie rock worlds are illustrated by case-studies in Brazil or Switzerland. The legacy and heritage is also now a key area of underground music scenes, and then we traveled through the avant-garde French rock.

The seventh part, the Theme Tune 7, is dedicated to the analysis of 'Music and pleasures, mediation and audiences'. In this theme are explored the relationship between the sphere of creators and music promoters and the sphere of audiences and consumers, taking into account the mediation role played by key actors in this process.

Finally, the Theme Tune 8, the eighth part of this book, focuses on 'Mediation, artifacts and independent music and artistic productions'. 'I always said punk was an attitude. It was never about having a Mohican haircut or wearing a ripped T-shirt. It was all about destruction and the creative potential within that', said Malcom McClaren. In recent years, there has been a growing interest in independent auto-released publications and in do-it-yourself (DIY) practices of production and distribution - and particularly in fanzines, records, magazines. This is reflected in a renewed attention for DIY production methods; in an increased exposure and consumption of these objects; and in a growing interest of academia and of some cultural institutions for analyzing and preserve this type of production associated with a more underground culture, in an interesting approach to some of the consecration systems featuring the 'art worlds' most mainstream. In this issue, we propose an analysis of these processes, discussing its meaning and the challenges they pose to social scientists involved in the collection, preservation and analysis of this type of cultural production. It is empirically illustrate some of these reflections from the process of creation and promotion of objects and artifacts that move the underground scenes. In the case of musical scenes, for example, the process of affirmation of a new patrimonial discourse is now clearly linked to the important role played by a diverse set of consecration instances, including newspapers, its critics, its journalists, its audiences, which are fundamental to the retrospective consecration process of certain artists or bands, or music industry itself that in the last twenty years have sought intensively explore the retro market linked to nostalgia and preservation of the musical legacy of the past decades, with successive reissues of audiovisual content on different media (CD, DVD, etc.). If these are the main consecration instances of a patrimonial discourse around contemporary urban popular culture – which sometimes seems to be reduced to little more than mere nostalgia and retromania – it is also clear that today we stand before a polyphonic speech, involving a multiplicity of voices, some of which often challenge a certain mainstream view and interpretation, calling into question the 'canon'.

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THEME TUNE 1 | Music scenes, wide worlds and multiple horizons: from underground music to mainstream

1.1. The folk underground music as culture revivalism: mixing the sundanese traditional musical instruments and underground music as the struggle for culture sovereignty

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Abstract

This paper is endeavor to describe the underground musician as an agent of Sundanese culture revivalism. Indonesia as a multiculture country have more than 300 indigeneous culture and ethnics. The Sundanese is the second largest ethnic in Indonesia which have blurred identity by many hegemonic factors such globalization, the Javanese culture (the largest ethnic in Indonesia), and also by the nationality homogenization by Indonesian nation state. As a reaction of these factors, the Sundanese artist doing the social movement to revive the Sundanese culture.

The qualitative approach of this research have been done to construct the meaning of the underground musician in context their act of playing the Sundanese traditional music instrument. Data collected by participant observation method and also support by deep interview to the underground musicians.

The result point out that the underground musician was endeavor to mix their music with multiple Sundanese traditional musical instrument as their methods to revive of the Sundanese culture. In recent years, Sundanese beliefs system, values, and arts can be view as a political movement by the underground artist as their way to counter to the hegemonic culture, such as the globalization, the Javanese, and the homogenization of Indonesia nation-state. They can not be view as the sparatist movement but as the struggle for sovereignity of all Indonesian cultures and ethnics.

Keywords: underground, revivalism, culture, sovereignity.

Introduction: the multicultures or the hegemony

The notion of multicultural society seems particularly attractive to the scholars who studying Indonesia. As a multicultural nation-state, according to Geertz (1963 in McVey, ed, 1963 in Shiraishi, 2001, p. 6) Indonesia has more than 300 ethnics and the largest multicultural nation-state. By the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), the unity of Indonesia became a consensus for whole cultures which lived in Indonesia. Artificially, this unity was constructed by the main ethnic, Indonesia. Thus, the value of the nation state based on Javanese cultural value. This artificial was imperishable by the New Order regime lead by Soeharto. As a Javanese, Soeharto develop the nation stability and also centralized its power within the Javanese values by *three-partite* such bureaucracy, military, and *Golongan Karya*. After all, Indonesian became Java and neglecting another culture which held by another ethnics in Indonesia (Vatikiotis, 2003; Kingsbury, 2003; Eklof, 2003; Henley and Davidson, 2007; Woodward, 2011).

Cultural inequality was happened in Indonesia since 1970's until 2000's. The dominant culture was reign above and marginalized the other culture. The Javanese value has been colored the local cultures which may unsuitable with local people. The repressive regime maintained and controlling by the military, so the local cultures demand are left in doubt. The local people seem have no power to establish their own culture because the oppressiveness of the regime. The local people will be rise their level in strata if they become "Javanese". Along with Eklof (2003, p. 7-8) the regime operate the political culture that should be understood as an abstraction from reality that is useful to highlight the fundamentally important but largely latent or less visible aspects of politics, as well as to provide an understanding politics in particular place during a certain period of time, an under certain constellations of power and social relations.

The New Order was endeavor to unite the Republic Indonesia by reconstruct the ancient Javanese Majapahit Empire. The Majapahit was rule the *Nusantara* (Indonesian archipelago) by the military in the hand of King Hayam Wuruk. The king then commands the priest namely Mpu Tantular to make a guidance for all the people to live in harmony below the Majapahit Empire define as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. From this ancient story, according to

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Woodward (2011, p. 14) in term of The New Order Regime "with the Javanese as a leader, Javanese culture occupies a position of "first among equal".

According to Brown (2005, p. 8) after ensuring its grip on power, Suharto's New Order regime moved to suppress all public discourse on communal differences in the name of national security, under the acronym SARA – suku (ethnicity), agama (religion), ras (race), and antara-golongan (inter-group). The SARA regulation was accompanied by a range of policies aimed at undercutting ethnic and regional affiliation and organization. This movement was neglect the existence of many local culture, substitute by the Javanese.

In the term of Gramscians, the Javanese value hegemonized the people of Republic Of Indonesia. In generic sense, hegemony is the way in which a ruling group (The New Order) establishes and try to maintain their rules as part of a larger project to dominate the other (Robinson, 2005, p. 2). Below the *Bhineka Tunggal Ika,* the ruling group establishs their Javanese value implemented to the all Indonesian people who has many different cultures. The New Order was success to maintain their rules for more than 30 years in Indonesian history.

After the fall of the New Order Regime, Indonesia politically faces the new challenge called democratization and implementing decentralization. This era points out that the local cultures have a new chance to raise their form as one of many cultures which lived in the people of the Republic Indonesia. According to Henley and Davidson (2007, p. 1)

> Since the resignation of President Suharto in 1998 after almost a third of a century of authoritarian rule, communities and ethnic groups across Indonesia have publicly, vocally, and sometimes violently, demanded the right to implement elements of adat or *hukum adat* (customary law) in their home territories.

The Indonesian terms of *adat* means custom or tradition (Henley and Davidson, 2007, p. 1). It lives in every ethnics community which characterized by the humble and rural cognition as the rule to regulate the harmony among its population. *Adat* is carry a connotation of sedate order and concensus. There are so many movement to revive the *adat* as its ignored when the New Order era (Henley and Davidson, 2007, p. 1).

Adat revivalism is not same as adat itself and its particular form of traditionalism rather than tradition itself (Henley and Davidson, 2007, p. 2). This may define as the movement to set back the Indonesian to their own local culture which held by each ethnic, not to reject the modernization nor structural transformation, but to vivify the local wisdom or local knowledge for their people to face the world nowadays. It means implementing the *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* in their own culture perception, not hegemonized by the dominant culture.

Futhermore, Henley and Davidson (2007, p. 3) noted that

> …. there also two other, more abstract senses in which term of *adat* is use in contemporary political context. At first level abstraction, *adat* is a complex rights and obligation which ties togheter three things – history, land, and law – in a way that appear rather specific to Indonesia. The essence of this linkage is that laws and rights are historical inheritances rather than artefacts of government, that the most important domain of law is to control the land, and that the historical control of land is in turn the most important source of land rights… at the second level of abstraction, *adat* also represent a vaguely defined but powerful set of ideas or assumption regarding what an ideal society should be like.

Refer to what Henley and Davidson noted above, the adat was the same interpretation culture as a whole. Demand for their *adat* has the same meaning with demand for their culture. The local culture is belief to form the ideal society of one ethnic life. This ideal life as viewed by local cultures can be summed as the authenticity, community, harmony, order, and justice which neglected by The New Order Regime.

At the same time, Indonesia faces the globalization which cultures are diffuse from any region. These cultures such the west, the Arabs, the far-east, as Samuel Huntington noted, and any other foreigner cultures are mixed with the Indonesian customs. So, Indonesian became much more "multicultures". Not only their local cultures but also the foreigner's culture enrich the Indonesian and mix it into pupil's everyday life. The multiculturalism further has arisen by both as a consequences of rapid creation of new nations and accelerated pace of geographical mobility (Watson, 2005, p. 87 cited by Kaur, 2006, p. 15). The globalization process has been generated a new face of Indonesian today, form the unity, locality, and the acceptance of foreigner's culture.

Rather than acculturate the cultures, this may cause the hegemony of the foreigner culture to the Indonesian and it accepted without filtering the information about these cultures. The youth urban are the most easily accepted the foreigner's culture then made it as their cultural orientation. This orientation is often appears in art. The youth in urban Indonesia adopted the foreigners to become their art performance, such in music, the popular music.

Youths in urban Indonesia were performing the popular music along with the growing musical industry in Indonesia. Most of them adopt the pop music, Korean Boys Band or Girls Band, or the Arabic "Nasyid Song". Hegemony embed in transnational culture diffusion and becoming transcended by transnational social forces and institutions grounded in the global system rather than the interstate system (Robinson, 2005, p. 3). The transnational social forces also deliver the wahabbism, an Islamic fundamental group, who have no tolerance with local culture (Wahid, 2009).

The abundant of the trans-national social forces were mostly targeting the youth. The commodification of the western culture, the Arabic/fundamental Islam, and the far eastern culture was largely absorbed by the youth. So youth culture in urban Indonesia is vary and they have mutate the culture or ideology been part of their life. That was not easy to define that the Indonesian urban youth culture is homogeneous but rather they much heterogeneous. Otherwise, we can define that the Indonesian urban youth are the consumer of cultural products from many regions worldwide supported by the information technology. As Solomon and Scuderi (2002, p. 13) note that the globalization of culture – the effect upon culture of the "increasing connection of the world and its people" – is perhaps nowhere more visible than in the changing nature of the relationship between the world's youth and their sense of identity.

The youth become a consumer culture. The relation between young people and particular kind of consumption rise dramatically as the result of expanding the culture industries. The role of consumption has been made the youth into uncertain transitions which characterized by temporary short time, individualized, and lack of political awareness. Bennett (2007, p. 29) noted that the youth is social category describing the cultural practices of the young people but also construct expressing an increasingly varied and in many cases, conflicting range of political and aesthetic sensibilities.

The precious explanation about the youth culture as consumer define by Bennett (2002). Post War period, the youth consumers dramatically increase as part of the consumerism become the way of life for many section of society. The consumer industries quickly realized that young people presented highly viable and lucrative market, and consequently, a whole range of commodity designed specifically for them began to appear (Bennett, 2002, p. 9). In addition to financial independent in Post war society, young people had much greater control over their leisure time than previous generation of youth (Bennett, 2002, p. 9). As Marxist strongly criticized consumer capitalism for fostering desires rather than need and saw the way that consumer were driven increasingly towards false needs, including more, better, cheaper material goods, device, and experience (Paterson, 2006, p.1). Bennett (2002, p. 10) nomotheticely also noticed that the central to the new marketed youth identities were item such fashion clothing, magazine, and music. From these economic consumer capitalism turned to philosophical and cultural theory of the youth culture.

As Simmel describing the transformation of social life then occurring in increasingly large and bustling metropolis, he noted that we developed a "blasé outlook" (Simmel, 1997, p. 72; in Paterson, 2006, p. 40). Simmel made an important connection here between the urban environment, physical life, and the process of consumption and identity formation. The increased tempo and the overstimulation of color and sound of the urban may alter the way perceiving things (Paterson, 2006, p. 40). Paterson also notice that the style of fashion clothing, music, and behavior are exaggerated, eccentricities are in abundance, as our meeting and encounters with other in the urban environment are so fleeting and fast (Paterson, 2006, p. 40). Refers to Bennet (2002, p. 10), the youth identities item such fashion, magazine, and music closely relate with the urban environment as area of the new market.

Political economy and theories of mass culture also often tend to diminish the role of the consumer, seeing their acts of consumption as trivial within the largely deterministic system of global capital, advertising and media. At one with Bennett (2007), in many ways, the Indonesian youth have a lot sensibilities of politics in their way. Not just political of the state nor government, but rather the movement of their style.

In fact, these phenomena were much easily observed in youth performing music, mostly in urban. This rehears, at large, the Indonesian have complex cultural problems, one is internally voiced the local culture to raise their cultural sovereignty, and the other side, face the abundance of foreigner cultures. It simply said that the multicultural and the hegemony are joined together into the Indonesian lives. The destiny of local culture revival in doubt before the intersection of the underground music artist with the local culture again.

The local culture: sundanese culture, folk music, and musical instruments

The Sunda refers to a great reef which connected the South East Asia to the western Indonesian archipelago such Sumatera (Andalas), Kalimantan (Borneo), and Java. The Sunda also refers to one ethnic in Indonesia which their own way of life and have a long history before The Indonesian Republic declare their liberty from Dutch colonization. Many anthropologist claims that the center of Sundanese is Bandung (Bruner, 1977). The previous research conclude that Bandung is the models of the Sundanese as a dominant culture which the immigrant were adapted with its environment, an also the Sundanese people are open to the migrants. Bandung is the capital city of the West Java Province in Indonesia.

The Sundanese is the second of the largest ethnics in Indonesia, its population approximately over 40 millions and tend to live in West Java Province. Some of them lived in highland fertile rural agricultural and the other lived in urban area such in Bandung or Jakarta. With the large amount of the populations, ironically the Sundanese have played a minor role in Indonesian politics.

The Sundanese culture have main value of *silih asah, silih asih, silih asuh* (teaching each other as well as you teach yourself, loving each other as well as you love yourself, and taking care each other as well as you take care yourself). By this idiom, the Sundanese characterization as a humble communal people which integrated in conservative family.

The rural traditional agriculture scene made the Sundanese folk music dominated with gentle sound, humble, melodious, nearly the sounds of ballads. The Sundanese folk music, historically produced by those from peasant society, rural economic situation of subsistence consumption, hence produce the humble and gentle sound. This genre spoke in the sound of argot in relative isolation from one to another in region perspective and just deeply pleasant by specified demographic audiences.

The Sundanese folk songs have heavily connect with codes of moral of human being, the environment, and the spiritual life. It preaches the harmonization between human to their nature. Within this forms of Sundanese peasant, the music seem to cover all parts of daily life connected to their environment. The Sundanese tells the story about morality, often asking or searching the meaning and purpose human being life, seek for authenticity, suggesting the social order, and seek to challenge the ways in which we interact with the problems of present through sharing the people's experience in the past.

Islamic tradition of sufism was coloured the Sundanese folk songs. The Sufism is the offshot of islamic philosphy which preach to become humble and searching the meaning of life and its purposes. This not astonishing that the Sundanese was linkage with the traditional humble islamic sufism embed with the nature of rural agricultural life. The sufism tradition as filtered down to the little peasant religious tradition (Bowen, 1997, p. 113-137; and van Bruinessen, 1998, p. 203, in Rohmana, 2012, p. 305). As Weesing (1974; in Rohmana, 2012, p. 305) thesis that the islam in Sunda region simply provides the complementary context with its custom. Meanwhile, the relations between the Sundanese customs and islam tend to be harmonies as the Sundanese custom is maintained as far as it can be reconciled with islam (Rohmana, 2012, p. 305). We may figure that there was a "syncreticism" and superficiality between the local culture with islam. At recent time, the Sundanese-Islamic sufism has been neglected, along with the globalization and the hegemonization on the Sundanese.

The fertile-tropical land where the Sundanese live offer the abundance of material resources. Bamboo is the main material for the musical instruments for the Sundanese folk songs. The bamboo abundance was known by the Sundanese to make many musical instruments, such percussions, brass, flutes, or strings. Mix with the humble Islamic Sufism, the bamboo was choosed as it easily to find and may produce many melodic sounds with represent the Sundanese identity.

The underground music artist: the intersection

The underground music such punks, hardcore, grindcore, or death metal not Indonesian origin, but as the foreigner culture which absorbed by the urban Indonesian youth in 1990's. Bandung is one of the city which has a large number of the underground music artists. Jakarta and Malang is the next city which have large number of the underground music artist. The Bandung Underground is the biggest community underground music and their fans in Indonesia and made them the youth urban subculture. Their members are consists of many educated scholars as historian, social sciences, or arts and literature.

The underground subculture in Bandung was an alternative choice by urban youth to identify themselves. According to Moore (2004, p. 307) the underground subculture was constructed by the two divergent cultural practices and relating them to socioeconomics condition of postmodernity. The underground subculture in Bandung appear as a result of structural transformation which creating multiple possibilities for artistic and political response among youth. The artistic appearances are explicitly seen in their art and performance and the political responses was raise up from their own ideology which reject the cultural industry as the machine of cultural hegemony.

The underground music artist nomothetically have the same behavior. According to Moore (2004, p. 307), the underground music artist responds to the condition of postmodernity. The Bandung Underground as a part of the underground subculture is relatively the same as the underground subculture worldwide. They performing attitude and style which different with the main culture. The Bandung Underground also personified the boredom and purposelessness of youth subculture socialized as the spectators and consumer culture. The underground music artist also involved a quest for authenticity and independency from the culture industry thus renouncing the prevailing culture of media, image, and hyper-commercialism (Moore, 2004, p. 307). They successfully built their own institutions of their alternative media such recording their own music or self-produce magazines outside the culture industry.

Both of punks, hardcore, or metals adopted the "do-it-yourself" or DIY ethic. At some points, they have their independence not to join the cultural industry which producing pop culture but they could do everything by their own way such recording, clothing, or fanzines. They creatively "construct" the space for their own group which consists of peers, the same idea, and the same taste of style, and of course their own political orientation. This notion points that the underground music artist are the subject who creatively construct the micro-politics as a basis for their temporary life.

The Bandung underground music artists were consisted by two divided social classes. The metals, hardcore, and grindcore, and few of punks are the well-educated middle class. The punks are commonly coming from the working class up to the middle class, with secondary education. This evidence of their middle class origin was found at subcultural capital such purchasing records, wearing cloths which reflect one to the others, and donning piercings and tattoos which can only be purchased with "extra" money. This point that the fact, they may spend their earnings acquiring subcultural capital is an indication that someone else provides their necessities and, hence, exist as middle class citizens. It was a little different with the punks who came from the working class. Even they adopted the DIY, the punk has less capital rather than the metals, hardcore, and grindcore. But when they were unity in a scene of performing underground music, the two divided class were blurred as well as a unity. "... it is not a big problem if we are here together. We're here for the same purpose..."[2]

The fans have more variety class. Many of them are coming from the upper class well-educated of which have different ideology with dominant culture and have their own political orientations as a socialist-democratic. Then the middle class well-educated of which have the same ideology and political orientation with the upper class. The last are coming from the working class who have role as the followers, they temporary involve in the lives of subculture but doesn't have a strong ties to keep them straight involve to the subcultural movement. Also, the working class has the lesser micro-political underground ideology nor their political orientation.

The upper class and the middle class mostly become the leaders of the Bandung Underground. Their "well-educated" is the most powerful subcultural capital to reveal a great concern about the meanings of life and purpose of it all. According Rodrigues and Oliveira (2011, p. 15; in McKinnon, Scott, and Sollee, 2011) the underground music may acting as anger releaser. The underground music artist perform and releasing their anger with great concern of the meanings of life as individual meanings or collective meaning. They have an awareness of the problems within the wider society, thus criticized the society life which have no meanings in their life.

The underground music artist in Bandung seek the meaning in society life based on local custom. As the well-educated persons in art or history, they were able to discover the value and the meaning of the local custom which teach people to form an ideal society life with the "authenticity, community, harmony, order, and justice". Their concern of the discover the meaning and purpose of life was met with the values of the local culture. Rather just adopted the Sundanese values and custom, the underground music artist then try to explore the kind of instrument which meet with their sound. The bamboo musical instruments such *calung, karinding,* and other instrument such

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[2] Interview with M. Rahman from Jasad

a *tarompet* (Sundanese traditional trumpet) or *suling* (bamboo flute). So they learn to play the traditional music instrument while they play their genres.

This intersection make the stronger willingness for the underground music artist to play the traditional music instruments while they always search the philosophical meaning and the story behind of the instruments. They found that the instruments are represent as the "victims" of the state hegemony and also the globalization. An activation of micro-political movement then forced by the underground music artist. As a reaction of the hegemony of the state and foriegner cultures, the underground music artist became the activist for the Sundanese cultural revivalism.

The culture revivalism: mixing the sundanese traditional musical instrument and underground music - the struggle for the cultural sovereignty

The Sundanese culture seem to revive by the underground music artist. This phenomena were evidence of the revivalism that have occurs in traditional value within traditional music when the traditional tunes were re-discovered, re-imagined, and re-played using the different genres and style by new musicion as cited by Yarwood and Charlton (2009). The spirit of Sundanese culture revivalism then raise the awareness of the larger power which hegemonizing of the underground music artist. They often discuss with the traditional artist and historian to collect the knowledge of the Sundanese value. By several discussion, the knowledge were raised up that the Sundanese and the other culture was a victim of Indonesia's development carried by the Soeharto's New Order Regime which prior to the Javanese culture. This perceive as the colonization of Indonesia by the Javanese on pretext as development, stability, and unity. Rather than blaming the Javanese, the underground music artist was developing the deep comprehension of the values of any culture. This activity made them as the multiculturalist of which has an open mindedness for any other culture while holding their own culture, The Sundanese.

Along with the discovery of the Sundanese value mediated by the traditional music instruments, the underground music artist were goes far to the spirit of Sundanese culture revival. Their promoting the instruments in every giggs and reveals the sound of "back to the Sundanese value". "We found that the Sundanese and many local cultures have it wisdom, guidance for the best form of life." [3] The local fans, mostly fairly in Sundanese language accepted very well even they still enjoy the riff of "concervative" underground songs. Most of the fans are supporting the spirit of Sundanese, for example, the Sundanese cloths are dominated by black, meet with the underground clothing which dominated by black. "Yes, we enjoy the new sound of them and we're here to support the Sundanese custom" [4]

Supported by the local artist, the underground music artist found the "new place" to articulate their performance and their shared ideology of resistance. The intersection between the underground music and the local-traditional artist then formed into a fusion of the two subcultures to evoke the spirit of ethnicity of the Sundanese. They were sued the Sundanese for the authenticity with the "propaganda" of the Sundanese power to release them from state and foreigner's cultural hegemony. Although not to separate from The Republic of Indonesia, their demand for cultural identity was sounds then connected to the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which prior to the equality of each cultures to live and well recognize, free from every hegemony.

The underground music artist plays the Sundanese traditional music instruments while they were signing preach for the fans. As one of the underground music artist said that, "... here is what we looking for, the value for our life purpose. Within the underground music such metals, hardcore, or punks we meet our needs with the Sundanese value. But now is our obligation to spread these values to the audience" [5]. Yet, they were involved with the traditional artist and the Sundanese philosophers, they reconstruct the main theme of their music. According to Appadurai (1995), that is the best example of the "glocalization". While underground was spread wide by globalization, the spirit of the Sundanese values was the local culture.

The underground music artist later jamming their musical with the archaic Sundanese traditional music. "What an amazing, fuzzy cosmic when we play the punks with the young *tarompet* and *kendang* player. Our music

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[3] Interview with Cuki from Tjukimay
[4] Interview with Rian an underground music fan
[5] Interview with M. Rahman form Death Metal Band Jasad

become very dynamic and fans are love it. It is our new experience, and I must confess that the traditional instrument was forgotten by us. Its gave the powerfull sound we you mix it with punks at gigs" [6] When the California U.S punk/hard core Total Chaos world tour in Bandung, the Tcukimay was one the opening artist for the Total Chaos. In the stage their perform a new style of music, jamming with the traditional artis who played the *tarompet* (Sundanese trumpet) and *kendang* (percussion). With the Sundanese lyrics, the persist the punk/hardocre riff while the *tarumpet* and *kendang* gave the cosmic of the locality.

Punklung (*punk and calung*) perform their music with the *calung* (mini percussion made of bamboo). They don't play a "concervative instruments" which describe as the western-white superiority, such guitars, basses, or drums. But they open if other bands which play guitars, bass, or drums jamming with the Punklung. The Punklung members are learning the pentatonic tone from the traditional artist who have concerned with the punk ideology. Base on the pentatonic tone, the punk music apparently become a parody, but with the strong ideology of the liberation of culture through the destruction of capitalist system and liberation for the local culture.

The traditional music instrument increase in the underground music artist as they explore the sound and mix with their genres. Parallel with the using the instruments, they often found that the musical sound are more spiritually which much articulate by the Sundanese language and contend with its values. The ancient Sundanese poetry often launch to give an atmospheric Sundanese religio-spirituals. Later then the Makalangan a punk band not only mix the underground genre with the traditional music instrument, but also perform an ancient Sundanese dance in their stage performance. The underground music artist also announced that one of their missions is to conserve traditional arts from its extinction cause by the modernization or hegemony. Furthermore, they also announce the philosophycal meanings of the traditional arts and so call the audiences support to conserve the traditional customs. That is what Hebdige (1979) wrote that we cannot underestimate the signifying power of spectacular subculture.

So, the underground music artists in Bandung became cosmopolitan which provide the sets of grounded and locatable, dicursive resources available to social actors which is variably deployed to deal with emergent agendas and issues, related to cultural diversity and the global, and the otherness (Kendall, Woodward, and Skrbis, 2009, p. 108). They had an emergent agenda to revive the local culture, specialy the Sundanese and it was related very closely with the cultural diversity in Indonesia. The foreigner's culture perceive as a threatment and it will extinct the Sundanese culture and its values is the next agenda to persist.

As Cross (2008, p. 10) noted, the underground music artist in Bandung are categorized as the collective anarchy which seek to maximize the social justice by minimizing the cultural hegemony or exploitation. For the collectivist, the agents of social change must be those who suffer most directly under the system of the hegemonized or exploitation. They perceive themselves as a Sundanese as the victims of the neo imperialism generated by political culture and must be opposed by culture too, the Sundanese culture to empower the Sundanese.

The most popular yet deeply recognised as the underground music artist who played the Sundanese traditional music instruments is Karinding Attack, lead by M. Rahman from Jasad. *Karinding* is musical instrument usually made by bamboo. In the past, *karinding* was used Sundanese ancestors for repel the insects from paddy field. As a Sundanese artist, Rahman call the underground music artist to embed the local values within their music genre. "As a Sundanese, I have an obligation to conserve the Sundanese culture, both in musical and everydaylife. I often call to my underground friends do not ignore the values of The Sundanese culture. Not in term culture as man made, but in term of the spiritual or religion aspects too. So, we choose to play *karinding* mix it with the death metal"[7].

Local cultures are most relevant with the people in geographical context. The underground music artist sounding they perception about "what must it be? The cultural sovereignty". That is the cultural struggle between the local culture and the state which ignored the existence of the local cultures though the capitalist system, generated by the regime. And so on, the underground musical artist formed as the agent of cultural struggle. "Let the people live with their own culture and we want the liberation of all cultures in Indonesia without separate them with the nation".[8]

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[6] Interview with Cuki form Punk Rock Band Tcukimay
[7] Interview with M. Rohman form Jasad
[8] Interview with M. Rahman from Jasad

Conclusion

The structural tension was made the underground music artist play an important role to the cultures sovereignty in Indonesia. There was a strong intersection between the underground music player's ideas with the traditional value. In other hand, they were still member of the Sundanese ethnics which have a big attention to conserve their culture form the threat of any culture even in term of national culture. From their own perspectives, the intersection enrich their genres and give more power to influence others.

The underground music artist as a subculture can be defined as a social movement. They build an alternative institution with a purpose to establish the plurality and equality of the local culture in Indonesia. As a social movement, they also must build the communication with the ordinary people to share their idea, allow them to participate in the cultural struggle in order to create the equality for local cultures in Indonesia.

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1.2. When underground becomes (alter) mainstream: the commercial as transgression

Ion Andoni del Amo[1]

Abstract

In the Basque Country, the combination of a Basque ethnic culture together with subcultural expressions, and the joint mobilisation of them in the different conflicts -particularly the national one- by the social and political movements, has favoured processes of cultural and identity reconstruction. This has also favoured processes of (counter) institutionalisation, in the political realm and in material infrastructures, which have granted them particular power and a lasting nature, to the point of disputing the cultural hegemony of cultural products on the market. It crystallized an aesthetic mode of counterculture and a soundtrack. In that sense, the 'Basque Radical Rock' becomes in a kind of Basque (counter) mainstream, mainstream for some sectors and geographies, in dispute with the commercial or 'Spanish' ones. With Basque rock consolidated as counter-hegemonic, the role of rhythms such as commercial music or reggaeton becomes reversed and they acquire, in countercultural environments, a certain transgressive possibility. This is what some feminist and queer groups have explored. This reflection criticises the aesthetic closure, but also the sexism of Basque rock, moral taboos about sex, or a certain ethnocentric moral superiority with regard to some rhythms, supporting dance and even a right to moments of frivolity. Transgressive praxis involved a provocative and disconcerting insertion of commercial songs, or even traditional Spanish music, at venues playing Basque rock, and passionate reggaeton dancing between young women.

Keywords: Basque Country, music, transgression, counterculture, gender, mainstream.

Music, protest politics and identity in the Basque country

In the last 50 years, the Basque Country has witnessed major counterculture phenomena. These have not only openly disputed cultural hegemony, but actually managed to achieve it. From the 1960s, traces of traditional Basque language and culture acted as powerful magnets, since they were able to carry out countercultural symbolic apertures, and blend with new cultural phenomena, giving rise to interesting mutations (Amezaga, 1995; Larrinaga, 2014). This is clear particularly in the field of Basque pop music, as a privileged terrain of symbolic action, given that it is the new cultural phenomenon of the period, able to mobilise feelings and emotions (Gabilondo, 2009; Larrinaga, 2014; Urla, 2001).

In a context of crisis, unemployment and continuing repression, the decade of the 1980s in the Basque Country saw the emergence of a youth resistance movement, organised around punk and "Basque Radical Rock". This movement undertook a spatial redefinition ("the street", certain bars, festive spaces, a wave of squatting to create *gaztetxes* - occupied youth centres) and was manifested in a constellation of small record labels and expressive communication channels (fanzines, magazines, free radio stations, music, concerts, style…). In a cultural sense, this movement involved the development of a "Basque radical culture", a social, political and cultural phenomenon that disrupts the categories of political subjectivity established by the framework of political-institutional narratives that make up the social space.

This radical culture maintained a special interaction with a Basque-speaking culture which, because of its subordinate character with regard to the dominant (Spanish-speaking) one, is also structured as a popular culture. This relationship was reflected in the growing role of the Basque language in the music, or in the -contentious- attempts to frame the movement in the (contra) hegemonic mobilising narratives of the Basque nationalist left.

In the context of the dispute for hegemony between the Basque national and Spanish national narratives, this frame alignment provided a very fertile context for cultural creativity, and for the (re)construction of the Basque identity and the conception of Basque culture itself. It crystallized an aesthetic mode of subculture and a soundtrack.

In that sense, the punk and the 'Basque Radical Rock' becomes in a kind of Basque (counter) mainstream, mainstream for some sectors and geographies, in dispute with the commercial or 'Spanish' ones.

Euskal Kantagintza Berria: countercultural ethnogenesis

In the decade of the 1960s, the Basque music-cultural group Ez Dok Amairu -with figures such as Mikel Laboa, Xabier Lete, Lourdes Iriondo and Benito Lertxundi- was the main focus of a wide-ranging musical movement known as *Euskal Kantagintza Berria* ('New Basque Music') and which included other pioneering figures such as Michel Labeguerie, Imanol... It was very much open to the influence of international music currents, represented by figures such as George Brassens and other new *chanson* singers in France; Peter Seeger, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and Woody Guthrie in the United States; Violeta Parra, Atahualpa Yupanqui, Daniel Vigletti and Víctor Jara in Latin America; and the *Nova Cançó* in Catalonia of Lluis Llach, Raimon, Francesc Pi de la Serra, Maria del Mar Bonet... (Amezaga, 1995; Larrinaga, 2014).

One of its main figures, Xabier Lete, distinguishes at least three expressions in this movement. Firstly, that of those who understood it as a cultural recovery of the Basque language. Secondly, those for whom it was, above all, a national recovery in the political sense. Finally, that of those who considered music as an important part of a Basque aesthetic renewal project, including the sculptor Jorge Oteiza. All of these expressions appear at the same time and also mingled in the context of *Euskal Kantagintza Berria*, from the aesthetic renewal project led by Oteiza to the cultural front approaches of the armed organisation ETA (Amezaga, 1995; Lete, 1977).

The cultural front granted a central importance to the language and its recovery. Opposing the racial and genealogical version of traditional nationalism, ETA's alternative proposal considered the language to be a key element in the definition of the Basque identity and nation (Amezaga, 1995; Larrinaga, 2007).

Together with the cultural recovery movements, from 1962 strong conflicts were registered in the field of labour. The debates would be reflected within ETA, which, at its second assembly, declared itself openly socialist, introducing a heterogeneity into the national narrative by which class and nation were identified as two aspects of the same event (Sáenz de Viguera, 2007). Although at times contradictory, this facilitated an absorption of nationalism by a working class mainly made up of Spanish immigrants (Herreros and López, 2013). Factory struggles also moved into the urban space in the form of neighbourhood movements, demanding improvements in living conditions (Estebaranz, 2006; Herreros and López, 2013; Larrinaga, 2014). A new national/ethnic redefinition would take place: Basques are those who live or work in the Basque Country.

The creation of a new Basque community nationalism took place particularly in the three years from August 1968 to mid-1971, being defined especially in anti-repressive terms, above all after the Burgos court case and the wave of solidarity that occurred around Europe (Larrinaga, 2014; Letamendia, 1994). Although clandestine, this new nationalism became hegemonic; its identity is fundamentally transgressive and anti-repressive.

Spheres that belong to the State, such as education and cultural promotion, start to be expressed alternatively and from a Basque national viewpoint. Thus many actions that took place in the field of culture were private, but with a desire to make them public; belonging to the market, but with a national-activist intention (Larrinaga, 2014; Letamendia, 1994).

The Basque language, group consumption and reproduction of elements of Basque culture -whether traditional or in its new manifestations- and the Basque flag, the Ikurriña, banned since 1939, became symbols of this new identity (Larrinaga, 2014; Letamendia, 1994). This identity had a particularly emotional expression in music, and so music festivals turned into a kind of collective catharsis.

Songs, in effect, became a medium for launching new messages of hope, justice, peace and freedom, of reconstruction and dissemination of a renewed culture in the Basque language and a new identity, denouncing injustice, expressing the need to create a people's conscience, transmitting hope and bringing literature to the people. The songs themselves wrote the narrative, and festivals achieved vital importance; they became places where the link with the social movements was tightened, constituting a pretext for people to meet together. The major music festivals were a common mobilising resource in anti-nuclear campaigns and those in favour of the Basque language or political amnesty. This relationship would broaden the vision and repertoire of themes of the *Euskal Kantagintza Berria*, from cultural or national demands to a more political orientation (liberties) or in favour of general progressiveness or internationalism (Amezaga, 1995).

Roberto Moso, the lead singer of one of the first punk groups, and one of the few who sang in Basque, remembers what the exciting atmosphere of these festivals meant for young rock fans, and the feeling they offered of being close to danger:

> There were gigs broken up violently by the Civil Guard because people had shown Ikurriñas (until they were legalised in '77) or for shouting "separatist" slogans. There were many more -most of them- when nothing happened, but still you could smell the adrenaline. There were rumours going round about patrols just about to arrive, or about the presence of infiltrators, and the singer-songwriters also liked to play at agitating the masses or, if appropriate, at being sedating orators when faced with, very justified, popular disturbances. We weren't mad about the music but those events were really exciting, kind of like a new type of mass, and there were lots of kaikus [traditional Basque jackets], beards and stickers (...). So the jaialdis [festivals] were boisterous, full of energy and girls that you would put your arm around to sing along and everyone would sway and sing night hymns and on top of that they were supposed to be dangerous, subversive and even "historical". (Moso, 2004: 47-48)

The folk style, unlike commercial pop -which was not a style favoured by those singing in Basque-, was consistent and emphasised the link with global counterculture, in turn linked to social movements (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). So global counterculture and the new Basque ethnogenesis coincided, giving rise to a new cognitive framework that was young, modern and Basque-speaking. The success of this symbolic operation, which transformed the Basque language from something associated with the countryside into a symbol of modernity, was only possible in as much as it was countercultural, transgressive and ground-breaking (Larrinaga, 2014).

The town and city councils at this time, some more willingly than others, were handing over the powers to organise *fiestas* (a city, town or neighbourhood's yearly festivities) to people's committees, which had representatives from cultural and sports groups, as well as from the anti-repressive community. To raise money, makeshift bars, or *txoznas*, were set up in the streets, and these often offered their own cultural events, becoming ephemeral but influential spaces reflecting the new political and cultural hegemony. The music, live or recorded, defined a particular scene (Larrinaga, 2014).

By the end of the 1970s, despite political, social and organisational turmoil, it seemed that a cultural cycle had come to an end (Larrinaga, 2014). In 1981 only 11 albums of Basque music were released. It was the decline of a discographic cycle that had begun around 1967 with the creation of Basque record labels; this involved the release of a total of 50 LPs and 220 singles or EPs between 1967 and 1976 (López Aguirre, 2011).

Basque radical rock explosion

Despite a celebratory Spanish consensus, in the Basque Country the agreements for reforming the Dictatorship were confronted by an explicit rejection or a critical acceptance. This political framework -and the repression that accompanied it- produced a sensation of exclusion and distance from Spanish cultural reference points; and also from *Euskal Kantagintza Berria*.

A second factor that fed this feeling of exclusion was socio-economic: the capitalist crisis and restructuring, with the dismantling of the major steel and shipbuilding companies, and a deficit of public services, incipient ecological problems and the formation of ghettos. In many districts this involved youth unemployment levels of up to 40% or even 50%, and worker resistance that in some cases resembled urban guerrilla warfare (Lahusen, 1993; Amezaga, 1995; Pascual, 2010; Herreros and López, 2013; Larrinaga, 2014).

In this context, heroin arrived in fertile territory. But there were also other cultural references different from the celebratory Madrid *movida*: the *No Future* of punk and its ability to communicate the present. The negation of that already established crystallised -especially in the most economically disfavoured areas- in an explosion of punk groups labelled, not uncontroversially, Basque Radical Rock (Rock Radical Vasco, RRV). Together with it, and no less important, was a redefinition or differentiated use of specific physical spaces by and for young people: "the street" full of people, certain bars, a wave of squatting of *gaztetxes* (social centres run by young people). And also a constellation of small music labels and independent and self-managed communication channels: fanzines, magazines, stickers, graffiti, comics, free radio stations, amateur music-making, record shops, the circulation of recorded cassettes, concerts and style, and even coarse, direct language that challenged moral taboos...

But this cultural and social creativity, which combined both negation and creation (Porrah, 2006), did not occur in a socio-political vacuum, but rather within the political and social magma of popular initiatives that had been proliferating since the last years of Francoism. It is this socio-political context, over and above the (breaking of the)

link with *Euskal Kantagintza Berria*, that permits discussion of a countercultural continuity, since "what we find is an effervescent antagonistic culture ready to be 'infected' by punk" (Herreros and López, 2013: 72).

So, the initial rejection of *Euskal Kantagintza Berria* should be understood as an implicit negation of seriousness and solemnity as necessary registers of political rebellion. The *fiesta*, playfulness, celebration and irreverence would now be put forward as fully valid dimensions of the antagonistic culture (Herreros and López, 2013; Pascual, 2010). Pleasure does not cancel out the political, but rather reaffirms a countercultural community and a transgressive praxis (Lahusen, 1993).

Rock, and especially punk, music appropriated the new geography that no other cultural agent had even approached: the street (Kasmir, 2000). From the nineteen-eighties, popular *fiestas* would become politicised: politics, instead of being amputated, was to be present at these *fiestas* as another part of its social nature. Festive practices and songs created other celebratory spaces or added a new narrative to those already existing, reinserting them in the radical space, in which rejection and pleasure constantly mingle (Sáenz de Viguera, 2007). Different movements and subcultures mixed in bars and *txoznas*: punks, independentists, skinheads, middle-class hippies, ecologists, artists, feminists...

In the Basque Country, punks took over from the singer-songwriters and they did so because, in accordance with their philosophy, they didn't wait until they knew how to play properly before getting up on stage, taking all their attitude and energy with them (Herreros and López, 2013). This scope and dimension is not easy to understand without bearing in mind the rise, already mentioned, of new independent, or autonomous, media, which could be both symbolic or material; or without paying attention to the conjunction of the cultural and the political (Herreros and López, 2013; Pascual, 2010). It meant, above all, a space for expressing both symbolic and physical antagonism and struggle, as well as social redefinition of the structural variables that had created it.

The youth movement came about in special relation to the working class areas where Spanish immigrants settled in the 1960s. Most groups sang not in Basque, but in Spanish. Some, like Roberto Moso (2004) of Zarama, have spoken of an excitement or fascination for the "repressed" language; singing in Basque felt like the most punk thing that could be done, even without knowing the language very well.

Yet among those who sang in Basque, there was a virulent criticism of current conceptions of all things Basque. This is the case with the famous song *Drogak AEk-an* by Hertzainak, which used irony to criticise official conceptions -whether traditional ones or from the point of view of the independentist left wing- and instead championed the culture and identity of street life (Atutxa, 2010). In the French Basque Country, punk was particularly irreverent, to the extent that relationships with Basque nationalism were not always good, and in some cases were decidedly poor (Bidegain, 2010).

Punk contributed to the innovation of a non-essentialist Basque identity. It contributed to a definitive change of old Basque identities -deriving their source from lineage and ethnicity or in Basque ethnic spaces- innovating modes and privileges, as well as features of Basqueness. Furthermore, punk occupied an alternative communal space where a new collective identity was created and expressed (Kasmir, 2000).

This would largely favour the integration of young people from Basque and Spanish-speaking areas within a common frame of reference. Jakue Pascual remembers:

> We were urban, we loved rock, and we didn't live in anything like a farmhouse. Also, there were lots of maketos [Spanish-speaking immigrants] or children from mixed families of Basques and immigrants among us, and even so it was the only movement that managed to bring Basque-speaking culture and Basque down to street level, with groups like Hertzainak.. (Herreros and López, 2013: 91)

Among musical groups, as well as participating in festivals linked to cultural demands, the presence of the Basque language was to become ever larger. Traditional elements or instruments (*triki*, *alboka*...) were included and they even participated in homages to some of the main figures of *Euskal Kantagintza Berria*, especially the one most ahead of his time, Mikel Laboa.

The evolved and militant syncretism of modernising elements -which came from international youth cultures, particularly punk- and indigenous popular Basque components, was what favoured this creative explosion (Amezaga, 1995; Porrah, 2006). This hybridisation was mediated by the mobilising role of the independentist left.

Furthermore, these groups of young people were not the only ones to feel excluded from the agreements made to reform the Dictatorship. The new nationalism that had arisen from the countercultural ethnogenesis of the previous period split in two: a political culture that wanted to take advantage of the possibilities offered by the

political reform, while others, with HB as their electoral framework, felt that there were still chances to carry out a revolutionary rupture. This division was experienced, to a large extent, along generational lines (Larrinaga, 2014).

In the optimistic atmosphere regarding the possibilities of revolutionary rupture, and given the continuing harsh political repression, the powerful military organisation ETA(m) decided to maintain its dynamic and pull towards it a large part of the social forces accumulated in the countercultural ethnogenesis. Local and communal groups, student movements, unemployed workers, ecologists, feminists and many more would be found holding these positions of rupture, sharing spaces and struggles (Larrinaga, 2014).

Repression would act as the glue that held them all, including the young punks, together. In fact, direct nationalist references were hardly made by RRV groups, who preferred negative circumlocutions expressed in anti-repressive terms: against those who acted against the country's construction (Porrah, 2006).

Jakue Pascual has described these constructions of identity that occurred in the heart of the movement and with regard to others, putting down roots as the latest symbolic and territorial extension of the Basque social proletariat, as well as tackling the national question:

> The solution adopted by a large number of young Basque people in this context was the creation of their own identity as a group apart. The 'official us' was negated and questioned by an 'individual us'. (...) But there were not only two levels of identification (by and from the radical youth): an intermediate level was also present, that saw the izquierda abertzale ['nationalist left'] as a revolutionary force, partly as a force to question the current system, and which at certain times managed to mediate between the two identities mentioned above. (Pascual, 2010: 116)

The youth movement and the nationalist left would coincide, not only in terms of their anti-repressive dynamics, but in the new resignified spaces: *gaztetxes*, the old quarters of towns and cities, alternative bars... After an initial rejection, there was recognition by the independentist left of the mobilising and agitating power of the musical and youth movement.

In the 1990s, young people who had grown up within the punk counterculture appeared in the street, in schools, at concerts and in *gaztetxes*. They would not experience tensions between orthodox nationalists and punks; a new cultural identity was being consolidated (Larrinaga, 2014). This new wave of young people, unlike the last one, would, after the first few years, experience a decade of economic bonanza.

From 1991 record releases would turn what came before upside down, in linguistic terms: albums in Basque would outnumber those released in Spanish, even in punk (Amezaga, 1995). Kortatu's change to Basque in 1988 appeared as a watershed moment; it was not for nothing that the group had played a key political role as a bridge between the independentist left and the youth movement. Even veteran RRV bands that continued to be active, and had always sung in Spanish, started to include the occasional song in Basque on their albums or in group projects.

The decade of the 1990s was to be one of consolidation and building, in every sense, a Basque counterculture, one that was markedly in the Basque language, and its physical and symbolic spaces, still in unstable equilibrium: *gaztetxes*, *fiestas*, *txoznas*... This was also the case for aesthetic conventions, although in mixed form. Testosterone would continue to be present in the streets, particularly in public altercations (Larrinaga, 2014).

Music, class, ethnicity, nation... and gender?

Me gusta ser una zorra [I like to be a bitch]
(Las Vulpes, 1983)

The youth movement of the 1980s, characterised by punk, was conditioned by structural conditions and conflicts of class and ethnicity/nation, not in a determining fashion, but rather in a way that would dynamically rebuild their definitions. However, there is another factor absent from Radical Basque Rock music, marked by the masculine violence of the State and its radical replica, and that factor is participation in a debate about gender, love and sexual relationships.

In 1983, the all-girl punk band Las Vulpes jumped to stardom after appears on Spanish TV performing a version of The Stooges' "I Wanna Be Your Dog", causing a scandal. Despite of the impact of this band, and others like Doctor Deseo that explores multiples sexualities, heteronormative masculinity was initially installed in an un-problematised way into the Radical Basque Rock (Sáenz de Viguera, 2007). The US anthropologist Sharryn Kasmir

(2000) also underlines this character, which would later be strongly criticised, pointing out that, although the liberatory aesthetic and language of punk offered women quite a bit of room to manoeuvre, Basque punk presented a masculinist version of Basqueness that attributed cultural agency and innovation to men, affirming the masculinity of social spaces and key policies, and writing a masculinist narrative of the nation.

The commercial as transgression

With Basque rock consolidated as counter-hegemonic, the role of rhythms such as commercial music, *reggaeton* or "*música cutre*" ("cheap music") becomes reversed and they acquire, in countercultural environments, a certain transgressive possibility. This is what some feminist and queer groups have explored.

The reflection criticises some questions about the Basque rock and the countercultural environments:

a) The aesthetic closure and monotony into the Basque rock and countrecultural environments, around HC/Metal and ska-punk.
b) The sexism of Basque rock (Sáenz de Viguera, 2007; Kasmir, 2000), and its masculine performance, as well as dances like the "pogo". In general, this critique can be extended to the rock and pop, as riot girrrl movement or initiatives like Ladyfest revealed (Bilbao, 2015).
c) Moral taboos about sex and hedonism, due to catholic influence, but also to the ascetic political activism, struggle and violences in the last years (Fernández 2013; Ziga, 2012). In this sense, the Basque rock have achieved the seriousness and solemnity that the punk movement criticised to the songwriters. If the first punks in London wrote, in a détournement of The Beatles, "You don't need love, all you need is dynamite", in the Basque Country, after 50 years with dynamite, perhaps we could say something like "You also need a bit of love".
d) A certain ethnocentric moral superiority with regard to some rhythms like reggaeton or the Spanish ones (Fernández, 2013).

In contrast, they support dance and even a right to moments of frivolity, a re-appropriation of others musics. Transgressive praxis involves a provocative and disconcerting insertion of commercial songs, or even traditional Spanish music, at venues playing Basque rock, and passionate *reggaeton* dancing between young women, breaking the hegemonic link between music and politics.

Suddenly, exploration was to result in an explosion: *En masse,* the festive spaces of the *txoznas* incorporate commercial music, even *reggaeton*. The change is sudden and, in many cases, unreasoning, observes one of the transgressive girls (Miner, 2013). But it also points out another question, that the very social dimension of music is undergoing changes.

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1.3. "God Save the Queen". Media coverage of the punk music in the United Kingdom in the late 1970s.

Martin Husak[1]

Abstract

The article analyses the press coverage of Sex Pistols from May to December 1977after the release of their single 'God save the Queen' using the comparison of broadsheets and tabloids as represented by The Times and The Daily Mail articles. The examination of newspaper approach to Sex Pistols helps to reveal 'meaning making' figures as were intentionally used by journalists in order to shape ideological and aesthetical framework of punk music within the capitalist marketplace.

Keywords: Sex Pistols, God Save the Queen, punk, media coverage, hegemony.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is, in large part, to explore the media's approach to alternative music culture in capitalist society, focussing on the example of the media's portrayal of the Sex Pistols after the May 1977 release of their single 'God save the Queen' through content analysis of British newspapers.

As far as the field of culture is always a site of ideological struggle, (Hull in Samuel, 1981) then the media is a terrain that reflects and then reinforces its echoes. Media helps to maintain social reproduction of dominant ideology as an arbiter of both ideological and cultural significance (Frith, 1983). Sex Pistols are a case in point, showing the transferability of alternative music into commercialized and mainstream genres, and thus are a suitable example to clarify the role of media representation in Western capitalist democracy in this process.

The politics of punk

In terms of music, punk came along as an energetic and aggressive reaction against the middle-class meanderings of progressive rock. However, it was particularly seen as a specific response to the social and political context in the UK from 1976 to 1977, one which mirrored politics of dissatisfaction with the contemporary social and economic situation, including high youth unemployment, racism and industrial unrest (Shuker, 2012). Apart from the advanced typification of punk modes of music or lyrics, which is largely discussed elsewhere, (Laing 1988, Marcus 1992) punk is specifically defined as a musical style with a closely associated youth subculture, belonging to the specific sort of broader alternative culture movement opposed to the existing social order. Generally it stemmed from the genuine role of youth art in the British cultural context, using defiance as a constitutive element of art expression (Burgess, 1977). Therefore, rock music subgenres including punk are gradually fed into a British sense of cultural history and 'Britishness' as Burgess, for instance, confirms: "All the angry young men of the Fifties are now pillars of society, trying to behave like that irascible clubman Evelyn Waugh, who was hungry for a knighthood. The Beatles began as a rough collective provincial voice, demanding that remote Liverpool be taken seriously in patrician London. They smoothed themselves out, became not merely respectable but highbrow, were received by Her Majesty and admitted to the Order of the British Empire." (ibid.).

In subcultural analysis punk is seen as a response to the breakup of parental culture, while the role of youths is supposed to be active in the construction of a meaning which was usually the opposite to that of the parental generation. Such conflicts have often brought about moral panic in society, opportunistically supported by media campaigns drawing their attention more to youth subcultures than to the music itself. Another subcultural point of view is put forward by Chambers who claims that punk "suggested and enlarged the spaces for subversive cultural

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'play' through their music and stylistic commitment", (Chambers, 1985, p. 185) which is easily accessible for all punk musicians and fans through 'do-it-yourself' practices as David Byrne confirms: "Punk wasn't a musical style, or at least it shouldn't have been (...) It was more a kind of 'do it yourself' – anyone can do it attitude. If you can only play two notes on the guitar, you can figure out a way to make a song out of that." (David Byrne quoted in Bennett, 2001, p. 60). Such a position refers to the proclaimed amateurism of punk as one of its main narratives which helped to distinguish it from mainstream popular music and to create its own audience or fandom.

Characterising the coverage of punk

The advent of punk music in 1976 is viewed as the second turning point for both the British music scene and music journalism as well (Jones, 2002). While in its formative period (1964-1969) its popularity and sales figures were not decisive factors leading to critical acclaim, the newest trend in music criticism was inevitably intertwined with commercial and mass media issues (ibid). The latter is, then, a significant determinant when we are analysing the main features of punk media coverage in the late 1970s. In Shuker's opinion such a tendency nullifies any residual sense of antagonism towards the industry, as they realised that they have a common interest in maintaining audience's attention (Shuker, 2012). Chart positions were consequently the most important factor in determining news value of music journalism as appeared in newspaper, that lacked any attempts to capture qualitative aspects of music. This kind of simplistic media publicity therefore influences commercial success, and it simultaneously guarantees a profit for music industry as a whole.

In early 1976 the music press suffered from a lack of incentives within the music industry, which was at the time intentionally static and tedious (Savage, 2011). In the 1976 annual reviews of cultural news, broadsheet newspapers such as The Times, considered punk music as a typified example of 'silly season' (Hill, 1976). An initial ambiguous attitude of the worldwide music industry to new bands with an abrasive sociocultural noise, skewing more towards televised pop stars like ABBA, has quickly changed as more the new audience for punk music grew. Suddenly both broadsheet newspapers and tabloid press began to consider punk a newsworthy topic. Punk was, though, more heavily featured in articles published in tabloids than in broadsheets, as is illustrated in chart 1 comparing The Times' and The Daily Mail's coverage of punk.
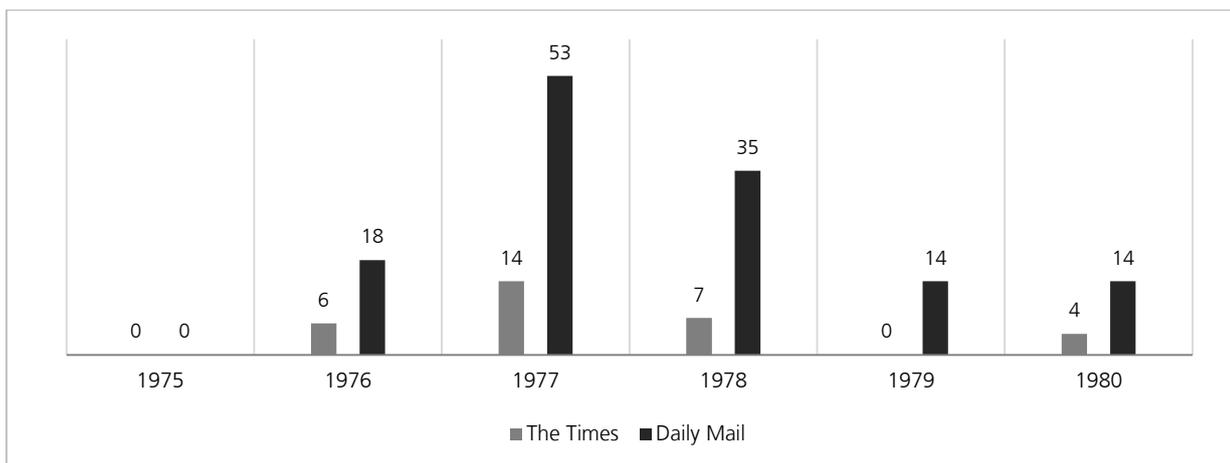
Figure 1 – Articles about "Sex Pistols"

Note: The chart shows a number of articles about Sex Pistols at The Times and Daily Mail from 1975 to 1980 across a wide range of sections (News, Business pages, Review columns or pictures with comments). Only classified advertising and Top Ten Charts are dismissed. The findings were based on a keyword search through articles wherein the term 'Sex Pistols' has meaningfully appeared.

Overall, punk coverage displays several common features differing in the extent and the frequency in which they were used in the broadsheet or tabloid press. Our attention is drawn to three main characteristics of the British press' coverage of punk – Moral Panic, Aesthetics and Manipulation – as they were exhibited by The Times and The

Daily Mail. Tabloid press is generally known for its sensationalized coverage based on moral panic figures accompanied by outrageous headlines, as can be represented by the Daily Mail. One of the first articles about punk music in the Daily Mail deals with punk music thusly: "It's the sickest, seediest step in a rock world that thought it had seen it all (...) Their music is fast, aggressive, angry. The lyrics appeal to depressed, deprived white teenagers and are directed against the rich and powerful (...) The main objection to Punk bands is that they are more concerned with imagery and sex than music" (Daily Mail Reporter, 1976, p. 2). The shocking overtones are reinforced by this article when its author describes a punk audience as "the army of faithful fans dancing to songs of hate and death" (ibid.). The Daily Mail often ascribed to punk music a corrupting impact on society using simplistic and meaningful imagery, for example: "If pop is the modern opium of the masses – and of course it is – then Punk Rock is raw heroin." (Usher, 1976, p. 6). Plenty of articles in Daily Mail have mentioned punk only in association with such 'moral panic' topics as alcohol, drugs or pornography. This approach is outlined in the lead paragraph of the article 'When profits rule…' which refers to punk in terms of a doomsday scenario: "Society today has within it a violent and destructive streak. It is obvious to all who read the headlines or listen to a news broadcast. Three schoolboys rape a girl of 14 and show no remorse. They are drunk and pornographic magazines are found in the home of the ringleader. A woman is attacked in a telephone box; her cries for help are ignored. An attractive, intelligent, wealthy girl dies a drug addict after injecting herself." (Watkins, 1977, p. 16-17).

A degree of alarm is, however, also represented in The Times' articles. Moral panic related to the advent of punk has regularly emerged in the articles of The Times. In an article titled 'Shared madness' Paul Theroux drew direct parallel between US mass murderer Charles Manson and punk music, which he allegedly followed while murdering his victims. In another article from The Times the author emphasised the shocking and revolutionary potential of punk with the example of the associated fashion, comparing it to the strange fashions of the French Revolution developed amongst young Parisians (Church, 1976).

Aesthetically, punk is described by The Times as "an angry aesthetic of negativity, bred in the dole queues and nurtured by a hatred for the musical establishment" (ibid.). The Times viewed punk as a pop triviality and a sensationalist music genre with no valuable aesthetical impact, as is stated in Jewel's article in The Times: "Punk rock inhibits understanding. In part it is the record industry's own fault; some labels tend not to miss opportunities to publicize the bizarre or the shocking in their catalogues" (Jewell, 1977, p. IV). In terms of aesthetical reviews, tabloid journalist lacked any kind of specialist background. If not, they confined it to superficial statements, as shown in the Daily Mail's article about punk rock drummer Paul Cook's musical performance: "I wouldn't mind if he played tunes, but it's just bang, bang, bang." (Rees, 1976, p. 15). As such, they tended to deliver rather sensationalized and alarmist reports on punk's attendant features including behaviour, style, clothing and language. In fact, they completely ignored punk as music. As part of their editorial policy tabloids used very simplistic and blinkered messages in which they conceived of punk only in terms of vague slogans like 'Outrage' and 'Shock', or they used collocations in which they semiotically referred to negative overtones of punk as 'controversial music' ("News in Brief", 1976), a 'new cult' (Partington, 1977) or 'nasty and loutish pop groups' (Butt, 1976)

Manipulated information in both the broadsheet and tabloid press referred to punk's emergence in order to challenge its influence on its audience. The press has often alleged that punk is a marketing product which "can be sold over and over again as long as the package changes"(Usher, 1976, p. 6). In this sense popular music is generally considering a sphere of 'grubby and greedy' people who care only for profit-making (Watkins, 1977). According to Watkins, popular music is responsible for Destructive Society, described as 'an ugly face of the Seventies' (ibid.). Tabloids generally tended also to portray punk as a threat to generational coexistence. Generational struggles are described in Daily Mail as follows: "Adults are shocked, angry, disgusted – therefore Punk Rock must have something to offer – the immature, who see their elders as oppressors or clowns, or a frustrating mixture of both (...) The young want their own kingdom. They want a club, a secret society, and its rules and uniform must not be borrowed from parents or even from elder brothers and sisters." (Usher, 1976, p. 6). Punk as manipulator is further highlighted by a selection of the most controversial reader's opinions in the reader's forum. Towards the end of 1976 the forums served as a unanimous voice to raise general resentment toward punk. A significant example is from the Daily Mail, which published the opinion of Madelaine Righelato, who expressed a deep disgust seeing or listening to these 'morons' (Righelato, 1976). The Times, in another example, published a poll conducted by London´s pop station Capital Radio amongst its listeners about the most remarkable items of the 1970s. Apart from Jubilee coins and stamps, respondents mentioned a tape by 'monstrous' group the Sex Pistols about the Queen. The author commented as follows: "I bet PHS [Printing House Square] readers could have come

up with a more imaginative choice." (PHS. "The Times Diary" 1977, p. 16). Sometimes there were exaggerated links to punk which do not make sense at all. In an article titled "Why I'll never teach again!" the author describes how teachers lost control over pupils at school because of their rising misbehaviour which allegedly stemmed from the bad influence of punk and its media publicity (Wood, 1976). In 1976 tabloids unanimously rejected the importance of punk, making ironic remarks about it. The Daily Mail, for instance, mocked punk in the article "Punk rock's big flop": "Carol singers outnumbered punk rock fans by two to one when the controversial group Sex Pistols played their latest concert date." ("Punk rock's big flop", 1976, p. 3).
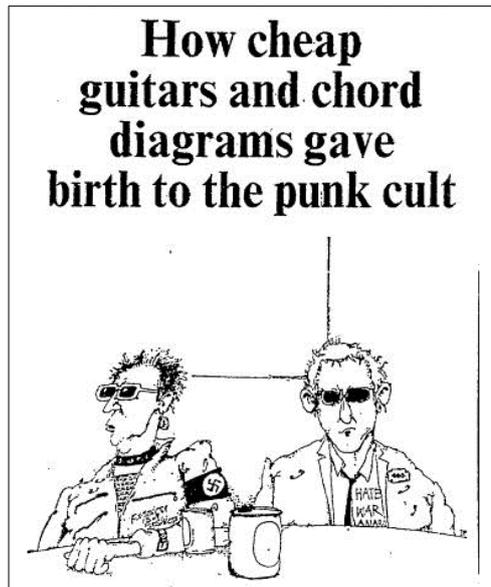
Figure 2 – Stereotyped picture of punkers published by The Times on July in 1977
Source: Partington, 1977, p. 12

All these ideological overtones embodied in news agendas or in formal writing about punk have apparently emerged in order to transform arbitrary values about culture into a systematic process of restriction. Such an inaccurate model of censorship is suggested by O´Higgins who distinguish six different forms of censorship: self, social, legal, extralegal, voluntary and subterranean (O'Higgins, 1972). The media's attitude toward punk musicians is encapsulated by Savage who claims that punk musicians were initially seen to be "at best inconvenienced, at worst infected, by bodily waste." (Savage, 2011, p. 373). According to Les Back, punk was "a kind of symbolic treason, a sacrilege that served on the images of nationhood, the Queen, the Union Jack, even Parliament itself." (Les Back, 2002, p. 2.4). As a result, media hysteria often accompanied by politician's statements[2], has not only raised a negative awareness of punk amongst a mainstream audience, but it has had also negative impact on institutional cultural policies. For instance, many local authorities launched new regulations or bans on live performances by bands like Sex Pistols in the local council halls. This kind of moral regulation often turned into direct censorship practices aimed at all features of punk including its music, audience, publicity etc. The call for tougher repression of punk even stemmed from the media themselves, as it is advocated in Ronald Butt´s article "The grubby face of mass punk promotion" in The Times. He criticised what he saw as the insufficient response of the media to the emergence of punk, which was irresponsibly promoted by record industry and media business. He put the blame for violence, vulgarity, and psychical and psychological threats to public on punk and he found causality between punk and its: "The record companies, television, the owners of halls can, if they like, make the kind of rubbish that is not viable without their promotion, sink like a stone. And the press can help by not providing the 'puffs' that even some hostile criticism, with blown-up photography, can give" (Butt 1976, p. 14). At the same

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[2] The Conservative Shadow Minister for Education condemned punk as "a symptom of the way society is declining" and both the Independent Television Companies' Association and the Association of Independent Radio Contractors banned its advertisements. In Thompson, 2000, p. 609.

time, the pressure was continuously placed on punk audience whilst the music itself was overlooked, as Frith confirms: "There is no doubt the local authorities stopped them [punk audiences], cause they thought they might be the source of trouble or fights or whatever it might be."(Frith interview, 2014). The behaviour of punk fans was repeatedly brought to the forefront by news reporters, especially from tabloid press such as the Daily Mail: "At a service station on the M4 the youngsters went into the toilets and reappeared in outrageous gear – with chains through their noses and razor-blades hanging from their ears. Then they sprayed beer around inside the bus." ("Now the axe or Pauline", 1976, p. 3).

All regulations against punk music stemmed from ideologically and economically based concerns rather than from state directed censorships measures. Actually, the government was aware of censorship practises aimed against punk given that is generally a matter of taste. The Tory Member of Parliament for Tynemouth, for example, said: "I hope shops will refuse to handle [a punk] record. You cannot ban it legally, because it is a matter of taste"(Willis, 1977, p. 3). That is why there are no examples of state music policy or direct governmental intervention in the history of British popular music in terms of cultural policy. The main reason, though, is that the means of production was out of the scope of state control and there were no requirements for musicians to be licensed. In terms of economic policy the role of the state is more apparent as it supported the commercial record industry in order to generate state income, and media campaigns helped in both cases – either they condemn it, as when punk music first appeared, or they promote it when punk music has been well established in society by the end of 1970s.

Characterising the coverage of Sex Pistols

> "Leading the cult is the group Sex Pistols - a bizarre band preaching the new rock religion of violence and anarchy." (Daily Mail Reporter 1976, p. 2)

According to Frith the media performance of the Sex Pistols was just as important as their music (Frith interview, 2014). Likewise, Savage claims that the media and punk have created an inseparable relationship, wherein the media was encoded in the heart of punk's graphics, songs, clothes and attitudes, but the media's earlier approach to the genre went in the opposite direction, focussing on "the shock and the filth". The central problem of the Sex Pistols' initial attitude towards the media remains unresolved despite attempts to answer the question posed, for example, by Savage: 'How do you becoming part of what you are protesting against? And if everything exists in the media and you reject it, how do you exist?' (Savage, 2011, Introduction) As a result, the media and the Sex Pistols were forced to mirror each other, leading to a fascination both exciting and terrifying in audiences and setting the tone for future decades, as McLaren confirms: 'The media was our helper and our lover and that in effect was the Sex Pistols' success'. (McLaren in Savage, 2011, p. 166)

The publicity that encapsulated Sex Pistols appearances worked both ways. For example, the regular reports from the first Sex Pistols tour across the United States in spring 1976 quickly unveiled stories about alleged violent acts committed by their members, and this resulted in doors closing in their faces: they were banned from the Marquee and The Nashville (Savage, 2011, p. 172). However, the media backlash towards the Sex Pistols accelerated after their appearance with Bill Grundy on the *Today* television program aired 1 December 1976 (Jones, 2002). Sex Pistols members were interviewed by Grundy and they cursed several times. The following day massive unanimous media opposition appeared on a nationwide scale, even though Bill Grundy's show was primarily a London phenomenon. Tabloids and the broadsheet press did not differ from each other in rejecting such behaviour for breaking the normal codes of daytime programming, and they ardently highlighted "an avalanche of viewer's complaints" (Daily Mail Reporter, 1976, p. 1). Both types of newspaper became more vigorous in their campaign against punk, even advocating the use of censorship measures if they consider it necessary. The negative attitudes toward punk music were maintained at political level, especially by conservative politicians. Their representatives often raised the issue of punk performances in the media and blamed the Independent Broadcasting Authority for its insufficient response to punk's 'disgraceful performance', referring to the Sex Pistols TV appearance. For example, Tory MPs insisted on much stricter measures that might be taken to avoid such controversial TV performances ("The one word that angered two MPs." 1976). There are therefore no doubts about the politicization of popular music in the case of punk, given the example of the Sex Pistols and their condemnation in newspaper articles. As a result Sex Pistols live performances were cancelled by local culture authorities on a large scale, whilst the media was frequently in defiance against punk. The pressure from the press even led to the band being dropped from EMI in

January 1977, and this was itself opportunistically reported on. The Daily Mail, for instance, wrote about the 'subjugation' of the Sex Pistols ("Another pay-off for punk untouchables", 1977). EMI itself commented on it in a statement published in The Times: "EMI feels it is unable to promote this group's record in view of the adverse publicity generated over the past two months, although recent press reports of the behaviour of the Sex Pistols appear to have been exaggerated" ("EMI ends 'punk rock' group contract", 1977, p. 2). But what prompted this decision? It was a series of articles in tabloids that focused on revealing the private lives of the EMI employees who were responsible for signing the contract with the Sex Pistols. This was an attempt to scandalize the issue and to impose unilaterally negative overtones on EMI's cooperation with punk. Malcolm Stuart, journalist from the Daily Mail, revealed the private life of the managing director of EMI Records, Mr Leslie Hill, mentioning his alleged bad grades, bad taste in music and his residence in a posh part of the city (Stuart, 1976). The second climax of media hostility towards punk arrived in 1977 with the release of the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen" single.

Characterising the coverage of 'God Save The Queen'

The case of God Save The Queen exactly illustrates how songs could be situated in terms of a combination of their formal musical properties, genre, and social context (Shuker, 2012). The Sex Pistols released the single on 27 May during Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee in 1977, so it was exactly timed to make the greatest impact. Unsurprisingly, it attracted broad media publicity. The media uniformly reported about the fantastical elements of the Jubilee celebration, and the Royal Family were mediatised to the extent that they were at that time a living soap opera (Les Back, 2002). What seemed terrifying about the Jubilee was, according to Savage, its sheer unanimity. Any dissenting voice was shut out. ´God save the Queen´ was the only serious anti-Jubilee protest, the only call for those who didn´t agree with the Jubilee because they didn´t like the Queen. "What was so great about ´God save the Queen´ was that it was confident, clear, and unapologetic – so much so that it gave a voice to everybody who hated the Jubilee, and there were many more of them than would ever be officially acknowledged." (Savage, 2011, p. 353). Likewise James Reid, the Sex Pistols' graphic artist for the record, retrospectively viewed the single as probably the last public protest against the monarchy (Reid in Savage, 1987).

The media coverage of the Sex Pistols single is called by Savage as Jubilee hype that brought about a sense of disillusion with contradictory effects. On the one hand it has raised political and social tensions towards monarchic institutions and on the other hand it has undoubtedly reinforced a media alliance with the governmental line, using propagandistic methods of mediatisation to address the punk discourse in an opportunistic way, as is shown by Labour MP Marcus Lipton's statement in the *Daily Mirror*: "If pop music is going to be used to destroy our established institutions, then it ought to be destroyed first." (quoted in Savage 1991, p. 365). Another example of an opportunistic alliance between the media and political power is given by Savage in relation to the Daily Mirror's regular headlines about the month's dole figures, unreasonably using a link to Johnny Rotten, who is depicted as a subversive phantasm (Savage, 2011). Except from verbal media condemnation of punk music, particularly in the tabloid press, there was also physical damage, as is remarked by Les Back about Jamie Reid who suffered a beating that left him with a broken nose and a broken leg (Les Back, 2002) or by Savage about John Lydon being attacked with razors and a machete by a gang chanting (Savage, 1991).

The single 'God save the Queen' was subjected to censorship and banning. The key example is the decision of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) not to allow it to be broadcasted, however some radio stations were trying to take legal advice, such as Capital Radio, one of London's independent stations, which described this measure as "an unprecedented difficulty" with the IBA over the interpretation of the Independent Television Act, 1973 (Borrell and Gosling 1977). The album *Never Mind the Bollocks* containing the ´God save the Queen´ single was banned immediately after its release on October 1977 by shops like Boots, Woolworths and W.H. Smith. The advance orders nevertheless sent it straight into the charts at number one. Thus it was evident that the restrictive cultural and media policy had counterproductive effects on audience' attitudes toward punk music, as was expressed by Stephen Ridgewell in the reader's forum: "I was delighted to read that ageing MP Marcus Lipton and ageing disc jockey Tony Blackburn are both offended by the Sex Pistols single 'God Save the Queen'. The fact that both the establishment and pop music's old guard hate punk rock can only increase my love of this music." (Ridgewell, 1977, p. 24).

The Jubilee fortnights framed by the Sex Pistols' 'God Save the Queen' meant the climax of their career, which subsequently declined (Savage, 2011). The sales of the 'God Save the Queen' over the jubilee week were over 200

000 copies (Les Back, 2002). Their chart success had definitively, if nothing else made the Sex Pistols a pop group, although despite their initial resentment towards the mainstream.

Summary

This article considers how punk was approached in UK in the late of 1970s, focussing on the example of Sex Pistols' single 'God Save the Queen' and its newspaper portrayal in The Times and The Daily Mail articles. Following the dynamic emergence of punk, its media publicity spread widely and quickly. Banned from venues, punk was dependent on media exposure to gain broader audiences. Actually punk and the press were made for each other. Punk increased the market for writing on rock, and it generated a new breed of critics specialized in punk, as they were recruited by music outlets at that time (Jones, 2002).

This analysis helped to clarify punk's relationship with the media and cultural policy in a Western capitalist democracy as it is maintained by the alliance of state, economics and media empowerment. The way it was used in the construction of a moral panic was subjected to examination through the analysis of media representation based on a wide range of 'meaning making' figures (e.g. sensationalism, manipulations, denunciations etc.). In this view, the media reinforce dichotomies between authentic and commercial, alternative and mainstream, good and bad etc. in the process of culture mediation, wherein both ideological and aesthetical discourses are constructed and reproduced as 'commonsensical' in media interpretations.

The role of the media in a capitalist system lies in their attempts to meaningfully address the tastes and trends amongst the audience in accordance with the commercial forces of the market. The reason is that everyone benefits. Given the example of punk and its media portrayal in both the broadsheet and tabloid press, everybody knows their own role in the 'commodification game'. Journalists, especially from the tabloid press, tend to act as moral defenders of what is being threatened, occupied more with punk's non-musical features than with proper music reviewing, whilst readers appreciate being protected in their private life. Punk bands tend to ostentatiously shock and provoke in terms of their music, style and language for their own sake. The more sensationalist reports about punk were published, the more attention is consequently to punk. The more a controversial reputation is cultivated around a punk band the more records this band will sell. Last but not least, the alleged struggles help to the music genre itself to maintain its identity and desired media image. The Sex Pistols affair with 'God Save the Queen' is the case in point, revealing the nexus between social, cultural, economic and political relations in punk music.

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1.4. Memories of an underground scene at the Southern Brazil: between descriptions and meanings about one subterraneous past

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Abstract

Based on theoretical perspectives like anthropology of memory (Candau, 2011) and the interpretation of cultures(Geertz, 2008), this paper aims to reflect about the cultural meanings and identity representations that are emerging from the collective memory related with the rock underground scene from Pelotas in 1990s. Firstly, it will be presented the basic premises that involve our theoretical and methodological referentials and some aspects that compose our field work. After, we'll bring excerpts of some individual narratives and present the meaning structure that is supporting this collective memory

Keywords: social memory, anthropology of memory, underground, scene, Pelotas.

Introduction

This paper reflects about one part of the research that is been realized on the thesis project called *Rock pelotense nos anos 1990: cena, memória e identidades de uma prática roqueira no extremo Sul do Brasil*. In general lines, we want to comprehend how the collaborators build a *collective memory* about the rock underground scene from Pelotas in 1990s: which representations they share? How the memory texture is composed? How they articulate their identities on a collective level?

Methodological and theoretical aspects

The social group and the life story: narratives between the past and the present

We interviewed 31 collaborators that were involved with/playing in local rock bands in the 1990s. Similar to the *hidden musician's* perspective on the Finnegan's (1989) study in Milton Keynes, they were teenagers that played music (rock) in a context that didn´t have any financial support (professionalized scene; music industry; and so on). Many of them not only played and produced music, but also were involved in activities to make the scene work: organizing festivals; negotiating with bar's owners; making posters to promote festivals; spreading these posters along the city; and so on. In resume: it is what we can call a local-amateur *art* (musical) *world* (Becker, 1974; 1976) or, in a more specifically perspective, a *cultural-musical scene* (Straw, 2004; Bennett, 2004).

The interviews took place in the present, i.e., in a context where the collaborators are adults. They have their jobs; families; some of them are parents and have many responsibilities with their homes. This temporal perspective (they talk about the past in the present) contribute to a relationship between social frames related with the past and the present. In this way, their narratives make emerge many comparisons between their past and present musical lifes and, the cultural conceptions about the past rock underground scene, for example, emerge from descriptions, analysis and interpretations. I.e.: their enunciations (the act of narrating) are constructed through reflexive and critical thoughts. It directs us to the idea that we reconstruct our souvenirs through a movement in which our current perceptions adapt itself to our ancient remembrances and vice versa (Halbwachs, 1990, p. 25): the memory emerges through a "(...) game of notions and perceptions which fills (...)" the current conscience (Halbwachs, 2004, p. 133).

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The orality is the nucleous of our research because the testimony opens ways to elucidate individual trajectories, events and contexts which "(...) cannot be understood in another way (...)" (Ferreira; Amado, 1998, p. xiv): these testimonies represents experiences, ideologies, psychic states, traditions, and so on, that are framed in "stories", "life stories" or/and "societal stories" (Jovchelovitch; Bauer, 2002, p. 90). It is important to note that the life story perspective, in the case of our study, deals with what we can call *musical life stories*.

These *musical life stories* construct a *collective memory* through personal narratives: each narrative is only one perspective; one point of view about the past because they reflect individual experiences of one subject. Beyond this, the personal narrative doesn't reflect the past itself, but a construction of the past which is realized in the present (Ferreira; Amado, 1998, p. xi): it is represented in a narrative dynamic in which "(...) the people remember what happened, put the experience in a sequence, find possible explications for this, and play with the chain of events that constructs the individual and social life (...)" (Jovchelovitch; Bauer, 2002, p. 91).

In this process emerges what Candau (2011) calls indisociability between *memory* and *identity*.

> The fails of the memory, the forgettings and the remembrances charged with emotion are always linked to a conscience that acts in the present. Because the memory [in your declarative stage] organizes "the traces of the past in the light of present engagements and then by demands of the future", we should see in it less a "function of an automatic conservation invested by an overlapped consciousness" than one essential mode of this same consciousness, what characterizes the interiority of the conducts. The remembrance doesn't "contain" the consciousness but evidence and manifest it, is "this same consciousness that experiment in the present the dimension of its past" (Candau, 2011, p. 63).

On another hand, the testimony also reflects common cultural lexicons, expressing significant cultural categories. And is the biographical narrative what allows the "(...) access to the contexts, to the culture of the focused past (...)" (Alberti, 2000, p. 3):

> It is believed that the biographies illustrate typical forms of behaviour and concentrates all the group characteristics; even the deviants shows what is structural and statistically [related] to the group - they allow identify the latent possibilities of the culture and deduce "in negative" what would be more frequent (Alberti, 2000, p. 3).

The empirical data was collected through an interview guide made in a way to consider the musical life of the collaborators, focusing mainly on their musical-rock experiences in the 1990s. Some topics: initiation in the rock culture; the listening/musical appreciation; the musical learning processes (to play instruments, to play rock...); the acquisitions of materials (LPs, cassette tapes...); the local bands in which they played; the musical scene; the bands; the venues related to the rock scene in Pelotas in 1990s; sociabilities; and so on.

The anthropology of memory approach; memory and identity; and the dense description: parameters to comprehend a memorial-narrative culture

Our approach is oriented by the *anthropology of memory* (Candau, 2005; 2011). It is directed to the comprehension of the man's statute as a social and cultural being. The main objective of it is to comprehend how the subjects construct a memorial culture. In this way, it is "(...) entrenched on the passage point between the subject and the group (...)" and makes an effort to "(...) comprehend, from empirical data, how the subjects (...)" share "(...) practices, representations, beliefs, remembrances, producing, (...) in a given society, what we call culture (...)" (Candau, 2011, p. 11).

To understand how the collaborators (individually) construct a *social-collective memory* of the rock underground scene from Pelotas in the 1990s, we're paying attention to the *factual* and *semantic representations* (Candau, 2011). The first involves that "(...) representations relative to the existence of certain facts (...)", while the second involves that "(...) representations relative to the meaning attributed to these same facts (...)" (Candau, 2011, p. 39).

On another hand, the identities emerge through what Candau (2011) calls *existential totalization*: a "(...) memory act that invests with meaning (...) the mnesic traces left by the past (...)" through an investment based on objectives and relations with the present (...)". Although this construction has the objective "(...) to found a satisfactory image of itself (...)", such memory work is not totally individual: "(...) The form of the narrative, that specifies the act of recall, 'immediately adjusts itself to the collective conditions of your expression' (...)" (Candau, 2011, p. 77). In this way,

> (...) it is impossible to dissociate the effects linked to the individual representations of those related to the representations of the collective identity. Many of our remembrances exist because we find echoes in them, observation that led Halbwachs to elaborate the notion of "social memory frames". Therefore, is a collective memorial tissue that will feed the feeling of identity. When this memory act (...) disposes of strong landmarks, appear the organizers memories, powerfull, strong, sometimes monolithics, that will reinforce the belief of an origin or a common history to the group. (...) this memory work is collective since your origin, because manifests itself "in the tissue of the images and language" that we owe to the society and which will allows us to give an order to the world (Candau, 2011, p. 77-78).

Our research is also based on the Geertz's (2008) ethnographic sense: the attention is not only directed to the ethnographic process in itself (participatory observation, for instance), but in the "(...) intellectual effort (...)" that leads to the *dense description*: a movement that goes from *factual descriptions* to the *sociocultural meanings* (Geertz, 2008, p. 4). Our intellectual effort is basically oriented through the dialogue between collaborators and researchers: "(...) only a 'native' does the interpretation on first hand (...)", whereas the researcher's interpretations are made in second, third hand. This process constructs the knowledge through layers of interpretations (Geertz, 2008, p. 11) - similar to the *shared authority* perspective (Portelli, 2010).

The main objective of the *dense description* perspective is to comprehend conceptual structures that are, in many times, multiples and complex: these structures can emerge "(...) overlapped or tied each other (...)", showing themselves "(...) simultaneously strange, irregular and inexplicit (...)". In this sense, the researcher tries "(...) to read (in the sense of 'build a read of') a strange manuscript, discoloured, full of ellipses, incoherencies [....]" (Geertz, 2008, p. 7) and so on.

The scene on the narratives[2]

The general representation about what means underground and the underground scene from Pelotas constitutes an image that turns around the following concepts (in resume): (1) that the underground they lived in was (and it is yet) a sociocultural space that was not linked to the traditional nightclubs, parties, and so on. In this way, it had no space on the larger cultural landscape of the city; (2) that the underground they lived in was under the traditional cultural patterns related with the mass media and many of them have the same image-concept about any underground scenes spread in the world; (3) and that the underground they lived in had no any external support, for instance, from the local media[3].

According to Fernandes (2014), there was not interest in leaving the underground sound get in, for example, "(...) in large parties[4], right... (...)". The underground sound "was a damn thing... [laughts]" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:18':10''). Porto (2014) shares a similar conception with Fernandes (2014) when says that the underground is everything which "(...) never had support from... (...) from large masses, never... (...)"; it is what is " (...) under of... (...) the standard, you know... of what is more common... (...)" (Porto, 2014, 00:22':24''). Goularte (2014) observes that any underground scene is a kind of

> (...) parallel movement to... [larger] musical movement... to... How can I say? movement that have access to the large media and that is heard, you know, through the radio, television and things like that. And the underground movement is this: is to search a... an alternative to this... not only musical, but also... of own production of, of your concerts... (...) (Goularte, 2014, 00:20':10'').

In reference to the *factual representations*, the collaborators do emerge series of descriptions about the past scene that turns around the following categories: the *precariousness* and the *difficulties*. When remembering about the band in which was playing in the 1990s (M-26), Fernandes (2014) observes the context where the band grew up: "(...) we continued playing (...) in that circuit that had... precarious in this time, you know... organized by the

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[2] We are only focusing in this paper social frames related with the festivals (organization, characteristics, etc). In this way, this paper deals with a little part about the rock underground scene from Pelotas in the 1990s. We choose this thematic cut because the size limits that guides the paper's confection.

[3] These general conceptions have similarities with Brazilian underground discourses studied by Campoy (2010) and Ribeiro (2007), for example.

[4] It means: traditional parties (which were directed to another sounds, sociabilities, publics and so on).

bands (...)... sometimes with bad [musical] equipments... bad... (...)" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:15':00''). In your point of view, the *precariousness* of the scene has the following image-concept:

(...) from a place that is not appropriate to [hold] a show, (...) sometimes without (...) stage, even lack of equipment..., you know... Even the bands didn't have money to have a... their own stage equipment... well... And the equipments (...) that were hired (...) or were precarious or they[5] didn't care much about the bands; they didn't know [nothing about] the [rock] style; sometimes they were prepared to make shows[6] of (...) another styles of music, but they didn't have any knowledge about... rock...; (...) It was all very... very precarious in my point of view (Fernandes, 2014, 01:57':30'').

Lisboa (2014), who played together with Fernandes (2014) and Porto (2014) at the same band, shares the same souvenirs in relation to the work of the sound technicians: "(...) in that time was more difficult (...)" to rent a good sound equipment. The "(...) people who were renting equipment didn't know anything about rock, (...) they were used to do[7] pagode, nativismo[8], other things... (...)" (Lisboa, 2014, 00:43':20'').

Goularte (2014) directs us to an image about the *precariousness* of the musical equipments and the sound's consequences of this (the general *soundscape*[9]). Making reference to the *Anarcofesta*[10], he says (make a comparison between "in that time" and today) that this festival was like today's festivals, but that it was "(...) more precarious, you know, because had no... Today, the guys (...) have much more access to [good] musical equipment (...)". He deepens his analysis saying that beyond the fact that the guys used to buy bad electric guitars, amplifiers and pedals, the sound's equipments (because it was what the local music stores offered) which were used in the festivals were mostly the same particular equipments of the bands: "(...) the equipments to perform live were the garage's equipments, you know... (...)". In this sense, "(...) you couldn't hear almost anything (...)" because of the large noise produced by the bad equipments. Comparing with the current situation (the present), in which the commercialized musical equipments have more quality (in your point of view), Goularte (2014) says: "(...) In that time (...) was...[11] stick with rope[12] (...), you know; the musical instruments were very precarious (...), and... the amplifiers were more [precarious], you know... So, it was (...) more noise than... the band's music[13] (...)" (Goularte, 2014, 00:45':38'').

Regarding the processes to get places (to rent) to hold the festivals, many narratives mention the *difficulties* and *precariousness* they faced. According to Fernandes (2014), the bars owners generally used to accept to rent their bars because they would have advantages "(...) selling tickets or drinks... [and] the band never would gain nothing (...) never gained nothing[14] [laughs], you know... (...)" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:16':26''). This feeling about to be explored by the bars owners is better explained by Fernandes (2014) when he observes that the metal environment[15] was always articulated by the guys that played in the bands because "(...) never had... any help, nor interest... like this... (...) I don't remember any establishment (...) that had call bands like these to perform live... (...)" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:16':26'').

Talking about how the band's members used to get places to hold underground festivals, Ferreira (2014), who was (and yet today is) vocalist in a hard-core/metal/funk band (Freak Brotherz), shares a similar souvenir:

(...) I usually say that the underground, for a long time in Pelotas, occupied the space between... the failure and the bankruptcy [laughs]. It is because the guy[16] used to open a bar for the elite [public] (...) but it did not work out. Or it worked for a while and then the bar went out of style; and the guy had the space there, but had

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[5] Talking about the sound technicians.

[6] It means the work related to the general equalization (sound) of a show, concert, etc.

[7] The same meaning explained on the footnote 5.

[8] Styles of music in Brazil.

[9] Schafer (2011).

[10] Anarcho Party Festival.

[11] Talking about how was the musical instruments quality at that time.

[12] It is a emic term to make reference to a bad musical instrument.

[13] It means: Goularte (2014) is talking about the general soundscape at the local festivals.

[14] Money, cachets.

[15] He talks about the local metal bands and the metal public.

[16] The bar owner.

nothing to do with it, and that's how we got the chance to get in [laughs], you know... (...) (Ferreira, 2014, 00:42':33'').

In this sense, the bar owners saw themselves obligated to accept to open the place to hold an underground festival. According to Ferreira (2014), "(...) Nobody opens the space and say "(...) 'I will open a bar for a rock'n'roll public. For headbangers (...)'... When you realized, the guy was forced to open because... you know... (...)" (Ferreira, 2014, 00:42':33''). Porto (2014) shares a similar point of view about the relations between the commercial establishments and the underground scene. For him, was always difficult to get places, because "(...) we didn't have money, you know; it was very difficult to get sponsorship... So, we always got what we could, you know... (...)", based on criteria like "(...) budget and in terms of acceptance of the public[17], you know... (...)" (Porto, 2014, 01:29':20'').

Porto (2014) talks more about these *difficulties*. Reflecting on the organization process to make the *Hell Underground Festival* - a festival organized by M-26 (band's members) and some collaborators -, he remembers: "(...) It was very tricky in the beginning (...). We had to get a bar... that today it would be called GLBT[18] [laughs]... which was the Kalabouço, you know... It was a very ominous place [laughs], so to speak... (...)". In the Porto's (2014) narrative, they made the first three editions of the *Hell Underground Festival* at the Kalabouço because "(...) nobody wanted (...) to borrow a place to this kind of public, you know...(...) they[19] used to think that the headbanger was yob, you know; that would break all; that in... drugs, etc (...)" (Porto, 2014, 01:29':20'').

The fact that they had to hold the *Hell Underground Festival* in the Kalabouço's bar imposed another *difficulty*: the rejection of the headbanger public to the fact that a metal-underground festival was being realized at a gay bar. According to Lisboa (2014):

> (...) When we[20] started to organize this festival in Pelotas we did at the Kalabouço, which was a gay bar. And (...) we suffered a lot of prejudice because this (...). Because (...) in that time... the prejudice was larger than nowadays (...); had no gay-kiss in the soap opera, you know... it was not something socially acceptable... (...) (Lisboa, 2014, 1:14':36'').

In this sense, "(...) A lot of people didn't go [to the festival]! (...) 'No! I will not go because the guys are doing concerts at a gay bar.' (...)" (Lisboa, 2014, 1:14':36'').

Another kind of souvenir that emerges is related to the *precariousness* of the places where they used to hold the festivals. They generally were held in "(...) small bars, in... spaces of social clubs, in... rented places, you know... always too small (...) and precarious (...)" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:56':14''). These *precariousness* places were not prepared to hold a show or festival: "(...) sometimes [they] had no stage (...)" and no good sound's equipments. Beyond this, "(...) even the bands didn't have money to have a... their own stage equipment... (...)" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:57':30'').

Porto (2014) also remembers about this *precariousness*. He observes that the first editions of the *Noise Rock Festival* were held at the *Bar i Bar* (Bar and Bar), which "(...) was a small venue, a very tight place... without stage... very underground (...), you know... (...)". Except by one edition of the same festival, which was held at the Cruzeiro's Social Club (a larger place), the other editions "(...) always were held in places very... tight, very tricky, without stage... without any structure (...)" (Porto, 2014, 01:28':23'').

Reflecting about why the band in which played for a long time (Sapo) did not become a professionalized psychedelic-progressive rock band, Tavares (2014) do emerge an analysis based on a critical (contextual) point of view:

> (...) I guess that it also happens like this... The case of the Sapo's band: a band that always had, in my opinion - I'm suspicious [to talk about this], because I'm from inside -, (...) lots of talent [but] that don't professionalized itself because it was born in a precarious environment. It was born in a wrong place. (...) (Tavares, 2014, 00:44':03''_II).

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[17] Acceptance of the headbanger public by the owners of bars.

[18] Was a bar directed to the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender public.

[19] The bars owners.

[20] "We", here, means that the M-26 members, and some collaborators, were the guys involved on the organization of this festival.

On the other hand, the narratives not only talk about *difficulties* and the *precariousness*. They make emerge two other aspects: the *cooperativeness* and *diversity*. More specifically, the *diversity* emerges like a consequence of the *cooperativeness* and the scene's size. According to Fernandes (2014), it was very rare to see only a single local band alone performing a show. There were no bands with strength to get an audience to do this. In this sense, the festivals were generally held "(...) with many bands, where no band gained cachet [laughs] (...)" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:56':14''). Beyond this, these festivals were composed through a diversity of rock styles. Remembering about where the M-26 used to perform your concerts, he observes that the local festivals "(...) weren't very limited to [certain] styles because there was no way to... separate. There was no large public to... just one style. (...)". There were bands performing "(...) classic rock... (...) Deep Purple, Led Zeppelin...; there were... death metal bands; extreme metal bands; there were punk bands that sometimes came from Rio Grande... All mixed (...) in a same festival... and... the folks used to go to the concerts knowing that it would be a... great mix (...)" (Fernandes, 2014, 01:23':15'').

Talking about the differences between São Paulo and Pelotas, Lisboa (2014) observes that the underground from Pelotas always was diversified in relation to São Paulo, characterised by separated urban tribes. According to Lisboa (2014),

> (...) Pelotas don't have separated urban tribes, you know... Pelotas have the guys from the underground and each one enjoys... its own [musical] style (...). The guys here are much more eclectic, (...) [If] the guys make a hard-core show, go the guys who enjoy the metal;[if] the guys make a metal show, go the guys who enjoy hard-core, you know... (...)(Lisboa, 2014, 1:36':50'').

In his point of view, this scenario was in this way because "(...) if it was to separate [the scene] would had two gothics... fifty headbangers, forty punks, you know... (...)". According to Lisboa (2014), this eclecticism composes the identity of the pelotense's underground (Lisboa, 2014, 1:36':50'').

This eclectic characteristic of the scene results from a kind of *cooperation* between member's bands and other subjects. It's another memorial category that is shared and articulated by the collaborators to describe and to signify (to represent) part (one characteristic) of the more general image of the underground scene from Pelotas in the 1990s. Such category counterbalances the "negative" (*precariousness* and *difficulties*) evaluations about how was the past scene. Porto (2014) presents a synthesis about what was the underground scene in Pelotas that directs attention to the idea of *cooperation*. For him, this scene was composed through the union of actors that put it to work it out[21]:

> (...) I would say that the scene is[22] that: everyone that was participating, even guys like Julião, who just used to help organizing [the festivals], but who always was there, together [with us], you know... even the... the audience that, you know, that only went to give prestige to [the festivals] (...). The scene is that, you know: the union between organizers, bands and audience... (...) (Porto, 2014, 00:27':41'').

One of these *cooperative* aspects is the mutual help among the band's members (and other friends). The divulgation of festivals is one example. It involved the confection and the spread of the festival's posters (through the activity of glue them on lampposts, walls, etc) along the city. Beyond this, most festivals were held through the borrowing (by the own band's members) of musical equipments: "(...) 'Hey! I have a bass amplifier!'; 'Hey! I have a drum!'; (...) Nothing very, you know, professional (...)" (Porto, 2014, 01:28':23''). The *cooperation* to hold a festival is also mentioned by De Britto (2014). Talking about the *V Noise Rock Festival,* as the better example of this mutual help, he observes: "(...) [the V Noise Rock] was... cool (...)". This festival "(...) was... 'the union made the force' (...), because Rubinho talked with the nuns (...)" and "(...) they got the stage... (...), by the 'without money', 'for the love of the homeland', each one gave a little there... (...) the guys setting the stage... (...)" (De Britto, 2014, 00:29':18'').

Regarding to the *Hell Underground Festival*, Lisboa (2014) comments that the main objective to create it was to establish an extreme metal scene in Pelotas: "(...) we perceived that we had to do the... our own scene, you know... Thence, we created in [19]98 the... Hell Underground Festival... (...)". According to him, it happened because

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[21] The cooperation is not only articulated in few aspects of this scene. Many of them (collaborators) describe and signify musical sociabilities involved with this memorial category, like: the sharing of rooms, garages, etc, for collective rehearsals; the exchange of materials (cassette tapes, LPs, CDs, etc); the borrowing of musical instruments; and so on.

[22] Many times they use verbs in the present tense even when talking about the past.

Pelotas didn't have an extreme metal scene. For this festival, they used to invite bands from other cities, but, on another hand, he mentions that they also had the objective to give opportunity to the local bands that were being born in Pelotas in this time (Lisboa, 2014, 00:39':40''):

> (...) there were other bands also emerging in the city and we tried to bring them [to the festival]... to invite bands from here (...), even if the [musical] style was a little different (...), of course, we tried to keep it on... on the extreme metal (...), but... always... covering other things, from heavy metal... to progressive rock, things like that... (...) We opened up space (...)" (Lisboa, 2014, 00:44'22'')

Final considerations: the meaning structure that supports the *social memory* and *collective identity*

Each *individual memory* is an *individual memory* (Halbwachs, 1990; Candau, 2011): each one presents its own points of view, directions and conceptions supported by the life experiences-trajectories. Although each collaborator presents its own version about the pelotense's rock underground scene from Pelotas in 1990s, the pre-analysis process is directing us to a memorial texture composed by nodes that tie the *individual memories* each other in some aspects. I.e.: parts of the memorial tissue are waved through the sharing of some conceptions, meanings, etc. This texture leads us to Candau (2011) when, even exposing the fragilities of the homogenizing statute (*holist rethorical*) of the *collective memory* expression, says: "(...) the subjects are able to communicate with each other and to access, thus, a 'minimum sharing of the work of meanings production', be it a knowledge sharing, of knowing, of representations, of beliefs (...)" (Candau, 2011, p. 31).

The fact that the collaborators do not aggregate each other as before (inside the underground scene from 1990s) and that their narratives lead us to see a sharing of souvenirs and representations, direct us to consider the perspective of *group under thinking* (Halbwachs, 1990). It means that the time and the past group fragmentation doesn't eliminate the possibility of a *collective memory*. The subject can base your own *individual memory* on the past group memory, without "(...) the current presence of one or many of its members (...)": he can continue "(...) to suffer the influence of a society (...)", even apart from it; he can carry all that allows him to position himself "(...) through the member's viewpoint (...)" of the past group (Halbwachs, 1990, p. 121). He can carry with himself an *internalized cultural capital* (Bourdier, 2001) formed along its enculturation on the underground musical scene (a local culture), as well as through your contact with several *socio-transmitters*[23] (Candau, 2011). Embodied as *habitus* or *proto-memory* (Candau, 2011), this *capital* becomes part of the subject: from the "to have" to the "to be" (Bourdier, 2001, p. 140). Determined by the circumstances and characteristics of enculturation, it leaves traces on the subject's *individual memory* that connect him to forms of expression of the past social group. I.e.: it helps the subject to remember.

We can consider the *group under thinking* perspective insofar as the collaborators still maintain themselves tied-identified with the rock culture. Many of them still play in bands or in their homes (alone); all of them continue to listen to rock; some of them still maintain themselves tied to the local underground; etc. In other words, they are on permanent contact with information, values, sounds, practices, socio-cultural performances and discourses that compose, so to speak, a large rock ethos. Therefore, we understand that these aspects contribute to tie - in some points - the *individual memories* on a collective memorial tissue.

On another hand, is in the dialogue between past *social frames* and the subject's current consciences (Halbwachs, 2004 [1925]) that we should to understand how the following meaning structure (Figure 1) emerges:
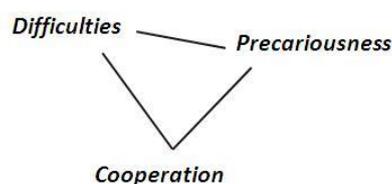
Figure 1 – Visual representation of the meaning structure that supports the *collective memory* about the rock underground scene from Pelotas in the 1990s.

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[23] Internet, magazines, LPs, CDs, videoclips, etc.

These categories organize a *semantic representation* about the scene that permeates *images-remembrances* related to the negative-positive conceptions and acts like a conducting wire that sew the *individual memories* each other. But why these categories are articulated in this memorial tissue?

On the actual stage of our research, we believe that the collaborator's memories reflect broader life experiences. They almost always make relations between their musical lifes and the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-technological changes they experienced from 1990s to current days, mainly those related to the improvement of the Brazilian economy and the advent of the internet. Possibly these changes constitute meaningful *memorial landmarks* (events) that give support to the souvenirs on their memory's works. I.e., we believe that these evaluations (through these *memorial landmarks*) are the basis of this meaning structure: probably is because that they perceive-represent the past context as more difficult, more precarious and oppressive in comparison with a present more facilitated, with fewer difficulties.

Based on the indisociability perspective between *memory* and *identity* (Candau, 2011, p. 63; Pollak, 1992, p. 204), we understand that this *semantic representation* reflects also a *collective identity* construction made through a strong relationship between themselves and the past context. On another hand, they articulate also a kind of differentiation (a *temporal alterity*) compared to what we can call *others-today*. It emerges from reflexive evaluations that compare *social frames* of *today-yesterday* like a way to differentiate themselves (*we-yesterday*) in relation to the *others-today*: it is like a way to position themselves (the interview gives to them the possibility of empowerment, to talk about themselves by themselves) in the present through the recognition of their own past musical lifes as meaningful experiences that the new generations will not experience. Therefore, these categories reflects not only the descriptions and meanings about the past scene, but also, they talk about the *cultural-collective identities* of those who participated in the rock underground scene from Pelotas in the 1990s.

The *cooperativeness* reflects, on another hand, a memory about a kind of local *underground sensibility* (Bennett as cited in Shuker, p. 238-239): "we did a scene even with the various difficulties and precariousness we faced". A scene that struggled-opposed itself to an oppressive sociocultural and socioeconomic context. An *underground sensibility-identity* that also reflects the *do it yourself* spirit/values (Holtzman et al, 2007): "we did a scene by ourselves because nobody would help us". Beyond this, it involves memories about the self determination and mutual help, two important DIY's values. This "do the things by ourselves" represents not only an image linked to the self determination idea, but also with the empowerment of the sociocultural group. Their narratives reinforce the valorization of the sociabilities involved in collective (mutual help) activities that were important to make the scene work it out.

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1.5. The emergence of *Neue Deutsche Welle* – a sociological study on an efficacious practice ascending from underground music to everyday culture.

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Abstract

The paper gives attention to the interplay of rock & pop practice multifaceted elements, evaluated within their practical realization process. The practice-sociological perspective provides the identification of various physical, tangible, discursive and symbolic elements, which have come together in underground scenes and have proven to be constitutive for the formation of rock & pop in general. We present the Neue Deutsche Welle as an example for transformation of rock & pop music and ask what kind of bodies, artifacts, discourses, symbols, and spaces have assembled in the early 1980s to perform this new underground formation. We give insights to first findings and discuss the methodological challenges we face working with the practice theory. Thus we try to advance practice theory to be an appropriate foundation for a genealogy of rock & pop music.

Keywords: Practices of rock and pop, practice theory, Neue Deutsche Welle, from underground scenes to everyday culture.

Initial assumption

Rock & pop music has powerfully influenced everyday culture in contemporary society, including its various forms of expression. At the same time the emergence of rock & pop is marked by a specific dynamic. The constitutive elements of rock & pop practice have to renew their combination permanently. So rock & pop stays an efficacious practice. There have to be new bands, styles, instruments, outfits, songs, technical equipment, fandoms, media, sounds, labels, and so on again and again. What kind of style breaks through and gets famous in both – underground or mainstream scenes – is quite unpredictable. In fact it could be the paradox of periodic moments of surprise that evoke the persistence of rock & pop practice until today (Hillebrandt, 2012; Jacke, 2006).

The discrepancy between the held opinion and the lack of knowledge about the causes of rock & pop's efficacious omnipresence constitute the base for a research project at University of Hagen. Source is on how rock & pop transformed from underground into a central component of social life. Focus is on physical conditions and situational events that create the implicitness of doing rock & pop.

What we point out here is one smaller part of the project which starts with the special dynamic of rock & pop practice and asks what happens that it consistently comes to a renewing of the formation of rock & pop practice which started underground and grew into mainstream.

In this paper we discuss the cross-borders of a very special underground music scene from an exceptional sociological point of view. Due to the prospect, we deal with the subject quite basically, by asking how the underground practices of that music scene in the early 1980s became a part of everyday culture and stay efficacious until today. Getting mainstream seems to be quite common to a lot of underground music scenes, although the protagonists often prefer to remain underground. Though the music industry constantly seeks for new underground trends, which can be brought to market, one can't say, what kind of music makes its way to mainstream. If you are interested in the border crossings from underground music to mainstream, you have to consider a lot of divergent influences, affecting this specific dynamic.

The research on rock & pop in Germany often focuses either on the aesthetic dimension or the social dimension (Hornberger, 2011). Our research is based on a theoretical approach, which allows including the manifold dimensions of rock & pop practices. We think that neither the artificial brilliance of the artists nor the music industry

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on its own are decisive for success, but the various logic of practice like Pierre Bourdieu once called it (Bourdieu, 1987). Hence, we are not going to focus only on the intentions of musicians or the history of bands and genres. We present an analytical framework, which enables us to include the complexity of influences in the process of getting famous. Below, we will first point out the theoretical prospect before we illustrate its benefit by the example of the so called *Neue Deutsche Welle*.

Sociology of practice

In the discipline of sociology, the theoretical approach of social practices has been enjoying great popularity for several years (Bourdieu, 1967; Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2003; Hillebrandt, 2014; Schäfer, Daniel & Hillebrandt, 2015). Practice theory offers a new perspective on the social:

> Practice theory does not place the social in mental qualities, nor in discourse, nor in interaction. (…) First of all, it is necessary to distinguish between 'practice' and 'practices' (in German there is the useful difference between Praxis and Praktiken). 'Practice' (Praxis) in the singular represents merely an emphatic term to describe the whole of human action (in contrast to theory and mere thinking). 'Practices' in the sense of the theory of social practices, however, is something else. A 'practice (Praktik) is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. A practice – a way of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, of taking care of oneself or of others, etc. forms so to speak a 'block' whose existence necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of the single elements. Likewise, a practice represents a pattern which can be filled out by a multitude of single and often unique actions reproducing the practice. (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249f)

Besides the human body and mind, this perspective takes into account the crucial part of objects, knowledge, symbols, discourses, structure, and processes in everyday life (Reckwitz, 2002). Practice theory in general lays interest on how to contain the physical implementation of practice and its own special quality. Single practices of different forms of actions (formations of practice) are conceptualized as happenings of sayings and physical doings and the association between socialized bodies and material elements enabling the affordances of things (Schatzki, 1996; Hillebrandt, 2014). Whereas in classical theories of action the human agent stands at the center, so called formations of practice are similar to conventions of different elements of discourses, socialized bodies, and materiality – similar to Bruno Latours actants in Actor-Network-Theory – which effect practice within their special associations and combinations (Latour, 1996). The Social in that prospective is in fact "the name of a type of momentary association which is characterized by the way it gathers together into new shapes" (Latour, 2005, p. 65). Especially the matter of physic artifact and the agency of materiality change the prospective of the social compared to conventional theories of action:

> If action is limited a priori to what 'intentional', 'meaningful' humans do, it is hard to see how a hammer, a basket, a door closer, a cat, a rug, a mug, a list, or a tag could act. (…) By contrast, if we start from the controversies about actors and agencies, then 'any thing' that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor – or, if it has no figuration yet, an actant.

The innovative theoretical concepts imply a considerable shift in the traditional sociological perspective on body, mind, things, knowledge, discourse, structure, process, and agency (Reckwitz, 2002) and force you to painstaking ask,

> (…) who and what participates in the action (…), even though it might mean letting elements in, which, for lack of a better term, we would call non-humans. (…) For sociologists of associations, what is new is (…) that objects are suddenly highlighted not only as being full-blown actors, but also as what explains the contrasted landscape we started with, the overarching powers of society, the huge asymmetries, the crushing exercise of power. (Latour, 2005, p. 72)

This shift in our perspective seems to offer a great chance to the exploration of rock & pop music, which is constituted by the interplay of musicians, recipients, technical equipment, instruments and media. Thereby the focus should be on physical conditions and situational events which create the implicitness of practicing. Whatever practices of rock & pop you analyze – a live performance, a session in a recording studio, the distribution of a

specific LP, or the customers listening to music in the privacy of ones homes – the interplay of many different items produces those situational practices. For this reason the pivotal question is: By which elements and associations are the practices of rock & pop basically generated?

Working with such an analytical framework, the challenge is to identify the central elements and dimensions of different rock & pop practices and to analyze their complex interactions and relations. During the analytical process we differentiate eight dimensions of practice:

1. dimension of space and time;
2. dimension of socialized bodies (e.g. musicians, fans, roadies, sound engineers, managers, djs, etc.);
3. dimension of technical and artifacts in general (e.g. instruments, amplifiers, speakers etc.);
4. dimension of constitutive media elements (e.g. LPs, radio, TV, music-magazines etc.);
5. dimension of sound and noise (e.g. instrumentation, voice, lyrics, song structure, harmonic issues);
6. dimension of symbols and aesthetics (e.g. fashion and outfits, accessories, design of LP-covers, videoclips etc.);
7. dimension of discourses and narratives (e.g. the iconization);
8. dimension of distribution (e.g. making stars, merchandising etc.).

By analyzing the ways of association of artifacts, bodies, symbols, discourses, etc. we can see how practices occur and create formations of practice that retrain the structural building effects of rock & pop. In doing so, we have to take into account the ceaseless transformation of associations. It's not only reproduction but permanent change of the arrangement of symbols, styles, embodiment, and performances of rock & pop practice that keeps it alive. A simple reproduction of the same combination of elements won't be successful in the long run. If everyone had furthermore played guitar like Jimi Hendrix did in the 1970s – rock & pop music would never stay efficacious that long. Rather, there has to be a permanent renewal of the associations between the elements of rock & pop practice, to keep the enthusiasm of rock & pop music flourishing. The tense relationship of reproduction and renewing these elements and associations evokes the special dynamic of rock & pop music, which also affects the borders from underground music to mainstream.

To learn more about that dynamic, we compare the associations and interplays of different phases of rock & pop history. Thus we use the identified dimensions of practices. We compare for example practices from the beginnings of rock & pop in general at the constitutive festivals like Monterey Pop Festival with practices of current rock and pop events. To concentrate on the novel elements and associations of a specific formation of rock & pop helps us to carve out the continuous dynamic of transformation. Due to the restricted space the eight dimensions of practice, as well as the research methods are just cracked superficially (see for this point Schäfer and Daniel, 2015; Daniel and Schäfer, 2015). The benefit of the analytical framework mentioned above will now be exemplified on one new formation of rock & pop in the 1980s: the so called *Neue Deutsche Welle* (NDW), also known as 'german new wave'.

The rise and fall of *Neue Deutsche Welle*

Neue Deutsche Welle is a very heterogeneous scene that became famous in the beginnings of the 1980s in Germany. The sound and musical self-conceptions varied a lot within. As it is generally known from other music scenes a lot of bands, mostly from the underground, refused to be labeled as NDW. So *Neue Deutsche Welle* is a proper example to show the complexity of the border-crossings from underground to mainstream.

To shortly acquaint you with the dimension of time and space, we outline the sociopolitical background in West Germany. The appearance of *Neue Deutsche Welle* was historically and socially framed by the end of the economic boom in the early seventies, which had a large impact on the younger generation of West German society. Youth became quite skeptical concerning the belief in politics and progress, increased by the failure of the policy of disarming between the western world and eastern bloc in the late seventies. Fear of the future as well as nuclear threat was omnipresent in those days. On that account the slogan *No Future* became a common life attitude for

the young generation.[2] Youth increasingly refused the lifestyle of the hippie-generation and began to look for some new forms of expression, whereupon the subculture of punk became a welcome alternative.[3] Inspired by punk, playing music became an option for large parts of young people in those days.

Thereby, the existence of a local music-scene was of great importance. In the course of analyzing the emergence of NDW, it was conspicuous that it has its initial points merely in a few German cities. As an underground movement it started already in the late seventies in cities like Düsseldorf, Berlin and Hamburg, which all had a great art and avant-garde scene. Around Clubs like the *Ratinger Hof* in Düsseldorf or the *SO 36* in Berlin, an increasing German punk scene was based (Teipel, 2001). While the British punk subculture often is related with a proletarian background, primarily the scene in Düsseldorf was mainly formed by teens from the middle-class, who were often still attending high school (Hornberger, 2011). Although the British punk was the point of origin of this scene, some of the newly-created bands like *Charleys Girls*, *Male*, *S.Y.P.H.*, which were all based at *Ratinger Hof*, began to sing in German quite early. Whereas some of the bands besides singing in German entirely remained true to punk, abiding the classical punk formation combining guitar, bass, drums, and vocals as well as the structure of songs and the style of punk, some bands were more adventurous.

In doing so, they prepared the ground for a new formation in rock & pop history, the so called *Neue Deutsche Welle*: Especially the sophisticated experimentation with the dimension of sound as well as lyrics became symptomatic to bands like *S.Y.P.H*, *Deutsch Amerikanische Freundschaft (DAF)*, *Mittagspause*, *Fehlfarben*, and *Der Plan*[4], *Abwärts*, *Palais Schaumburg*,[5] *DIN A Testbild*, *Neonbabies*, or *Mania D*[6]. The classical rock-instrumentation and the typical punk shouting were often left behind; instead, the handling of instruments and vocals became much more adventurous. While the lyrics of punk songs often were characterized by a special straightforwardness, the lyrics of early NDW-Bands stand out due to an artistic claim (Hornberger, 2011). Concerning the sound dimension, it was especially the experimentation with electronic options which characterized the music and created the unique sound of the early *Neue Deutsche Welle*. The use of synthesizers, which was often quite frowned upon by conventional punk, in particular marked the transition from punk to *Neue Deutsche Welle* (Hornberger, 2011). As one can see, very important technical artifacts joined the formation of practice accomplishing the *Neue Deutsche Welle*. To learn more about the sound dimension of *Neue Deutsche Welle*, you have to follow these significant artifacts and central elements through space and time: To give an example, synthesizers like the Korg MS 20 or the Yamaha DX7 became available and affordable for the first time in those days. The popularity of synthesizers not only changed the sound of the eighties, but affected also the live-performance, by modifying the special arrangement on stage: From the classic one with the singer in the frontline, the guitar and bass behind and the drums in the back, the arrangement changed and centered now the bandleader behind the big synthesizer (e.g. *Neonbabies*) or bringing the drums into the frontline like *Trio* often did, because of having only one single snare drum in use. For this reason, the materiality of objects, their size, portability, or style and their practical associations with human bodies, wires, and speakers are brought into focus in the analytical prospect of practice theory as well.

Although those bands clung to the idea of punk, that audience and band shouldn't be spatially separated during a gig, the performance of bands like *Mittagspause*, *Palais Schaumburg* or *DAF* more and more became distant artwork in total: While punk bands mainly performed in their punk knockabout clothes, those bands not only started to wear special outfits on stage but changed their behavior entirely. Especially *DAF*, in its late phase, was known for their electrifying performances, which combined a stomping sound, the staccato vocals and snatchy dance of Gabi Degaldo with some darksome outfits. Hornberger referring to Simon Frith (1980, p. 98) insofar distinguishes between conventional punk and avant-garde-punk (Hornberger, 2011, p. 80ff) what applies especially on the masquerade performance of *Der Plan* in the early times of *Neue Deutsche Welle*.

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[2] Due to this pessimism, the youth didn't join the existing peace- and anti-nuclear movement, which – headed by the 68' generation - experienced a revival in the early eighties.

[3] Dick Hebdige already discussed the style of punk as a way of rebellion against the elder generation in his path-breaking book Subculture – Meaning of Style (1979).

[4] Those bands were all more or less based in Düsseldorf. This scene was characterized by a high mutability of band formations, the members of Mittagspause for example were former members of the bands Charleys Girls and S.Y.P.H. and some of them later on formed up as Fehlfarben.

[5] Abwärts and Palais Schaumburg were settled in Hamburg.

[6] DIN A Testbild, Neonbabies and Mania D besides Malaria!, Einstürzende Neubauten and Ideal, which were founded in the early eighties, constituted the underground NDW scene in West-Berlin.

Of course new wave impacted on the sound of *Neue Deutsche Welle* too, the musical references where varied from dark wave to Blondie. Obviously new wave left its mark on the naming of *Neue Deutsche Welle* as well. The new German sound first got attention nationwide in 1979 as Alfred Hilsberg, a music journalist and writer of the music magazine *sounds*, who likewise was the first person labeling this music as *Neue Deutsche Welle* (Hilsberg, 1979), wrote his famous article *Rodenkirchen is burning* (Hilsberg, 1978). He was not only fascinated by the new sound of those bands, but as well by the *do it yourself* attitude of this scene, which crystallized in the numerous fanzines as well as in the launching of independent recording studios and labels and the foundations of new ways of distribution.[7] That makes Hilsberg and his text another element of the formation of practice, that calls the narrative and discursive dimension of *Neue Deutsche Welle* into action.

Due to the increasing publicity, the major labels became interested in the new sound as well. The music industry, convinced by the commercial success of *Neue Deutsche Welle,* started to support this new sound extensively: Not only bands from underground scene were wooed, but a huge mass of newly formed bands were contracted by major labels like CBS or EMI. Bands like *Fehlfarben* or *DAF* vindicated their run to music industry by the improved facilities of sound recording. Of course this wasn't faced with enthusiasm by the underground scene, but on account of promotion, those bands attracted attention also beyond the scene. In some cases the music industry motivated bands under contract to adapt the sound of *Neue Deutsche Welle*: *Nenas* former band *The Stripes* for example first sang in English and was asked by the CBS to switch to German. Nevertheless those new-formed NDW-bands weren't only a product created by music industry rather you have to analyze their formation as well.

Coming back to the practice dimension of space, although NDW-bands were established all over the nation, noticeable lots of NDW-bands and singers like *Nena, Extrabreit* or the *Humpe* sisters grew up or lived in Hagen, an inconspicious city on the edge of the industrial Ruhr district. Our previous investigation indicates that the main reason for a local music scene in Hagen was strangely enough founded by a campaign of local government, giving spaces and infrastructure to practice and perform popular music to young people. Youth could realize individual projects like playing in a band and were also supported by the local music scene from the fact that there were several youth clubs and cultural centers or places to rent instruments and equipment. The former band of *Nena* for example got its first record contract due to a commendatory critique of the band in a local music magazine. Besides the infrastructure and local music scene, playing music was also individually promoted by family or friends. The drummer of the band *Nena* for example told us, his passion for music was inspired by his elder brother, who was playing in a beat-band and affected his musical socialization basically.

While in the sound of bands like *S.Y.P.H.*, *Fehlfarben,* or *DAF* punk and dark wave was quite existent, these influences become less obvious in the music of those newly constituted NDW-bands, which became more and more shrill and catchy. As mentioned above the sound of NDW-bands varied a lot, but nevertheless there are some similarities:

The denial of the so-called hippie-music which developed into progressive rock in the seventies was common to every NDW-Band. Drawing this distinction impacted not only the dimension of artifacts, but also changed the dimension of sound and aesthetics of practices. The sound set of classic rock instrumentation was left behind and in demarcation to the romanticism of the hippies, especially the early NDW-Bands were celebrating urbanism and the rough charm of industrial regions. To focus on the aesthetic dimension includes not only the arrangements of fashion, but also the aesthetic of live-performances and music videos, which next to TV shows became an additional medium of distribution in the eighties. From the emergence of NDW around 1979/80 more and more flashy colors, synthetics and plastic clothes, accessories as well as neon light effects shaped the formation of practice of *Neue Deutsche Welle* and integrated mullets and a lot of shrill accessories, like sweatbands, gauntlets, hats, masquerade, and so on.

Singing in German of course was the common ground of all NDW-bands, and the most characteristic and novel element of this formation of rock & pop music. To circumvent German rock- and German '*Schlager'* music[8], the NDW-lyrics of the newly formed bands were often marked out by a special easiness and irony. In the discursive dimension of lyrics we find differences between the beginning and the second generation as well as in the aesthetic

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[7] Hilsberg in person later on supported the underground scene by launching the independent label Zickzack, on which records of Abwärts, Einstürzende Neubauten, Palais Schaumburg, Die Krupps and Die tödliche Doris were released.
[8] German 'Schlager' is a very mainstream and simple kind of popular music, which in some ways is comparable to American country music.

dimension. The discourse on NDW classified the lyrics of bands like *Mittagspause, DAF,* or *Abwärts* as to be quite sophisticated. That is because of quotes from classic texts or the work with ironic play on words. The lyrics of the second generation of NDW-artists often became much more simple and nearby nonsense and foolish.[9] Adapting the sound and song structure of German 'Schlager', the borders to that genre also were incrementally undermined. Anyway, many NDW-stars performed on TV shows where 'Schlager' normally dominated the scenery. This was due the rareness of music shows on TV in those days in Germany. Being broadcasted not only on radio but also on TV, which were the main channels of distribution at that time, one had to enter these stages, even if the show didn't suit you. The NDW-stars combine the productive effect of having something like a music video afterwards with the understanding of their performances as a challenge for criticizing the antiquated agenda of those shows representing establishment: The NDW-singer *Fräulein Menke* for example once wanted to wear a wedding gown in a performance, which wasn't faced with enthusiasm by the conservative editorial department of the show. Because she wasn't allowed to wear the bridal veil on stage, she took it along secretly and put it on during her live-performance. Hubert Kah – another famous *Neue Deutsche Welle* artist – did his performance at the TV hit parade wearing women makeup and sleeping dress and of course was booed from the audience. These are only two examples of many challenges NDW-stars inflicted on authority. But some famous *Neue Deutsche Welle* bands like *Ideal* or *Extrabreit* also refused very strictly to perform on those TV shows. Namely *Ideal* always remained true to the underground scene. Although the band had big commercial successes, they kept on releasing their records on an independent record label and became the first German band on an indie label with a gold record. Nevertheless the music industry deeply impacted the popularity of *Neue Deutsche Welle*, by recognizing its potential very early.

But to master the complexity of how *Neue Deutsche Welle* became a part of everyday life, you also have to take into account the unpredictable coincidences of success such like the following: Although *Nena's* song *99 Luftballons* became an international hit, it wasn't initiated by the music industry, but by the famous German author and drug addict Christiane F., who went to the US in order to promote her new book. She took a mixtape with *Nenas* song *99 Luftballons*, which was a hit in Germany already, along into a radio-interview. There she showed the tape to the interviewer and told him *99 Luftballons* was one of her favorites. He spontaneously played the unknown song on air. The disk jockey named Rodney Bingenheimer recognized its hit-potential and began to broadcast it frequently, so other radio-stations became interested and the song could make its way to the top of the US-charts. This story shows that sometimes objects like a brought along mixtape in association with socialized bodies, specific spaces, discourses, and times exert deep influence on music history.

Although the popularity of German new wave was ebbing away as fast as it arose and existed only about four years, until today *Neue Deutsche Welle* has a quite extraordinary reputation in the German music scene. Due to the great variety of bands and the blurring of borders, one of the different NDW-acts somehow suited every taste, regardless if underground or mainstream.

As pointed out, there are a lot of different elements and influences which cause that popularity. Therefore it's imperative to cross analytical borders in order to take the complexity of rock & pop music into account. The analytical framework of practice theory enables to include the complexity of influences in the process of crossing borders from underground to mainstream. Those opportunities make sociology of practice an appropriate foundation for a genealogy of rock & pop music.

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[9] Of course exceptions like Nenas 99 Luftballons which broached the issue of arms race during the cold war and others proves that rule.

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THEME TUNE 2 | Porto Calling Again: the ever changing features of punk and post punk in late modernity

2.1. Punk fanzines in Portugal (1978-2013): a mapping exercise

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Abstract

With the emergence of punk in the UK and USA, in the 1970s, the production, distribution and consumption of fanzines became relevant, as an area of freedom of thought and creativity, and as an alternative to conventional media. Since then the fanzines scene clearly expanded, at different levels. In this paper we discuss preliminary results of an ongoing research on the emergence, development and transformation of punk movement in Portugal, from 1978 until nowadays, in which the fanzines and, more recently, e-zines are interesting examples. Looking at a broad set of Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines, produced over the past decades, we'll try to analyse major trends and changes in their graphic and editorial contents and also understand their relevance inside the punk 'scenes'. Finally, we'll discuss the convergences that, despite the existing diversity, allow us to speak of a do-it-yourself ethic associated this kind of cultural objects.

Keywords: fanzines, do-it-yourself, punk.

Introduction

This paper focuses on the analysis of Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines that has been carried out in a research project entitled "*Keep it simple, make it fast! Prolegomenons and punk scenes, a road to portuguese contemporaneity (1977-2012)*", which is funded the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, and involves several researchers and research institutions from Portugal, Australia and Spain. This project is led by the Institute of Sociology from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto and developed in partnership with the Griffith Centre for Cultural Research and the University of the University of Lleida. Also the following institutions participate in this research: Faculty of Economics of the University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences of the University of Porto, Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra, Centre of Social Studies of the University of Coimbra and the Municipal Libraries of Lisbon. The project's main contribution is the analysis of foundation, development and consolidation of punk manifestations in Portugal, considering the Portuguese society contemporary changes between 1977 and 2012. Therefore, we're trying to study contexts and listen to social actors though a diachronic perspective and in a synchronic framework, crossing times and spaces.

Once there are no significant Portuguese academic studies on this subject, one of the major goals of this project has been to undertake a systematic collection of existing empirical data on punk events in Portugal over last three decades. Over the last two years the project's researchers have been involved in collecting assorted empirical data, namely:

- interviews with several key elements that are or have been connected to the Portuguese punk 'scenes' in different historical periods;
- participant observation events in punk;
- collecting and cataloguing of several material objects related with Portuguese punk 'scenes', including records, fanzines, posters, flyers, fanzines, etc.

It's important to emphasize that the task of collecting, organizing and analysing Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines is still ongoing, so in this paper it isn't yet possible to share and discuss here the definitive results on this matter. However, we'll try to present and discuss here some preliminary findings based on analysis of data that have been collected, organized and analyzed. Particularly, we intend to discuss here: the role of fanzines and e-

zines in Portuguese punk 'scenes' and how these objects helped to promote and boost the punk movement in Portugal

The paper starts with some considerations about the relevance of fanzines and e-zines in the international punk movement context. Then, we focus on some preliminary results arising from the ongoing analysis of Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines, including some brief reflections concerning methodological aspects. Finally, we conclude systematizing main issues arising from the analysis conducted, emphasizing some relevant aspects to consider on further research moments.

Punk and fanzines

The first fanzines emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, associated to science fiction fans. However, production, distribution and consumption of fanzines won global relevance with the emergence of the punk phenomenon in the UK and USA, during the 1970s and 1980s, arising as a space of freedom of thought and Do It Yourself (DIY) creation, as well as an alternative to conventional media. In effect, as regards Teal Triggs (2006), from early on, the fanzines placed themselves as a very important part of punk scenes construction – alongside bands, records and concerts -, actively contributing to the creation and consolidation of a certain sense of community.

> "Fanzines adopted the DIY, independent approach that punk musicians had espoused. With the rise of newly formed bands came the establishment of impromptu clubs, small, independent record labels and record stores (…). In the same way, fanzines offered fans a 'free space for developing ideas and practices', and a visual space unencumbered by formal design rules and visual expectations." (Triggs, 2006: 70)

Usually homemade produced with a limited circulation, punk fanzines tend to be written and published by punk movement members (individually or collectively), having as their target audience their peers (other punk fans). As referred by Julia Pine (2006), fanzines are material forms of symbolic representation. These collective and volunteer constructed (editing, contributions and distribution) objects allowed individuals to state their social existence, to integrate (sub)cultures, tribes and musical scenes and to participate culturally. At the same time, fanzines materialize a local underground movement and facilitate the promotion of local records, bands, concerts and stories. They are an element of taste, of affinities, of social, political, ideological and cultural belongings, and musical and lifestyle choices.

> "Unlike other publications, like books, which address the anonymous individual, or magazines, which seek to inform but also to entice and sell, punk zines were always written by insiders for insiders. They were often collective volunteer projects in terms of editing, contributions and distribution, and for the most part they invited feedback (although not always what you would call "warmly"). Belying the frequent "fuck you" attitude, they allowed their producers, (who, not incidentally, often lived at the periphery of the city or beyond or where otherwise house-bound), to declare their own existence, participation and stance, while at the same time helping to reify the local movement through concrete forms of representation. Zines were about conjuring up, connecting to and being part of the scene." (Pie, 2006: 42)

Therefore, it seems particularly interesting to analyze the contents of fanzines once we often find, throughout their pages, their authors' statements on political and social ideological positions, as well as supporting statements on certain causes (animal rights, eg). But we can also find interviews with bands and other member of punk 'scenes', and critical reviews of records and, concerts, movies, books or even other fanzines.

But many fanzines have also very important components of personal and even introspective articles. As Stephen Duncombe (1997) showed, personal thoughts and ethics have a central place in this king of self-published independent publications. Some fanzines – that Duncombe defines as "personal zines" or "perzines" – are particularly interesting places to learn how youth identity and socio-political distinctions are actively built. "These personal zines are testimony that regular people think about themselves, about their experience, about politics, and about their role as creators and consumers of culture" (Duncombe, 1997: 29).

As in other dimensions of the punk movement, fanzines' graphic components play an equally or even a more important role than the written texts. In fact, very often happens that written and visual components are so deeply mixed that it becomes impossible to develop a separate analysis of these two elements. Inspired by Beverly Best and Michel Foucault, Teal Triggs (2006) highlights how the punk fanzines developed a "graphic language of resistance", becoming a forum for political discourse and even political action. "For punk fanzines, language is communicated

graphically through a system of visual signs and specifically in the conveyance of a message of 'resistance'. (…) Punk fanzines are sites for oppositional practice in that they provide a forum for cultural communication as well as for political action, which should be included in any broader political discourse." (Triggs, 2006: 73).

However, it's important to highlight here that all these different elements – whether in terms of topics of the texts, or at the level of used graphic language – were already present in the pioneering English punk fanzines of the second half of the 1970s (such as *Panache*, *Sniffin' Clue* or *Ripped & Tom*). Thus, we can say that these first punk fanzines made a decisive contribution to the creation of a specific aesthetic and editorial "language" that turned out to be a sort of "subcultural canon". In recent decades, this "language" was widespread and globalized leading to the reproduction of a do-it-youself ethic and a certain way of "doing" punk fanzines that still persists today. As we will see, we can also observe this kind of "subcultural canon" in the analysis that we have been conducting on punk fanzines produced in Portugal since the 70s until nowadays.

Nonetheless, the role of technology must be taken into consideration. With the Information Technologies development, especially with the growing use of the Personal Computers and the increasing Internet easy access, there are a number of important changes in the way punk fanzines are produced, distributed and consumed. On the one hand, we can see that the traditional fanzines – print – are often replaced by electronic fanzines (called e-zines); and, on the other hand, those e-zines have an on-line widespread presence on websites, blogs and social networks, like *MySpace* or *Facebook*. In addition, it is also important to note that, as Ruben Ramirez Sánchez (2012) stated, the rise of Internet has speed up the local punk 'scenes' international contacts.

> "Punk networks comprise diverse mechanisms that facilitate local and international relations in the service of a punk ideology, and their reliance on DIY as a mode of production is primarily made possible by the creation and development of social networks that power media making. (…) the emergence of technologies of interconnectedness has greatly contributed to the international growth of punk media infrastructures. Self-production hardware and software, such as digital recording and self-publishing technologies, have enriched the punk media infrastructure by facilitating the punk cultural production that is circulated through its networks." (Sánchez, 2012: 42).

We must remember, however, that, even before the Internet's advent, fanzines played a very important role inside underground 'scenes', helping to establish and spread international networks contacts among punk aficionados, done by postal exchange not only of fanzines, but also records, demo-tapes, books, patches, etc. Of course, the recent development of the Internet has been very important in this process, because it allows the worldwide expansion of ties between bands, fanzines and record labels within the punk-spectrum (but not only, since this phenomenon is extensible to other underground 'scenes').

Although this set of deep transformations, made possible by recent technical and technological developments, we would like to stress that there are a number of themes that are already very well settled in the global punk imaginary and, therefore, did not fail to appear in almost all punk fanzines. As we point out before, they part of such a "subcultural canon" about how should be produced a do-it-yourself punk fanzine, the kind of graphic language used, or addressed topics.

Methodology

The brief general considerations on punk fanzines - their origin, relevance, recent changes - are important for the discussion of Portuguese case specifics aspects. First, however, it's important to note that the international scientific literature still lacks specific guidelines on fanzines' content analysis. Therefore, we sought to develop, within the framework of the KISMIF project on which this research is inserted, a proper methodology for punk fanzines and e-zines' content analysis.

First of all, it is important to briefly introduce the information collection, systematization and analysis procedures. We should start by pointing that, with the notable exception of Lisbon *Bedeteca* (Comics' Library) – partner of our research project – the Portuguese state and academic libraries usually do not purchase nor catalogue fanzines (whether punk or not).

So, we have to collect punk fanzines primarily through the following main procedures:

- Purchase fanzines directly to publishers, or indirectly at concerts, political events, community centres and squats, etc;

- Donation or loan for scanning by interviewees (punk movement elements);
- Availability of fanzines from the personal collection of some researchers;
- The Lisbon *Bedeteca* collection, which have several fanzines related to Portuguese punk movement or aesthetics;
- Online research and downloading (total or partial).

Regarding e-zines, the data collection has been taking place mainly through online surveys. In the case of e-zines that were available on the Internet, but have been removed, the research team has been trying to identify their publishers, in order to contact them to ask permission for access to these contents.

In what concerns the systematization, a database was created with the following aims: on the one hand, enable a systematic analysis of collected documents; and, on the other hand, create an archive that will be based on the Library of the Faculty of Arts, University of Porto (Portugal). The database and all the fanzines, records, flyers, posters, photographs and other documentary and iconographic elements collected will be available for anyone who wishes to research on the Portuguese punk movement.

Although in a necessarily abbreviated form, it is worth to describe and explain here how the contents of fanzines collected and listed on the database are being organized by the research team. So, we list then the main fields that compose this database:

- Name/designation
- Date of issue
- Type (individual/collective)
- Fanzine Editor – name/designation
- Fanzine Editor Geographic Origin – NUTS 3 level (Groups of Municipalities)
- Cost (paid/unpaid)
- Price (in Euros)
- Coin/currency
- Fanzine's total number of pages
- Graphics (Colour; Black and White)
- Print (Industrial – paper; Industrial – digital; Photocopied – paper; Photocopied – digital; Fanzines printed at home)
- Type of fanzine [all documents included in the database are fanzines, however, through this field we intend to catalogue different formats: Newspaper; Magazine; Fanzine; Portal/Website (when the fanzine is presented as a website and not a PDF or other type of application); and e-zine (only Fanzines that are hosted on the Internet); Graphzine (Fanzines only/mostly illustration / image); Newsletter; Book; Flyer]
- Subject of analytic incidence (once sometimes we don't have access to the whole fanzine, it's worth mentioning the sort of parts that each record refers: cover, all contents, only one article).
- Types of articles (Interviews; Reports; Record Reviews; DVD/Movies Reviews; Concerts Reviews; Opinion; Advertisement; News; Letters from Readers; Cartoons; Editorial; Others)
- Type of Images (Printmaking/Drawing/Painting; Photography; Cartoon/ Caricature; Collage; Comics)
- Theme discussed (Music; Attitude; Health; Politics, Humour; Others)
- Band names mentioned/discussed (in interviews, concert reports or in records reviews)
- 'Scenes' referred/mentioned (in interviews, concert reports, records reviews, opinion articles)

As we stated previously, the Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines collection and analysis began about a year and is a work still in progress. As might be expected, the team of researchers has found great difficulties in collecting fanzines published between the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. By contrast, it has been quite easy to find and collect punk fanzines published in subsequent decades (since the early 1990s until nowadays).

Such difficulties are closely related to the low perception, mainly during the 1970s and 1980s, on the importance of preserving fanzines as relevant documents to understand the Portuguese punk movement historical memory. In fact, unlike many of the pioneering Portuguese punk records, which have been preserved and are now rare objects sought by record collectors and punk fans (eg., the first and only *Corpo Diplomático*'s LP, entitled "Música Moderna", published in 1979), it has been very difficult to identify and collect punk fanzines published during the 1970s and 1980s. However, we are confident that there are still copies of these pioneers punk fanzines in Portugal.

Therefore, the research team carries on working hard to identify and contact owners of Portuguese punk fanzines, from different times, making them aware of the interest and relevance of this research project. Until now it was possible to scan and analyse more than 90 Portuguese punk fanzines (some of them with multiple numbers). Beside these fanzines we must add other fanzines that have already been collected and are currently in process of digitizing and cataloguing.

Punk fanzines in Portugal: preliminary considerations

Based on the analysis carried out so far, this chapter of the paper seeks to present, briefly, some preliminary considerations about issues that stand out from the analysis carried out so far. This is a preliminary mapping exercise of the 90 fanzines that currently constitute our analytic corpus, crisscrossing a reading of the themes addressed and the techniques and graphic aesthetic used, with the analysis of the historical time in which the various fanzines were produced.

Late 1970s: the pioneers of punk fanzines in Portugal

The first punk fanzines arise in Portugal in the late 1970s, in the Lisbon area. This is namely the case of the *Desordem Total* fanzine, with six numbers, published between 1978 and 1979, and the *Estado de Sítio* fanzine, edited by Paulo Borges, also a member of *Minas e Armadilhas* (a pioneer band punk in Portugal), which published at least six number throughout 1978. In both cases, the editors took a do-it-yourself aesthetic orientation, based on a blend of cut-and-paste techniques, drawing/illustration, handwritten and typed texts, photo manipulation, etc. which, as we saw before, it is perfectly consistent with the large majority of English and American punk fanzines this period.

At a time when the Portuguese punk movement was still was still embryonic we find in these early fanzines essentially a space for a sarcastic comment about the national and international socio-political reality. The references to Anglo-Saxon punk bands are also frequent, mainly through pictures of bands elements, not always identified.

The 80s: a first boom of punk fanzines in Portugal

Following the development of punk scenes in Portugal, we witness during the 1980s a certain proliferation of fanzines although at this stage still largely concentrated in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. In this period we can identify relevant punk fanzines such as *Subversão* (1982), *Subúrbios* (1985), *Tosse Convulsa* (1985), *O Cadáver Esquisito* (1986), *Lixo Anarquista* (1986-87), *Suicídio Colectivo* (1987), *Anarkozine* (1987), *Post Scriptum* (1987-88), *Morte à Censura* (1988), *Culto Urbano* (1988-89), among others.

Figure 1 – Front and back cover of the fanzine *Cadáver Esquisito* (April / May / June 1986)

Although the political and social criticism is still crucial, the musical dimension gains a clear relevance from this period; so fanzines become a fundamental space for the dissemination of punk bands, both national and international. Articles on punk and hardcore bands (subgenre that, during these years, breaks out in Portugal) and also reports on some punk international scenes (Australia, USA, Brazil, Italy, etc.) become frequent in these fanzines. Initially publishers were using essentially secondary sources (such as newspaper articles, press releases, etc.), but gradually they began to incorporate primary data, in general by conducting interviews with punk bands, both national and international.

From a graphic point of view, the Portuguese punk fanzines produced during the 1980s reflect a certain maturity of their producers. Formally we found that in many cases there is a more careful presentation; but many fanzines from this period still maintain an essentially do-it-yourself approach that since the beginning always characterized the punk culture.

The 90s: proliferation, dispersion and diversification

Analyzing the set of Portuguese punk fanzines published during the 1990s it became clear the deepening of some trends that it were already possible to identify in the previous decade.

First, we witness a diversification of punk subgenres addressed in fanzines (which is reflected in the increasing relevance of crust and straight-edge hardcore, for example), but also a greater openness to other underground aesthetics (not only musical genres such as hip hop, reggae-dub or even certain subgenres of electronic music, but also other issues are addressed here, such as skateboarding for example).

The analysis of bands and record labels mentioned on these fanzines, during this period, allows us to understand some networks of relationships between international punk scenes. On first analysis, yet very sketchy, there is a deep relationship between Portuguese bands and other international punk/hardcore scenes that we can realize on the regular movement of records, bands and fanzines between these countries. For example, we find in some of these fanzines references to some Portuguese punk hardcore bands that were on tour in countries like Brazil, Spain and Germany. Simultaneously, new topics gain relevance in fanzines during the 90s: ethical and policy issues related to the anarchist-libertarian ideology, women's rights; vegetarianism/veganism; animal rights; sexism; homophobia; drug use; among others.

The advent of the personal computer in Portugal that, during the 1990s, will become increasingly important became remarkable from the graphical point of view. In this sense, we find that many fanzines published during this period show a greater technical precision, moving away from a certain cut-and-paste aesthetic purism that marked the early stages of punk, in Portugal and abroad.

In this period it's worth mentioning fanzines such as *Mutante* (1992), *Grito de Revolta* (1992), *Crack* (1992, 1993, 1995), *Vontade de Ferro* (1994), *Animal Abuser* (1995), *Golpe Baixo* (1996), *Global Riot* (1996), *Insubmissão* (1997), *Kannabizine* (1997), *First Step* (1998), *Out of Step* (1996-98), *Hope* (1998), *Bakuzine* (1998), *Se o «voto é a arma do povo»…* (1998), *Zona Autónoma Provisória* (1999), *Convicção* (1999), *Rebeldia* (1999), *Spirit of Youth* (1999), among others.

The 2000s: refinement and deepening

Over the last thirteen years the production, distribution and consumption of punk fanzines seems to not have slowed.

Among other fanzines published during this period we may refer to the following ones: *Inhumanus* (2000), *San Bao* (2000), *Sisterly* (2000), *Vontade de Ferro* (2001), *Opinion* (2001), *Wake up and Live* (2001), *Two Sides* (2001), *Suburbano* (2002), *Acção Directa* (2004), *X.cute* (2005), *Crise Social* (2005), *Porque Nada se Constrói Sozinho* (2006), *Backfire* (2007), *Grita!* (2007), *Comedores de Cadáveres* (2008), *Not Just Words* (2007-2009), *A Culpa é da Humanidade* (2008-2012), *Alambique* (2007-2013), *O Alfinete* (2011-2013), *Kaos Urbano* (2007, 2010-2011), *Apupópapa* (2010), *Núcleo Duro* (2012), *The Juice* (2012), *Prego* (2013), *Möndo Brutal* (2011-2013), *Jubiladxs* (2012), *City Lights* (2011), *Humble: skate zine* (2011-2012), *Overpower Overcome* (2009, 2012), *Deflagra* (2008, 2011-2013) and *Karapaça* (2013).
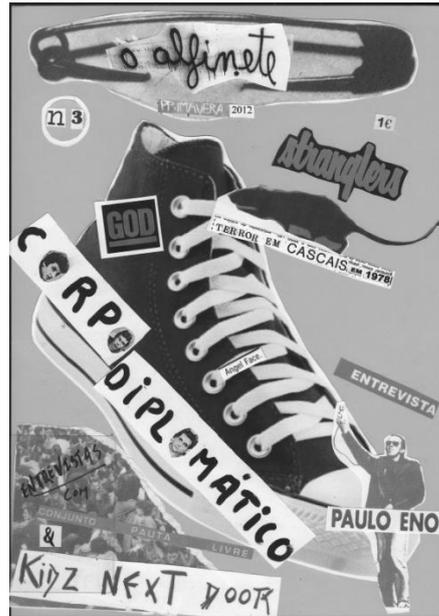
Figure 2 – Front cover of the fanzine *O Alfinete* (Spring 2012)

Although the beginning of the 2000s is definitely marked by the emergence of several online forums, weblogs and e-zines related with the punk scenes which uses the power of Internet for a quick, easy and inexpensive dissemination of punk bands, records, concerts, festivals, etc., the truth is that traditional fanzines, published on paper and distributed in underground circuits, continue to show a strong resilience (see Graphic 1). Although it contains some specific characteristics associated with the punk universe, this is a trend that is part of broad sense of appreciation of retro, analogue, vintage and also to a certain aesthetic and ethic memory associated with some cultural manifestations. In fact, and although taking different shapes of the past, nowadays traditional fanzines – published on paper - continue to be powerful spaces to affirm a certain do-it-yourself spirit inspired by punk culture, integrating text and image contents in a unique way, like there is in no other medium.
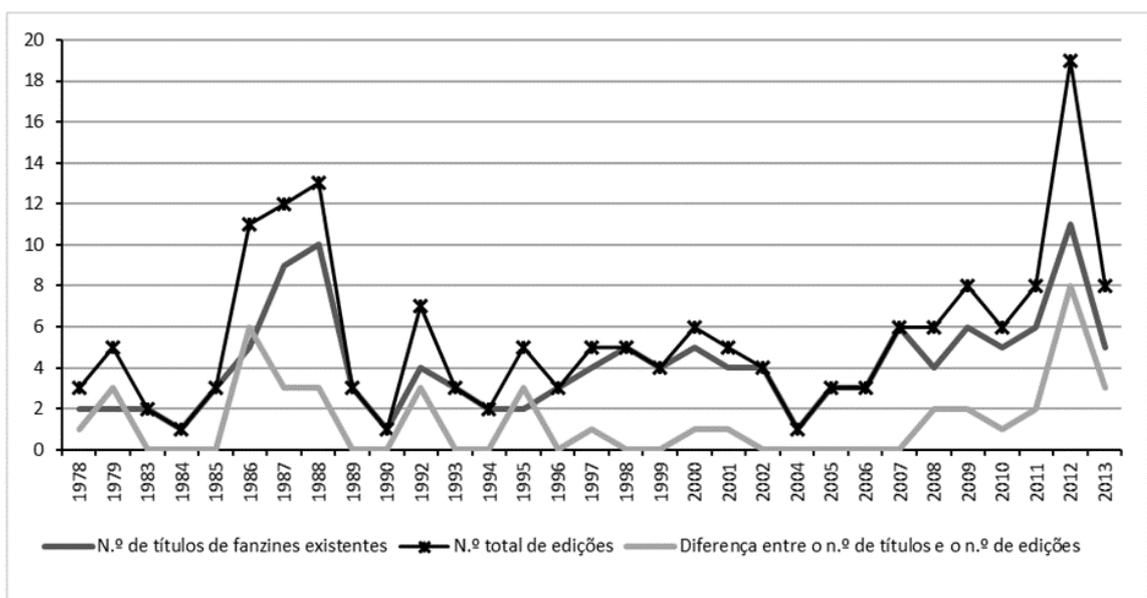
Figure 3 – Evolution of the number of Portuguese punk fanzines's titles and the number of Portuguese punk fanzines's editions, between 1978 and 2013.
Source: KISMIF Database

In thematic terms, we can see that the 2000s fanzines maintain the trend, already observed in the previous decades, of a certain diversification of the musical punk subgenres addressed, as well as an increasing openness to the incorporation of other underground aesthetic, not only in what concerns musical genres but also photography, cinema, comics or cartoons.

In contrast to what succeeded during the 1990s, now many Portuguese punk fanzine articles focus on "historical" punk/hardcore band, sometimes with some nostalgia (as some interviews with members of iconic punk/hardcore Portuguese bands from the 1990s, such as *X-Acto* or *New Winds*, show up quite clearly). This seems to be a major change, to the extent that it reveals a growing interest, among current members of 'scene', to build up a certain look upon the history and the memories of the Portuguese punk 'scene', which we rarely find in previous decades. On the other hand, it's also evident the little attention given to international punk/hardcore bands: in 2000s, Portuguese punk fanzines become essentially dedicated to the local context, in what suggests a deep editorial change, possibly justified by the Internet advent, during this decade, that ease the access about other international punk 'scenes', records and bands.

Moreover, in recent years gained increasing importance in Portuguese punk fanzines issues related to the ethical-political sphere, in the broad sense. While most fanzines maintain a strong tendency to address political/ethical issues and punk/hardcore musical related issues – a prevailing trend since the 1980s, as we have seen - in recent years some fanzines are particularly interested in anarchist oriented topics. Regarding this political dimension, it's interesting to point out that, in this matter, there is a combination of clearly international dimensions with other topics that are deeply rooted in local realities.

So, on the one hand, in some fanzines we find texts that address general topics related to the oppressive nature of capitalist society, without a specific connection to a specific territory or community (eg., exploitation, capitalism, development, etc.); but, on the other hand, we also found in the same fanzines several chronicles, interviews and reports on topics that address more specific concerns and that are deeply linked to a well-defined local contexts.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, we would like to quickly point out two or three points which, in our perspective, result from the analysis conducted so far and that may point out relevant research topics for future research in this field.

First, it seems important to emphasize that more than thirty years after the emergence of the punk movement in the UK – and, in this context, the appearance of the first punk fanzines –, the fanzine seems to remain current and relevant. This relevance is deeply related with the way a certain idea of do-it-yourself ethic has spread and is now fully integrated and globalized within the punk movement (and even beyond its borders). In fact, despite widespread use of the Internet and so-called Web 2.0 - that through the use of weblogs and online social networks have questioned the relevance of the traditional model of fanzines published on paper and distributed in a limited way -, the truth is that, in recent years, it seems to be take place a resurgence of this kind of do-it-yourself, independent, self-published publications.

As we have previously noted, it seems that the interest to keep the publishing of fanzines on paper and with a specific graphic aesthetic is related to a certain way of thinking and producing punk fanzines that has persisted since the 1970s to the present day. Despite all changes that the punk movement suffered in last decade, the punk fanzines that are currently produced continue to follow a certain "canon" - in graphic terms and in editorial content terms - that has its roots in the early punk fanzines, published in the United Kingdom and the United States, between the 1970s and 1980s.

However, it's also important to highlight that although many Portuguese punk fanzines current reaffirm this "canon" punk, they also introduce new issues and new concerns. Effectively, analyzing some Portuguese punk fanzines, especially the most recent ones, it appears that some specific concerns have been introduced in recent years, covering particular topics which are related to well-defined historical, political, social and cultural realities. The case of *Alambique* fanzine is a good example of this very particular articulation of broader socio-political issues with other local concerns, deeply rooted historically and socially. Here we can find, for instance, several articles on the historical roots of the anarchist movement in Alentejo - the region where is located Aljustrel, a small village where the *Alambique* is published -, along with articles on global concerns related with the current political situation. Another example is related to the recent concern of some fanzines to contribute for a punk history in

Portugal, seeking to reconstitute certain periods or collect testimonies of national flagship bands – as we have already talked about.

Another example, of a different kind, is related with motherhood, a new sort of problem that is addressed in some of fanzines from the 2000s decade that were analysed by our research team. This is an interesting new topic, that seems to us important to analyze in more detail in further moments of this research, once it is closely related to the way punks are dealing with the aging and the responsibilities associated with this moment of transition to adulthood.

Secondly, the analysis carried out so far seems to indicate that the Portuguese punk fanzines continue today - as in the past - to play a very important role in building a sense of underground community, strongly rooted locally but at the same time showing a great ability to connect with other 'scenes' local punk scattered all over the world. The fanzines remain privileged spaces for expression and communication, but they are also relevant to the editor affirm their belonging to the punk/hardcore scene - this identity dimension remains today a very important aspect in the analysis of punk fanzines.

However, it's important to recognize that today punk fanzines no longer have the same essential function of helping to establish national and international contacts within the international punk movement – an essential function that early Portuguese punk fanzines assumed, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, with the remarkable extension of the Internet during the last fifteen years, the establishment of these international contacts became much easier, quick and regular. Nevertheless, nowadays the punk fanzines seem to continue to play a very important role in structuring relationships and social networks inside these underground scenes. Moreover, due to the peculiar and very personal way of integrating text and graphical components, fanzines are somehow an unrepeatable object in a digital format (eg., on weblogs or online social networks).

In short, this is a return to the past or what we are witnessing is something new? This is an authentic phenomenon or a "mere" reproduction of some formulas from the past, which were globalized and are now being incessantly repeated, again and again? Maybe it's too early to draw definitive conclusions. In any case, it seems that the set of documents that have been already collected, catalogued and analyzed by our research team put us a quite interesting and stimulating set of questions and research paths to be deepening in a near future.

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2.2. Locked because of a look. The different risks you take when you look like a punk in West and East Germany (1977-1982)

Pierre Raboud[1]

Abstract

Fashion has always represented a crucial dimension within the punk movement: The boutique SEX, run by Malcom McLaren and Vivienne Westwood, was the place where the Sex Pistols met. To exist socially and to express themselves, all punk scenes need not only a venue to hold a concert; they also require the development of specific clothes. The politics of style, highlighted by Dick Hebdige, involves in itself a strong value given to clothes and to the way the scene's members look. We aim to analyse the fashion's dimension of the punk scene, extending the studies of music scenes to consider the intersection between music and other cultural fields. By focusing on two scenes from the same era—East and West Germany (GDR and FRG)—between 1977 and 1982, we will show how punk clothing and looks played a crucial role regarding the main musical and ideological issues of this movement. The look is used to express dissent and resistance against the consensus. But it also allows for the development of a common and visible identity for the scene. The two scenes examined in this paper are, of course, a lot different from one another. The risks involved by the punks are not on the same scale. In the FRG, the main danger was the commodification in which the mainstream media quickly used the punk look as a way to sell new brands. In the GDR, the danger was to be arrested in a society where the State took social appearance very seriously. Thus, the meaning of the same look can vary according to the specific context in which it is integrated. Through these two specific scenes, we expect, thus, to bring forth a key hypothesis about the punk scenes at large, regarding issues related to their look in the face of processes such as mainstreaming, sociallabelling or identity-building.

Keywords: punk, style, dissent, commodification, social appearance, fashion.

Introduction

When thinking about punk, one of the first things that comes to mind is its appearance. Punk scenes can be recognized by attire. Leather jackets, ripped T-shirts and safety pins play a key role in the identity of the scene. In fact, fashion has always represented a crucial dimension within the whole punk movement: The boutique SEX, run by Malcom McLaren and Vivienne Westwood, was the place where the Sex Pistols met (Savage, 2002). People continue to dress in a punk way to express the fact that they belong to this scene. To exist socially and to express themselves, all punk scenes need not only a venue to hold a concert; they also require the development of specific clothes. However, despite this importance, analyses of the punk scene often tends to focus on its musical aspects. Even in an exposition entitled 'Punk Aesthetics' (Kugelbert and Savage, 2012), only a few pages were devoted to the fashion topic.

In this paper, we aim to address the many unquestioned issues related to punk fashion. First, we will enlighten the importance of fashion for the punk scene itself. How can it help the process of building a community? By provoking the rejection of 'common people'? By developing a distinctive look? Then, we will ask what punk expresses through its fashion. Is the look used to express dissent and resistance against the consensus? Can we find a political statement within the outfits? Finally, we will stress the dangers involved for people dressing in the punk way. Dick Hebdige already identified these dangers. In *Subculture the Meaning of Style* (2008, p. 19), he stated that the recuperation process could adopt two different forms. The "commodity form" transforms the subcultural signs into standardised consumer items. The "ideological form" enforces a new definition to subcultural practices to suit the political agenda of the media and the state. However, another kind of danger is more obvious. By dressing outrageously, punks put themselves at risk of suffering state repression.

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We will address these topics through two historical contemporaneous cases: The first-wave punk scenes in Germany from both sides of the Wall between 1977 and 1982. By comparing these scenes from the same era but in opposite terms of political orientation and state structure, we will be able to analyse whether or not the meaning of punk attire differs, depending on the specific context in which it emerges.

The meaning of style

The title Hebdige's famous and still relevant book about punk that is quoted above already stressed the importance of style. As a quick reminder, for Hebdige, the subcultural politics were not expressed through literal dissent, as in counterculture, but through symbolic resistance (2008). If style may not be confined only to visual and fashion aspects, then this notion highlights the strong value given within the punk scene to outfits and the ways in which the scene's members look like. This fashion's aspects embody the way they perform their relations with society.

In fact, the outfits play a crucial role within the punk panoply, besides other elements such as music played rudely and pogoing at concert. It even sometimes represents the reason why people join the punk scene. In many testimonies, former punks remember, thus, how they decided to become punk after having seen a picture representing some punk. This is the case for both scenes analysed in this paper. In West Germany (the FRG), many punks stated that the first time they saw a punk in London or in their own town was a turning point for their life (Teipel, 2010). In East Germany (the GDR), the state control restricted any relation with the punk scene from Western Europe or London. Even interaction with West Germany was very scarce. But people from the GDR still had an unexpected chance to discover punk. An official publication intended to show to East Germans how much their capitalist neighbours were decadent by displaying pictures of young punks (Boehlike and Gerike, 2005, p. 120). The effect happened to be quite opposite, as many punks discovered punk because of this publication. The shock that they felt led them to become punk.

Thus, punk fashion sometimes represents the first step toward joining the punk scene. Furthermore, it is mainly used to fix the identity of the community. The outfits allow punks to recognize their peers. The activity of the scene is not confined to concerts. Being a punk means also drinking beers at pubs and spending time in the streets and parks. When no music is played, outfits can be used as a rallying sign. Thus, fashions play a key role in the building of the punk community. It allows punks to feel that they belong to the scene and to identify others in it. This issue of recognition appears to be so important that fashion might be the most constant feature of the whole punk repertoire. The comparison between the punk scene from East Germany and that from West Germany reveals a lot of differences, in terms of music composition or political involvement. For instance, Eastern punk use a very homogeneous way to play music, with very few variations in rhythms or regarding the instruments played, whereas punk bands in Düsseldorf quickly tried electronic devices and explored more pop and experimental compositions (Teipel, 2010). But through analyses of hundreds pictures of punks (bands and audiences) from both scenes taken from different archives (Substitut; Pop am Rhein; MFS), we can observe a quite strong constancy. The same codes are present on both sides of the wall: black leather, ripped shirts, clothes reworked by collage and Mohawk hairstyles, to name only the major ones. The only difference lies in the means available. Punk clothing or the raw materials to create them become easier and easier to get in West Germany, whereas in the GDR punk had to do with limited resources, forcing them to develop more creative or D-I-Y practices. Pankow, a punk from East Berlin, stressed this difference: "I was never interested by the West. And western punks even less because they just had to go to a store to buy their leather jackets and their nails-bracelet" (Boehlike and Gericke, 2005, p. 31).

We will not address the issue of cultural hegemony or westernisation in this paper. But we would like to state that both scenes are a part of a transnational cultural movement, which does not mean that they are only reproducing the same model. They appropriate the punk panoply. Regarding East German punks, they do not naively only want anything that comes from the West. The last quotation clearly expresses this concept.

One other reason to dress as punk embodies one crucial dimension of community: fun. Before addressing topics such as political dissent, it is important to bear in mind that people were dressing as punks because it meant a lot of fun for them. They enjoy creating clothes, dressing how they want and not as their parents want them to, feeling that they belong to a scene, being original but also—what may sound like an insult for some punks—hip. We must recognize that people were also becoming punks because it was cool. This was even the fact in Eastern Germany. In a surveillance report written by a punk informant (MFS BV Magdeburg Abt. XX 4223 ZMA), it was stated that

most punks wore this kind of clothing because it was new and 'modern'. This fun represents one of the reasons why young people joined together and built a community within a scene (Stearns, 1994).

Break social etiquettes

But punk was not only fun. As most youth cultural practices since the end of World War II, it embodied revolt and entertainment at the same time. Alex Schildt and Detlef Siegfred have shown it in their well-titled book: *Between Marx and Coca-Cola. Youth Culture in Changing European Societies* (2007). Since the sixties, culture has been associated with values of social change, revolution and opposition to youths' parent's society. But it was also experienced through hedonism and the consumption of new cultural products, which led to the opening of a new—quite profitable, in fact—market.

Punk is an heir from this development of modern culture. Even if it wants to break with former musical genres, it still reiterates the codes of fun and hipness. This is at last strong in its early years. But the fact that punks had fun and were kind of hip with their fashion experimentation doesn't prevent them from expressing dissent and revolt. All fun is not the same. What matters here is the specific form taken by fun and fashion within the punk scene.

And indeed, the clothes were chosen with the intent to shock the rest of the society. This is what Hebdige (2008, p. 21) describes as a scandal toward the silent majority. The punk appearance represents a dissent from any principle of unity or social cohesion. As pointed by John Savage (2002), punks wanted to break the post-war consensus. Both Eastern and Western society happen to be then marked by a strong social consensus. It's what Jürgen Teipel (2010), a punk from East Berlin, points when he explains that West German punk interested him because it was situated in a very conservative country. In the GDR, this consensus was far stronger and was harshly organized. The state paid a lot of attention to the control of its citizen through surveillance by the Stasi. The whole social life was regulated through regular rites (Fulbrook, 2008).

In the purpose to break all social etiquettes of these social consensuses, punks from both scenes used clothes that were rejected and despised by the majority of its citizen. We can list at least two main categories: The first one gathers basic clothes that are ripped and dirty. The aim here is to use artifacts associated with poverty and trash. The reshaping through scissors and collage reinforces this aspect. We can name here white t-shirts, old jeans, and boots. Besides poverty, the second category is related to other marginalized practices. With the use of leather, for instance, there were a clear reference toward sadomasochism.

With this extensive use of clothes bound to practices seen as deviant by the social norms, the punks aimed to draw a clear line between them and the bourgeois society. All social etiquette is turned to its contrary. That way, the punk scenes stated that they refused to belong to the consensus. They took what society saw as trash or deviance and turned it into clothes. Punk fashion, thus, allowed participants to situate the punk scene in direct and evident conflict with the dominant society. This will to shock bourgeois can take different paths. It leads sometimes to the use of the most forbidden taboo, such as the presence of the Swastika symbol. In post-war Western Germany, in a society marked by the culpability of Nazism, it perhaps represented the biggest scandal. In the GDR, it was the West that embodied the number-one enemy, blamed and criticized in every official discourse. So it is FRG symbols, such as brands' names and logos, which were written or affixed on clothes (as described in the Stasi archives, MFS BV Magdeburg Abt. XX 4223 ZMA).

But dissent can also express itself through literal positive political statement, as is the case of discourse and watchwords printed or handwritten on shirts. We can think of the anarchist symbol that appears repeatedly on clothes in both scenes.

We can add that both of these paths were already present in the British punk scene with the inclusion of the swastika and the famous white shirt with the pro and cons of the Sex Pistols (Savage, 2002, p. 114–115). This enlightened the role of British punk as a common root for both German punk scenes.

The dangers of fashion

Until now, we have stated that punk scenes used fashion for inside purposes (fun and to build a common identity for the community) and for outside goals (expressing dissent, breaking the consensus). But to determine the concrete political meaning of these cultural practices, we need to situate them in their specific context. To

understand the strength, the limits and the dangers of this dissent, we must relate it to issues such as repression or the precise character of each consensus.

In West Germany, even if there was a strong conservatism, the country had experienced many social struggles in the seventies (Reichard and Siegfried, 2010). It was still facing left violence with the *Rote Armee Fraktion* when punk emerged in Germany (Steiner and Debray, 2005). The government, despite its lack of promotion and its disdain towards youth culture, did not forbid any kind of cultural practise. Since the sixties, many art schools have been established. For instance, in the city of Düsseldorf, a lot of influential artists, such as Joseph Beuys or Bernd and Hilly Becher, were teaching in art schools. It was, in fact, in this city that the first major punk scene in West Germany emerged (Teipel, 2010).

Punk in West Germany faced no specific police repression or surveillance in the late seventies or early eighties. After having consulted the police archives of the Land and the Bundesarchiv, we can assert that the West German State did not see punk as a danger to fight, punk being only mentioned briefly in delinquency cases about drugs. Furthermore, in a 1981 federal report (B 138/30183), the authority states that punk must not be considered as a political struggle. It must be confined to an issue of youth integration. The recuperation process takes here an ideological form. It enforces its own definition of punk, denying it any political meaning. It erases its revolt potential.

As culture and punk were not considered to be a societal problem, they faced another kind of danger: commoditisation. Fashion expresses itself through artefacts. It is also the case with punk, as we have been able to list different types of clothes. Punk fashion was born in a shop. Even if it was then appropriated by a lot of punks who made their outfits themselves, punk remained at this shopping origin. Some former punks from Düsseldorf were even participating in this process by actively selling band t-shirts (*The Ostrich* (1977), n°3). It was then easy to bring such attire to mainstream stores. We can observe this process in the German mainstream newspapers. After the first wave of moral panic (see, for instance, the *Spiegel* from 1978, whose cover stated 'Punk, culture from the suburbs. Rough and hateful'), it was then quickly neutralised as juvenile entertainment. The teenage magazine *Bravo* (1978, 2) had, thus, many articles and covered punk as a topic. One article even explained to teenage boys and girls how to dress like a punk: "Punk zum spass und aus flippen. Bravo modetip für ihre party" (Punk for fun and going crazy. The fashion advices from Bravo for your party). In that process, the punk scene lost its value of revolt and D-I-Y and was incorporated in the mainstream market next to ABBA and John Travolta. Mainstream stores reacted quickly to this wave and began to sell punk look-a-like clothing.

In East Germany, there was no financial development or commoditisation possible for the punk scene. On the contrary, punk had suffered a harsh repression from the state. The GDR power is described by Mary Fulbrook (2008) as "participatory dictatorship". This notion enlightens the fact that this dictatorship not only used repression against opponents, it also asked its citizens to actively participate in public rites. Not participating in rites of consent represented, thus, a revolt gesture in itself. The Stasi represented a strong example of this policy. This Ministry for State Security hired a lot of informants from civil society, including punks (Boehlike and Gericke, 2005, p. 54). The historian Mike Dennis (2003) affirms that this ministry had 91 000 full-time employees and 180 000 informants in 1975. The SED, the only party allowed in the country, not only ruled state affairs, it was fixing rules for different spheres of private life, leisure or education. To every age corresponds a party organization: young pioneers for children between 6 and 10 years old; pioneers for children between 10 and 14 and the Free German Youth for young people between 14 and 25 (Fullbrook, 2008, p. 127).

Thus, every side of life, even the most personal, was politicised by the State, from ethics problems to clothes. Moreover, the State gave a specific meaning to youth because, to its eyes, it represented both the future of the country and was an easy target for the enemies (Kosovoï, 2009, p. 167). The State asked young people to embody the perfect communist and viewed any presence of Western influence as a great danger. In the Cold War context— the end of the seventies signifying the so-called second Cold War—any practices of social dissent were repressed. The historian Julian Brauer (2012) stated that, at that time, the East German government feared a loss of control over society. It was thus extremely careful to prevent the expression of any deviant practises, moreover inside the youth. We are facing a policy close to that of the so-called 'broken glasses'. This expression describes the will of the city of New York to replace any broken windows because they embody visible signs of the fact that the State was losing power in years of economic crisis (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004). In the same way, the East German State was repressing any visible form of dissent to prove that it was still in control.

In 1981, a State directive ordered police to halt anyone identified as a punk (MFS HA XX 19364). Punks were arrested and forced to join the army or were sent to West Germany (Brauer, 2012, p. 82). In the Stasi archives,

there are many files devoted to the punk issue. In 1983, 17 bands had fiches on them and 900 young people were watched because of their proximity to the punk scene (MfS, BV Berlin). In the Stasi files, clothes play a crucial role. Informants and officers described precisely the outfits of punks who were watched or arrested. They listed the colours, shape, and patches on their clothing; there were also often pictures of punks to provide visual proof. Punks were arrested because they represented signs of social dissent. Through their clothes, they differed from the 'socialist personality (Fulbrook, 2008, p. 315). The East German government decided to destroy the punk scene in a surveillance that was mostly focused on the appearance and, of course, links with Western culture.

The case of the East and West German punk scenes shows how much fashion matters for the existence of a scene in many ways. It helped the punk scene to define a common identity against the society. Clothes allowed it to express the nature of this relation towards the 'silent majority'. But fashion also represents a danger: As an artefact, it is easily appropriated. As a show open to the look of everyone, it facilitates the tracking of, and arrests, by the police. The nature of the danger is related to the form of the society in which the punk scenes emerge.

Both dangers will lead punk scenes to specific fights. On the one hand, Western Punks will try to prevent recuperation by going further and further in the search for radical scandal, and by criticizing pseudo-punks or so-called 'mode-punks' (*mode* means 'fashion'). This last expression stresses the paradox of fashion. The punks did follow a kind of fashion but, in the same time, rejected the very idea of fashion. On the other hand, the direct struggle against the State led East German punks to develop a political strategy, building alliances with other movements, namely churches, thus defining a coherent political discourse. This strategy will allow them to preserve a resistance space within the East German society.

The difference between the political agenda of each scene can, thus, be seen in their distinct use of symbols within their outfits. In West punk scenes, the quest for social scandal led them to use symbols such the swastika and other Nazi-related symbols without taking account of their political and historical meaning. On the contrary, East German punks almost never used Nazi symbols. Their political stance involved not only a literal opposition discourse, but also a social appearance that handled political symbols carefully so that they remained coherent.

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2.3. Punk representations in advertising: impurity, stigma and deviance

Cláudia Pereira[1]

Abstract

Advertising is an important space for social representation of contemporaneity. After all, if we live in a "society of consumption", advertising is its most important narrative. Through advertising, we can comprehend the hegemonic values of contemporary social life, those which guide everyday life, and the interaction established by common sense. Moreover, because it is public and collective, advertising narrative is concentrated on what we recognize as familiar, and what we perceive as being normative. The aim of this study is to analyze the social representations in advertising, those which we do not know, are unusual or deviant. How does advertising concur with what is not beautiful or "normal", within the normative and hegemonic patterns present in the media? What are the symbolic limits of a narrative based upon the representations of a "perfect world", of a "happy ending" and of beauty? This study will focus on British and Brazilian advertising, more specifically those which aim to construct social representations of youth countercultures and subcultures. The main conceptual framework applied was Serge Moscovici's Theory of Social Representation, and also work by leading Social Scientists Mary Douglas, Erving Goffman and Howard Becker, which look at issues such as impurity, stigma and deviance respectively. We intend to reflect on the role of the media in the imaginary construction of what is not exactly the "perfect world" portrayed by advertising.

Keywords: advertising, youth, punk.

Introduction

Since 2011, I have focused my research on the broader aim of exploring the different media representations of youth in advertising, from the 1960s until present day. I believe this is a means through which we can have access to the social construction process of youth, from a historical and sociological perspective.

If on the one hand the complexity of this aim imposes the need to delimit the research scope significantly, a task which isn't necessarily simple to do, on the other hand, the variety of subjects correlated to the youth universe offer various possibilities for analysis, raising moreover many interesting questions to be considered. For example, we can consider the young and idealised body, consumption and its unfolding in the generational experience, use of technology and the relationship with politics to name but a few. At present, I am most interested in observing the ways in which certain youth subcultures are appropriated by advertising, becoming media representations easily understood by common sense.

Advertising is an important space for social representation of contemporaneity. After all, if we live in a "society of consumption", advertising is its most important narrative. Through advertising, we can comprehend the hegemonic values of contemporary social life, those which guide everyday life, and the interaction established by common sense. Moreover, because it is public and collective, advertising narrative is concentrated on what we recognize as familiar, and what we perceive as being normative.

Conceptual Framework

Henceforth, this paper stems from the premise that in the field of communication studies, advertising and its narrative play a role in the everyday elaboration of social representations; the circulating meanings which constitute the imaginary institution of society, and upon which, as a consequence, certain prevailing moral values are imposed. Thus far, nothing new. Therefore I propose a different point of view, one which observes what exists on the fringes of social standards, what transgresses, which to a certain extent represents danger to what is normative. By

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exploring these media representations as a communication phenomenon, more specifically analysing the way in which the construction process of these images, ideas, beliefs, consumption practices thought categories and classification systems occur, I seek to observe what doesn't necessarily fit into what could be considered the norm, conventional or at best agreeable, for an advertising campaign.

How does advertising concur with what is not beautiful or "normal", within the normative and hegemonic patterns present in the media? What are the symbolic limits of a narrative based upon the representations of a "perfect world", of a "happy ending" and of beauty? According to Brazilian anthropologist Everardo Rocha,

> There is an amazing curiosity and a great fascination with the world of advertising. The world that we are shown within each and every ad. The world where products are feelings and there is no death. Which is like the life and yet completely different, given that it is always successful. It is where the everyday life is made into small pictures of absolute and impossible happiness. It is where there is no pain, no misery, no distress or issues. It is the world where there are living things and paradoxically also where it is the absence of human fragility. There, in the ad world, the child is always smiling, the woman desiring, the man fulfilling, the old age canonizing. There are always the plentyfull table, the holy family, the seduction. The world is neither deceptive nor truthful just because its registry is magic. (ROCHA, 2010)[2]

Considering the limitations of this perspective, the one of the perfect and magical "world of advertising", since it may not be a general condition of all cultures, we can at least admit that, for the present analysis, this idealized and aspirational notion is still very useful.3 Moreover, the adverts that will be further described are not concentrated in a specific context. On the contrary, this study will focus on advertising of many countries, emphasizing their caracter of construction of social representations of youth countercultures and, in this case, punk subcultures in a wider approach.

The main conceptual framework applied was Serge Moscovici's Theory of Social Representation, and also work by leading Social Scientists Mary Douglas, Erving Goffman and Howard Becker, which look at issues such as impurity, stigma and deviance respectively.

I will begin by briefly presenting the four theoretical concepts which serve as a basis for my analysis. I will then show you some advertisements which portray the punk subculture as a media representation which sometimes represents negative values, and sometimes represents positive values. It isn´t easy to portray this, particularly if compared to other subcultures, as I will try to demonstrate further on.

Serge Moscovici's Theory of Social Representation is interesting for the purpose of my studies, because in a very simple way, it enables one to reflect on the role of the media in constructing images and ideas which constitute the content of common sense. Particularly if what is proposed, is to observe, within the realm of advertising, what is represented as being conventional, without being conventional; as something familiar, when little is known about it; as inoffensive, when in actual fact it is avoided at all cost. Considering how the media represent something which isn't common, it is interesting to note what happens when there is the obligation of conferring meaning to something which isn't desired for conviviality.

This can be manifested empirically when something that isn't agreeable to social harmony, begins to be represented in advertising, a space which by definition is one of consensus (Figure 1). Moscovici is a theorist who draws upon the Theory of Communication, because he places the media at the centre of what he himself denominates the "phenomenon of social representations". Being a phenomenon, it is the product and effect of social interaction, to which media references contribute. Moscovici's main idea is that social representations are built via social interaction, collective action resulting from necessity and the collective need "making the familiar unfamiliar, or familiarity itself" (Moscovici, 2011, p. 54). For Moscovici, there is a "consensual universe" which provides a type of security and harmony of ideas and knowledge, which are consolidated with the repetition of situations, actions and ideas. Moscovici's contribution lies mainly within the perspective of a social representation which is built collectively, from different spaces within the everyday world, including that of the media; cementing what is social, reaffirming the force of memory, seeking familiarity and stimulated by the moment. Even if the unfamiliar resists, albeit momentarily against what is at stake - to then be modified, brought closer, identified and finally won over by the necessities of the consensual universe.

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[2] All references are taken from Brazilian editions, in Portuguese. And all the citations are free translations by the author.
[3] The next step of the present research is to contextualize British and Brazilian cultures in order to stablish where or not advertising works like an idealized world.

A second important concept for this analysis is that of Mary Douglas' "impurity" and taking one step further, that of "danger". In 1966, British anthropologist Mary Douglas assessed pure and impure religious rituals in tribal societies, seeking a social law that would elucidate the social contemporary aspects of pollution and contamination, and their relationship with the sacred and profane. In her theory, Douglas (1991) states that the nature of what is dirt, stemming from the analysis of religious rituals, is associated with disorder, or something that is "out of place", that was "rejected" or is "fragmented", threatening "the order of things" (Figure 2).

As a structuralist, Douglas enumerates and describes classification systems in many of her studies. In Purity and Danger, the author establishes relationships between the notions presented, as she does with the idea of "holiness" which in her view associates itself to categories such as "purity", "integrity" and "order". In opposition to this, the profane is associated with "dirt", "pollution" and "disorder". For Douglas a "reflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder , being to non-being, form to formlessness, life to death (Douglas, 1991, p. 18)". In her studies, she builds relations between religious symbolism and power. If on the one hand the rituals serve to mark the pure and impure spaces, hygiene and pollution, order and disorder, on the other hand, these demarcations are put into practice by those who detain power. The "dangers" which Douglas refers to are sanctions imposed on those who transgress social rules, rules which are necessary to maintain order, notwithstanding the threat they pose; a threat which in actual fact is borderline between what separates order from disorder.
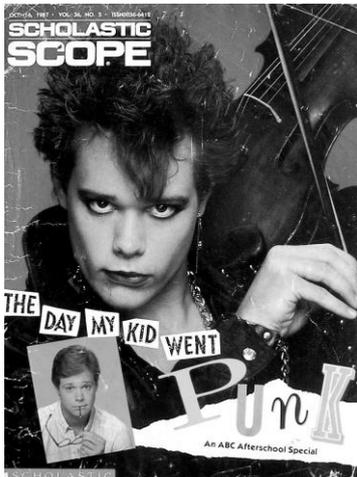
Figure 1 – Punk becoming entertainment (TV Series "The day my kid went punk" exihibited at ABC in 1987, USA)
Source: Scolastic Scope, 10-16-1987
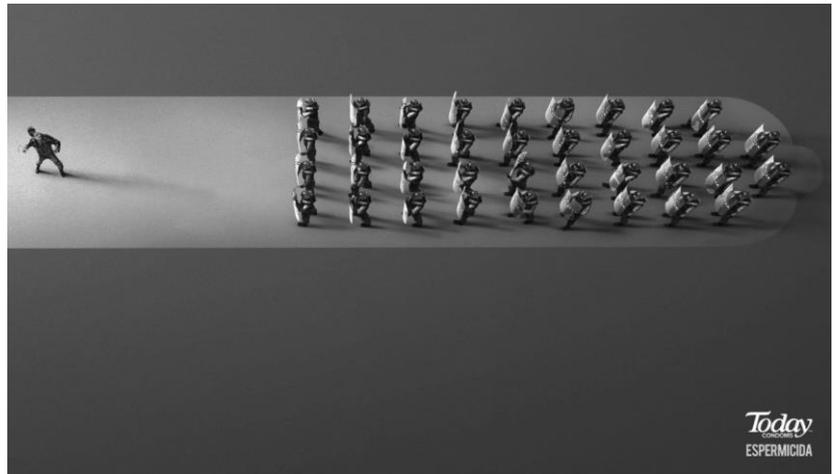
Figure 2 – An advert for condoms– punk threatening the order of things (Colombia, 2010)
Source: http://www.vivelapub.fr/les-punks-dans-la-pub/

Figure 3: Punk as impurity, anomaly and danger (Belgium, 2009)
Source: http://www.vivelapub.fr/les-punks-dans-la-pub/

In analogy to impurity and disorder are "anomaly" and "ambiguity", which in Douglas' opinion are a repository for danger in any society. In some tribes studied in her fieldwork, creepy crawly animals, or those with some type of physical deformity, were avoided and constituted taboo. Symbolically speaking, and thinking from the perspective of social representations in the media, the same effect seems true, in particular if we make use of the clarity and objectivity used in advertising: nothing that is ambiguous fits into its narrative, let alone something which causes aversion or repulsion. Ambiguity and anomaly represent danger because they challenge form, within the notions of form and the absence of form in society. This is useful notion for when we consider punk representations (Figure 3). In summary, our behaviour towards pollution consists in "condoning any object or any idea susceptible to causing confusion or contradicting our precious classifications" (Douglas, 1991, p. 51).

The third concept was developed by Erving Goffman (2008), for whom studies on stigmas - physical disabilities, marks on bodies or any other situation which resulted in an individual not being fully socially acceptable - enable the comprehension of certain aspects related to interaction and social control (Figure 4).

Goffman makes a distinction between "normal" and "stigmatised". In this sense, the author highlights a number of nuances depending on the context under consideration. For example there is the "credit" or "discredit" factor which is attributed to individuals on a social level; or visible stigmas which determine the conditions of the "discredited", or those which are not visible, which determine the conditions of the "discreditables". There is also the "manipulation" or "covering up" stigma depending on contextual losses or gains for the stigmatised. Considering Goffman's theories, what interests us the most is what the author refers to as "symbols". There are three kinds: the "stigma symbols" in opposition to the "prestige symbols" (Figure 4).

By "stigma symbols" the author refers to "symbols which are particularly effective in calling attention to a degrading identity discrepancy that rupture, what could otherwise be, a coherent global portrait" (Goffman, 1988, p. 53). The third kind are the "disidentifiers", in other words those which promote the rupture of expectations with regards to social information, which is used by the individual in a positive way.

And finally the fourth concept, "deviance", devised by American sociologist Howard Becker (2009). In 1962, Becker made contributions in the field of behaviour which was considered to be in breach of established norms, and therefore subject to sanctions imposed by social institutions and organisations. Becker was not interested in understanding what led an individual to transgressing the norms. He sought to observe the process through which this individual was "labelled" a "deviant". The author applies the term "outsiders" to all of those whom commit infractions of social rules, ranging from infractions considered serious such as related to a criminal act, through to transgressions of conventions established by etiquette (Figure 5).

The outsiders are labelled by the more conventional members of society, those who stipulate social rules for their own benefit, maintaining those who transgress the rules, on the fringes of society. It is important that these deviants exist, because the sanctions they suffer are recognised by the "more conventional members of society" as being fair. Therefore strengthening this labelling factor ensures social order.

The four concepts hereby presented help us to understand media representations of the punk subculture in the sense that it is "unfamiliar", "dirty" or "dangerous", "stigmatised" and that of an "outsider". When punk is used in advertising, it strengthens the opposite, in other words what is "familiar", "pure" or "sacred", what is "normal" and the "more conventional members of society". Different from other subcultures such as hippie, punk is a "necessary evil" to ascertain moral and normative values in our society (Figure 6).

Even though transgressional punk expressions are radically opposed to authoritarianism, to bureaucratisation and bourgeois consumption, because of the differences in harmonization present in the day-to-day of social groups, it needs to be incorporated into common sense. It has to become "familiar". Advertising is the ideal space for this process to occur, because, in there, we expect to see a "perfect world", free from ambiguities and anomalies, contrary to what it actually is. By playing with danger, advertising risks illustrating the best side of what threatens it. Therefore the punk movement, even though it is much more hostile to the advertising environment than the hippie movement, can also be the object of persuasive argumentation - neutralising it as being dangerous (Figure 7).

Punk serves as an inspiration because it offers the necessary symbology that shocks the state-of-play, but the moment it becomes associated with positive values such as authenticity, longevity, change, modernity, urbanity, it enters the advertising realm as an inoffensive outsider.

Conclusion

To conclude, advertising is a space in which to negotiate meanings, and in this dynamic, the most diverse social forces are at play. What this study sought to highlight was that of social control. In analysing punk media representation in advertising, we can understand the cultural limits that are behind the discourse that should bring wellbeing.

Figure 4 – Peanuts and Snoopy using punk symbols, disidentifiers (Germany, 2007)
Source: http://www.vivelapub.fr/les-punks-dans-la-pub/

Figure 5 – The deviant punk old lady (Serbia, 2013)
Source: http://www.gutewerbung.net/duracell-punk-hippie/

Figure 6 – A Brazilian advert for matchboxes – "For the new fire-worshipers" (Brazil, 1970)
Source: Veja Magazine, 08-12-1970

Figure 7 – Punk in advertising, the inoffensive outsider (USA, 2013)
Source: http://mondomoda.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/playtex_punk_girl.jpg

A total of seven images have been presented, six of which are adverts, representing punk as something is "unfamiliar" (Moscovici, 2011), but modified for the benefits of the brands and products being marketed. The first image (Figure 1) is the cover of a magazine, advertising a TV show called *The day my kid went punk* which was aired as part of the ABC Afterschool Specials (USA, 1987) programme. Although this series was aired almost ten years after the "end" of the worldwide punk movement, it indicates that, at that point, common sense could possibly admit the presence of a punk individual as part of a traditional north-american family. The second image

is an advert for a condom brand (Figure 2) that illustrates one sole punk individual who appears to be throwing something against an army of 38 men. This is an image of opposition between the good and the bad, the "other" and us, punk and society – this punk guy represents danger because in the words of Mary Douglas (1991), he is "out of order". The same idea is perhaps more clear in Figure 3, an advert for Senior Self -Defence. Punk is featured as a strange, ugly, dirty and humiliated guy, who was holding a razorblade, which we assume was to be used to attack somebody, but instead he is defeated, lying on the floor and severely injured, most likely by an old man. The fourth image is an advert for Volkswagen, with Peanuts and Snoopy in Mohican haircuts smiling at each other. This is a very representative punk symbol from Erving Goffmans' (2008) Stigma Theory. We can think of Figure 4 as being an expression of what the author calls a "desidentifier", since the Mohican haircut isn´t used as a "stigma symbol" as expected, but instead as a symbol of a good wilderness, as stated in the slogan . Here, we can understand how advertising brings positive values to something as hostile as punk, in order to benefit the brand. In the Duracell advert (Figure 5), the punk old lady with her tattoo, piercing and shaggy hair is an outsider, as denominated by Howard Becker (2009), who transgresses the conventions of how an old lady must look or behave, emphasising, by contrast, what is normative. Punk, as per this advert, is as old as she is, but never dies, just like the battery we are being enticed to buy. Comparing punk to other subcultures such as the hippie subculture, punk is significantly more rude and difficult to be featured. In Figure 6, we can see an advert for matchboxes where the hippie lifestyle is portrayed in a charming way, and the members of this subculture are mysterious "fire-worshipers": their outsiderness is much more familiar than that one of punk. And, finally, in the last advert for Playtex (Figure 7), the beautiful little girl is "difficult", as stated in the slogan, but not ugly, dirty or threatening as the other examples shown. She is the inoffensive outsider, or, in other words, as far as advertising can go when dealing with the unfamiliar, what is impure, stigma and deviance.Nonetheless, sometimes what is forbidden, is extremely attractive. Therefore in the name of creativity, it is worth taking risks, even if it means occupying territory which borderlines contradicting capitalist systems, consumption and structures of power that sustain it.

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2.4. You can't blow up a symbolic relationship: spectacular and physical resistance of punk

Donal Fullam[1]

Abstract

In Dublin punk intersects with many forms of artistic and cultural production - a collective practice space is home to a screenprinting workshop, gym, literature distribution and hosts film nights and other group activity. Tenterhooks, an autonomous DiY space, provides a venue for music performance, band practice, as well as art and community events. The conviction that anyone, of any skill level, should have access and be able to express themselves musically or otherwise mirrors the wider conviction that politics shouldn't be something removed, but an everyday process, embodied and material. DiY punk is a means to decolonise everyday life in a physical, non symbolic way - through self organisation, a politics of emancipation and methods of interaction that avoid subordination of others. Performative fabrication of identity through style is employed but there are other means of identification - use of non-hierarchical organisation models, international solidarity and being "active" are modes of interaction and expression that characterise contemporary translocal punk scenes. Music is a lynchpin for community members, an aesthetic nucleus to orbit, but also a communally created practice through which it is possible to transform space. While contemporary media corporations continue the kind of culture industry appropriation Dick Hebdige identified this is just one fragment of the narrative - punk is a community of style but, more critically, it is a community of praxis and poiesis organised around musical style. This paper draws on ethnographic information gained through a decade of participation within Dublin's underground punk scene - research is based on ethnology, participant observation as an active scene member, and case studies on autonomous social spaces.

Keywords: punk, diy, spectacle.

You can't blow up a symbolic relationship: spectacular and physical resistance of punk

Frederic Jameson said that we are at a point where it's easier to imagine the end of the world than an end to capitalism, an impasse Mark Fisher describes as emerging from the lived ideological framework of capitalist realism. Fisher characterises this roadblock as a cultural and political malaise in which it seems impossible to imagine a future different from the present as pervasive cynicism and a cultural logic that proclaims there is no alternative have taken hold (Fisher, 2014). When everything is commodified, art becomes content and the past is objectified as disposable nostalgia when context and the realities of praxis are lost.

The dominant globalised version of punk seems to be imagined and reified alternatively as an ahistoric simulacrum or the spectacular image of youth rebellion that quickly spread internationally as a hegemonic cultural export and imploded sometime in the past but this characterisation is contested through the work of contemporary popular musicologists, ethnomusicologists, sociologists and others. While punk may now be imagined and described within academic circles as praxis and something closer to the aspirations of its constituents, complex striations of community, ideology and practice belie any tidy explanation or hagiographic representation. Punk is yellow and neon pink album covers emblazoned with inflammatory language, a spectacle of boots and bondage but it's also somehow the antithesis to the society of the spectacle, desperately scrambling for a way out. Punk is an international network of DiY musicians, artists and collectives but it is also the apparent rebellion of a youth culture long ago annexed as a component of consumer capitalism. The Clash were inducted into the Rock and Roll hall of fame in 2003, John Lydon appeared in an advertisement for Country Life butter, Green Day's 1994 album Dookie has sold 20 million copies. Artifacts from the deepest subterranean caverns of punk have been unearthed and sold, solidifying it's place in the museum of popular culture - Lady Gaga appeared in a studded jacket hand painted with Doom and Gism logos in the video for Telephone. Quickly identified as prey for a predatory culture

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industry, contradictory narratives were obscured or reified as images of themselves, first trivialised and then incorporated, neutralising any possibility of dissent.

Anarcho punk

In the beginning punk was appropriated in divergent ways. The most obvious divergence might not accurately be described as appropriation because punk was in many ways originally a media and music industry creation; an image of rebellion for sale, a method perfected after it became established with the emergence of rock and roll. Punk became a commodified product very soon after it gained massive public attention during the middle of the 1970s and with this attention the style was propelled around the globe through the mobilising power of capital. But while this commodification was occurring dissident groups in the UK appropriated punk for contrary purposes, understanding that its central message, that anyone could do it, was empowering and could be a vehicle for the dissemination of autonomist ideas removed from punk's spectacular image. Crass, Flux of Pink Indians, Chumbawumba, Subhumans, Poison Girls, Conflict and others affiliated with anarcho punk helped to politicise the form and opened up possibilities for a diverse interpretation of punk "as a movement rather than simply an outrageous fashion statement" (Glasper, 2006, p. 12). At the same time disparate groups around the world were coming to the same conclusion and asserting the primacy of punk as an agent of political subversion (Cross, 2010).

Anarcho-punk emerged before the disintegration of the wider subculture through the music and actions of a number of loosely affiliated bands during the late 1970s. The conclusions arrived at by those involved mirrored the assumptions of many others around the world who came into contact with punk - that it could be a viable platform for ideological propagation. What crystalised within anarko punk and the underground punk movements that appeared around the globe was a culture of DiY, in which it became understood that approach is everything and that if the medium defines the message then the means of production or at least distribution must be grasped, however limited. This meant bands releasing their own records, creating their own promotion and publication, creating spaces to put on gigs - novel concepts in the 1970s but still widely adhered to. Within punk, DiY activity is seen as indivisible from the political-cultural project through which it's enthused (Cross, 2010) - this branch of punk favours visible direct action over the indirect strategy of expressing 'resistance' via style (Clark, 2003). While punk in Dublin isn't some kind of egalitarian anarchist society it's methods are an expression of tangents found within this strand of political theory.

Karate klub

The Karate Klub is a band practice space in Phibsboro organised by a non-profit collective that's been running since October in 2007. Situated at the back of a Victorian terrace across the road from St. Peter's church the space is a 1000 square foot industrial unit that originally housed a small karate training centre which closed down sometime around 2005. A soundproof room was built inside the concrete section that faces the alleyway by the initial practice space members and another, larger room is used for storage and other activities; a weekly gym, occasional film nights, screen printing and gig after parties, although not a lot happens apart from band practice during the winter. The collective currently consists of twenty seven members who pay rent every six months, organise cleaning and make other decisions about how the space is run. Organisation is non-hierarchical and democratic - when decisions need to be made meetings are called and problems resolved through consensus. Nine men and two women were involved in the beginning, membership numbers have grown and fluctuated and now there are nineteen - fifteen men and four women. The demographic proportion is roughly the same but a statistical ratio doesn't indicate involvement - there is no obligation for Karate Klub members to do anything other than pay their share of the rent every six months, everything else is entirely voluntary. If someone doesn't want to go to meetings or contribute in any other way they don't have to and many are happy to pay and practice. People who are more interested in punk or are more ideologically impelled tend to be the most involved.

Ian Moran points out that "being involved in the punk movement means being active. Freedom of expression is extremely important but in order for the punk movement to survive it is necessary for individuals to actively participate and take on specific roles within the punk community" (Moran, 2011). These roles are generally creative - writing and producing zines, making artwork, printing t-shirts, posters and fliers and playing in bands are just a few. There are other essential roles - people organise spaces to create and play music - and also less obvious ancillary

activities; operating the sound desk at gigs, driving equipment, driving bands on tour, organising sporadic social events and parties, putting on benefit gigs that fundraise inside and outside punk, for punk spaces but also associated groups - pro-choice, migrant support, anti-fascist or animal rights, to name a few. One of the most important activities that has sustained punk that many historical commentators seem to have missed is creating and organising spaces, either in previously established commercial areas - usually pubs in Dublin - but also autonomous or least self organised spaces.

On Tenterhooks

Tenterhooks is a small venue beside the Dublin Food Co Op on Newmarket square that has a capacity of about 70 - 80 people, which generally suits the kind of events that take place there. Since October 2014 they've hosted bands from all over Ireland, the UK, Scotland, America, Canada, France, Sweden and more, mostly punk but also trad, noise, pop, various genres of metal, radical trans poetry and other uncategorisable genres. It's also regularly used as a band practice space and has hosted other events - an occasional Irish language workshop as well as film and food nights. On their Facebook page Tenterhooks is described as "a new D.I.Y. space in dublin which aims to provide an affordable venue for gigs, band practice and art and community events." There is a volunteer group page with more description of the group's aims - "Tenterhooks is an autonomous DIY social space in Dublin city. We are a small collective dedicated to creating an open affordable space that can be used for gigs, classes, exhibitions and tons of other cool events." Playing music in autonomous venues and squats, recording and releasing music with a DiY approach and connecting lyrics to liberatory messages are all part of a larger project of creating and maintaining space where these ideas can be tested and acted on. Simon Critchley describes this kind of political engagement as praxis "in a situation that articulates an interstitial distance from the state and allows for the emergence of new political subjects who exert a universal claim" (Critchley, 2014). DiY in punk can be defined as the attempt to create interstitial space as a reflection of the politics and practices created through divergent encounters with the phenomenon.

Chaos and contradictions

Contradictions remain apparent - some of the most popular bands within the global DiY punk scene rely on the effects of reification and a kind of modernist impulse towards abstraction. Raw punk is crude and incredibly noisy; adherents use a strategy of aesthetic transgression through extreme sonic regress. These are also strategies that a community can use to make its expressions and artifacts less commodifiable - if the sonics are impenetrable then the culture is impenetrable. One Dublin punk described this process as making a photocopy of a photocopy, degrading the image as a way to become less accessible to outsiders while valuing the degradation - "music so obscenely abrasive that it's not music anymore for most people." This is a process that tacitly accepts the distinction between high and low culture and, contrary to previous assertions, firmly places the artist within the realm of the low. Be Bop has been described as possessing a "willfully harsh, anti-assimilationist sound," (Baraka, 1963, p. 181) and certain branches of punk evolved a similar strategy but in the exact opposite direction, towards a baffling crudity and a retrogressive sonic morass. So, in an effort to avoid incorporation, the image of punk as chaotic mayhem is pushed to an acoustic extreme, in a reliance on aesthetics as transgressor that blighted punk's first wave. Punk music and fashion have always been commodified and subsumed, like the mods and rockers before, by an industry well versed in the amalgamation of subcultural aesthetics. What I mean by the title of this paper is that symbolic resistance through style or aesthetics is in some way ineffectual because style, whether it's fashion or musical, is so easily appropriated, incorporated and neutralised. So you can't blow it up, or you can't affect things politically within these realms - resistance must come from physical or organisational means.

There's a profound dichotomy - whether punk, as a popular music, is a typical product of consumer culture or is it something more "authentic"; that is a community construction, rooted in experience not necessarily subject to the market and reproduced according to something other than monetary logic. And the truth is it's both of these things - as Mimi Thi Nguyen pointed out it's pluralistic, a moving target (Nguyen, 2015). This pluralism means that punk isn't necessarily resistant, in many ways it operates as a refraction of prevailing tendencies and becomes simply a way to signify difference, or express underground credibility - the spectacular surface and the perceived negative characteristics of punk that predominantly received any sort of academic attention. Punk in Dublin is a community

and like any contemporary urban community it's pluralistic, fractured, overlapping and constantly in flux. Community membership is broadly defined and nebulous due to the plurality of ways punk is characterised by 'members' and affiliates and the historical representation through mainly sociological theory but also spectacular media representation. Stereotypes tend to dominate when the subject has been reified and where the systematisation of theory institutes processes of terminal elision. Mimi Thi Nguyen said that punk has been rendered illegitimate and dismissed as "the idle noise of adolescent attitude, as if this was nothing at all" (Thi Nguyen, 2013) but one of the the problems associated with academic study is that it can lend legitimacy to an object that resists legitimacy, transforming it into a form of intellectual capital.

   A certain level of wariness exists for some within the Dublin punk scene towards academic study; this wariness comes from a suspicion about use of the material, a perceived exploitative nature that isn't necessarily malicious but which also doesn't contribute significantly to the community. This impression doesn't seem to be shared by many others but when I discuss it with them it is recognised and admitted as a possible reaction. This is a fear of "academisation" or the institutional power associated with academic writing that Mimi Thi Nguyen describes as having the power to discipline its subjects through "archival erasures" and a reification that robs its object of "its inherent instability." This instability is wielded as an important facet of punk, a facet that maintains its pluralism and the power that comes from the undefinable. Can we damage punk by recontextualising it in an academic setting? Appropriation and incorporation of subcultural style and aesthetics has been traditionally described as a strategy utilised by a rampaging culture industry but there's another kind of incorporation that sometimes creates anxiety in the punk scene - institutional incorporation through academia. The academisation of punk might mean presenting simple ideas in a confounding way, when, conversely, media portrayals tend to characterise an image that sheds much of the context that gives a subculture its significance. Much has already been covered regarding the commodification and commercialisation of subcultures but anxiety at the prospect of academisation and an institutional power associated with academic writing that is perceived to discipline its subject is something I've begun to explore - a contemporary form of potential incorporation or something more benign? Thi Nguyen identifies the problem - "punk is plural, rather than a coherent series of forms or formations, than can and should resist institutionalisation. Attempts to describe punk are always partial because punk is a moving target" (Thi Nguyen, 2013).

   Punk and the idea of subcultures in general are still often understood from the top down through orthodox sociological frameworks of media effects, the passive consumption of leisure, class characteristics and identity through an analysis of texts and cultural artifacts seemingly due in large part to the huge influence Dick Hebdige had with *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. This semiotic neutralisation conceals another important narrative vector - that punk occurred in reaction to and was informed by the deep contradictions that appear within the core of market driven democracies and that punk is as much praxis as well as style, appearing as spectacular, creative, and imaginative disturbance but also collective and community activities. Sustaining informal global distribution networks, attending free gigs in reclaimed space or non profit community centres as expressions of cooperation and solidarity allows participants to imagine their actions as part of a wider, collective action. In 2015 these strands of Punk are attempts to create and sustain spaces that are not at a remove but at a distance from prevailing economic and cultural logic. Punk isn't necessarily radical, not all versions of punk say anything different but there are palpable shards that attempt a connection with struggles for imaginative and physical space as an antidote to the eternal now that arises from the cultural logic of late capitalism.

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2.5. Boots, braces and baseball bats: right-wing skinheads in the Czech Republic (1985-2015)

Jan Charvát[1]

Abstract

The paper focuses on the emergence and evolution of Czech extreme right after 1989 in the context of the formation of a skinhead subculture in the Czech Republic. It studies the relationship that exists (or existed) between both phenomena and the variables influencing it. It takes account of the basic layering of Czech extreme right and internal tensions within the skinhead subculture, both in terms of ideological divisions and in terms of attitudes to political activity within the racist stream (acceptance versus rejection). Then it analyses the possible combinations of these moments and their effects on the mobilization and demobilization of the extreme right in the Czech Republic depending on the attitudes of the racist stream.

Keywords: subcultures, skinheads, extreme right, extremism, neo-nazism, racism, populism, white power music.

Introduction

The skinhead subculture came to Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1980s, yet it did not become truly widespread until the early 1990s. In the wake of the fall of the communist regime, Czech skinheads underwent politicization and quickly grew into one of the fundamental resources of the extreme right. They kept this role for the next almost 20 years. However, after 2010, the importance of subcultural moments within the Czech Republic's extreme right started to decline, and as a result, right-wing skinheads in the country decreased in numbers and importance (Charvát, in press, Novotná, 2008). Therefore, the central research question of this paper is as follows: *What is the relationship between the skinhead subculture and extreme right-wing politics in the Czech Republic?*

Conceptual and methodological framework

In the following text I am going to rely on several different approaches. First, I intend to undertake a social group case study focusing on the skinhead subculture in the Czech Republic after 1989.

I assume a causal relationship between the skinhead subculture (especially its racist stream), on one hand, and extreme right-wing politics, on the other hand. The basic hypothesis I am going to work with is that developments within the skinhead subculture shape the forms and actions of the extreme right. More specifically, what goes on inside the subculture affects the process of mobilization (and demobilization) of Czech extreme right after 1989. Under mobilization I understand an expansion of public activities, establishment of political organizations and purposeful efforts of extreme right-wing groups to become established in the country's political life.

In my research study I am going to attempt to identify dependent and independent variables that comprise this relationship. I am going to rely primarily on analysis of documents (above all, on those authored by the groups themselves such as declarations, fanzines, or music lyrics; and additionally, on scholarly studies on the skinhead subculture and the extreme right), and also on direct observation of the activities of the extreme right and the skinhead subculture. In my work I rely primarily on Czech writings on the subject matter, but also on international subculture scholarship (Hall & Jefferson, 1993, Hebdige, 2012, Kolářová, 2012) concerned both with racist (or extreme right) forms of the skinhead subculture in general (Dobratz, 1997, Moore, 1993) and with its Eastern European forms more specifically (Kurti, 2003, Mudde, 2000, Pilkington & Garifzianova & Omel'chenko, 2010). I also draw on works that focus on White Power music (Langebach & Raabe, 2013, King & Leonard, 2014) and, of course, on the extreme right as such (Mudde, 2007, Caiani & della Porta & Wagemann, 2012).

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Skinheads: a history

The skinhead subculture emerged in England during the second half of the 1960s, namely among young working-class men living in industrial rings around English cities (Marshall, 1993, 14–15). The subculture was originally non-political, albeit it did embrace elements of nationalism and a kind of proto-racism as well as elements of social protest and a strong class consciousness (Worley, 2013). The first stage of its evolution culminated at the end of the 1960s; in the following couple of years, the skinhead subculture lost its relative position among youth subcultures. Its comeback took place in the context of the late 1970s "punk revolution" (Marshall, 1993, 67–75). The entire subculture underwent a profound transformation, especially in terms of politicization (Travis, Hardy, 2012), and eventually, since the early 1980s, it divided into three main streams: a racist one (White Power/WP, National Socialist/NS, Rock Against Racism/RAC), a non-racist one (Traditional, Apolitical), and an anti-racist one (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice/SHARP). Over time, the latter stream crystallized as an openly leftist skinhead fraction (Red and Anarchist Skinheads/RASH) (Marshall, 1993, 131–151, cf. Bastl, 2001, Stejskalová, 2012).

Emergence of the extreme right in the Czech Republic

First signs of the extreme right in the Czech Republic were observed in the mid-1980s when the first (then utterly marginal) groups of fascism-inspired intellectuals formed, on one hand, and the first skinheads appeared, on the other hand (Mareš, 2003). At that time, the skinhead subculture did not have a clear ideological framing, its members identified with the punk subculture, and anti-communism was their key political attitude. Neither the emerging extreme right nor the skinhead subculture could truly flourish until the political liberalization after 1989. During the 1990s, the subculture became increasingly politicized and the extreme right crystallized. As a result, the internal structure of Czech extreme right formed analogously to what was traditional in Western Europe. In practice, three streams can be distinguished in the country: a populist (or conservative-authoritarian) one, a neo-fascist one, and a neo-Nazi one (Charvát, 2007).

The Czech extreme right did not evolve on a linear trajectory. Its history can be divided into several time periods.

1989–1993: Chaos in the wake of the revolution

The fall of communism brought about two phenomena that influenced the forming of right-wing politics in the Czech Republic. First, the society rejected communism *en masse,* often with outright aggression, and at times this grew into rejection of left-wing politics as such. Second, in the wake of the 1989 revolution, there were widespread concerns about changes and chaos in the society. The former factor helped establish anti-communist attitudes in the post-communist Czech Republic, while the latter importantly bolstered attitudes in favour of authoritarian rule. At the same time, Czechs started reviewing some of their ideological beliefs. Whereas the communist regime promoted internationalism, the post-communist society looked up to its patriotist traditions, which occasionally grew into nationalism or chauvinism. Also, many were suddenly eager to open the Pandora box of the "Roma issue". All in all, the social climate in the aftermath of the Velvet Revolution was characterized by a number of attitudes that were typical of the extreme right repertoire, including anticommunism, nationalism and proto-racism (Charvát, 2007). Thus, it comes as little surprise that the *Orlík* band reached stardom at the exact same time. Established in 1988, *Orlík* was practically the first skinhead band in Bohemia. It popularized the nationalist and racist streams of the skinhead subculture in the Czech environment and subsequently contributed to the development of the subculture (Mazel, 1998) or, more specifically, of its racist part, which remained dominant in the country until about 2010. Albeit the country saw the emergence of anti-racist (Bastl, 2001) as well as non-racist skinhead groups (Stejskalová, 2012), those were definitely not predominant in numbers before 2010.

Simultaneously, the first groups emerged that did not consider the subcultural framework as essential and rather accentuated political issues – the predecessors of the extreme right in Czech politics. Thus, on one hand, the skinhead movement was evolving rapidly, influenced primarily by trends in neighbouring Germany (with its predominance of the racist stream) and oriented almost exclusively on young people. On the other hand, the country saw a somewhat slower emergence of the organizational structures of political groups that strived to be recognized by the society and become established within its political system. Founded on 24 February 1990 in Prague, the Association for the Republic – Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSČ) became the most important building part of the Czech extreme right. Although the party did not succeed in the general election of 1990, it did

win seats in the Czech parliament in 1992, with a 5.98% vote share (Mazel, 1998). Since its inception, the party identified with the extreme right, was oriented on the skinhead movement, among others; in its early days it cooperated with some of the movement's figures (Mareš, 2003).

However, SPR-RSČ was not the only organization of the emerging extreme right in the country. Most of the first-generation skinheads were not neo-Nazis. They were rather oriented towards "laypeople's" racism: hated the Roma or the Vietnamese (and did not necessarily share the neo-Nazi belief in "white supremacy") and called for authoritarian rule in order to bring an end to the post-revolutionary chaos. More generally speaking, they voiced the nascent fear of a social transformation which was about to take place at an unprecedented scale (Charvát, 2007). Until 1993, several groups of this type were founded that became important actors of the development of Czech extreme right, apart from the skinhead movement. From the very beginning of the 1990s, two different strategies were followed: some activists sought to legalize their activities through official registration with the Ministry of Interior, while others aimed at the subcultural underground and did not seek official registration.

Czech skinheads of the first generation, along with the *Orlík* band, promoted a set of nationalist ideas and so-called Calixtinism[2] (Utraquism). These were used in the campaign of the Patriot League (*Vlastenecká liga,* VL) that was officially registered in 1993. Originally an association of racist skinheads without neo-fascist or neo-Nazi orientation, the VL soon tried to distance itself from racism as such (at least in nominal terms) and act as a conservative-nationalist political group. In the mid-1990s, it became relatively popular and, as a result, got into a series of conflicts with the rest of the racist skinhead scene (Mazel, 1998).

Registered in the same year yet more radical than the VL, the Patriot Front (*Vlastenecká fronta*, VF) brought together Brno area skinheads. It combined conservative authoritarianism with fundamentalist/extremely conservative Christianity and Czech chauvinism – and in fact its stances were not far from traditional neo-fascism. In contrast to similar groups, the VF tried, from its inception, to present itself as a political organization and to distance itself from overt neo-Nazism (while it did cooperate with neo-Nazi groups) (Mareš, 2003).

Other emerging neo-Nazi skinhead groups did not strive for official registration. A number of such groups refused to legitimize the national government by requesting its recognition – e.g., the National Socialist Movement of Europe (*Nacionálně socialistické hnutí Evropy*) and the National Fascist Community (*Národní obec fašistická*) – but most of them did not last long, while the informal character of their ties makes it difficult to ascertain how strong they were. As an exception, skinheads of the Brno area formed *Bohemia Hammer Skinheads* (BHS), a local branch of the US-based international Hammerskins Nation. They started publishing neo-Nazi fanzines and organizing concerts of affiliated bands, especially from English-speaking countries (Charvát, 2007).

1994–1998: Subculture versus politics

In the electoral term of 1992–1996, the SPR-RSČ maintained parliamentary representation with almost 6% of the vote. In the 1996 elections, the party consolidated its position when it reached its historically highest vote share of 8.01%. (Mazel, 1998) Its politics did not change, and continued to evolve around populist resistance to government, security accents and racist Antiziganism. However, the SPR-RSČ significantly transformed its contacts with the skinhead scene. Whereas it was normal for skinheads to support the party in the early 1990s, a schism occurred later on. A large part of neo-Nazis turned away from the SPR-RSČ, primarily because a number of neo-Nazi activists rejected political activity as such. (Charvát, 2007) In the snap election of 1998, the party lost many votes and with 3.90%, it failed to obtain parliamentary representation (there is a 5% electoral threshold in the Czech Republic) (Mareš, 2003).

At that time, the Patriot Front only received marginal public attention. However, its popularity culminated in the mid-1990s as its members were able to openly identify with the skinhead movement without being linked to overt neo-Nazism. At the same time, the VL waged an escalating series of conflicts with the BHS, who accused it of effectively fragmenting the capacities of Czech extreme right. As a result, VL leadership explicitly distanced itself from the skinhead movement and the organization entered a stage of stagnation. It was practically non-existent by the end of the 1990s (Mazel, 1998).

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[2] Calixtinism refers to the medieval tradition of the Hussites, which are in inscribed in Czech collective memory as successful militarism combined with nationalism or anti-Germanism. It was especially followed up by 19th and 20th century Czech nationalists in their effort to counter the dominance of the German element. *Orlík* exploited just these themes with songs like "Jan Hus" or "Wagon Fort" that contained explicit references to nationalism and anti-Germanism, celebrating Czech bravery and pride.

The 1994–1998 period is also characterized by growth of the neo-Nazi stream of the skinhead movement, both in terms of music bands (about thirty were started in Bohemia and some of them, including *Buldok* and *Excalibur*, became globally renowned), and in terms of DIY fanzines (about 50 different titles) distributed through a network of post-office boxes. Thanks to their international contacts, most groups adopted a neo-Nazi ideological toolbox based on the values of subcultural radicalism and violence. In contrast, political activity was frowned upon. The first BHS flyer contained the following passage (Imperium, 1994):

> Hammer Skins are NEVER going to have anything to do with a political party!!! Politics is Zionist-organized entertainment for gentiles, and politicians are too often ready to change what started as a radical stance. Skinheads have too often been used as a means to their stinking ends, only to earn their scorn and disrespect.

After Czech neo-Nazis committed several racially motivated murders, government authorities slowly changed their approach in the mid-1990s, and it was especially following the murder of Sudanese student Hassan Abdelradi in 1997 that the police started treating neo-Nazis more harshly. A number of leading activists were incarcerated and the BHS received extensive attention from the police, news media and human rights activists. As a result it practically ceased to exist around the turn of 1995 and 1996 (Mareš, 2003).

Positions from which the BHS retreated were quickly taken by a new generation of neo-Nazis, who attempted to establish a Czech branch of Blood and Honour (B&H, a UK-based international neo-Nazi organization under the motto of the German *Schutzstaffel*). With offices in Pilsen and Prague, the B&H assumed the BHS' role in holding concerts and publishing fanzines (Charvát, 2007).

While the Pilsen branch of the B&H went in the BHS footsteps and used skinhead symbolism, the Prague branch rather aimed at political activity. Prague B&H activists made a couple of attempts to establish a registered civic association and their ambition was to become a political party following the example of Germany's *Junge Nationaldemokraten,* an NPD-affiliated youth group. However, their efforts were unsuccessful. (Mareš, 2003) In any case, such an important change of style signalized that a new generation of neo-Nazis had taken charge and the times of strict rejection of official politics were over. In 1999, the Prague branch changed its name to National Resistance Prague (*Národní odpor Praha*), thus demonstrating a reorientation from English-speaking countries to Germany (the new name was a direct translation of *Nationaler Widerstand,* which stands for a network of German groups) as well from subcultural work to political activism (Charvát, 2007).

1999–2001: Political mobilization

On the eve of the new millennium, the extreme right lost its main political voice and sole parliamentary representative, the SPR-RSČ. This encouraged other extreme right-wing organizations to fight for seats in the country's legislature. As a result, the boundary between registered and underground organizations became increasingly blurred in that time period.

At the turn of 1998 and 1999, a new extreme right-wing organization entitled, National Alliance (*Národní aliance,* NA), was founded in the town of Rakovník and soon obtained registration from the Ministry of Interior. Originally a regional-level group with strong links to neo-Nazi skinheads, its mission gradually crystallized into political activism (Mareš, 2003).

Among other registered associations, the Patriot League was no longer active after 1998, while the Patriot Front reactivated itself and held a series of public appearances. In its ideology, the VF turned away from neo-fascism and Catholic fundamentalism and leaned more towards conservative nationalism. At the same time, it cooperated with openly neo-Nazi groups such as the National Resistance and the National Alliance, and the three together attempted to integrate into a new extreme-right political organization. In that process, conflicts within the VF surfaced and some of its activists defected. In the second half of 2000, the rest of the VF left the integration process and scaled down their activities (Mareš, 2003).

The integration process continued. When the National Alliance failed to establish its own party, it coalesced with the Patriot Republican Party (VRS) which had been established by a group of former SPR-RSČ members in 1996. At a VRS convention on 3 March 2001, the party was effectively taken over by National Resistance and especially National Alliance activists when it admitted a number of them as members. The party changed its name to National Socialist Bloc (*Národně sociální blok*) but failed to obtain Ministry of Interior registration. Therefore, it eventually became the Right Alternative (*Pravá alternativa*) (Charvát, 2007). It campaigned on a nationalist ticket with strong accents on social care, anti-immigration and anti-integration (isolationism). Contentious issues such as antisemitism

were carefully avoided. The party also used camouflage tactics to present extremist attitudes in a publically acceptable form. Its leaders literally took off their steel-capped boots and bomber jackets and instead wore white shirts and black ties for most of their public appearances. However, the Right Alternative never distanced itself from its predominantly neo-Nazi skinhead constituency (nor did it want to do so). Since it remained closely associated with the neo-Nazi scene for its entire lifespan, it never succeeded to mobilize ordinary electorate or join forces with established political organizations. Soon the party was struck by internal struggles and in spite of announcing candidacy before the general election of 2002, it fell apart as soon as in 2001. The high expectations of many Czech neo-Nazis were failed and the entire scene entered a visible decline, retreating to its former positions in subcultural underground.

2002–2005: Back to the underground

When the National Social Bloc fell apart, Czech extreme right a short-term period of "power vacuum". At the same time, the neo-Nazi scene was strongly disillusioned and frowned upon official political activities. This is well illustrated by the following declaration published on the National Resistance website (www.odpor.com):

> When the Right Alternative fell apart, we showed that the movement did not become disillusioned but instead took to the streets with renewed determination and along a new, perhaps better way. We have learned that the System cannot be defeated by official means, and we have responded by forming loose structures of National resistance – organizations without leadership. The System may outlaw parties and associations; yet it can never outlaw the revolution.

As a result, most former NSB activists joined the National Resistance and resumed their subcultural activities. Faced with such a crisis, some Czech neo-Nazis attempted to modernize the movement by importing the so-called autonomous nationalism, a new trend of German extreme right. In autonomous nationalism the extreme right draws inspiration from the methodology and symbolism of the extreme left. The trend's success in the Czech context was only partial – only in the mid-term perspective. It captivated a new generation of activists which had some experience with the skinhead subculture but felt too restrained by it (Vejvodová, 2008).

The political positions from which neo-Nazis retreated were taken by officially registered groups campaigning on the ticket of conservative nationalism and populism. The power situation started to resemble that of 1994–1999. In 2003, a group of former SPR-RSČ members established the Workers' Party, which campaigned as a party of "ordinary people", accentuated social care, and included more-or-less overt elements of racism in its propaganda. The party verbally distanced itself from neo-Nazism, yet took up certain neo-Nazi symbols and its members took part in public events organized by neo-Nazis. (Charvát, 2012).

2006–2009: Political mobilization II

In anticipation of the general election of 2006, the National Party initiated talks with other organizations of the extreme right. Eventually the coalition of National Five (*Národní pětka*) was formed. However, before the election took place, the coalition was struck by conflicts between the National party, with its ambition to lead, and the Workers' Party and the National Union, who were not comfortable with its position. Both latter parties left the coalition and founded a rival coalition entitled, Law and Justice (*Právo a spravedlnost*, inspired by Poland's government party) (Charvát, 2012).

However, both coalitions failed in the elections, with a vote share of 0.17% for the National Party and 0.23% for Law and Justice (Charvát, 2012). The National Party's long-term stake on populism did not compensate for its absence in most happenings on the extreme right. In contrast, the National Union and the Workers' Party started collaborating with other extreme right wing organizations, and especially with the Patriot Front, the National Corporatism (*Národní korporativismus, NK*) and the Autonomous Nationalists (*Autonomní nacionalisté*). As a result, the Workers' Party integrated its activities with National Resistance and Autonomous Nationalists groups.

In 2005, the National Corporatism emerged as a new extreme right-wing group. In spite of its roots in the neo-Nazi scene, it tried to campaign as a nationalist organization. It collaborated both with the Workers' Party and with the National Resistance, and it organized a number of public appearances across Bohemia, especially in the years 2006 and 2007 (Mareš, 2003). In the elections of 2006, some NK members ran on the party list of Law and Justice. After the elections, the NK was shut down and its members were advised to join the Workers' Party or one of the Autonomous Nationalist groups (Charvát, 2012). In the years 2008–2009, this time period climaxed in a series of major rallies, including attempted pogroms, in different cities of North Bohemia (areas struck by long-term poverty

and higher levels of social tension), where they were joined by numerous local residents. The rallies were held by the Workers' Party in collaboration with the Autonomous Nationalists, with the latter practically replacing the National Resistance as the key actor of the subculture-oriented extreme right. However, in their subcultural orientation, the Autonomous Nationalists frown upon skinhead attributes and espouse "modern" trends on the neo-Nazi scene such as hip-hop music, hard core music or graffiti. (Vejvodová, 2008). Thus, the extreme right had a tendency to abandon its traditional skinhead image. In an attempt to present itself in a publicly acceptable way, the young generation of Autonomous Nationalists felt too restrained by the spoiled image of skinhead identity and introduced new subcultural models instead. At the same time, National Resistance members did not exhibit any public activity and merely participated in National Corporatism events. Instead of public appearances, they focused on organizing invitation-only events to strengthen camaraderie among members. The National Resistance at that time consisted mostly of older activists who continued to draw a link between neo-Nazi ideology and skinhead identity. This was met with certain opposition by the "autonomous" younger generation, who rather despised of skinhead attributes. The declining popularity of the skinhead subculture was also evidenced by lower attendance at (and relevance of) White Power music concerts. In the previous time period, such events had been one of the pivots of the extreme right, bringing together activists from across the country, transferring ideological patterns, and generating considerable profits (Charvát, 2007 cf. Langenbach, Raabe, 2013), yet by 2009 the concerts ceased to play that role. Attendance declined not only with the growing use of the Internet (and especially YouTube) but also due to increased pressure by the police, which forced the organizers to conceal the exact location for as long as possible and distracted a large part of the audience.

2010–present: Crisis

In 2010 the Autonomous Nationalists officially distanced themselves from the Workers' Party (Charvát, 2012). They had become increasingly frustrated by unused opportunities to cooperate: while the Autonomous Nationalists saw themselves as agents of creativity and progress, they considered the Workers' Party too conservative, on one hand, and too autocratic, on the other hand. However, at the same time, the Autonomous Nationalists got into conflict with the orthodox skinhead stream of Czech extreme right, and this triangle of conflict eventually thwarted the popularity of extreme right as such. This was somewhat exacerbated by the judicial ban of the Workers' Party in February 2010. Given the immediate establishment of a successor Workers' Social Justice Party (*Dělnická strana sociální spravedlnosti*, DSSS), the ban did not have vital effects on activities of the extreme right yet the popularity of the DSSS steadily declined (then again, it had never been extremely successful, peaking at a vote share of slightly over 1% in the regional elections of 2008, the European Parliament elections of 2009 and the lower chamber elections of 2010) (Charvát, 2012). During 2014, the party was unable to respond to the emergence of new parties that were not affiliated with the old structures of Czech extreme right and campaigned on the islamophobia ticket. Led by the Islam Not Wanted in the Czech Republic (*Islám v české republice nechceme*, IvČRN) platform and its daughter political party, the Bloc Against Islam (*Blok proti islámu*, BPI), these groups mobilized unprecedented support (not only) amongst extreme right voters on a ticket that officially distances itself from racism but is effectively centred upon xenophobia. The traditional structures of Czech extreme right were unable to exploit this novel issue, which only attested to the state of disintegration in the extreme right scene.

In this time period, the skinhead subculture or, more specifically, its racist stream, became marginalized in the Czech Republic as well as elsewhere in Europe. Most music bands associated with the subculture no longer toured and the remaining ones typically played at invitation-only events. This is related to trends in Czech extreme right politics from about 2004 on, which were inspired by German autonomous nationalism (Vejvodová, 2008). These trends aimed at modernizing the neo-Nazi scene, avoid repression and reinvent the issues it communicated and the image it projected. Although Czech autonomous nationalism originally served merely as a camouflage for neo-Nazis, it crystallized into an independent ideological platform that was rather affiliated to European neo-fascism (turned away from racism and at least verbally embraced social care activities). By throwing away skinhead attributes *en masse* these activists were better prepared for public appearances; by opening themselves to new issues (environment, animal rights) as well as subcultural influences (hip hop, graffiti), they were able to broaden their publicity and make it more attractive, compared to the original accents on skinhead uniformity, machismo and primitive racism. However, this exact trend turned out to be toxic for groups like these. For a moment, the new trend seemed to show autonomous nationalist activists a promising way out of the skinhead ghetto; yet in actuality, it brought about a profound schism and subsequent decline to the extreme right scene. Uniformity and machismo

proved precisely the attributes that helped mobilize new members, while the openness to new influences was met with strong disdain from the old generation of racist skinheads – and the ensuing conflict effectively paralyzed the neo-Nazi scene. Acceptance of music styles like hip-hop that were inherently linked to African-American culture and the liberal niches of leftist subcultures put into question the fundamental neo-Nazi consensus that "inferior races" are culturally impotent and "Aryans are the supreme agents of culture. As a result, the autonomous nationalists gradually disintegrated and the National Resistance practically ended all its activities (Vejvodová, 2008). At present time, the extreme right scene in the traditional sense of the term (especially that linked with the skinhead subculture) is practically non-existent or at least is not exhibiting any significant activities in the Czech Republic.

Analysis

The periodization presented thus far serves not only to categorize the development of Czech extreme right but also to facilitate analysis. For example, the information above suggests that the scene went through three periods of mobilization (1989–1993, 1999–2001 and 2006–2009) and three passive periods (1994–1998, 2002–2005 and 2010–present). What were the causes?

Several different explanations can be derived from the data presented. First, a closer examination of the periodization itself reveals that Czech extreme right has been evolving in **cycles of 3–4 years** (or multiples thereof, as in the case of the 1993–1999 period). We can assume that the period of 3–4 years represents the lifespan of an "activist generation" – a time period during which a member of an extreme right group is able to mobilize for active involvement (such as running the headquarters, writing articles, organizing and taking part in public events and rallies, or possibly targeted acts of violence). After that time, most activists do not necessarily leave the extreme right or subcultural circles but tend to "demobilize", exchanging the role of "agents" for that of "observers". The second finding that can be derived from the periodization is that there are alternating periods of **increased and decreased public activity**. Closer examination reveals a clear link between both moments. Before describing it, though, I should bring attention to an important aspect: the skinhead subculture played a key role in Czech extreme right during the time period from 1989 to approximately 2010 (and around the year 1998, the two were indeed hard to tell apart). During that time period, it is precisely this close link between the skinhead subculture and the organized extreme right that can be treated as an independent variable. The other aspect lies in the ways the skinhead subculture relates to political activity – whether or not it accepts the traditional means of political expression. In my opinion, this relation represents a dependent variable throughout the time period studied. Each decline of Czech extreme right's public activities was preceded by the fact that the skinhead scene predominantly rejected political activity and leaned towards subcultural activities. In these time periods the subculture came to view public campaigning as dysfunctional. This attitude logically translates into mistrust for public appearances or outright hostility towards political parties, including those of the extreme right (e.g., the SPR-RSČ in the mid-1990s or the Workers' Party after 2010). Political activity is rejected openly and explicitly, as attested by mid-1990s publications of the BHS or by the National Resistance website after 2001.

At times, this attitude tends to be reassessed and political activity eventually wins acknowledgement. Then the skinhead scene looks for a political organization to represent it. Around the year 2000 no such organization existed and the skinhead scene had to form one using its own resources. This is how the National Social Bloc came to existence. The situation in 2008 was different because neo-Nazi and neo-fascist groups were able to rely on a relatively established Workers' Party, which in turn – inspired by the NPD's strategy – was willing to accept the symbiosis. In short, the situation can be described as follows: "As long as the extreme right consists primarily of the skinhead subculture, its mobilization depends on how the latter relates to political activity. The subculture mobilizes when that relation is positive, and becomes passive when it is negative."

Conclusion

Observations in the Czech Republic after 1989 reveal a specific relationship between the skinhead subculture and the extreme right. The relationship is determined by several factors. First, Czech skinheads established primarily a racist subculture, which naturally gravitated towards the extreme right. Second, during the time period investigated, the skinhead subculture comprised an important and occasionally even the largest part of the extreme right in the country (an independent variable). While some extreme right-wing organizations formed outside the skinhead

subculture, Czech skinheads provided the main resource for the extreme right wing as a whole. Given these facts, the skinhead subculture was practically the main determinant of Czech extreme right until about the year 2010; its influence slowly declined after that date.

Based on the periodization presented, two patterns of behaviour can be observed in the ways the skinhead subculture relates to political life – a pattern of acceptance and a pattern of rejection (a dependent variable). Whenever political activity tends to be accepted, the entire extreme right mobilizes, new organizations emerge and public activities flourish, which at the same time overshadows attributes of the skinhead subculture. In contrast, whenever the subculture rejects politics, its subcultural attributes tend to prevail and the entire extreme right scene becomes rather passive. Since these patterns alternate in cycles of 3–4 years, one can assume that this amount of time represents the lifespan of one generation of activists.

This rhythm changed after 2010 as the ascending ideology of Autonomous Nationalism deprecated the skinhead subculture and as the entire extreme right scene entered stagnation. The close relationship between the extreme right and the skinhead subculture is also indirectly evidenced by the situation in 2015 when the migrant crisis exacerbated and the anti-immigrant and anti-Islam sentiment strongly resonated in Czech society: albeit established extreme-right organizations such as the Workers' Party tried to campaign on that ticket, the centre of political activity shifted towards brand-new groups such as the IvČRN, which combine the rhetoric of xenophobia and islamophobia but at the same time distance themselves from the extreme right (including the skinhead subculture).

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2.6. Peripheral subcultures. The first appropriations of punk in Germany and Italy

Mara Persello[1]

Abstract

The migration of subcultural definitions from the traditional research fields to peripheral contexts raises some questions about the existence of core definitions and about the importance of local interpretations of global phenomena. The theories of cultural imperialism and globalisation do not take into account the peculiarities of each local scene. A semiotic stronghold regards the power of the receiver in the interpretation of the message, and each message needs to fit in a context through connections that can vary in structure as well as in content. The constellation of meaning developing around a text is not definable through general macro-sociological aspects, but only through the filtered reality of the cultural actors who receive and readapt the new incoming texts. I will make an example based on the first understanding of punk in Italy and Germany basing on its local appropriation following its emergence in the national media.

Keywords: punk, Italy, Germany, local identity, media.

Methodological premise

Before introducing the topic of this paper, a comparison between German and Italian understanding of punk at its origins, and the first forms of its local appropriation, there are two theoretical premises that need to be done.

First, the present analysis moves from a semiotic point of view. This has consequences on the understanding and the definition of the social field in general and on the research object particularly. The object of semiotics is the meaning and its production, and if the production of meaning is a shared one, than the social field is correspondent to the cultural field. Social actors are also cultural actors (Lorusso, 2008). These actors produce texts. Textual semiotics is grounded in the idea that every phenomenon has to be read as a *text*. The definition of text is not the literal one derived from linguistics anymore, but is still based on the communication model. Every experience of the world, to become a text, has to be filtered by the social cultural mind. The text is a theoretical construct whose existence is the product of the intersection between the theoretical eye and the meaningful extension of the object in the eyes of the interpreter (Lancioni and Marsciani, 2007). This concept of text underlies the importance of the point of view of the observer in reading and defining the world at the same time (including observers operating inside the scientific field) and humbly states the methodological impossibility to reach some mythical objectivity. A text is then some meaningful fragment of reality without intrinsic qualities. It includes not only texts literally, but objects, practices, behaviours and postures, seen as significant from an interpreter in and through a social context (Fabbri, 1998). The word context itself, then, has to be specifically described as a web of texts connected to each other to form a whole social, cultural – meaningful – environment. This model is bond to the concept of *semiosphere* introduced by semiotician Jurij Lotman (1985) and to the Geertzian definition of culture as a web (Geertz 1973).

The second theoretical premise, following from this model, is that the connection between texts happens through communication, and a new text can be integrated in the existing context-web only if some connections can be done between the new and the pre-existing meanings. For Lotman every communication is a form of translation, the receiver can understand a text only if she/he is able to include the new content in the constellation of texts that already form his/her world-view as provided from his/her *semiosphere*. Every new information undergoes a process of filtering whose result is its inclusion in (or expulsion from) the context. This filtration is the translation.

Incidentally, if we accept these theoretical premises, then the debate about cultural imperialism appears as an ineffective simplification. The translation as connection to new contexts means a repositioning of the text, in any

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case: a sharper way of describing the spreading of certain texts from an original context to new ones in needed and has to take a methodological account of the translation model.

Moving from the theoretical level and approaching the operative part of the analysis, the definition of the text as formal object of inquiry and of the context as a web of communication has consequences on the selection of data that may be used. Only those data filtered through the understanding of the social cultural actor will be valid. This means that the macro-sociological elements can be contemplated only if included in the contextual cognition of those who produce culture through the filtering, translation and interpretation of new texts. In other words, to define punk a political reaction to Tatcherism is acceptable only if those cultural actors adhering to punk had an intentional reaction to what the politics of Tatcherism had contextually created. Surely political decisions and economical conjuncture have a great influence on the development of a lifestyle, but many other factors are included, bound together in a constellation of personal experiences and historical events whose effects are intelligible only through the life *text* of every social actor.

Spreading the punk word

National definitions: Italy and Germany

To be coherent to the theoretical premise of historical facts being significant for the analysis only if they have been significant for the cultural actors themselves, in the (first) definition of punk in Germany and Italy it has also to be considered how to define the two countries taken as example.

The political boundaries of the two countries are clear and stable, based on bilateral agreements, indicated by signals along the streets and in the maps. But a nation is a social fiction (Dickie 1996) which includes also other characteristics, like customs, traditions and language, that have a stronger cultural aspect and whose boundaries are much fuzzier.

Punk, however this word is to be defined, is everywhere. It crossed national boundaries and formed communities in different constellations, from local to global; for this reason it is not possible to mechanically match national identity and punk identity, as the two texts are not necessarily connected. Nevertheless, in the attempt to establish a comparison between local understandings of punk, some sort of distinction has to be made. Ortoleva suggests a geographical differentiation based on the media diffusion

> The development of modern media determines a geography of communication which adapts to the map of existing communities but which, at the same time, continually reshapes it. The media contribute to the maintenance of pre-existing social arrangements but they also, more or less explicitly, define their boundaries and the direction in which they change. Ortoleva 1996, p. 187)

And Appadurai (1990) introduced five possible landscape dimensions through which social and cultural areas can be divided: ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, ideoscapes and mediascapes. Here it has been chosen to refer to the mediascape as defining the national boundaries between Germany and Italy, also because punk reached the two countries crossing boundaries mostly through the media[2]. It is then the media, their diffusion and positioning that design the national area that will be taken into account.

Mediascape: Bravo and Odeon

Punk reached Germany through a teen magazine called Bravo: first published in 1956 and still appearing every week in the newsstand, in the 1970s Bravo had a circulation of more than a million copies in German speaking countries. Its topics are music, but also sexuality, work and everyday life problems regarding the youth. The issue number 41 published on the 30 September 1976 was the first reportage about punk to appear in Germany, and punk was presented through the Sex Pistols. The magazine included a poster of the band, colourful graphics to integrate a shallow and sensationalist description of a group of young males looking like a street gang, and the instructions on how to dress like a punk.

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2 Many traditional narratives report personal contacts and travelling experiences, as the present understanding of punk and its rebellious myth tries to hide this mainstream origins. But the punk word expanded at first thanks to the most popular and mainstream media, and was supposed to be an ephemeral trend. Cf. Philopat (2006); Schamoni (2005).

In Italy the first magazine specifically targeted to a teen audience appeared in the 1980s. In the mid-1970s the most effective, and popular, information medium was television. The first contact with the new shocking trend from England came from the television program Odeon, broadcast on Tuesday the 4 October 1977 just after the evening news on the second national channel (at that time there were only two, a third one and the private television channels followed some years later).

The Italian television offered a quite complete report about the music and the punk style, some bands were filmed on stage: Sex Pistols, Heartbreakers, Slits and Eaters; an interview with the Slits was translated into Italian, the journalist Raffaele Andreassi proved he made some research, he talked about the music, the style, the dance forms, he referred to the bands as artists and observed the important part the audience played in the scene.

The punk message entered different contexts in Germany and Italy. The closer context of the magazine Bravo was that of music, for sure, but also of the typical problems of the teens: in the same year 1976 the first article about punk was published, there were articles about sex and contraception, about secondary school education and professional training, advertising texts inviting to join the army, and even a complete reportage about how the taxation of the salary is calculated. In the issue number 41 already mentioned, the front cover reports a special about punk rock, pictures of kittens and an interview to the teens-sweetheart Shaun Cassidy, but there is also a front story about a pregnant young girl pondering about an abortion. Such topics were addressed to an audience still in their teens, but facing adult problems and personal responsibility.

The palimpsest in which the program Odeon was broadcast on Italian television was completely different. The second national channel was mostly devoted to cartoons in the afternoon and light entertainment in the evening. Odeon was a sixty minutes weekly TV-magazine talking mostly about movies, stars and trends, broadcast after the news, at 20.15 p.m., and not specially targeted to a young audience.

The television report of Andreassi focused on the creativity and artistry of this new phenomenon, and if any political content was to be acknowledged, it was the point of view of an artist.

To a broader context, punk reached young people but different audiences: in the case of Germany, the message appealed teens who bought a magazine on purpose, conscious of being the special target of its texts; in the case of Italy, the new trend reached youngsters casually sitting in front of the television on a weekday evening in company of their parents or other family members.

Local understanding and new interpretations

A year later in Italy: the Great Complotto

At least at the beginning, punk was perceived in Italy as a cultural trend. A year later, in 1978, the renowned film director Comencini made a reportage interviewing some punk teens from the province of Tuscany. He asked: "what are you protesting against?" the answer, after a shy and incoherent mention to the queen, was clear: "I personally don't have anything to protest against, I just like the style"[3]. Whatever the reason and interpretation of the punk message, punk had landed.

The first genuine Italian punk scene started in Pordenone. A very small and peripheral city actually, population 50,000. In the autumn of 1977 a group of young men met in Pordenone, while fulfilling their compulsory civil service to help the region damaged in 1976 by a serious earthquake. They were born in Pordenone, but as it happens in small cities with very few cultural infrastructures, some of them had already left the city before, despite their young age. Ado Scaini had been living in London for a while, working as a roadie for local bands. Fabio Zigante was a student at the University of Bologna. They moved back to Pordenone and while clearing rubble by day decided out of boredom to start a band to spend their free time in a meaningful way. They used an empty flat belonging to the family of Ado Scaini to meet. It didn't take much time, and the flat turned into a rehearsal and meeting space for a growing scene. The instruments were hired, and all the bands playing there were supposed to pay part of the rent for the musical facilities and for the flat bills. More and more punk interested teens show up at the rehearsal-flat, and as the only way to get in is to be in a band, a lively scene quickly forms, to the point that they become some sort of small society and decide to give themselves the collective name of Great Complotto (great conspiracy). The first product of this scene, let aside some concerts in the area, is a self-funded split by the two

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[3] Comencini 1978, my translation.

bands Tampax and Hitler SS. It is the first ever self-funded record in Italy, and it was recorded, appropriately, in an 18 minutes session. The band members searched the yellow pages for a recording studio, and eventually fixed an appointment with a studio located in the north of the region, specialised in folk music (Mazzocut, 2005). The sleeve graphics follow the punk tradition: handwriting and black and white pictures of the two bands, Hitler SS posing with their instruments and Tampax portrayed inside a car. This second photo is disturbingly put upside down on the cover. The inner sleeve is all text, mixing hand- and typewriting, and everything, also the band contacts, are in English. One sheet is made to be cut out, in smaller pieces delimited through a hatch. Every piece includes a short text, like for example "someone has told me I walk like Marlon Brando" or "Who are the Beatless?"(sic). The copy owner is invited to "write on the walls the Hitler SS slogan". The songs on the record are horribly recorded pure '77 raw punk, the titles of the songs: Slave, Naked, Punk is dead no solution (by Hitler SS) and Ufo Dictator and Tampax (in the cunt) (by Tampax) are much more provocative than the lyrics themselves, which are meaningless and based on an approximate knowledge of English. But the Great Complotto was more than a musical scene: their cultural production included a tourist guide with a map of Pordenone, whose name was changed into Naon city, a fanzine, a radio program, and a big adventure in London, where Tampax and Hitler SS organized a "cartoon concert", a pirate concert in Portobello Road in 1979, where the bands played cardboard instruments producing the sound of the instruments with their voices. Obviously Time Out referred to it as the worst concert of the year. The artistic nonsense actions of the Great Complotto, their fervid creativity and a Dada interpretation of the punk philosophy derived from the personal experience of the arts student Zigante (frontman of the band Hitler SS), who had been in contact with the student protests and the free radios in Bologna; probably the London experience of Scaini brought to the idea of the Portobello Cartoon concert. Even if Scaini and Zigante are still credited as the initiators of the Great Complotto, it has not to be forgotten that two persons alone cannot start a scene, and the history of punk has gone through a process of glamorisation that tends to hide the popular origins of punk to underline its artistry instead. The fact that the peripheral Pordenone has been theatre of such a unique and experimental interpretation of punk has in this sense an actual meaning. There was no place for punk concerts in the politicized scene of Bologna. Italian punk bands not singing in Italian were not allowed to play in the first Italian squatted spaces, which were mostly intended for the political discussion. Hitler SS and Tampax, apart from having quite inconvenient names to present to a left politicized and feminist audience, had nothing in common and wanted to have nothing to do with the Italian political songwriters of their time, who they considered boring and inconsistent. The quiet atmosphere of Pordenone allows the building of a cultural lab far from the heavy political context of those days, made of student protests and assaults to opponents from militants of the left as from the right wing. Red Brigades, political kidnappings and bomb attacks were everyday news. In Bologna, where Zigante attended the university, during the student demonstrations in March 1977 a young communist militant had been shot by the police. On top of that, the members of the bands involved in the Great Complotto were experiencing themselves the devastating consequences of a severe earthquake in a rural and poor region marked by a centenarian consuetude to emigration. Nevertheless, no political or social topic entered their lyrics and actions.

A year later in Germany: Krautpunk

The magazine Sounds, a well-respected German magazine exclusively specialised in music, reported about the German punk scene in 1978. In the issue 3 of 1978, a reportage about the punk music mentions contextually social conflicts and fascism, and maps the German punk scenes of the different cities informing about their political and social engagement. While the first reports about the emerging Italian punk scene stress its incomprehensible Dadaism, a mere music German magazine feels in need to distinguish the German scene basing on its political engagement. Hilsberg, the author of the article, also introduced the word *krautpunk*, referring to the traditional German dish made of sour cabbage. For Hecken (in Meinert, Seeliger 2013) it was actually the interpretation of the journalists, recklessly comparing political and economic contexts in Germany and England, which directed (or maybe was steered) to an higher social engagement of the German punk scene.

The first German bands to play punk were Big Balls from Hamburg, who sung in English and could count on a record contract with a major label already in 1976, and Male from Düsseldorf, who followed up some months later. In their interview for Sounds in 1978 Male already showed an explicit social consciousness; even if also in this case, as in the Italian one, the cultural actors were young people who probably still did not have any contact with the job

market, they referred to the similarities of the native Ruhr, with its coal mine crisis[4], to the general English situation. They choose to sing their lyrics in German, and not in English, because they wanted everybody to understand them, as they talked about freedom of choice and oppressive state. The band was made of young people who already had a musical education, whose musical influences were the Stones and Bowie, they were high school and art students, as they themselves feel the need to point out (Kubanke 2014). In 1978 Male played the Mauerbaufestival at SO36 in Berlin, the first punk festival in Germany, a 2-days concert ironically celebrating the anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall, and the official opening party of one of the most renowned German punk venues. Berlin, and in particular the Kreuzberg district, where SO36 seats, has a long tradition as a punk district: because of the special political status of the city of Berlin during the years of the division of Germany, the citizens of Berlin, other than all other Germans, did not attend the mandatory military service. This was a reason enough for many young men to move to Berlin. Kreuzberg in particular was a district close to the wall, with many abandoned buildings, where squatting was tolerated (Drissel 2011). The particular situation of this neighbourhood and the politicisation of the punk meaning made by the media encouraged the German punks to become part of a changing society. The squattings in Berlin Kreuzberg started at the beginning of the 1970s through student movements and left wing activists. Then came the punks. They found not only a place to live but a pre-existing web of social support which provided rehearsal spaces, concert venues and audience. There is a continuity between the German punks and the squatting movements of the early 1970s. The melodic songwriting of the hippies Ton Steine Scherben (who wrote one of the most known hymns to the squatting in 1972) influenced the music and also the awareness of Male and other punk bands. Tommyhaus (squatted in 1973) in Berlin does still exist, and is still a fundamental venue for small punk concerts in the city. Back to Male, after the participation to the first festivals in Berlin and Hamburg, they recorded their first long playing in 1979, funded by a local label. It was a long playing with 14 songs, the titles and the lyrics are in German, thematically they generally express a feeling of oppression and describe a grey world made of imposed rules. Titles like Vaterland, Polizei, Haftbefehl (warrant of arrest) refer to lyrics sometimes ironic and senseless, but the audience does not need to understand every single word of a screamed out and fast punk song, they just need to get the powerful message in the refrain to singalong. The sleeve of the album is completely white on both sides, while a second inside sleeve shows the typical punk composition of black and white pictures and typewriting. The pictures do not portray the band, but mostly policemen, with guns or wearing riot gears, and police cars, a group of politicians and two cut outs taken from a women's magazine. The sleeve contains the lyrics of each song. The number of times in which words related to war, violence and fear are repeated is disturbing. And it is always a pointed finger to legal state violence, a political explicit stance.

The development of a broader punk landscape

If we leaf through the history books, it is easy to see that the macro political and social context in the years 1976-1978 was not so different in Germany and Italy: both countries had to do with the deterioration of student movements, with the economic crisis after the boom of the 1960s, with the Cold War. Geopolitically speaking, the destiny of European countries, at least in the West-bloc, was one and the same. Düsseldorf was not as wealthy as it used to be, but unemployment did not directly affect the Male 17-years-old students. Pordenone was maybe peripheral, but it had just experienced a catastrophic earthquake, and even if the young people of the Great Complotto were directly engaged in the reconstruction, there is no trace of that in their production. The cultural actors who created the Great Complotto had a lot of contextual material to choose from, to create a political interpretation of the punk message. They used instead its irreverence and nonsense potential, exactly because they created contextual connections with creative forces carefully avoiding political involvement, maybe aware of the sterility of the coeval political debate. Probably the failed connection of the Pordenone scene to the political squats induced a refusal of political engagement. Quite the opposite, German punks included in their understating of punk the social and political engagement already from the beginning, following in some aspects the student protests of the 1960s and 1970s. Still today German punks list as a fundamental listening the hippie band Ton Steine Scherben, and soon after Male came the hamburger band Slime, whose singer's first lyrics was dealing with the topic of political violence and anti-nuclear activism.

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[4] Actually the coal crisis in the Ruhr District had begun already in the 1950s, by the end of the 1970s most of the economic rearrangements had already taken place (Eckart 2003).

At the very beginning of the punk era, then, the punk word has been understood in two different ways while entering two slightly different contexts. Both interpretations, the political and the artistic one, were present in the English scene as it was communicated by the media. The local reactions picked up some aspects to connect them with the local context. What is important is which texts have been activated by punk in the two countries, what these two different scenes included in their understanding of punk. External political or economic factors are not included in a semiotic analysis, if not filtered through a discourse, because it is the discourse that determines what is important in the context and what is not. Going back to the first interpretations of punk in Germany and Italy is not intended to deduce some constitutional difference, it was meant only to be an example of the richness of the possible interpretations and to stress the power of the interpreter above that of the message.

The punk message – like any other message – enters a new context only through a process of cultural translation, therefore the definition of a subculture is always local, integrated in pre-existing experiences. To the point that, as punk becomes a way of understanding the world, every single cultural actor will have to include the punk experience in its personal life history, and that is how narratives come into being and how it happens that comforting similar cultural references can be found in punk cultural actors all over the world. This first contact allows a broader exchange that ignores boundaries and national differences. It happened quite quickly in Germany and Italy, mostly through touring bands from both sides, which encouraged the formation of more homogeneous interpretations of punk, through the rearrangement of texts. The Italian hardcore bands of the early 1980s, for example, had intense contacts with the German squatting scenes and German punks, and brought back the idea of singing punk in the mother tongue and of playing in autonomous organized spaces where politics and punk culture could live together: the first cultural centre and punk venue of this kind was then Virus in Milan in 1981. Also punk with lyrics in Italian became quickly established. In a reportage on the Italian punk scene in 1982, the music journalist Gorrani criticized those Italian punk bands still singing in English, on the same note as the German punks had done a couple of years before.

Whatever the beginnings of punk have been, punk is capable of entering the oppositional and chaotic part of every biography; every new generation of punks is a demonstration of the adaptability of this text to different contexts, and of the enduring power of the no future.

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2.7. Punk and New wave: destruction or doorway into Europe for the former socialist countries

Yvetta Kajanová[1]

Abstract

Underground music in the former Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland in the era of their socialist regimes had the utmost social, aesthetic and philosophical significance in the new wave style. A specific feature was that in some of these countries, experimental and new wave bands emerged earlier than punk groups because they were best suited for the expression of silent protest. Initially, these bands had presented themselves without political actions, but later they fell into open political conflicts and musicians were imprisoned for subversion of the country. In the Czech Republic, the period between 1968 and 1989 was associated with the activities of the bands The Plastic People of the Universe and the Prague Selection, which fused political and artistic dissident movements. In Slovakia, a youth gospel scene emerged in the underground, although it never had the musical characteristics of an alternative genre because gospel bands derived from mainstream rock and Afro-American gospel. While the activities of the Czech bands The Plastic People and the Prague Selection were banned from 1983 until 1987, the Yugoslavian geek rock band Haustor was enjoying its fame. The Polish post-punk band Maanam was first broadcasted by MTV in 1988. The Slovak alternative rock bands Demikát and 300HR limited their music to small, confined subcultures. Punk bands such as the Slovak Zóna A and the Polish groups SS 20, Kryzys and Siekiera became involved in conflicts that involved skinheads and hooligans. A question arises as to whether the conflicts were deliberately provoked as it was the 1981 to 1983 Nazi Affair in the former Yugoslavia that was associated with the rocker Igor Vidmar. The author of this paper analyses and compares the relationship between the mainstream and the underground together with their close ties to political activities.

Keywords: underground, socialism, mainstream, new wave, alternative rock.

Introduction

When evaluating the rock music of 1977 to 1989 in the former socialist countries of Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, it is important to take into consideration several factors. Attention needs to be given to the social status of music and arts, as well as to the impact of ideology on their development. The article also raises questions about whether the artists had ambitions to become politicians and be actively involved in public life, whether there were any particular instances of punk and new wave music being prohibited for ideological reasons, or if any cases of political persecution of rock musicians occurred. Ultimately, an examination as to what extent punk and new wave in Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia contributed to the disintegration of their communist regimes in 1989 is also necessary. This study follows and compares the Polish, Yugoslavian and Czechoslovakian rock scenes' development from 1977 until the collapse of the Eastern bloc.

A Doorway into Europe

In Poland, due to the Warszawska Jesień (the Warsaw Autumn) international music festival organized since 1956, avant-garde music had a dominating role (Vičar, 1994, 2013, p. 98). The festival has made world-famous such composers as Krzysztof Penderecki, Witołd Lutoslawski and Henryk Górecki. Jazz music in particular represented an alternative form of culture and, to a lesser extent, it was an expression of a social protest (Ritter, 2011) associated with a nationwide embrace of jazz as a symbol of freedom (Pietraszewski, 2011). According to Igor Pietraszewski, "additionally, after 1956, Poland was gradually becoming the freest of the communist countries" (Pietraszewski, 2014, p. 9). However, according to his further analysis, the meaning of "freest" was primarily associated with the freedom enjoyed by the Polish Church, theatres and clubs, and freedom in jazz, cabaret, and avant-garde music. "Freedom" did not correspond with a free market economy and the politics of parliamentary democracy, but

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instead it was manifested through liberal culture and thought. Largely, therefore, the arts, culture and peoples' lives were outside central control and censorship, and in these the Polish people managed to defend their rights to freedom. According to Ray Pratt, rock music performers with their more radical involvement in particular political events are a much more significant part of socio-political life than are jazz musicians (Pratt, 1982, p. 51). In Poland, the protest-oriented character of jazz music was amplified by the underground rock movement, artists' ambitions to make Polish music known abroad, and by the religious dimensions within the Polish culture.

The countries of the former Yugoslavia were touched by "communism with a Western Face", a growing idea which, in the 1980s, formed the political basis for a mainly free market economy. The politics were led by the strong-handed dictator, Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980), and his close followers. In line with the phrase "bread and circuses to the people", the economy was built on the principles of demand and supply and supported the inflow of foreign capital; this made Yugoslavia the only communist country not to lose touch with the economic development of the Western bloc. What is more, to demonstrate a favourable foreign outlook, young Yugoslavians were allowed to play rock and roll. Unlike in Czechoslovakia, President Tito and his faithful supporter, Edvard Kardelj, never openly campaigned against rock and roll (Spaskowska, 2011, p. 4, Matzner & Poledňák & Wasserberger, 1983, p. 269). On the contrary, to show that this kind of music was only regarded as harmless fun, they chose a different cultural and political approach. In 1975, for example, Tito invited the band White Button (Bijelo Dugme) to perform for him on Christmas Eve at the Croatian National Theatre. In 1981, the *New Musical Express* magazine featured the Yugoslavian Električni Orgazam (Electric Orgasm)[2] as one of the best European bands along with the Belgrade club Akademija as being amongst the best in Europe (Gordy, 1994). However, in these outwardly demonstrated political gestures, youth very quickly discovered that behind the illusions of relative freedom and tolerance there were hidden motives of the dictator. Relative freedom meant limitations that especially concerned religious beliefs and the rights of ethnic minorities (Spaskowska, p. 9). In 1981, the communist government of Poland declared martial law; some bands were prohibited and some (such as the rock band Perfect) suspended their artistic activities to show solidarity with democratically oriented movements. The songs of the band Perfect had been widely appreciated by Polish audiences. With the support of new wave rhythms and ironical singing, the symbolic message of the song "Chcemy być sobą"[3] (We want to be ourselves, 1981)[4] showed how hard it was to be oneself when under ideological pressures.

Triggered by Alexander Dubček's reforms, politicians in 1960s' Czechoslovakia were trying to create "communism with a human face". To the artists, this process of political liberalization brought a relief from ideological pressures and a less severe censorship, which was mainly reflected by allowing the export of music to foreign countries. Musicians established contacts with several Western countries and signed contracts for album releases, but they could not accomplish their projects. The suppression of the 1968 Prague Spring reforms was followed by the persecution of anti-socialists according to 1969 Laws.[5] Reactions from Czech and Slovak artists and intellectuals to their persecution was not long in coming. In the Czech Republic, resistance was concentrated in the Jazz Section, the legally approved part of the Association of Musicians (est. 1969), and through the underground band The Plastic People of the Universe (1969). Consequently, jazz dissidents, underground rock musicians and political dissidents worked together. The Plastic People of the Universe took their inspiration from the music of Frank Zappa and the Velvet Underground, and from Andy Warhol's Exploding Plastic Inevitable multimedia shows. The 1974 brutal police repression at the *First Festival of Second Culture* in České Budejovice became the official milestone in the development of the Czech underground.

Ivan Martin "Magor" Jirous–the manager and artistic director of The Plastic People of the Universe–was, for organising dissident activities, samizdat in underground groups, and his views, convicted on five occasions and imprisoned for a total of eight and a half years. Similarly, the members of The Plastic People of the Universe were arrested and closely monitored during the period between 1969 and 1989 (Järvinen, 2009, p. 133). In 1974, the band was prohibited until 1988, at which time it dissolved. During this 14-year period, they performed illegally. At the same time, new wave and punk bands took over the activities of the Czech underground rock scene; amongst

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[2] A Serbian punk and new wave band; they later shifted into the broad pop rock spectrum.
[3] LP *Perfect*, 1981, Polskie Nagrania Muza, SX 2114, Zbigniew *Hołdys* – guitars, piano and vocals, Grzegorz Markowski – lead vocal, Ryszard Sygitowicz – guitar.
[4] Tonpress.
[5] The Act of 22nd August 1969 of the Praesidium of the Federal Assembly (Collection of Laws no. 99/1969) on the necessary temporary measures for keeping and strengthening public order.

these groups Pražský výběr (the Prague Selection, formed in 1976) and Zikkurat (a punk group, 1979) were the most eminent. An ideal fusion was achieved in 1981 when Vilém Čok, the bass guitarist and singer of Zikkurat, joined the Prague Selection. In this band, he came to know and appreciate the experienced jazz-rock pianist Michael Kocáb and Michal Pavlíček's straightforward style of rock guitar playing (Vlček & Opekar, 1989). In their performances, the Prague Selection used theatrical shows: masks, wigs, glasses of strange shapes, and hair styles which followed the tradition of Czech theatre and cabarets. Their unusually crafted melodic lines, recitations (Matzner & Poledňák & Wasserberger, 1990, p. 438), punk parodies and ironic interpretation of lyrics accentuated political, aesthetic and social protests. In comparison with punk, the more complex harmonic structures, the musicians' technical virtuosity and creativity, and their stylistic heterogeneity symbolised the bands' resistance to the establishment, whilst transmitting messages that listeners were able to decode. Pavlíček's rock guitar riffs combined with Kocáb's jazz-rock motifs, played on the synthesizer, represented the image of the Czech new wave style. In the *Encyclopedia of Jazz and Modern Popular Music*, published shortly after the Velvet Revolution in 1990, Prague Selection's music was still characterised as aggressive rock (pp. 438-439). Stylistically, the band strove to eventually achieve a synthesis of different musical elements. For its style, the group was banned between 1983 and 1987. However, the main reasons for the prohibition–as stated in the *Encyclopedia*–were "incidents in the audiences" and "problems with agencies in organizing concerts". The true reason–open conflicts with the communist ideology identified by censors in the visualisation and the lyrics–was not given. According to the official press releases, the Prague Selection at its January 1983 concert in Hradec Králové was selling uncensored posters which were the source of its "illegal income and wealth"; the opening band Trifidi participated in the performance without permission; and instead of the three concerts allowed, they gave four. To avoid censorship of their songs' lyrics, the band used a Swahili-like idiom with words whose sounds resembled the English language but made no sense. Michal Kocáb justified the use of the meaningless language by simply saying that the band either did not have sufficient time or was unable to add lyrics to their music pieces. However, the meaningless lyrics, although outwardly sounding stupid to the Communists, always carried a symbolic message understandable to the audiences. Such simplicity and "folly" in the lyrics, typical of mainstream pop, acquired new meanings through the music's parodical and ironical interpretation. In Kocáb's composition "S.O.S", the band also ridicules Czechoslovakian pop music hits with references to the bass guitarist Ondřej Soukup's departure from the Prague Selection to Karel Gott's pop music ensemble.

In 1982, the film director Juraj Herz made a movie about the Prague Selection entitled *Straka v hrsti* (A Magpie in the Hand). Since the movie featured the signatories of Charter 77, it ended up in a safe and the Secret Police (ŠtB) began to monitor the band more closely. In the same year, their album *A Magpie in the Hand* was ready to be released; however, this did not happen until the beginning of Gorbachev's perestroika ("restructuring") and glasnost ("openness") in 1988, when the previously prohibited album was released under the title *Prague Selection*[6]. It meant a new relief in Czechoslovakia from the political pressure instigated after the 1968 Prague Spring events. In 1989, after the Velvet Revolution, Michal Kocáb, the pianist, singer and composer of Prague Selection, entered politics as an active member of the Parliament. He was the chairman of the parliamentary commission to oversee the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, and later he became the Minister for Human Rights and Minorities (2009-2010). Kocáb's powerful artistic contributions grew into political commitments and enabled him to play an active role in Czech politics for almost 20 years.

In comparison with the Czech rock avant-garde, the Slovak scene in the former Czechoslovakia did not follow such a radical path. Instead, however, it was characterised by a strong current of underground gospel music, which had its associaton with Slovakian religiosity. Gospel music was recorded on cassettes in emergent clandestine studios and secretly distributed. Between 1969 and 1989 there were, according to available data, 37 gospel music albums illegally distributed. The development of a Slovakian underground gospel scene shared many common features with its counterpart in Poland. Religiosity and a rather conventional direction of music were likely reasons for the Slovakian rock scene development that saw the new wave band Demikát (1981) three years prior to the emergence of the punk group Zone A's emergence in 1984. During that time, punk rock musicians only played in the basement of their homes. In 1981, Marián Greksa together with the guitarist Andrej Šeban formed the band Demikát that performed for two years. The band gave concerts in Bratislava clubs and particularly excited the interest of students. Demikát adopted the British punk rock dress style with torn and colour-spattered clothes,

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[6] LP Panton 81 0826–1311, the band's third album, remastered on CD in 1990, Panton 81 0826–2311.

which sharply contrasted with their playing of hard rock compositions, such as "Jumpin' Jack Flash" (Brožík, 1982, p.1) by the Rolling Stones, who were the symbol of rock music for the young generation of Slovak listeners. However, Demikát also played their original music. The song "Ja som bača veľmo starý" (I Am a Very Old Shepherd, 1983) used the minor pentatonic in the melody, and the Dorian and Lydian modes in the chorus. In the lyrics, the band criticised the conventional and conservative approach of Slovak audiences. The depiction of an old shepherd who still grazes sheep, along with the image of a weak and fearful society, provoked Slovak audiences, but did not please the official institutions. At the time of new wave's emergence in the Czech Republic, and with increasing socio-political criticism, the parody and symbolism which Demikát used in their music ensured a ticket sellout at the band's 1983 farewell concert in the 1800-seat hall of the Bratislava Culture and Leisure Park. In comparison with their club concerts, it was a great achievement. However, Demikát released only one single (SP *Puberta Blues/Kráľovstvo krivých zrkadiel*, SP Puberty Blues/The Kingdom of Distorted Mirrors)[7] and no album. Not even the efforts of the guitarist and band's leader, Andrej Šeban, to further continue with the new wave style and progressive rock in the band 300HR (1984) brought any wider response from the listeners. The band remained a part of the semi-professional scene for only another few months. Hence, between 1981 and 1986, the Slovak new wave scene fell outside the focus of official agencies and publishers. It was not without reason that in the 1990s Šeban was developing progressive metal in the groups Šeban-Rózsa-Buntaj, and Free Faces.

The situation in the then Czechoslovak Socialist Republic began to change in the second half of the 1980s when the supporters of Charter 77 obtained managerial positions in several government institutions. There, they collaborated in the organisation of the Rockfest (1986). The event had a number of contributing organizations that should be credited for enabling the Rockfest to take place with new wave, punk, alternative and, later, even with prohibited bands, e.g. Psí vojáci (Dog Soldiers, 1979-2011) and Zone A, performing at the festival. The *Newsletter*, a festival bulletin, reflected a significant change in views on rock music.

> The Socialist Youth Association endeavours to support legitimate interests of young people. ... This area of pop music was developing rather spontaneously, and opinions on rock music were manipulated by different and sometimes insensitive interventions. One of the important means to address this situation was the Rockfest festival. (Teplý, 1988, p. 1)

Moreover, the Rockfest was held in the Prague Palace of Culture, which was then also the venue for the Congresses of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (as shown in the movie series *Bigbít 1956-1989,* 40/3). When the members of the punk band Dog Soldiers sought permission to perform in 1978, it was rejected because they allegedly played extremely depressing music and their parents had signed Charter 77[8]. In the trailer There Is a Bathtub in the Bathroom from the *Bigbít* movie[9] of the 1988 Rockfest, Filip Topol, Dog Soldiers' pianist, has a bleeding hand from playing glissandos, and his expressive interpretation is still provocative even after many years. Although Dog Soldiers was a punk rock band, jazz musicians offered them a helping hand. The band was invited to perform at the 1979 Prague Jazz Days festival, organised by the persecuted Karel Srp's Jazz Section. Topol (1965-2013) was interrogated by the Secret Police, even though he was only 13 years old at the time. The group subsequently performed at Václav Havel's cottage in Hrádeček in 1980; Havel was a member of the dissident movement and Hrádeček was a hub for the already-established underground rock elite. Although the Czechoslovak jazz and rock underground activities followed relatively independent paths, the two movements shared mutual sympathies and support.

The albums of the Yugoslav (Croatian) new wave band, Haustor (est. in 1977, LPs *Haustor*, 1981; *Treći svijet*, 1984; *Bolero* 1985; and *Tajni grad*, 1988), together with numerous concerts and broadcasts on radio, testify to the success of this group. Since the Czech band Prague Selection, which developed the same style, was prohibited between 1983 and 1987, Haustor's activities demonstrated that the cultural and political conditions in Yugoslavia were freer than in Czechoslovakia. The band combined music, theatre, pantomime, new wave and, in addition to electric musical instruments, it also utilized brass and folk instruments.

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[7] SP 1983, Marián Greksa – voc., Henry Tóth – guit., Peter Važan – basg., and Ján Fabrický – dr., Opus 9143 0588.
[8] Bigbít 1956 – 1989, 41 / 5, 1:40, 2:53´.
[9] Bigbít 1956 – 1989, 41 / 5, 4:37, 6:37´.

> During Haustor's live performances, Rundek (Darko Rundek, guitarist of the Haustor) employed elements of performance art, along with the heavy make-up ... Pantomime was Rundek's foremost means of expression onstage ... (Zhabeva, 2014, p. 60)

Similarly to Yugoslavia, Polish new wave music captured the audiences' interest at the time when the Czech Prague Selection and its album *A Magpie in the Hand* were banned. In 1985, the Polish group Lady Pank gave concerts in the UK, Finland, the USSR and the USA; besides the sampler *Sztuka latania* (1985), it released as many as three albums (*Lady Pank*, 1983; *Ohyda*, 1984; *Drop Everything*, 1985). In 1986, Lady Pank's song "Minus Zero" was aired on MTV. Another group, Maanam, was also known outside Poland, and the English version of its LP *Nocny patrol* (The Night Patrol, 1983) was being sold in Germany, the Benelux countries and Scandinavia. A problem occurred in 1984 when the Rogot company decided to organise concerts in the USSR. A contract was signed between the Komunistyczny Młodzieży Poland (the Communist Youth of Poland) and the Youth of Soviet Union, but Maanam's singer, Kora, refused to perform in the Soviet Union thus causing a national scandal. The band's activities were suspended and its pieces prohibited in the media. However, the prohibition lasted less than a year because the pressure from the public and fans helped the group to resume its artistic activities. The following year, Maanam released another record and performed abroad (the UK, Germany and the Netherlands). The group's success culminated in 1988 when the video-clip "Sie ściemnia" (It's Getting Dark) became the first Polish rock video to appear on MTV.

Destruction – Punk in Socialist Countries

While the punk movement in Britain was concentrated amongst working class people, in socialist Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia punk musicians and listeners came from the middle class and intellectuals (Sullivan, 2011; films *Bigbít 1956-1989*; *Nezmením sa!/I Won't Change!*,1989; *Príbeh slečny/The Story of a Young Lady*, 1985). The first wave of Czech intellectual punk rock (The Plastic People of the Universe) was inspired by the music of Frank Zappa and the Velvet Underground. Experimental rock, punk and new wave in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia expressed disillusionment due to the discrepancies between the establishment's official rhetoric and its actual practices.

Punk in socialist countries, unlike its counterpart in the Western world, was not a response to youth unemployment, but a reaction to censorship, dual culture, official and private lives, isolation due to travel prohibitions to capitalist countries, as well as being a voice against the surveillance of everything that fell outside the standards–dress style, thoughts and actions. In the banned movie *I Won't Change!* (1989), the journalist, Ľuboš Dojčan, says that punk was a pessimistic response to an optimistic socialist future. In 1985, Martin Hanzlíček produced a film about the first Slovak punk band, Zone A, entitled *The Story of a Young Lady*; it showed the musicians' school years and their work, but it also emphasized that the band's members considered themselves shaped personalities with specific outlooks. Since the movie depicted the punks' good and disciplined conduct during the socialist era, it gave the impression of a mere 'misunderstanding' between the official authorities and young punks. This film was also prohibited and was allowed to be broadcast only after the Velvet Revolution.

In contrast to new wave groups, punk bands were straightforward and far more provocative. Their needling the authorities was sometimes deliberate. For instance, Igor Vidmar, Yugoslavian (Slovenian) journalist and underground events organizer (the publisher of *Pankrti*, the first punk SP and LP in1977; and also the organizer of the first punk concert in Ljubljana in 1978), worked as a political journalist in Radio Student, the Independent College Radio in Eastern Europe.

> In 1980-81, Ljubljana and Slovenian punks became so numerous and aggressively present on the streets. They even re-named a central Ljubljana square into 'Johnny Rotten Square' in massive black letters ... (Vidmar, 2012)

The movement began to grow and the police wanted to intervene. In 1981, they arrested three rather unknown musicians from the punk band Fourth Reich; one of them was the singer of the Ljubljana Psi (the Ljubljana Dogs). The police constructed evidence for the trial, which was followed by subsequent arrests of several members of punk groups. Most newspapers labeled the punks as Nazis. Since Vidmar was one of the key speakers of this movement, the police were looking for reasons to apprehend him. In 1982, he organized a concert to support the Polish trade union Solidarity (Solidarność). His articles in newspapers and presentations on Radio Student openly spoke about

the deliberately contrived 1981 plot against the punks. The state officials were still looking for an official reason to acuse Vidmar, who was known to wear a badge with a swastika and the inscription 'Dead Kennedys Nazi Punks Fuck Off!', which was the title of a Dead Kennedys' single. The Yugoslav ideologists also regarded the Nazi swastika as a symbol of Hinduism and Buddhism. Vidmar was accused of Nazi propaganda and arrested in 1983 (Vidmar, 2008). It is questionable to what extent it was a misunderstanding caused by the swastika's dual meaning, or provocation by Vidmar who abused the authorities' ignorance. Vidmar's case was extensively discussed in the Yugoslavian media and became known as the 'Nazi Punk Affair Ljubljana' (Stubbs, 1995); revealing the truth was not to the regime's liking. The situation in Czechoslovakia was different since the information on punk music, its prohibition and persecution was never included in the media.

According to Polish contemporaries, conflicts between the public and punk rock groups were purposely provoked.

> In Poland of the 1980s, it was not anything uncommon to see agents called 'Ubeks' or 'Sbeks' during punk rock gigs. They were manipulating with skinheads and hooligans to make them hostile and aggressive towards punk rockers (Gindrich, 2014).

Slovak punk rockers, in contrast, could not justify their 1988 provocation in Bratislava, when they posed with swastikas for photographs. They were noticed by foreign tourists, who published a report in the German newspaper *Bravo*, which became, obviously, of interest to the Secret Police. Unlike in Yugoslavia where the 'Nazi Punk Affair Ljubljana' was broadly publicised, the punk rebellion in Slovakia did not become a public affair. It is, therefore, questionable whether it was a real incident or merely a hearsay myth of the socialist era. The 1980s' punk bands were styled after British punk and had provocation and rebellion as main features. They were only influential as a small subculture, but their activities, although limited, were unacceptable to the general public since they were accompanied by violent action. Such bands in Poland included SS 20, Kryzys, Siekiera, and TZN Xenna**,** which reacted to social unrests. Slovakian groups Paradox, Zone A, and Extip, along with the Czech bands Dog Soldiers, Ziggurat, and Visací zámek (A Padlock) need to be mentioned as well. The emergence of punk bands in Yugoslavia coincided with the origins of punk in Britain in 1976 and included bands such as Pankrti (The Bastards), Paraf, Prljavo Kazalište (Dirty Theatre), Termiti (Termites) and Electric Orgasm. After the 1989 revolutions and the collapse of socialist regimes, punk bands lost the principal reason for their provocations and adopted the characteristics of western extremism. While the punk movements in the West were anti-capitalist, punk in the Eastern bloc was anti-communist (Pęczak & Wertenstein-Zulawski, 1991). The second punk wave in late 1980s' Czechoslovakia already contained a number of negative elements, such as racism, drug addiction and violence. (Fuchs, 2002)

The first official and public punk concert in Slovakia was that of the band Paradox in 1983. It was also the band's first performance after three years of only playing in the basement of their home. A few months later, Paradox performed in front of 1500 people at an amateur District Political Song Competition in the Bratislava Culture and Leisure Park. Paradoxically, this event was supported by socialist apparatchiks as a politically engaging youth activity**.** In 1984, the members of the Slovak punk bands Ex Tip and Paradox united to form the group Zóna A. However, since the band's lyrics were not approved by the censors, they were not authorized to perform in public. Their concerts were accompanied by repressions and in 1984 restricted only to the Lamač district of Bratislava. By seizing their passports, the Secret Police prevented the band's participation at the 1986 festival in the Polish town of Jarocin. From 1985 to 1987, Zóna A was barred from all public performances. In 1987, they found the courage to give an illegal concert in the Bratislava Horský park; the Secret Police intervened and arrested more than 30 people. In 1988, they performed at the Rockfest festival in Prague, which meant breaking the original prohibition but, at the same time, enabled the penetration of punk music into Bratislava musical life. However, the band's concerts were often prevented by the Secret Police, which monitored and interrogated their members up until 1989.

With their political messages and semantic meaning in the music, new wave and experimental groups in socialist countries were closer to the music of Frank Zappa and the Velvet Underground, who were, in general, more cynical and intellectual than the British punk. It is, therefore, no coincidence that Czech and Polish new wave bands also sympathized with jazz. Michal Kocáb, the leader of the Prague Selection, initially played jazz-rock, the punk band Dog Soldiers performed at the Prague Jazz Days, the Polish group Maanam also included jazz musicians such as Zbygniew Namyslowski, Tomasz Stańko and Stanislaw Sojka. The Polish new wave group Perfect performed in the Warsaw jazz club, Stodola. After losing the object of their protest–socialism–some punk musicians began to combine punk rock with jazz avant-garde and free jazz. Such musicians included the Czech punker Mikoláš

Chadima and the Slovak pianist Július Fuják; together they played music which was a cross between punk, free jazz, prepared piano and improvisations, and also included samplers–real records on the Secret Police's persecutions of the Jazz Section (CD *Xafoo*, 2012). Punk in socialist countries in the late 1980s thus opened the door to Europe with all its positive and negative impacts.

Music progress

The 1980s' new wave bands contributed not only to the creation of aesthetic values, but they also played a significant role in the social and political resistance against the socialist establishment. All these factors need to be taken into consideration when evaluating the bands' progressions. At that time, some bands already extended past the new wave style. For instance, in their song "Pepe Wróc" (LP *Live*, Savitor 1983) the Polish group Perfect ventured into hard rock and alternative rock as they used repetitions of a single motif together with a text gradation. In the compositions of the Czech band Prague Selection compiled on their LP *A Magpie in the Hand* (1983), the elements of alternative and gothic rock were evident in the bizarre expressivity and their work with sound. The Polish group Maanam had a slight post-punk and gothic rock orientation. According to the recent views of theoreticians, the Croatian Haustor is classified as a geek rock band (Zhabeva, 2014). Similarly, due to their intellectualisations and the use of non-musical elements, the Czech Plastic People and the Slovak group Demikát were also exponents of geek rock. While experimental rock and new wave musicians in the former socialist countries partially opened the door to Europe, they still maintained their identities and specificities; such bands included The Plastic People of the Universe, the Prague Selection, Demikát, Haustor, Laibach, Maanam, and Perfect.

Conclusion

According to the German theoretician, Theodor W. Adorno, "Slavic peoples are spontaneous", "naively impetuous" and belong to the type of emotional listener ("emotionalen Hörer", Adorno, 1975, p.17). At the time of the establishment of punk and experimental rock in the late 1960s (with The Plastic People of the Universe), they articulated, like the American scene, sophistication combined with a simple rebellion. A critical approach and perfect musicianship were demonstrated not only in artistic productions but also in interpreting the political situation. The consequence, i.e. prohibitions of bands in socialist countries was the same as for British punk rock. Unlike new wave bands in the West, which did not experience the constant societal pressures, their counterparts in the former Czechoslovakia were persecuted by the state authorities. This represented the developmental difference between new wave bands in Western countries and those in the socialist bloc. However, in comparison with Czechoslovakia, new wave groups in Poland and Yugoslavia arose under freer political conditions, although conflicts were also unavoidable. The early 1980s' Polish, Yugoslavian and Czechoslovakian new wave bands were already able to artistically synthesize jazz-rock, hard rock, punk and theatrical gags into the form of an alternative rock genre that theoreticians call geek rock (DiBlase & Willis, 2014). According to Ekkehard Jost,

> the potential critical effect of music is intensified if a certain experience of consciousness back- pressure sharpens the immanent pressure of the music. Non-musical elements such as the title, text, scene, artists' movements and associations, are amplified by the intervention of external foremost consciousness until it reaches its aesthetic pleasures that are passed onto the listeners (Jost, 1973, p. 33).

From this point of view, the new wave style grew into geek rock under the influence of the "socialist environment".

Although the naive emotionality was inevitably associated with an anti-intellectual attitude, the impact of official socialist ideology caused the "Adorno type" to change into an intellectual, capable of destroying the socialist establishment and becoming politically active. This can be demonstrated through the personality of the Czech musician and politician Michael Kocáb, by the underground band The Plastic People of the Universe, who were linked to Charter 77, as well as by the Slovenian activist Igor Vidmar. In Czechia, the country whose population

gradually replaced religiosity with intellectualisation,[10] the rock music of 1969 to 1989 found its strong base amongst intellectuals and dissidents (Václavík, 2010, p. 121). In Poland and Slovakia, intellectualisation was more evident in jazz and gospel music. The Orthodox Church-oriented former Yugoslav countries created new intertextual possibilities for reception and semantic contexts of rock music (for example the Slovenian band Laibach).

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[10] In 1974, approximately 20% of the Czech population were religiously minded; in 1989 the figure was 25%. At present, the Czech Republic proudly claims an atheistic orientation. According to the 2011 census, as many as 51% of the population indicated neither a church affiliation nor an atheistic conviction. https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/nabozenska-vira-obyvatel-podle-vysledku-scitani-lidu-2011-61wegp46fl
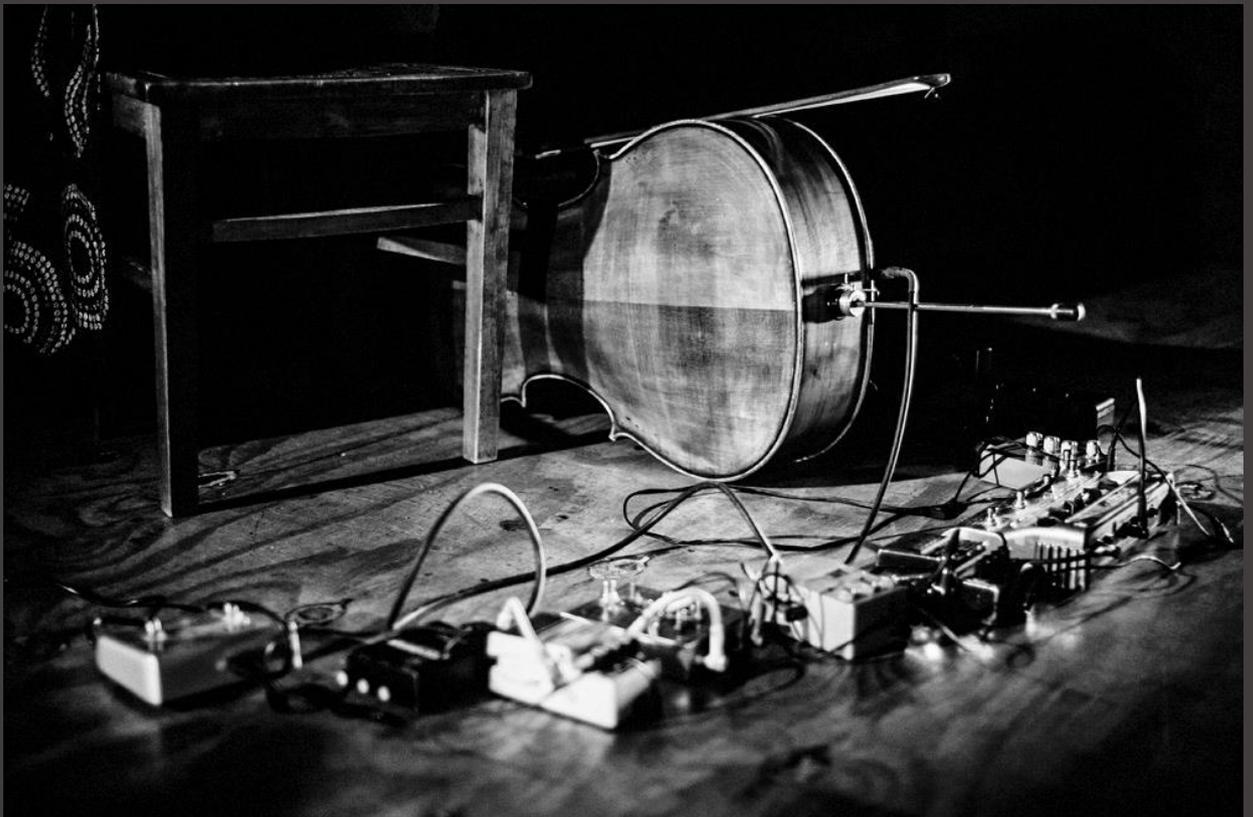
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THEME TUNE 3 | Ever Fallen in the City: Performing scenes, performance spaces, performing images

3.1. Performance art in Portugal in the mid-1980s? A drift towards music?

Cláudia Madeira[1]

Abstract

The creation of an art market in Portugal in the 1980s had an impact on the field of Portuguese performance art. In the 1960s and 1970s, some of the precursors of performance art in Portugal no longer followed this option and devoted themselves to other professional fields or a more object-based art, such as painting, sculpture etc. – and even talked of a kind of "death of performance art". Yet, at the same time, new agents and groups emerged that still had a connection with performance art, including Homeostética and Happy the Faith. Some of them moved in the direction of alternative music with a strong satirical base. This article will seek to examine the specificities and the intergenerational points of contact, continuity and difference among these groups in relation not only to their predecessors but also to the positions held by some of their members in the field of contemporary art and to the "social places" that performance art occupies today in the national and international scene.

Keywords: performance art, performance art and alternative music.

We have heard that Portuguese performance art died in the mid-1980s...

This article aims to question this announcement. This idea has often been linked to the establishment of an art market in mid-1980s in Portugal which would have led to artists replacing performance with other professional fields, or focusing on a more objective aesthetic art, like painting, sculpture, etc. There was, then, a change from a "non-market" — where the art world of performance took place through setting up informal networks, not aimed at profit — to an "art market" — based on objective aesthetic production and commercial value. This change led to the genre becoming invisible in Portugal for the later generations who joined the performative area, as in the case of what was called "new dance". It also affected the other generations in the area of fine arts, with some Performance festivals appearing at the end of the Millennium. The Brrr, for example, in Oporto, with the goal of creating a space for Performance by importing international examples, as if this genre had never existed in Portugal. Only recently have these generations come to rediscover these performers, and to integrate their agents or their practices in their own artistic projects. This process has been intensified, with the emergence of a new cycle of performance art, now more Transartistic, i.e., disseminated by different artistic or even non artistic fields, such as social protests and demonstrations, among other areas. This has also been complemented both by a renewed interest in the repertoire of artistic precursors through their re-presentation, as well as an admittedly dispersed academic interest on the part of young researchers into the history of Portuguese artistic performativity.

What I'm looking to emphasize in this paper is that the process of progressive "unveiling" of this generation, has not been enough to show the most diachronic dynamics and traces of performativity over time. If this "unveiling" legitimates a temporal cyclical analysis, where performance art appears to be reactivated in the social contexts of crisis, namely, in this case the pre-and post-revolution period and the current period of severe social and political crisis; on the other hand, this cyclical logic ends up reviewing other dynamics. These dynamics include the confluence in the same period, namely in the mid-1980s, of the emergence of new agents and groups who not only had an approach to performance art, knowing and/or sharing experiences with the performance art generation from the 1960s to the 1980s, as is the case of Homeostética, the Felizes da Fé (Happy in the Faith), the Objectos Perdidos (Lost Objects) or even, through António Olaio, The Repórters Estrábicos (The Cross-eyed reporters).

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A chronology of Portuguese performance art

I started, then, by looking at the *Essential Chronology of Portuguese performance art* presented by Manoel Barbosa, in 1985, in the *Performarte* catalogue. For those who don't know, this catalogue records the first national meeting of Performance held in Torres Vedras. Through this chronology, we see that if we present the period between the 1960's and the year 1985 graphically, we see an intensification of activity by Portuguese performance art between 1980 and 1985. Although there are performances that may not be recorded in this Chronology (and the cases I will analyze in this article are not), not only numerous individual performances but also biennials, festivals, and cycles of collective performance sprang up during this period. For example, the Bienal de Cerveira, various editions of the International Festival of Living Art, in Almada, various modern art cycles, organized in the IADE, by Egídio Álvaro, the Artitude cycle, among many other initiatives. It was also in this period that internationalization was reinforced, not only with the participation of Portuguese performers in various international festivals but also through a cycle of Portuguese performance organized also by Egidio Álvaro, at the Centre Georges Pompidou, in 1984. In this catalogue for this show, Egidio Álvaro argued that despite the absence of any support for the development and exhibition of performance in Portugal, Performance was not just "terribly alive" but would also be "the biggest event in Portugal in this first decade that passed under the sign of the revolution" (1984:20).

In fact, two years after, in November 1986, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which did not support Egidio Álvaro's Paris initiative, hosted the Performance Art Festival. However, as we can see from the opening speech of Madalena Perdigão[2] reproduced in the festival catalogue, it is also true, that at the very moment in which this platform of visibility was created, the "harbingers of death" for that kind of performance were also making themselves heard. It was presented as "an endangered species" or "total art", i.e., a kind of dying or mutating genre that, in the words of the Director of the Acarte, should be restructured into "multimedia forms, to the dance-theatre and musical theatre".

After this festival, it was found that while the Acarte became a privileged stage for these new evolutionary genres of performance art and not for performance art *per se*, in the area of fine arts an art market began to take hold, with a "return to painting" and to "the object," quoting Alexandre Melo, on artistic production in the 1980s (1998: 23-43). Perhaps that is the reason for the absence of performance art in the exhibition "The 80s", presented at Culturgest in 1998 and their respective catalogue. It may also be why in December 1998, a few months after this exhibition, when an issue of Theaterschrift was dedicated to *intensification: Portuguese contemporary performance*, it did not include any main figure from Portuguese Performance Art of the 1960s to the 1980s. Instead, it highlighted dance-theatre (Francisco Camacho, John Fiadeiro, Paulo Henrique André Lepecki, Vera Mantero), experimental theatre (João Garcia Miguel, Lucia Sigalho and Jorge Silva Melo), and experimental music (Sergio Pelagius, Carlos Zingaro, Rui Eduardo Paes). Incidentally, in this magazine, there was also a text by Alexandre Melo conceptualizing the subject of Portuguese performance, but without any reference to the previous generation. It focused rather on the work of Helena Almeida (a contemporary of this generation and who could have served as a motto to unveil this hidden platform of Portuguese performance art from the 60s to the 80s years), Patricia Garrido and Francisco Tropa.

In this article, Alexandre Melo also describes how the concept of performance was expanded to cover events from new art forms to social demonstrations[3] and how performance of the plastic arts began to play a role that was (in the author's words), "anachronistic" or "useless", in which Portuguese performance art, in that

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[2] Madalena Perdigão stated that: "The promises are made to be kept. In November 1985, we wrote in the programme of the Multimedia Fortnight that the Exhibition-dialogue on contemporary art - organized by the Council of Europe and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and held in Lisbon from 28th March to 16th June 1985 – had been an open door to the entry of performance at the Centre for Modern Art (...). 'Performance-Art' is a necessarily incomplete and limited sampling of the state of performance in Portugal. An 'endangered species´, as many believe, the way to total art as many claim, the fact is that performance has marked contemporary art. Its evolution points to multimedia forms, to dance-theatre, to the musical-theatre. Reflecting on what is currently happening in the field of performance, sharing their achievement with the artists, it is an important event for all those who are interested in the art world."

[3] In Alexandre Melo's words: "The living experience of trans-disciplinarity in current creative practice leads us to conclude that there is no useful or relevant distinction between what may be considered a performance within the domain of the plastic arts, a certain type of choreography in dance, a certain type of staging practice in theatre or opera, a certain type of composition or performance in music, a certain type of work in film and video, or a certain type of social intervention in civil society or community work " (Melo, 1998: 125).

"anachronism", was not even mentioned[4]. And, in fact, neither in theoretical discourses, nor in the personal accounts of the generation called "new Portuguese dance", which began precisely at that time, through the work of Paula Massano and Margarida Bettencourt, which was followed by a whole new generation, including Vera Mantero, João Fiadeiro, Francisco Camacho, among others, there is no reference or even (ack)knowledge(ment) by this "new Portuguese dance" generation of the previous generation of Portuguese performance art[5].

Returning to the "death of performance art" in the mid-1980s, this "rise" and "fall" is often justified by "specific demographics," a "life cycle", which is only possible in the context of pre-market art, as argued, for example, by Fernando Aguiar[6] a performer and organizer of several festivals.

João Torres, a spectator who has assiduously followed (and sometimes also participated in) these events, has also said that much of the performance activity is done on the margin of a commodity system of art and the "critic" and has thus had low visibility in the national press, which seems more interested in more objectual art. The art performance system has been essentially based on informal networks formed by the artists themselves[7]. And so, when there are new spaces to spread the concept, these are immediately occupied by the new generation as Manuel Barbosa has pointed out.[8]

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[4] For Alexandre Melo: "at the same time as it imposes the need for its own enshrinement in the history of the plastic arts, the notion of performance paradoxically may also be considered anachronistic from the point of view of current artistic practice or even useless, if we want to be somewhat more provocative. By contributing to the end of the traditional notions of art and the plastic arts, the artistic practices of the radical avant-garde, among which performance art tis normally included, have also contributed to the breaking down of barriers between the different artistic disciplines. When the plastic arts, namely through performance art, combine with sound, stage, corporal movement or film recording, when they include audience participation or random procedures, the most extreme physical violence or most sophisticated spiritual exercise, then what we see is not the already well known 'breaking down of barriers between art and life', but also a notable breaking down of barriers between the various artistic disciplines. In this domain, the plastic arts have been one of the disciplines which have taken openness in terms of form to its furthest limits, together with the abolition of any limits on what may be considered art." (Melo, 1998: 125).

[5] See, for example, Movimentos Presentes (Fazenda, 1997) or my PhD thesis, "O hibridismo nas Artes em Portugal" (2008) where I analyze this process in depth.

[6] In the words of Fernando Aguiar: "Why have people left performance? Well, people grow up and marry and have children.... They have jobs. And performance is something else. Except in my case, and others, like Miguel Yeco and Alberto Pimenta that continued to be asked to participate in performance initiatives and are doing so. I know perfectly well that if I wasn't invited I wouldn't continue to do performance. I don't wander around looking for a space to do it. Then there was another, more important aspect: what happened to almost everyone else, for example, Albuquerque Mendes, António Olaio, Gerardo Burmester, and also João Vieira. They began selling their works and, there you are, they left performance. (...) This also happened because there was never a market for performance itself. If we think about this in terms of decades, in the 70's a few things began to appear, it was a very experimental time. The 80's were very strong in performance, there were a lot of people organizing events but, then, it gradually began to decline and has now stagnated. I don't think that any new people are appearing. Now and again someone turns up and does some stuff, but then they drop it. It's very different to what is happening in Spain and Italy, where there are many young people doing visual poetry, but in Portugal I don't think that's so.
I think that in Portugal it has to do with the fact there's no support, performers haven't been sought out by organizations. They're the ones who have to look for space, support, material: all of which is extremely tiring. The galleries push us more for works, more for objects than interventions, and this is what happened to all those people during the 80s. If we look at their catalogues today, almost all of them have stopped doing performance. They've started painting, and it comes easily to them, without any big problem. On top of that, this is what sells in the gallery and so they end up staying there. You can't criticize them, that's life, especially when you start getting to 30 or so, at 40 or so and you have to make choices (Interview with Fernando Aguiar, 2004).

[7] As João Torres has said: "I think that a lot of people that were in these events, later dedicated themselves to other, more profitable activities. Most of them went into a related activity, although not necessarily in that form. They did things when they could, when there were meetings. There were even some international festivals at the Centre Georges Pompidou, at the Bienal de São Paulo, but they were events where most people spent more money than they received, for sure. It has always been done on the margin of art itself. There has never been the support there was for the classic forms, the support was nonexistent. At the same time that performance was happening, those painters who were much promoted by Alexandre Melo and Pinharanda were appearing and were lucky enough to have someone who could verbalize relatively well what they were doing. And it turned out to be the group that was put in the spotlight. This sort of thing never attracted great media coverage. Some are now being reassessed, such as Helena Almeida through her exhibition at the CCB. I haven't seen a Helena Almeida exhibition in I don't know how many years ... Alberto Carneiro is still giving architecture classes. (Interview with João Torres, 2004).

[8] Manoel Barbosa has said that: "In the 90s, there was a hiatus due to the fact that we had no space to work in. Now there is a very curious detail: from 2000 and just after, and then from 2006, the dance guys found some bloke who had done performance in the 80s: me. I got to have evenings at Jorge Lima Barreto's house (....). Since then, interest has been growing. And, in fact, they always had cachets, which we never had. They occupied all the spaces, so there was no room for us in the 90s (Interview with Manuel Barbosa, 2015).

The "Heirs" of Portuguese performance art

What I want to emphasize here is that this invisibility of performance art had other repercussions. In particular, the fact that other groups and agents emerged in the same period of the 80s, and could have been considered legitimate "heirs", or taken the genre further. This did happen internationally: in New York, for example, as Roselee Goldberg describes so well in her book *Performance Art*. In Portugal, however, these new artists have been simply presented or argued as being outside art performance history. This is the case of, for instance, Felizes da Fé, Objectos Perdidos, Homeostética and Repórteres Estrábicos.

These groups and agents emerge with different features from previous performers: organized in groups and led by more mediatic figures, such as Manuel João Vieira, son of João Vieira, painter and performer; Rui Zink, taken under Alberto Pimenta's wing, with whom he created several performances; António Olaio a participant from the early 80s in various performance festivals and who went on to develop his performer/singer side in Repórters Estrábicos, before returning to a solo career; Paul Eno, who shared projects with Victor Rua, one of the figures present in many 80s performances.

This was a time when Portugal was opening up to Europe, joining the European Union in 1986. There was also mass society consolidation reinforced by the widespread use of new mass technologies and information and dissemination media, especially television and video. These extended the audience of the artistic community whether as a model to be used or to be criticized, being used to confuse and challenge the undifferentiated audience, subverting cognitively and emotionally conventional expectations (Caroll, 1998: 187-188). Despite this context, some Portuguese critics have considered these groups chance occurences, without affiliations: "The *Felizes da Fé* are a UFO, but a UFO precursor of a new wave of Portuguese performance, which has as its corollary the end of the history of performance" (Miguel Wandschneider 2000).

This statement led to a heated discussion at the First Congress Permanent Hiperdada in 2000 between this critic and some of the performers, such as Fernando Aguiar and Alberto Pimenta, who had experienced the previous period and that said performance had never died and had always been done[9].

In fact, the panorama described by Roselee Goldberg in New York confirms the continuity of performance, with some mutations. She states that:

> By 1979, the move of performance towards popular culture was reflected in the art world in general, so that by the beginning of the new decade the proverbial swing of the pendulum was complete, in other words, the anti-establishment idealism of the sixties and early seventies had been categorically rejected. A quite different mood of pragmatism, entrepreneurship and professionalism, utterly foreign to the history of the Avant-garde, began to make itself apparent. Interestingly enough, the generation that created this about-turn mostly comprised students of conceptual artists who understood their mentors' analysis of consumerism and the media but broke conceptual art's cardinal rule, of concept over product, by turning from performance and conceptual art to painting (Golberg 2001: 190).

But Golberg does not stop there. She goes on to stress that this consolidation of the art market, the strong media and television exposure, the rise of the number of B movies and rock culture, had an impact on the emergence of a new kind of performance, and performers, whose model was the artist-celebrity, the '70s rock star. So, the new artists reinterpreted "the old cry to break down barriers between life and art to be a matter of breaking down barriers between art and the media, also expressed as a conflict between high and low art' "(ibid 190). The author explains this dynamic within the more conservative social and political context of 1980s which led to a shift from performance, predominantly in the area of music. One of the emblematic works of that period was the mega-performance *United States* produced by Laurie Anderson in 1983, an eight hour long musical composition with a

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[9] Fernando Aguiar - Well, performance has had ups and downs here in Portugal, over these thirty-odd years. And, okay, when it is at a low point, so to speak, people tend to say that performance is finished. But no, performance art isn't finished. There is performance every year.
Miguel Wandschneider - Today we talk of performing arts, but one cannot speak of performance. Even if someone does it every now and then, I believe performance in Portugal is over.
Alberto Pimenta - No, performance has not died at all. There may be less surprise or less expectation regarding performance. There may be less interesting performers, but performance has no more died than theatre has. The theatre, which began 2500 years ago or something, has not died either. It has simply gone through very different stages.
Miguel Wandschneider - Performance is over. It is a phenomenon that might return, but it is over.

strong media influence.[10] The resources of both the visual arts and the theatre flowed into this new "hybrid" performance, blurring the boundary between traditional theatre and performance.

And therefore, whether in large or small productions, one of the models for the new performance was not only transdisciplinarity, but a willingness to reach a new and more popular audience, using the street and the new concert venues, the POP art model, although in a more alternative process, mixing sex and politics, music and protest. In the mid-1980s, Robert Wilson himself stated that "performance must be the way rock concerts are. They are the great operas of our time" (Goldberg 2007: 253). In Spain, La Fura dels Baús sprang up having a clear impact through this dynamic associated with the simulation of violence and sex as provoking the current system.

These features of the international scene mentioned by Goldberg are perfectly correlated with the change in Portuguese performance. This period of mixtures and the failure of the great ideologies, the value of universality and of a diachronic temporal reading, together with the intensification of mass culture, speed and globalization, framed a generational change in the Portuguese performance art.

Homeostética appeared in 1983, made up of fine art students and with work ranging from performance to music, due to its association with the band Ena pá 2000, the candidacy of Manuel João Vieira for President of Portugal and, later, with the creation of Cabaré Maxime, and Manuel Vieira appearing on several television programs ("Um mundo catita", etc). Thus, some of the particularities of this group, whose work was essentially *phantasmagoric*, in the sense that many of the actions reported in their book had happened to them, can be measured on the one hand, for its artistic cannibalism, as becomes clear from their "Manifesto Homeostético" (Ramos, 2004): "fake, mime, make absurd, devalue (the big cheat), de-legitimize, parody" (ibid, p. 50), through which they went on to "blend and fit: Style (history) seen as sequence (Kubler and Bateson). Installation of in-sequences (Egyptian style: Chinese style, Indian + abstract expressionism art, rock painting + naive painting, pop art + mannerism " (*Ó idem*, p 50). On the other hand, however, there was also its reactive attitude to an art market which was becoming institutionalized through exhibitions like "After Modernism" and "New News" or, more specifically, the exhibition "Archipelagos" (Ana Leon, José Pedro Croft, Pedro Cabrita Reis, Rosa Carvalho, Pedro Calapez and Rui Sanches, which Homeostética responded to this by conceiving the "Continents" exhibition in 1987, which was intended as a "painting show" with the "greatest paintings produced in Portugal" and was followed by a concert by "Ena pá 2000".

1985 saw the advent of Felizes da Fé. The group were not so linked to music, except for a few chants with slogans that they used in the semi-spontaneous happenings created in the streets looking to question the ordinary citizen. In the words of Rui Zink, they aimed at "the uninitiated in performance", "the audience that does not know it is an audience", which implies a "physical and moral risk on the part of poet-actors, which is not to be understood". It also led, for example, to some of the members of Felizes da Fé being arrested in the middle of Rua Augusta in downtown Lisbon and being held in a police station for a weekend[11]. Their actions were based on satirical political protest, which brought him great exposure in the newspapers at the time and, in the specific case

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[10] The performance was made up of "projected hand-drawn images, blown-up photographs taken from TV screens and truncated films which formed operational backdrops to Anderson's songs comparing life to a ´closed circuit´. She half-sang and half-spoke a love song "let x be y", through a vocalizer that made her voice sound like a robot´s, suggesting a melancholy splicing of emotions with technological know-how. "O Superman", the song at the heart of the show, was an appeal for help against the manipulation of the controlling media culture; it was the cry of a generation exhausted by media artifice. (Goldberg 2001:190).

[11] As Rui Zink has observed: "At the happening, people know in advance that they will not be understood. Because if they wanted to be understood they would announce beforehand: 'Hello, this is theatre. Hello, this is a joke'. And, for example, when in 1990, already five years after we had done our stuff, we were arrested in Rua Augusta, I was arrested in Rua Augusta it was a typical classic misunderstanding. I said, I had already taken off half of the head and I said, 'Officer, this is theatre', and the officer said,' No, it isn't! It's a political demonstration.' And politicians are always right. And the problem is that if we had announced more clearly that it was theatre, we wouldn't have had the hassle of spending a weekend in jail and being presented to a judge and having the case going on for months which annoyed us just a little. This to me is morally superior to a certain precious, bloated and spoilt futility of a certain kind of artist who only do things with a protective barrier. It is performance without a net, the happening is a circus without a net. And this is another issue, we have always been circus people, circus is total art. Before there was multimedia, we had the circus and opera, and you can't get more multimedia than that, and we had a sense of humour. That's what stops us today from having a street named after us, or a 30 year career retrospective at Serralves or some little bit of art... It's just that I destroyed my first pieces, not on purpose but because I didn't have room at home, but I can go back and redo them. The first piece was the Pornex 84. This, for me, was the first happening I planned, although I had already seen many works that I came to know later and make friends with: Ana Hatherly's at SNBA. I had already seen things by Alberto Pimenta and Melo e Castro and they were, therefore, people I knew and saw as a young and attentive fan ... (Interview with Rui Zink, 27/03/2015).

of Rui Zink, also on television. Felizes da Fé had a (hyper)Dadaist lineage, and their material had a strong accent on political and sexual provocation. When still students, they produced *Pornex*, a week made up of a fine arts' exhibition, video and film cycles, debates and performances at New University of Lisbon. This was recorded in a book of the same name published by *& etc e tal*, and which had an introductory text by Rui Zink alluding to Portugal joining the European Community, stating that "our future is in porn. With shouts of 'Amsterdam has been, now Lisbon rules', move forward across Europe, to the conquest of our place in the EEC. We promote pornographization"[12].

There was also a porno story analyzed by its author, a text on the performance of Alberto Pimenta, imitating as Professor Iracema Pinto de Andrade, another text by Miguel Vale de Almeida called "My life with Madame Porno", and a text by Leonor Areal discussing the atmosphere and reactions, etc.

The Objectos Perdidos, led by Paul Eno, appeared in Coimbra in 1985, picking up on the same parodic / satirical and even "pornographic" line. There is a light version of their famous song "I want to see Portugal in the EEC"[13] as well as a harder version created with Victor Rua. In Eno Words, that is now "internationally" known as the *Superman of Ebiza dance tracks*:

> There was a show we did, as part of the 1987 Arts and Ideas contest, where we reached the final, that was reported as follows in the Diário de Lisboa, a openly left-wing newspaper: 'The Objectos Perdidos did a show which offended the manliness, morality and patriotism of the Portuguese'. In this show, what did we do? ... For eight minutes, we played the national anthem continuously and repeatedly, while we were on stage all naked and painted in green and red. Then, on stage, "fellatio" was simulated while, on the giant video screen, during these eight minutes, we showed full scale hard-core images, where numerous objects were used in sexual acts (Paul Eno)[14].

António Olaio participated in various 80s performances and was also connected to music through his work with Repórteres Estrábicos. Olaio later left the group to go solo, with his work leaving its mark as alternative POP. In an interview with Victor Diniz [15], transcribed in the book *I Think Differently Now That I Can Paint* (2007), he acknowledges that what has given unity to his work, since the 1980s, is performance[16], imbued with alternative POP culture.

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[12] "Portugal is a country that today is at the crossroads. If we want to be Europe, if we want to raise our good name and our economy out of the mud, if we want to have luxury jackboot tourism, we can't hang around: our future is in porn. With shouts of 'Amsterdam has been, now Lisbon reigns' move forward across Europe, to the conquest of our place in the EEC. We promote pornographization. Forward, forward, the seeds are already sown. If pornography saves the old cinemas from bankruptcy, it can also be so for our homeland of eight centuries. We send kids just out of school and conscientious objectors on civic service around the country and beyond, bringing light to the Sorians, Bracarence, Lusitanians and Algarvians. All Lisbon will be a brothel, a huge brothel. Belém will be the first presidential pornopalace in Europe and the world. Penthouse will declare bankruptcy and the pseudo-erotic Playboy will be turned into a home for the recovery of dyslexic children. In Africa, we will fulfil a fundamentally evangelizing function with the most savage tribes. We will not only export weapons, but also sex-shops to Iran and Iraq." (Zink, 1984)

[13] See https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=0qaZbkwgU-U, accessed on 12/04/15. The song's chorus was: "I want to see Portugal in the EEC, I want to see… Portugal in the EEC, And now we're in, we're going to be everything we've wished to be. Oh Granny, it's so good to be in the EEC …"

[14] Interview with Pedro Vieira and Susana Serigado for NÚ magazine (2005). Victor Rua talks about one of their performances in his text, "Broches and Cavalos" ("Brooches and Horses" - 'broche' is Portuguese slang for fellatio.): "The Franco-Portuguese Institute organized a Portuguese "modern" music contest (I had never realized how ridiculous this name is!) and the jury was João Lisboa, Luís Maio and Villas Boas. The Objectos Perdidos decided to compete and asked for my help. I organized and produced their show, making a tape with the beginning of the National Anthem on a loop, but with comic sounds. I also produced a video with scenes from porno films (chicks sucking horse dick and putting eels in their pussies). The group came on naked with metre long wooden cocks and, at some point, one of the performers, performed live fellatio on Paul Eno. The show had barely finished, there was booing everywhere, and into the dressing room comes the Director of the Institute, who was French and spoke Portuguese badly, crying and saying: "You spoi-led de night!!!". He wanted to throw us out but Paul Eno said he would only leave after the jury vote was in because, as expected, Maio e Lisboa, did not vote for them, but Villas Boas did and said, "I vote for these, who at least are different." (Victor Rua, September 13, 2012).

[15] Director of CAPC (Centre of Fine Arts Coimbra) in 2007.

[16] António Olaio has said that: "I think it's really performance, which is something that, fortunately, I started very early, in the early 80s, although it's mostly hidden, but hidden behind everything I do. The songs, my concerts with João Taborda, are the most obvious consequence of performance. But the place that performance has in my work is, more than in the performances themselves, in what performance means as an attitude toward things".

The death of... performance art ontology

In sum, it seems possible to say that performance art has not died and I quote the answer Manoel Barbosa gave me a few months ago in a new interview on the subject of "the death of performance": "Performance did not die ... never ... it is very much alive, never say that performance has died. While here the death of performance has been decreed, out there I have seen more and more performance, I have participated in many".

So it seems possible to say that performance continues to play a role, albeit with different characteristics as the groups presented clearly show. Maybe what all this leads to is that, rather than analyze the supposed ontology of performance art, or the death of the performance, it is perhaps more important to analyze the social dynamics of artistic performances and their historical context.

Today, these various performative processes have spread, a little, into all the social and artistic spheres, whether taking on more marginal characteristics or more media features. In this context, *Os Homens da Luta*, with their presence at various social demonstrations and events, have recently had this very role. One wonders: should we integrate them in the history of Portuguese performance art? Or should we expect authors and international critics to do it for us, so as to legitimize these performances as artistic performances, affiliated in a story whose changes are part and parcel of social dynamics?

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3.2. Transforming the city: shaping urban public space through collective street art initiatives.

Ágata Sequeira[1]

Abstract

This paper results from the research for a PhD thesis about the relations between art, urban space and the city, namely through the ephemeral forms of art that are present in the city's public spaces. It is considered here that these relations are never neutral but, instead, very expressive of configurations of power and identity, being street art both a reflex and a critical approach to those configurations and constraints. Street art in Lisbon assumes several different meanings: from the individual initiatives, to collective and even institutional actions, various are the configurations of this artistic practice in the urban public space, and therefore also varied are the implications of each initiative in terms of the social production of space it might represent. In this paper I will specifically approach the street art initiatives in Lisbon of collective and independent nature – that is, that not only involve several different actors (street artists, architects and planners, volunteers, the population, among others), but also reveal different logics of action, such as projects, associations, events or festivals of street art in Lisbon. From the spectacular scale of the interventions in the derelict buildings of Lisbon, to participatory projects for the improvement of public structures, to even the exploration of the role that the practice of street art can have in the quality of life of senior citizens, to these different logics of action correspond different visions of what the city could – or should – be. Also, to these projects correspond very different ways of conceiving the role that street art interventions can assume in that transformation of the public space and the role the population can have in that transformation. Therefore, I aim to explore how a specific set of collective and independent street art actions that took place in Lisbon are very expressive, although each initiative in a different way, of a will from the actors involved of shaping the city and actively engage the population in the transformation of its public spaces – in a process that can be interpreted as expressively and visually claiming the right to the city.

Keywords: public spaces, cities, street art, right to the city, urban sociology.

Introduction

Street art, in its diverse contexts of production, can reveal urban dynamics, in the overlap of the expectations, perceptions and discourses of the different actors that participate in it. Therefore, it can construct public space, in the several contexts that frame its practice. To unravel these mechanisms was the first objective of the PhD sociological research this article results from. In this article, it will be shown how street art, can constitute itself as a form of construction of public space, specifically in its collective contexts of production, and from the observable reality of Lisbon's street art.

From the conceptions of several authors on the urban dynamics of construction of public space (such as Low, 2014; Lefebvre, 2012; Bourdin, 2005), through the artistic expressions it displays (Phillips, 1998; Hayden, 1997), one of the main purposes of this research was to understand how street art can be expressive of the relations of power that configure public space – assuming the hypothesis that this form of art in the public space reveals those same relations of power.

A third objective of this research stems, in part, from Henri Lefebvre's (2012) conception on the right to the city. Therefore, the description of the mechanisms under which street art allows to explain new ways of thinking and constructing public space, as well as to reclaim it – and in what way the diversity of its contexts of production can be influent in different ways – was established as a goal for this research.

Methodologically, a qualitative approach was favored. The techniques that were used include a diverse set of long interviews with several actors involved in the production of street art. In fact, the contact with the artists and the associations, collectives and institutions that promote street art events was a fundamental aspect of the

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collection of quality, in-depth data. Another crucial a crucial component of the methodologies adopted was the ethnographically-inspired field work, with intense collection of a vast set of photographs that depict the street art interventions in Lisbon, the development of a field log, the creation of walking routes within the city in the search for new interventions, and the several moments of observation of street artists creating on the streets.

The act of spontaneously intervening in the walls and structures of a city is for the street artist to reclaim a space of communication and visibility, to mark a presence in the public space, saying that he/she is too part of that space. In the end, and recalling the concept of Lefebvre (2012), this too is a way of the street artists to reclaim their *right to the city.*

However, with the rapid growth and visibility of street art in urban contexts, the individual act of artistic expression is nowadays far from being the only kind of initiative for these interventions. With its new popularity, street art is now being created through collective initiatives, with increasingly diverse purposes, actors, and «visions» concerning what street art can be. These contexts operate under a different logic of conceiving the urban public space, to which correspond several perceptions about what the city should be and what role can street art assume.

Furthermore, these collective and structured contexts of production of street art can also constitute different ways of reclaiming the right to the city, although under mechanisms that are different from those of the individual and illegal practice of street art.

These forms of production of street art are the focus of this article. Here will be shown how different ways of reclaiming the right to the city exist in several collective street art projects. After presenting a theoretical background, I will present each of the collective street art projects that will be approached here, explaining the meanings each one assumes on the production of urban public space, and on how each can be considered an attempt at reclaiming the right to the city through street art, by its citizens, artists and other protagonists of the urban experience.

Collective Street Art Initiatives: Stimulating a sense of Community

In the last few years, Lisbon has become a stage for several street art initiatives of collective and legal nature, besides the individual forms of expression that are also very visible in this city's walls.

These initiatives are diverse, as they appear structured under different logics of production, with the corresponding word differentiation. One can easily find street art «projects», «events», «festivals», «galleries» and «workshops» throughout this urban context. It is pertinent to recall the writings of Alain Bourdin (p. 185, 2005), where the author considers, that the emergence of several groups of actors with interest in a specific area is a typical moment of the beginning of a system of action that searches for stability. In this case, this would be the collective organization of legal street art initiatives.

On the other hand, to these different forms of production of street art correspond specific ways of constructing public space – or intending to – by the different actors or involved. Therefore, within the *institutionalized practices* (Ferro, 2011) of street art, several are the entities that establish the programmatic outlay that frames these initiatives. It can be argued that the idea of *strategies of domestication (*Campos, 2010) of street art is not enough to describe what may in fact consists of *strategies of production and construction of public space*. In fact, it is argued here that the different projects that will be presented in the next pages are very distinct examples of street art as a way of getting communities involved in their common public spaces, in what can actually become a way for them to reclaim their *right to the city* (Lefebvre, 2012).

Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city is a prominent concept for this research, and on that account, further theoretical contextualization was found to be relevant here.

This author's concept of *alienation*, "falsified relationship with the world" (Butler, 2012), is used in the Lefebvre's critic of the social relations inherent to urban life. Thereby, his proposal of the *right to the city*, understood as "(...) right to urban life, transformed and renewed" (Lefebvre, p. 119, 2012), presupposes an urban life that is free of the alienation of a capitalist society. In such a society, the *value of exchange* - referring to the consumption of products, the buying and selling of spaces, property, places and signs - overlaps the contrasting notion of *value of use* – referring to urban life and urban time (Lefebvre, 2012) - from which result that the cities within a capitalist society are more subject to an orientation towards money, commerce, exchange and products. Lefebvre's central thesis is that this is a contradiction with the city's nature as a construction, according to which it should be oriented towards its value of use.

The argument in this article is that several of the collective street art projects that have been taking place in Lisbon can be analyzed under Lefebvre's right to the city perspective. Therefore, each of the initiatives presented here constitutes a separate proposal about urban public space, and the role street artists and the communities, entities and institutions, can assume in its social construction.

Each one of these initiatives shows, in a way the spontaneous and illegal street art practice wouldn't, the potential to strengthen the relations with the local communities, stimulating in its inhabitants the feeling of belonging to a community and to be rightfully a part of its destiny, which is contrary to a capitalistic logic under which the urban space is a mere product of real estate speculation.

How they achieve that is variable, depending on the overlapping among the individual path of the artists, their expectations and ways of framing this practice in a set of personal references, and the individuals that organize the collective initiatives, to which are associated specific visions about the role street art should assume as a element of the urban public space.

It is pertinent here to recall the work of Michel Agier, who claims that a certain similarity exists between the artistic creations and the political actions that, both transient, can contribute to connect different individuals, who therefore overcome their condition of anonymous in the city:

> Des créations artistiques ou des actions politiques peuvent de manière éphémère mettre en relation des individus tous différents – et non plus les anonymes de la foule. (Agier, s/p, 2004).

Accordingly, the will to live an urban life in community emerges as an act of resistance to an urban order that too many times seems to promote solitude and the negation of communal life. It is precisely in the promotion and stimulation of this sense of community that street art can have an active role.

From the Municipality to the Community: GAU

In 2008, Lisbon's Municipal Authority created the Urban Art Gallery (GAU – Galeria de Arte Urbana). On a first moment of its existence, the expression of this organism consisted on a set of mdf panels that were installed near the Bairro Alto area, as structures for legal and free graffiti and street art interventions that would constitute an alternative to the vandalism on the historical neighborhood's walls.

GAU's goal was, on its creation, to contribute to the preservation of historical sites through the prevention of acts of vandalism. As the organism evolved, another set of objectives was added to GAU's ambit, namely issues on public space, in what concerns making it more democratic and also to promote recognition of street art among the populations.

While this organism evolved, the activities in its range stemmed from the organization of two street art showcases in the aforementioned panels, in which several street artists created, to other initiatives of broader reach. One of these is the initiative «Recicle the look», where glass recycling structures are painted, by anyone interested in participate, so the initiative is not only open to street artists.

Figure 1 – Interventions in glass recycling structures, «Recicle the Look», GAU.
Source: Ágata Sequeira.

There are several other projects in which GAU participates in partnership with other associations or collectives; one example is «Faces of the Blue Wall», which consisted of various interventions in the sections of the wall that surrounds the psychiatric hospital Júlio de Matos. Project CRONO, the emblematic interventions which will be discussed further on, was also the result of a partnership between GAU and Azáfama Citadina Associação.

The privileged situation of GAU as integrant part of Lisbon's Municipality frequently allows this organism to act as mediating agent for the obtaining of permits for the interventions, and in that sense it is recurrent that other initiatives contact this entity for the elaboration of pieces in a large scale, or that require permits. The activities in which GAU participates are several, from the concession of authorization for the interventions, to the organization of their own interventions, mostly with public calls to the participation of street artists. Other projects within this entity's reach include the publishing of books and a newsletter, as well as an important work of inventory to Lisbon's street art pieces.

From the Municipality to the Community

The actions of GAU, expressed in the collaborations with other entities or in the opening of their own calls for street art projects, imply a vision about street art, in what concerns the role it can assume for the city of Lisbon. This contemplates street art as a "vector of affirmation of the city in the competitive urban network panorama" (Miguel Carrelo, GAU, in interview, 2013), while understanding it as a useful instrument in the requalification of degraded urban spaces.

While the importance of involving the local community in the requalification of urban space is an expressive intention of the initiative «Recycle the Look», as it is the only one that is open to whoever wants to and not only to street artists, the fact that these are transitory and mobile structures hardly will translate in an involvement of the population that supersedes the moment of intervention. By contrast, in projects developed by GAU and that were subject to a call for street artists, namely the one that took place in the neighborhood of Penha de França, there is a clear intention of promoting local rehabilitation, not through the direct participation of the citizens in its creation, but through the valorization of an artistic intervention that follows local narratives as theme.

The choice of the project for that specific area results from the way Lisbon's Municipality conceives the role of street art in urban public space – that is, as a way of strengthening the local dynamics, stimulating the local narratives and therefore the memory of the place.

Figure 2 – Intervention by Leonor Brilha, in Penha de França, Lisbon.
Source: Dina Dourado.

After the completion of the mural «Lagarto da Penha de França», several guided tours took place, for the locals and by the artist that created the intervention, Leonor Brilha. As it provides for contexts for the artists to elaborate and share discourses about their pieces – such as guided visits – initiatives such as this constitute an attempt to enable the emotional connection between the local community and a piece that speaks about its narratives. This

also relates to the way the artist interprets the act of intervening in the public space of a local community through street art, and the meaning he or she attributes to the piece in that specific site and how the artist conceives the role his/her piece has in a particular community.

Street art and inclusiveness: Wool and Lata 65

A recent spot for creative activities in Lisbon is Lx Factory. Where an old factory used to operate, now several businesses and activities take place, such as offices for creative industries, design stores, record stores, art galleries, fashion and jewelry stores, as well as restaurants and bars. Among the red brick walls of the buildings, one can observe the visual profusion of street art pieces that exist throughout this space. This is the result of Wool on Tour, an initiative from the organizers of the Wool Fest in Covilhã, a highly regarded street art festival in Portugal.

There organizers have a considerable experience in developing several street art initiatives throughout the country: Lisbon's Wool on Tour; the elaboration of a mural with the participation of homeless people in Coimbra; Lata 65, the workshop of street art for the elderly; Muraliza, an event of creation of murals in Cascais; participations in the Walk and Talk festival in Açores, as well as international experiences such as the participation of Portuguese street artists in Djerbahood (Tunisia) and Tour Paris 13 (France).

Being our research context the production of street art in Lisbon, it is necessary to keep focus on the two projects that have taken place in this city: Wool on Tour and Lata 65, although not necessarily exclusively and being both highly influenced by all the other projects the organization developed.

Wool on Tour emerged in 2012, when Wool in Covilhã didn't take place for lack of sponsoring. The organizer Lara Seixo Rodrigues, was working in Lx Factory, and, noting the potential of the place for street art, suggested the administration to allow her to develop an event with regular editions, in which street artists could intervene in its outdoor walls. It is important to note the specificity of this space, being simultaneously *public* – because it's free access – and *private* – because it belongs and is managed by a private entity.

The idea to bring street artists to create here appears as a way of creating interplay between the valorization of a space that provides an alternative to real estate and building attention, renewing its uses for the creative industries, and the showcase of street art pieces. Henceforth, Wool on Tour consolidated itself not only as complement to Wool Fest, but also as a way for the organization to keep an activity of production and promotion of street art in the city of Lisbon. The editions of Wool on Tour cover open days, to stimulate contact and communication between public, artists, and the pieces. The walls of Lx Factory have since become a showcase of the work of several artists creating street art– mostly Portuguese but also international.

Figure 3 – Intervention by MAR in Lx Factory, Wool on Tour.
Source: Ágata Sequeira.

Street art for the community

With her experience developing street art events, Lara Seixo Rodrigues notes the potential these initiatives have to speed up local community dynamics, as compared to other types of operations in the urban public space that imply a longer period of intervention – such as profound works of rehabilitation or permanent public art projects. Also highlighted in the interview Lara gave for this research, is the power of transforming the spaces that a street art event can have, and which exceeds the street art pieces. For example, Wool included the creation of a temporary structure as support of the event, a tent where locals and the artists and organizers would meet, talk or share meals; however, this turned out to have more permanent consequences, like the revitalization of the public space that structure was implemented, a small square, as a place for daily social contact for the community.

In the planning of a street art event such as these, the option for some strategies in detriment of others has a definitive influence in allowing emotional connections to be established between the populations and the interventions. In both Wool and Wool on Tour, these options included: the phasing of the interventions, so that they would take place one at a time, allowing the attention of the locals to focus on one intervention and one artist at a time; the development of workshops and talks about the interventions, by the artists, and for stimulating dialogue between them and the population, as well as showing clearly what the artist intended with the pieces; to create a space of temporary support, where artists, organization and locals could interact in a welcoming way. These approaches can be decisive for the success of a project, especially when it interferes with something as sensitive as the social fabric of a community.

Furthermore, showing how the pieces are made and promoting discourses about them stimulates a relation of proximity with art, which can have further effects in the individual mechanisms of reception and fruition, not only towards street art but in art in general. On the other hand, Lara refers, it is possible that this option for showing and talking about the pieces may develop in a feeling of appropriation, in the sense the locals ended up caring about the pieces and wanting them preserved.

Inclusive street art

As for Lata 65, another street art project from the same organization, it consists of a workshop of initiation to the techniques used in graffiti and street art, both with a practical component that contemplates the creation of a tag and the elaboration of works in several techniques, such as stencil or spray painting, and a theoretical part that provides a historical and social context for these practices. The originality of this workshop lies in the fact it is destined to the elderly population. The idea for its creation developed from the experiences the organization had previously had with the elderly population in Covilhã, in the first edition of Wool.

The main aspect to highlight in this initiative is the pedagogical potential and of social action that street art can assume and inspire. The workshop stimulates the sharing between the artists and a group of people that most of the times don't have any familiarity with the practices and meanings that graffiti and street art assume besides what they see in the streets. There are, therefore, two important elements to retain: the intention to demystify the idea that all graffiti and street art are vandalism, and the will to create rich moments of learning, through the sharing of knowledge and through the practice of several street art techniques, with all the benefits that can come from that, in terms of well-being and quality of life for the elderly.

Furthermore, Lata 65 was the starting point for one of Lisbon's street artists: *L, who, in her 60s, and after participating in one of the editions of the workshop, started creating her own stencils and applying them freely all over the city.

From this initiative, we can observe how street art can assume meanings of social inclusion, allowing the elderly to have access to the tools to understand a kind of expressive and artistic language that is so prevalent in the urban public space, making them closer to it and also to be able to intervene in its walls.

Creating street art together: APAURB

Another group of street art initiatives that have been taking place in Lisbon is organized under associations. One of them is APAURB, Associação Portuguesa de Arte Urbana. This association was founded in March 2013, and its current president is Octávio Pinho, who is also a writer himself, under the tag *Slap*.

APAURB appeared to give answer to the need to aggregate street artists and other people interested in these activities, operating as mediating agent between them and the institutions, defending their interests while also participating in the construction of public spaces (Low, 2005) with their own street art projects.

As a result of the many new emergent dynamics around street art in Lisbon, APAURB intends to give answer to the interests of the artists, aggregating them as a collective entity to give them more power of negotiation, or mediating between the artists and other entities that develop street art projects.

Additionally, the association also creates its own projects, with and by their members. Two expressive examples are the paintings in Túnel de Alcântara (an underground pedestrian tunnel) or the national initiative «40 anos, 40 murais», that can be seen in Lisbon also in the Alcântara area.

Creating Together

An important issue to the actions of APAURB is participation, with their initiatives being carried out exclusively through voluntary work by anyone interested, street artists or not. The participation of the people in a collective project has practical results not only in what concerns the betterment of a common public space, but also on the sense of having a connection with the place itself.

This was the case with the project of the Alcântara tunnel, as it involved a large number of voluntaries whose work had the purpose to requalify a degraded and aesthetically unpleasant urban structure of daily use. This included known Lisbon street artists, as well as locals who wanted to participate. Their work resulted in the tunnel becoming not only more interesting visually, as it also had the unexpected effect of stimulating the institutional will to regularly maintain the place, in what concerns its cleaning and illumination.

Figure 4 – Stencil figures made by *L.
Source: Rui Nascimento.

Figure 5: Mural «40 anos, 40 murais», in Alcântara. It can be read «This mural was made with the collaboration of 67 artists and voluntaries, without institutional support. ».
Source: Ágata Sequeira.

Figure 6 – Interventions in the Alcântara tunnel, MAR and RAM, an initiative by APAURB.
Source: Ágata Sequeira.

This project was an example of how direct intervention in the public space can be carried out by street artists and a group of citizens that consider street art has the potential to transform public space. The idea that all citizens can have the ability to intervene artistically in their city underlies the actions of APAURB, particularly in its initiatives.

The experience Octávio Pinho has in creating and organizing street art projects, namely within APAURB, gives him a perspective about the role street art can have in the local communities, which relates to collective and voluntary action as way to directly intervene in the urban public space, especially the structures of common use. This stimulus to the voluntary participation in street art projects allows the people involved to feel the structures as their own, by taking care of them and drawing attention for their maintenance.

Initiatives such as the Tunnel of Alcântara project aim, through the direct and voluntary participation of the people, together with street artists, to improve the conditions of the public spaces for collective use. For this reason, it is perceived as essential not only the sharing between street artists and locals, but also the call for direct participation of the people in the public space of the city they live in.

Visual occupation of expectant places: Crono and EbanoCollective

One of the most recognizable street art projects in Lisbon, through the visual and media impact it had for the city, is project CRONO[2]. This initiative was created by the architect and street artist Pedro Soares Neves, the street artist Alexandre Farto (Vhils) and Angelo Milano (from the FAME festival, in Italy), under the association Azáfama Citadina Associação and in partnership with Lisbon's municipal authority. From project CRONO underlies a particular conception of the city, namely:

> (...) the city as a living organism with its own dynamic, a space that follows its own process of creation, growth and mutation in a spontaneous and natural way, and with the aim of narrowing the connection between the city and urban artists, as well as to value the role of Lisbon within the international public art landscape (...). (Moore, 2011)

This project included several street art interventions all over the city, by Portuguese and international artists. The interventions that took place in derelict buildings stand out, as they intended to signal situations of building abandonment in a public space awaiting requalification. The way Patricia Phillips associates contemporary public art to a process of *occupation* (Phillips, 1998) is a particularly useful notion in this case, since these interventions in derelict buildings may be interpreted as a *visual occupation* of the facades, stimulating the debate on the state of the buildings in Lisbon's public space, as well as on the powers and interests that allow these situations of abandonment to have such prevalence.

Therefore, it can be said that project CRONO, though the large-scale visual street art display of street art on derelict buildings, aimed to contribute for the dialogue between the powers that manage public space, the artists that intervene in it, and the people that inhabit it, through the way its structures are thought, lived, managed and abandoned.

The perspective that underlies CRONO highlights the urban and aesthetical requalification of urban environment through the intervention on the morphology of public space, and therefore proposing new uses of the space and its structures. The interventions in the derelict buildings are expression of this perspective.

Pedro Soares Neves, one of the CRONO organizers, pinpoints the notion of the morphology of urban space as a place of intervention that allows new relations with the city, as a possible way of production of the city. From the perspective of this project, public space appears as a place for spontaneous action from the individuals. It is therefore interesting to note the option of including large scale interventions that, precisely, refer to a specific artistic and expressive urban language, street art, that has this spontaneity of action as its origin. On that account, the intervention in the urban public space – of artistic nature or not – is seen from this perspective as providing representations of the creativity of those who intervene in the public space, in what Pedro Soares Neves associates with performative acts by the citizens, expressive of the relations they (re)create with the urban space.

Another street art collective project that is important to note is the one promoted by EBANOCollective, which brings forth other methodologies, namely the intervention in public space under an ethnographic and artistic

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[2] Photos of the interventions in the derelict buildings of Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo frequently appear in several sites, as illustration for the street art in Lisbon.

perspective. This collective includes researchers in these areas, such as Lorenzo Bordonaro, Chiara Pussetti, Vítor Barros, Elettra Bordonaro, Sílvia Proença and Catarina Laranjeiro, who define their collaboration with these words:

> EBANOCollective (…) carries through curatorship and site-specific artistic interventions in the public space, resulting from the dialogues between the artistic practice and ethnographic research. Based on this methodology, EBANOCollective develops collaborative public art projects, with the objective of highlighting specific questions of local communities and social and urban problematics in a broader sense.[3]

Several initiatives by EBANOCollective have been taking place in Lisbon, but one in particular includes street art, specifically: *Passeio Literário da Graça*, from 2014. This project included the intervention of several street artists in a set of building facades and walls in the Graça neighborhood, with the common theme the women writers that marked the neighborhood with their presence. These street art actions aimed to make a commentary to the question of the degradation of the buildings in Lisbon, and in this neighborhood in particular, while also taking into consideration the specific cultural aspects that are related with this community.

Figure 7 – Intervention in derelict building, project CRONO, by Sam3.
Source: Ágata Sequeira.

Figure 8 – Interventions by Violant and EIME, an initiative by EBANOCollective.
Source: Ágata Sequeira and Dina Dourado.

EBANOCollective consider the potential of intervention in degraded facades to be remarkable, as it assumes a direct relation with the community in which they exist, its history and local narratives and their inhabitants. This collective intents to place the public space in its specificity as key element in interventions, as this allows the development of a process that combines the physical and visual interventions with the relational component of the neighborhood's daily life, contributing for the development of new community dynamics. *Passeio Literário da Graça* was therefore assumed as a visually notable way of distinguishing the neighborhood's singularity, through the remembrance of a particular aspect of its cultural history.

Addressing the problem of expectant buildings

Particularly arresting in the morphology of contemporary urban public space is the prevalence of expectant and temporary spaces. In them lies an ambivalence, in-between the possible uses and the past events that determined their current situation, in a *limbo*. Recalling the work of Henri Lefebvre, this ambivalence doesn't imply these spaces are devoid of meaning. Instead, the author suggests they reinforce the power of the state on urban space:

> Empty spaces have a meaning: they announce, loud and clear, the glory and power of the State that carries out their planning and the violence that can be manifest in that. (Lefebvre,p.28, 2012).

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[3] From the collective's website: http://www.ebanocollective.org

It has become a current practice to use these empty spaces as stages for artistic and expressive interventions that aspire to comment their expectant condition. Both the actions of project CRONO and EBANOCollective are examples of these practices, as both suggest a reflection about what urbanism is possible to build in these in-between spaces.

Urban structures in decay often mark a "suspense social history" (Fortuna e Meneguello, 2013). Therefore, it can be said, according to the perspective of Carlos Fortuna and Cristina Meneguello[4], that these structures in ruins are consequence of "(...) a new architectural and trade logic that menaces to continue to devastate the street and the public urban spaces of the cities" (*op. cit.*, p. 255), a process these authors call "urbicide" and which, I'd add, are frequently the object of street art interventions. In fact, with its long-term relation with the derelict structures, street art appears as a convenient expressive resource to convey reflections on the uses of public space.

These reflections are intertwined with the democratic processes of participation and the right to the city. Fortuna and Meneguello consider that to stop the process of decadence of the urban buildings it is important to "make democracy more democratic" (Fortuna e Meneguello, p.255, 2013). In that sense, if art in the public space can have a potential to foster citizen participation, it can be argued that street art can also have an active role in these situations, signaling them, and enabling the development of critical discourses on the uses of public space.

Under this perspective, interventions in the derelict buildings of Lisbon, such as those created by EBANOCollective and project CRONO, may constitute a creative way to reclaim the right to the city by those who live and create in it. These constitute examples of how public art, and street art in particular, can deliver pertinent questions about how public spaces of the cities are managed, and what are the alternatives to the current state of derelict structures.

Conclusion

The observation of the collective street art initiatives that have been taking place in Lisbon, such as the ones exposed in this article, suggest a considerable diversity, not only in the ways in which collective street art initiatives can contribute to the construction of public space, but also to enable expressions of reclaiming the right to the city. In summary, these include: calling for the direct involvement with local communities; offering a perspective of the citizen's spontaneous action as being significant and making a difference; contributing for the requalification of the urban environment as a collective process; stimulating feelings of shared community through the inclusion of the locals in the projects; creating and sharing perspectives about the interventions and how they relate to the place.

The different contexts of collective production of street art correspond to specific logics of action towards public space and the role street art can have in its social construction, being the importance of the involvement with the local communities a factor all of the initiatives have in common, although, as we've seen, in distinct ways.

Therefore, the processes that underlie these initiatives can be interpreted and understood as aspects of the social construction of urban public space, through street art. The local dynamics that each event may contribute to are result of the ways each project is elaborated, with the capacity it has to mobilize people and to stimulate their curiosity and interest about the interventions, by promoting dialogue between the artists, the organizers, and the populations, or through the organization of conferences, guided visits, or workshops.

Also relevant for the stimulation of local dynamics through street art is the aspect of collective memory. An artistic intervention that chooses to approach local histories or narratives crosses immaterial culture and a specific material representation, as noted by Dolores Hayden (p.67, 1997). Subsequently, artists that incorporate that sensitivity in their work might be contributing for the stimulation of a sense of local community, through the recreation of a certain local imaginary in their interventions, since "(...) the recollection uncovers itself while a social and political act of construction and reconstruction of meaning." (Andrade, in AAVV, p.16, 2010).

Considering that public space, is inherently a place of meeting, the artistic interventions that approach aspects of the local history and culture enhances the potential of that *place of encounter* becoming also a *place of sharing*. The direct contact between the organizers of these collective street art events, the artists and the locals, is an

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[4] About the process of abandonment of two urban theaters, in Portugal and Brasil.

important moment in the process of attribution of meaning to the actions and attach them with an emotional connection. Malcolm Miles approach that aspect in the following way:

> It is equally significant that such cultural work is carried out by individuals (...) whose contact with their public is direct (...). Human contact interrupts the blander realm of mass culture and advertising. (Miles, in AAVV, p.41, 2010)

That is to say, the human relations that form within these projects between all the intervenients are a key aspect in the construction of public space in urban contexts, since they contrast the idea of the city as a "landscape of power" (Zukin, 1993) and a place for real estate speculation, providing an alternative according to which the citizens have the right to get involved in the fate of their city.

Specifically, in GAU, the way its initiatives connect with community life has to do with the promotion of local rehabilitation through interventions that tackle with local aspects of the communities, and that are subject to a call for street artists that want to participate and have a certain kind of artistic sensitivity for working in a community context.

As for Wool and Wool on Tour, the relation with the local community was stimulated by the way the initiatives were structured, with sequential interventions and workshops involving the artists and the locals, as well as the constitution of a temporary physical structure that ended up having a permanent transforming effect on the urban space. These initiatives, such as Lata 65, aim to stimulate the proximity of the public – on one hand the locals, and on the other, the elderly – to an urban artistic expression, bringing them closer to its languages and signs, allowing them, therefore, to feel closer to their city – and even to intervene in it through street art.

Concerning the initiatives of APAURB, these offer a distinct path of action, as they propose the collective and voluntary work of all the citizens interested in participating. The perspective that underlies this course of action is one of direct involvement of the citizens in their city, actively participating in the betterment of the public spaces of collective use.

On the other hand, project CRONO and the interventions of EBANOCollective, both have the purpose of urban rehabilitation and aesthetical qualification through the intervention in the physical structures of the city – such as derelict and degraded buildings - and the uses of its space. These initiatives aimed to stimulate new relations between the city and its inhabitants, considering public space as place for spontaneous action. In both interventions mentioned, there is a critical discourse about the state of the buildings in the city, particularly its derelict and expectant structures. In the EBANOCollective initiative mentioned in this article, that discourse is punctuated by the theme of the interventions, connected to the specific place, its history and memory, intending therefore to involve the populations in the fate of the structures of their neighborhood. This also constitutes a clear example of how street art can effectively contribute to reclaiming the right to the city.

Given these points, it can be argued that collective street art allow this artistic expression to be interpreted as a manifestation of public art, in the sense of activation of potential of citizen initiative several authors have referred (Hayden, 1997; Phillips, 1998).

The experimental and transient nature of street art can produce effects of interaction and sociability that result in the exchange of ideas, questionings and dialogues. This is, therefore, an artistic form of expression that not only can fulfill the promise of public art to reinforce citizen initiative, but also displays the potential to amplify these effects, namely through the interdisciplinarity that underlies its planning. The several examples of collective street art projects we've seen show its potential to the production of expressive discourses about the urban space, promoting citizen initiative and reclaiming the right of the citizens to get involved in the fate of their city.

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THEME TUNE 4 | Under construction: Towards a framework of youth subcultures, tribes, neotribes and bands

4.1. *Cattivi guagliuni*: the identity politics of 99 Posse

Marcello Messina[1]

Abstract

The career of Neapolitan group 99 Posse has always been permeated by an uncompromising political militancy, mainly associated with the activities and ideologies of the Italian extra-parliamentarian left wing. After reaching the peak of their popularity in the national mainstream music scene in the early 2000s, 99 Posse decided to break up in 2002, on account of growing incompatibilities between their political activism and the commercial obligations attached to their musical activity. After seven years of silence, they reunited in 2009, and have released two new albums since the reunion. In this paper, I argue that the most recent 99 Posse production displays a grown attention for forms of radical politics centred on the condition of the South of Italy, including the participation in a general trend of historical revisionism and even the appropriation of identitarian claims.

Keywords: 99 Posse, identity politics, Southern Italy.

Introduction

Neapolitan group 99 Posse originated in the early 1990s from Officina 99 in Naples, one of the many *centri sociali autogestiti* ("self-managed social centres") that flourished in Italy from the mid-1980s onwards, and that are normally occupied by groups of young left-wing militants.

The music of 99 Posse is renowned for being characterised by an uncompromising political passion, mainly associated with the ideologies of the Italian extra-parliamentarian left wing (Behan 2007). After reaching the peak of their popularity in the Italian music scene in the early 2000s, the band decided to break up in 2002, on account of growing incompatibilities between their political activism and the commercial obligations attached to their musical activity – including the acceptance of a contract with multinational music publishing company BMG, and the frequent appearances on MTV and similar mainstream media. They then reunited in 2009, and have released two albums since their comeback, including *Cattivi Guagliuni* ("Bad lads") in 2011. In this paper, I aim at identifying and assessing the ideological shifts that characterise 99 Posse's production since the 2009 comeback, mostly with reference to this album.

The band is not new to shifts as to their ideological standpoints. Behan, for example, focussing on the first decade of 99 Posse's activity, observes the movement from a substantial "hostility towards communism" (2007, p. 503) towards a coming to terms with their communist identity (2007). I have identified new changes in 99 Posse's ideology, since their 2009 comeback, and especially, but not exclusively, with regards to their album *Cattivi Guagliuni*:

1. On one hand, I perceive an unprecedented interest for the condition of prisoners in Italian jails;
2. on the other hand, and partly in connection with the first point, I argue that the most recent 99 Posse production displays a grown attention for forms of radical politics centred on the condition of the South of Italy, including the participation in a general trend of historical revisionism and even the appropriation of identitarian claims.

As for the first point, here I will only mention:

1. the title track Cattivi guagliuni ("Bad lads"), which reads detention as a product of the social ghettoization that affects entire Italian suburbs, and raises the issue of the prisoners' families, who are forced to support economically their convicted relative while s/he is serving her/his conviction (Persico et al., 2011);

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2. the song Morire tutti i giorni ("Dying every day") (Musumeci et al., 2011), which features Daniele Sepe and Valerio Jovine, and adapts a poem on the experience of life imprisonment, written by lifelong convict Carmelo Musumeci (Dello Iacovo, 2014, p. 247)[2].

The important issues raised by these two songs will be analysed in a separate work, also with reference to the recently released biography of the group (Dello Iacovo, 2014), which documents the prison experiences of 99 Posse's lead singer Luca Persico (aka 'O Zulù), and of activist Egidio Giordano.

These work will primarily focus on the identity politics connected to the condition of Southern Italy.

The radical politics of Southern Italy

The issues revolving around Southern Italy have always been of extreme importance for 99 Posse, as it is attested to by the choice of singing in Neapolitan, which has always been a distinctive characteristic of the group, and can well be described as a strong political choice, in line with Ranciére's definition of politics (2004), and with Orlandi's observations about the political use of Sardinian in Fabrizio De André's album *Indiano* (Orlandi, 2015).

Strong affirmation of Southern Italian identity, in oppositon to a monolithic Italian identity, have also been occasionally suggested in some of the older 99 Posse songs, such as Napolì (Persico, Jovine & Messina,[3] 1993) or Pagherete caro (1998). Joseph Pugliese has used Napolì as a case study of those manifestations of Southern Italian resistance that he describes as "a tactical blackening of Italy in the face of a virulent and violent caucacentrism" (Pugliese, 2008, p.2).

More in general, 99 Posse's artistic defence of Southern Italian identity can be understood as a cultural reaction to the ever-present representation of the South as an Other, instrumental to the legitimisation and construction of a shared Italian identity, based on a Northern and "white" ethnocentricity, which is set against an "oriental" and "backward" South (Dickie, 1994; Gribaudi, 1997; Pugliese, 2008).

Arguably, this could be already sufficient to locate 99 Posse's production within a wave of Italian musicians who have taken up the cudgels for the South in various way, to the point of advocating a critical revision of the official narratives on national Italian history or demanding more autonomy, or independence, from the central government (Messina, 2015). In this work, it will be demonstrated that 99 Posse are substantially in favour of historical revisionism. With regards to the claims for independence and autonomy for the South, however, it will be argued that 99 Posse are rather interested in constructing, or claiming, or negotiating a hegemonic role for Naples and the South.

Consequently, while the issues of identity are, in 99 Posse's older songs, always observed and analysed within the wider context of global and national social problems, in the 2011 album *Cattivi Guagliuni* ("Bad lads"), the condition of Naples and Southern Italy appears to be the main prism through which the global social problems are observed.

University of Secondigliano

For example, the song *University of Secondigliano*, which features Neapolitan rapper Clementino, talks about the general issue of Italian suburbs, whereby the Neapolitan suburb of Secondigliano is taken as an allegory of all the other suburbs, "from the Zen up to Quarto Oggiaro" (Maccaro et al., 2011)[4], that is, from Sicily (the Zen is a suburb of Palermo) up to Milan (Quarto Oggiaro is a degraded district in Milan). This is not done to illustrate an extraordinary example of degradation and underdevelopment, as it is often the case when Naples is mentioned in Italian culture, but to present an admirable model of resistance: "We live here, we don't go away, we resist here" (Maccaro et al., 2011)[5].

With regards to this, it is useful to mention Francesco Festa's work on Neapolitan organised antagonism, which exists in opposition to the state and to the criminal organisations (Festa, 2011): in *University of Secondigliano* too,

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[2] Musumeci's poem is entitled "La ballata dell'ergastolano" (2007).
[3] N.B. Marco Messina, member of 99 Posse, cited in bibliographic references as "Messina, M.", is not related to the author of this article, Marcello Messina, also referenced as "Messina, M.".
[4] ("Dallo Zen su fino a Quarto Oggiaro")
[5] ("Guagliù simme nuje ca 'e casa cca stammo nun ce ne jammo cca resistimmo").

this resistance is tightly connected with a proud defence of identity: "we are what we are and we stay here / and even if we go / what we are and the place where we come from will always be written all over our face" (Maccaro et al., 2011)[6].

Tarantelle pe' campa'

The notion of "what we are", that is, the idea of a connection between identity and resistance, is further developed in *Tarantelle pe' campa'* ("Tarantellas to survive"). The song uses the tarantella, a traditional dance tightly and exclusively related to Southern identity, as a metaphor of the frenetic activities to which ordinary people in Italy are forced in order to make ends meet. The activities of the ordinary people exist in opposition to the extravagant and dissolute lifestyle of the politicians and the elites: "these people, / with luxury cars and yachts, they go on holiday to the Seychelles, with subterfuges, / frauds, corruption and bribes / (...) while we dance the tarantellas, the tarantellas to survive" (Salvemini et al., 2011)[7].

The song then touches upon a series of issues that are relevant to various parts of the country, in a section written and performed by Caparezza. In this context the metaphor of the Southern tarantella defines and unifies the resistance of all Italians: this already appears quite unusual in a country where culture, and even antagonistic culture, is normally defined according to Northern models, and where Neapolitan and Southern identities are treated as an Other even by members of radical left-wing movements (Dines, 2014).

The final stanza of the song takes the metaphor one step further, and evokes some important details, by mentioning:

1. the tarantella giuglianese (from Giugliano, a town near Naples), which is traditionally danced with knives: "The best tarantellas are those that involve confrontation and conflict / like the giuglianese where we dance with knives" (Salvemini et al., 2011)[8];
2. the revival of the tarantella as an identitarian folk dance: "In the past we used to dance it in private homes causing shame and confusion, / Now we dance it in the village festivals, and proudly, / Because this is what we are" (Salvemini et al., 2011)[9];
3. and finally, the transformation of the tarantella into a means for liberation, which is triggered, in turn, by its reappropriation: "We only dance tarantellas to survive, / And the more we dance them, the more we become aware of their potential, / And each tarantella turns from a lament into a song of freedom" (Salvemini et al., 2011)[10]

Now, while all this can be well understood as the continuation of the internationalist class war metaphor outlined above, I claim that these lines contain also a quite obvious and proud display of Southern identity. In other words, the "song of freedom" into which the tarantellas have turned is not only the product of a general acquisition of class consciousness by the Italian low-income classes, but is also and primarily the product of a new Southern Italian pride, aimed at some form of specifically Southern liberation. Importantly, as shown above, this is achieved by means of the insisted practice of the tarantella: in other words, the tarantella becomes a practice that allows Southerners to reappropriate their identity, and consequently, declare their freedom. This is further reinforced by the idea of using the knives of *the tarantella giuglianese* to defend freedom, "just in case you wanted to come closer" (Salvemini et al., 2011)[11]. Now, while it is clear that this "you" refers to the elites, there is a great deal of ambivalence as to who is the "we" named in the song, whether "we" refers generally to the working classes, or, more specifically, to Southern Italians.

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[6] ("simmo sempe nuje ca simmo chello che simmo nuje ca cca rimanimmo / e pure si ce ne jammo / c'o purtammo sempe scritto 'nfaccia addò venimmo chello che simmo").

[7] ("chisti cca / machinune e varchetelle vanno in vacanza alle Seichelles sotterfugi e / mattunelle magna magna e bustarelle").

[8] ("E tarantelle cchiù belle so' semp chell di sfida e guerra / come la giuglianese ca s'abballa cu 'e curtielle").

[9] ("e ogni tarantella addiventa da lamiento / canto di libertà").

[10] ("ne facimmo sulamente tarantelle pe' campà / e a mano a mano ca facimmo tarantelle ci accorgiamo delle potenzialità / e ogni tarantella addiventa da lamiento / canto di libertà").

[11] ("libertà ca se difende cu 'e curtielle / tanti vote te vuliv avvicinà").

Italia S.P.A.

This ambivalence seems to lean towards the latter option in Italia S.P.A., a song that focusses on the violence exerted on the South in the process of Italian Unification, relates this violence directly with the situation of geographical inequality that characterises Italy and, by doing so, openly questions the very acceptability of the concept of Italy. Again, the lyrics seem to address a precise interlocutor, marked by the continuous use of the Italian pronoun *voi* (you) and its derivatives; the addressed interlocutor is progressively identifiable with the elites that controlled Italy from the Unification to the present day, responsible, in more recent times, for the political phenomenon of the Lega Nord[12]:

> The sort of Italy **you**'ve made, / **you**'ve made it the worst possible way, / selling hatred off as brotherhood, / ignoring the consternation / on the face of massacred peasants, / of entire villages annihilated, / of the raped women, / deliberately ignoring / the aspirations of equality, / justice and brotherhood / for which millions of people / were killed, / creating with no remorse / an unjust country, / a shameful deal between the Savoy crown and the landlords…/ and still that isn't enough for **you**, / now **you**'ve joined the Northern League /and while down South, back in our land, they close down the hospitals, / and people with a degree have to pick temporary jobs to make a living, / do we even need to listen to **you** talking / about northern question? (Dello Iacovo et al., 2011)[13]

Against the *voi* (in bold in the above quotation), the song sets a *noi* ("we/us", in bold in the quotation below) that does mainly identify Southern Italian people, although it refers in general the South of the world:

In other words, 99 Posse construct a manifest binary here between their own identity and that of the interlocutor. They identify themselves with the South and, to a limited extent, associate the enemy with the North, or at least identify the enemy as someone who defends Northern interests.

As seen above, the *noi* menaces an imminent revolt by using rubbish, the infamous *munnezza* that upsets Naples, and that is associated with the subordination of the South to Northern companies, due to the well-known involvement of the latter in the disposal of industrial waste in the Southern region of Campania (Massari, 2004; Sebaste, 2010). Rubbish is to be used to make barricades and being thrown at the *voi*: "Here we have got 30,000 tonnes / of piled rubbish / ready to be made into barricades / and another 30,000 tonnes, / we'll throw them at you, /in the villas where you live" (Dello Iacovo et al, 2011)[14]. The idea of making barricades and projectiles with the rubbish illegally disposed in the South by Northern companies seems to be coherent with Festa's aforementioned understanding of Naples and the whole Italian South as intrinsically antagonistic places, precisely in virtue of an active political use of a forced condition of subalternity (2011).

The song contains an example of what Pugliese defines Provisional Street Justice, namely a recording of a racist speech by a Lega Nord politician, Mario Borghezio, which is interrupted and ridiculed by a blown raspberry: "[Borghezio] We are Celts and Longobards, we are not Mediterranean and Eastern shit, we are the Padania[15], white and Christian, white and Christian! [99 Posse] (raspberry)" (Dello Iacovo et al, 2011)[16]. This is exactly what Pugliese describes as the political reorientation of a violently North-centric and caucacentric discourse towards more inclusive narratives, obtained through the disfiguration of an object – in this case the speech - which, though outrageously racist, comes from a member of governmental institutions[17].

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[12] The Lega Nord is a racist separatist party based in the North of Italy (Huyssen, 2006)

[13] ("L'italia che avete fatto voi / l'avete fatta nel modo peggiore / spacciando fratellanza e seminando rancore / ignorando lo stupore / sul volto dei contadini fucilati / dei paesi rasi al suolo delle donne violentate / ignorando con dolo le aspirazioni di uguaglianza / giustizia e fratellanza / per le quali a milioni sono stati ammazzati / creando senza pentimento un paese a misura d'ingiustizia / un patto scellerato tra Savoia e latifondisti / e ancora nun v'abbasta mò facite 'e leghiste / e mentre abbascio addu nuje chiudono 'e 'spitale / e i laureati s'abbuscano 'a jurnata cu 'na vita interinale / v'amma sentì 'e parlà di questione settentrionale?").

[14] ("nui ccà tenimm' trentamila tonnellate di munnezz' ammuntunat' / e pront' pe ne fà tutte quante barricate / e n'ate trentamila v'è buttamm' a catapulta rint'e ville addò campate").

[15] The Padania is an imaginary macro-region which coincides with the North of Italy, whose independence from Italy is claimed by the members of the Lega Nord.

[16] ([Borghezio] "Noi, che siamo celti e longobardi, non siamo merdaccia mediterranea e levantina, noi, la Padania, bianca e cristiana, bianca e cristiana!" [99 Posse] pernacchia)

[17] Borghezio is Member of the European Parliament since 1999 and has held various roles within the Italian Government and the Italian Parliament (European Parliament, n.d.).

Napulitan

This North-centric discourse is further subverted in *Napulitan*, a song released in 2012, not by 99 Posse, but by Jovine. The band Jovine is composed by Valerio and Massimo Jovine, both members of 99 Posse; in this song, they feature also 'O Zulù, 99 Posse's lead vocalist, so that it is almost possible to consider this as a 99 Posse song. The last stanza, sung by 'O Zulù, proposes that Italians should learn Neapolitan, and, by doing so, suggests the existence of a binary between Italians and Neapolitans: "One thing Italians could do, / is learning to speak Neapolitan, / The most widely spoken language from Rome to Milan, / The main Italian export". (Jovine & Persico, 2012)[18].

Further on, with a mixture of irony and exasperation, the stanzas tries to renegotiate the elements that characterise the condition of subalternity suffered by Naples into aspects of proud domination: in this way, the massive emigration that has characterised the history of the city becomes a massive colonisation operated by the Neapolitans; in a similar way, mass unemployment becomes redeployment: "We Neapolitans do not emigrate, / For more than 150 years we've been colonising [other places]. / We Neapolitans do not emigrate, / For more than 150 years we've been in redeployment." (Jovine & Persico, 2012)[19].

The insistence on the 150 years is, again, a reference to the Italian Unification, whose 150th anniversary was celebrated in 2011. This appears to be coherent with the strong resolution to revise national history identified in the previous example: in other words, the song suggests that Italian unification has triggered mass emigration from Naples and the South of Italy. The stanza closes with the image of the entire planet turned "into a massive Naples" (Jovine & Persico, 2012)[20], a further confirmation of the strong identitarian feelings of the members of 99 Posse, which well reflects Pugliese's aforementioned idea of "tactical blackening" (2008).

Conclusion

It is not difficult to see this last song, strategically kept outside 99 Posse's main musical project, as a manifesto of 99 Posse's identity politics. Namely, a vigorous and tenacious affirmation of Southern Italian identity that exists in opposition to a violent Northern ethnocentrism.

As anticipated above, this affirmation takes the form of an attempt to negotiate an active, central and hegemonic role for Naples in the context of national and international antagonistic culture. This attempt is condensed in the above-mentioned image of the entire world transformed into a gigantic Naples, which sardonically subverts the North-normative power relations that characterise Italy and the entire world.

I would like to conclude this work by quoting a very recent interview by 99 Posse's lead singer Luca Persico (aka 'O Zulù), which further reaffirms all the elements of this tenacious, vigorous and sardonic Southern antagonism:

> It's been about 150 years that we, the Southerners, survive in close contact with crises and poverty, fighting hard in order to obtain a meagre version of things that elsewhere are taken for granted. This is not because we are not conscious of the wealth of our land and of our talent, nor because we like suffering. This is the result of 150 years of economic, political and cultural subalternity. Mind you, this is not because the state has abandoned the South, but because the state, the big companies and the mafia have made a precise choice. Renzi[21] makes me smile when he says: 'We have a plan for the South'. If only he knew what plans has the South got for him… (Valenti & Persico, 2015)[22].

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[18] ("Na cosa ca putesse fa l'italiano, / fosse 'e se 'mparà a parlà napulitano / la lingua più diffusa da Roma a Milano / il principale prodotto d'esportazione italiano").

[19] ("Noi non emigriamo, napulitan / sò più di 150 anni che colonizziamo / non emigriamo napulitano / da più di 150 anni ci ricollochiamo").

[20] ("Trasformare tutto il mondo in una grande Napoli").

[21] Matteo Renzi is the Italian First Minister at the moment of this writing and of Persico's interview.

[22] ("sono circa 150 anni che noi meridionali sopravviviamo a stretto contatto con crisi e povertà, lottando duramente per ottenere la brutta copia di cose che altrove sono garantite. E non certo perché non siamo consapevoli della ricchezza della nostra terra e del nostro ingegno, e nemmeno perché ci piace soffrire. È il risultato di 150 anni di subalternità economica, politica e culturale e non di abbandono da parte dello stato, attenzione, ma di una scelta precisa da parte dello Stato, delle grandi aziende e della mafia. Mi fa sorridere Renzi quando pontifica: «Abbiamo un piano per il sud» Sapesse il piano che ha il Sud per lui…").

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4.2. Contemporary art and construction gender equality

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Abstract

Theoretical studies of the visual arts are one of the most important aspects of applied Human Sciences, mainly because of its relation to civilization and culture. From that principle this article will try to discuss the contributions of some artists during part of the history of art for the construction of gender equality. Mainly referring to describe the multitude of contributions pro and cons of the artistic field, the behavioral changes that influenced the artistic creation and critique of feminist and queer art. Examples of artists, collectives and events involving controversial artists of the genre we can only serve to highlight the current postmodern historical moment. By being inserted right now is that we can write about and against the inappropriate attitudes of established institutions, unexpected positions and widespread prejudices, is also why claim another posture of everyone involved, this article behind these and other issues to the fore.

Keywords: art activism, gender, art system.

Introduction

In the field of large area of applied human sciences, a discipline stands out for its connection with the culture and civilization. Theoretical studies of Visual Arts can greatly contribute to the understanding of the struggles of minorities, as yet for many, the concept of art is directly related to his political engagement. And at that point, to gender issues, the contribution of the activity of some artists was essential.

To begin, we briefly mention some old contributions and ignored by many as the mysteries of androgyny that followed the works of Leonardo Da Vinci, the female force of Artemisia Gentileschi Judites of the ALTER-EGO Marcel Duchamp and even the actions of suffragists were important for gender issues in the arts. Leonardo's works bring a while doubts about his female models, it really existed or if the portrayed was just a Da Vinci's version of himself. Artemisia was a Baroque painter who bucked the rule. Marcel Duchamp participated in several photographic experiments with the pseudonym Rrose Selavy (Cordeiro, 2010, p. 17). The suffragette Mary Richardson, next to a large group of women attacked works of art, an attack in defence of women's suffrage.

Winning the vote and political participation by women marked a new version of society, more egalitarian and democratic. Access to women's suffrage assured "that their claims were not left to the goodwill of men and to be able to instill changes in society" (Samouiller; Jabre, 2011, p. 608). Even if in this context, for these achievements happen, the art has participated as a victim. Before the English achieve the right to vote, numerous attacks on consecrated artworks mobilized public opinion. The most famous, of course, was against the work of Velasquez. The justification given in testimony by feminist Richardson "is that tried" (...) destroy the most beautiful image of women in mythological history as a protest against the government that was destroying Mrs. Pankhurst (prey suffragist leader), which is the most beautiful character in modern history (...) "(Estadão, 2014).

In any case, we will see throughout this text that the main point of discussion being promoted by this scientific paper is not only to describe the multitude of contributions pro and cons of the artistic field to the construction of gender equality, but in behavioral changes They influenced the artistic creation and art criticism. Which brings us to highlight the current historical moment, called postmodernist.

> In principle, this term mean any artistic development to say goodbye to the modernist language from Picasso to Pollock defined by Greenberg, Rauschenberg and Warhol on. In practice, we will use it here to denote the change in ideas about images that may have been foreshadowed by those artists of the mid-century, but it only took root as orthodoxy during the year 1980. In general, here's the thing: no call the peculiarities of the environment or the circumstances of origin. (BELL, 2008, p. 446)

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This historical moment is widely discussed and has its various formulations and references with specific methodological preferences. For some, the correct terminology can be simplified as the continuation of modernism itself or even the late modernism. There may be several terminology definitions, but the meaning is the same, the contemporary historical moment is basically understood as a period of permanent transition, where what was once considered solid and located is undergoing a structural change, with less defined borders, causing the individual an identity crisis (Hall, 2011, p. 13).

Figure 1 – Rrose Selavy (Marcel Duchamp), Man Ray (1923)

Figure 2 – Velasquez Work shredded by suffrage.

This crisis is, incidentally, one of the main research objects of applied Humanities and probably will continue for much longer, hence the artistic theories. The counterculture of the 1960s included new actors on the political scene, leading to many a social malaise able to open new prospects of interaction. Interactions that guided aesthetic, artistic and behavioral practices.

Political art or activist art

What can we identify how certain is the period when these new practices have emerged, they happened and emancipated. If researched the background, we see that both the Performance Art, the graphite, Interventions, installations and what some authors call the Art Policy (Ranciére) and other Activist Art (Falshin) hold in common is the decade of 1960. Some of these manifestations listed really emerged this youth revolution period, but others, such as installation, have achieved greater visibility and positioned themselves since then as political art option.

The complexity of the concept of each of such procedures, it behooves us to ignore some irrelevant explanations about the characteristics of their applications and direct our thinking more precisely for Art Policy and Activist Art. Assuming all manifestations cited fall, somehow, in the field of limiting the definition of political art of Jacques Rancière, we discuss the construction of gender from the 1960s following this theoretical perspective.

Although Rancière does not relate to art activism in analog form to the concept developed by other authors, we are driven to conclude that it is this same mode. We realize this especially when we associate the description of the author: "art is considered political because it shows the stigmata of domination, because ridicules the reigning icons or because out of their own places to turn into social practice" (Rancière, 2012, p. 52) the release of Nina Felshin, which argues the emergence of activist art as catalyst for "aesthetic, social, political and technological impulses of the past twenty-five years in an attempt to challenge, explore or erase the boundaries and hierarchies that traditionally define the such a culture and how this is represented by the power "(Felshin, 2001, p. 74).

In any case, the least important question is the term used to define an artistic practice apparently expanded from the 1960s One misconception, according to the author's reasoning is that many believe that the positioning of artists and intellectuals in closer aesthetic reasons of policies is something unique to our times. Such an attitude should be thought of as part of a trend of questions arising in eighteenth-century Europe, from the moment the mimetic representation model has come to be questioned by Hegel.

Art and politics and its paradoxical relationship "have to do with each other as forms of dissent, reconfiguration operations of the common experience of the sensible" (Rancière, 2012, p. 63). There are several aesthetic policy

that can influence the definition of possible and in the public's affection with the visible, other art policies precede even the positioning of the artist in front of objects. And even with sensitive division from both museums and books, the theater, can not generate an effect that sets "not an art of political strategy as such nor a calculable contribution of art for political action" (Rancière, 2012, p. 64).

So the art of politics consists of three intertwining heterogeneous logic, "the logic of the aesthetic experience forms the fictional work and the metapolíticas strategies" (Rancière, 2012, p. 65). From this entanglement, the author tries to define three forms of efficiency, "the representative logic whatever effect by the representations, the aesthetic logic that effect by the suspension of representative purposes and the ethical logic, whatever the forms of art and political shapes are identified directly with each other. "(Rancière, 2012, pp. 65-66).

And so, the author concludes his reasoning about the political art, organized around three policy perspectives to the art, examples of works and artists who are inspired in one way or another, but not attached to any model political art, because, according to him, such models do not exist. All these events contribute to the emergence of new forms of political subjectivity, but none can avoid "the aesthetic break separating the effects of intentions." (Rancière, 2012, p. 81).

The emergence of a feminist art

The female contribution to this artistic ambience is notorious and underscored by Rancière, starting with the critical productions wars. The German artist Martha Rosler and her Ballons work (1967-72) occupies an interesting space in that author's work. In any case, this artist and his work were borrowed by the author to defend the critical device double vision, "the awareness of the hidden reality and the feeling of guilt about the denied reality," that is, trying to be with So keep a dialogue on the distant war and domestic consumption (Rancière, 2012, p. 30).

In the work of Ed Kienholz, The Portable War Memorial, in 1969, for example, are united in the same visual spectrum, memories of two world wars and familiar scenes to the states-unidenses such as vending machines, bars and coffee tables. Attributed by many as an example of pop art, assemblage of Kienholz actually repudiates the disposable foundation of this school (Staff, 2011, p. 506). In fact, the very Pop Art can be considered a kind of making art on domestic consumption. It would not be the first time that consumption and domestic environment were issues of artistic production, several other artistic events throughout art history chose this narrative.

We recognize that theme in other movements from the scenes of manners painting genre. In Brazil, artists such as Di Cavalcanti and Candido Portinari already incorporated in their modernist paintings the women's consumption of household goods under this nickname: custom scenes. We realized that was the preference for "social painting, so the taste of Modernism" (Costa, 2002, p. 130) that led many artists to represent, also subjectively, works which referred to gender issues.

The very Di Cavalcanti and his work bring with them the imagination around the Brazilian woman, more precisely, the mixed-race woman. Although, in most cases, the painter sought to emphasize the sensual features of the mulatto, also "stressed in some paintings sadness, discouragement and loneliness of women. Whores, washerwomen, sellers of acarajé, cabaret dancers appear in these modernist screens revealing a vision at the same time seductive and critical. "(Costa, 2002, p. 131).

Criticism about the economic and social status of women was present not only in the work of Di Cavalcanti, but in the greater part of the modernist artists. The female figure appeared in almost all the works of artists such as Anita Malfatti, Tarsila do Amaral, Cândido Portinari and Ismael Nery. In short, the images of women in their social context and everyday were able to "shape the main social and aesthetic concerns of Modernism" (Costa, 2002, p. 130).

Regarding the central character of such productions, it must make it clear that it was not "any" woman, but the woman represented by Brazilian mulatto of Di Cavalcanti and others. The mulata

> Leaving the world of sex settings, it becomes kind in two directions: a mulatice is a genus of being, consecrated by Di Cavalcanti or Sargentelli, among others, something like the equivalent of a literary genre and the mulatto is an engineered figure culturally constructed a long historical process that is opposed to female figures are currency in our research, is the male figures who oppose them (opposing at the same time, the White and Black). In the textual universe, both the mulatto and the mulatto, left the scope of sex ratings for the gender classifications, but following different paths: one became a social worker, an important element for the definition or establishment of national society, another became engaged, a symbol of a society (what you want) mixed. (Correa, 2007, p. 246-247)

And to be defined as gender, mulatice is part of a larger field of discussion, guided by the complexity of postmodernism. According influences of the French philosopher Michel Foucault, all gender is socially constructed through a speech. The speech is understood as the power that some have to speak for those who are unable to see for themselves the reason of things being what they are. Thus, the language used in the speech can be "descriptive, explanatory, controlling, legitimating, prescriptive and subordinator" (Barrett, 2014, p. 62).

Consider, then, that the Brazilian Modernism and its artists have prescribed a national identity that was legitimized the passage of time, reaching to contemporary art. In it, what we find is a provisional list of multi-stakeholder dialogue among themselves - the network - which now brings up discussions on gender, highlights once other causes and militancy that are also on the agenda. The course of the discussion changes when we decided to talk about homosexuality, often assumed publicly only by famous artists. A milestone for the politically engaged art in this particular issue was "the unveiling of a homosexual sensibility, subtext for artists such as Johns and Warhol, was gaining center stage in New York in 1982, as the curators developed themes of representation" minorities' "(BELL, 2008, p. 448). And it seems, such a phenomenon mainly occurred under the influence of Queer Theory developed from the aforementioned Michel Foucault studies.

 In fact, Foucault's work has a strong influence on any postmodernist criticism and also in the activity of gay activists artists. Most of these groups of artists prefer to call themselves queer. The American critic Terry Barrett (2014, p.62) explains that "queer name search address both those who would like the gays disappear from the dominant society through assimilation as all oppressors gay."

Both queer artists and feminists faced not only gender issues. The society of the 1980s went through an experience rather hurtful and still no full solution, the fight against AIDS has been on the agenda of various social actors and could not be otherwise in the arts. The Collective ACT UP[2] was the most famous of this segment, their actions aimed at drawing the attention of government and scientific authorities, as well as the pharmaceutical and the public in general industry, to the seriousness of the AIDS crisis and its impact on people's lives.

Following this premise the struggle of queer artists against AIDS, we can cite the example of Brazilian José Leonilson (1957-1993). The artist- constantly revisited by contemporary curators and museum institutions - caught in his later years, a battle without hope against the disease, translating into production a wealth of sentimental subjectivity. The period 1987-1993 is considered by many the best phase of his work, was about this time last approach of an exhibition about it: TRUTH, FICTION, the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo.

According to Terry Barrett (2014, p. 48) since the 1960s, with the counterculture, it was no longer possible to consider "the predominant art to be ideologically neutral and thus feminists recognized that the system of art and art history had institutionalized sexism." Many feminist artists reached space in the arts system and brought up discussions not just about sexism, but also against corruption and racism. This is the case of Yoko Ono, Judy Chicago and activist collective Guerrilla Girls.

In particular, the works of Yoko - which was also co-founder of the Fluxus[3] group - suffered strong influence of Marcel Duchamp, especially when it comes to the viewer's relationship to the artwork. The group that the artist took part had as its main objective the incorporation of everyday life to art. The artistic expression that was appropriate for that ambition this artist was the Performance Art. (Martin, 2011, p. 512-513)

In the case of Judy Chicago, the language of appropriation was another, not so far from the Performance Art, after all, the installation established by the 1960s was also under strong influence of theoretical contribution of Duchamp. Perchance, Chicago's work became more revolutionary than that of Yoko in Dinner (1974-1979), the artist organized a rectangular table with space for 39 seats, "each to honor a female historical figure." (King, 2011, p. 505).

Honor female personalities was the solution adopted by the Collective Guerrilla Girls to conceal their true identities. In contrast to other artists who were fighting against social inequalities, this group of artists had better directed its field of action: museums, art institutions and the system that excluded women exposures.

At first, the Guerrilla Girls have proved outraged at the MoMA - Museum of Modern Art in New York, which set out in 1985, an overview of international projects containing only 13 women artists from a total of 169. The

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[2] ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) is an international organization of direct action which aims: to draw attention of government and scientific authorities, as well as the pharmaceutical and the public in general industry, to the seriousness of the AIDS crisis and its impact on people's lives.
[3] Group of performance artists emerged in the 1960s.

reaction was many urban Interventions termination of posters against gender imbalance among the artists represented in museums. In addition to this type of event, the Collective has also published books, built billboards, made their performances and creative forms of culture jamming[4]. (Barrett, 2014, p. 46-47).

To the point that, unlike Yoko Ono and Judy Chicago, the Guerrilla Girls walked into several activists methodologies. This ability to intersect interests with existing languages clearly fulfill the postmodernist aesthetic representation will be established in the near future. We must believe that "describe the political work of the Guerrilla Girls is a good way of introducing the great contributions of feminism to the theory of contemporary art" (Barrett, 2014, p. 47) and that, to measure the importance of such contributions, we need to understand which amount credited by the institutions to this type of art.

The building, gender equality in the institutionalized space

The beginning of a major milestone for the institutionalization of feminist activist art or queer was just played by Collective ACT UP and Guerrilla Girls. ACT UP achieved notoriety by being invited to participate in the Venice Biennale in 1990, where one of his works questioned the discourse of the Catholic Church on condom use. The Guerrilla Girls, in turn, could only participate in the edition of the same Biennial in 2005. In the poster developed for the event, the Collective the self-styled as the "Biennial Feminist". For all the complexity involved in every international act it is fitting for us to delimit the discussion to Brazilian examples.

And in this case, to measure the participation of Brazilian art institutions in the construction of gender, we need to address two major events: the SP / Art and the Bienal de São Paulo. The greatest difficulty is to identify works present in such events that enrich the discussion, without underestimating the participation of other artists who do not adopt this narrative. Among the highlights that we have in the past editions, we have not identified a great discussion that compares the "Biennial of the Void" (28th edition / 2008) or "caged Vultures" (29th edition / 2010), we have not yet had a "Biennial Identity," "Gender" or "Woman", at least not with such impact - yet.

On those "Bienal of the Void" and the "Vultures caged", than we can appropriate to discuss in the genre? Almost everything, after all "in that society loses the ability to transgress itself, criticizing its procedures and values, works of art that do not fall into clear categories or principles already established come to be seen as empty provocations" requiring us to rethink entirely the value system. (Mammì, 2011, p. 159).

The value system is very clear in the book of Anne Cauquelin (2010), it is the very art system with its active agents. The agents listed by the author is the producer / artist, the buyer / collector or aficionado, critics, publishers, curators, conservationists, the museum itself and the institutions. All those involved and give life to the art market, but the value itself is determined by the seal of the artist through the galleries, which in turn dictates the value of their works on the market.

The SP / Art are completely stuck in this value system. Visit this event itself provides us a starting point for exploring the contemporary production. In 2014, we find, in the exhibition catalog, works from 30 galleries 5 Brazilian states - with main objective of institutional selling. The work is only recognized as assets if it is acquired by a museum institution, a fact which closes the art system cycle, because if the gallery accredits the artist production with artistic value, the museum makes in the book value of the work and of the artist's production.

The point I want to get to complete the reasoning about the construction of gender, is intrinsically linked to the value that the market dictates to the works of this character: politically engaged art in the struggle for human rights. Among all the participating galleries of the last two editions of the SP / Art, none dedicated solely to receive and promote the work of queer artists.

In his important book[5], Moacir dos Anjos shows the contribution of two Biennials of São Paulo to the discussion of cultural identity, the 23rd (1996) and the 24th (1998). The first mentioned by the author was marked by the exhibition "Universalis" a provocation against the rigid geographical divisions, favoring "an idea of art that frustrates strict identification with a physical space and negotiates transitional forms of belonging." The next issue adopted a similar format with the show "Roadmaps ...", the proposal was to show, from different points of view by the integrated guidelines of the general curator of the event, contemporary art from seven regions, "defined

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[4] Culture jamming: It is a term connoted with postmodernity in use since the early 1980, through activism and street art (supported by a semiotic guerilla) puts fashionable anti-consumerism techniques in order to disrupt or subvert mainstream culture.
[5] Local/global: arte em trânsito (2005): Book mentioned in the bibliography of the Master selective process in History of Art at PPGHA- UNIFESP / Campus Guarulhos.

criteria for now geographic and sometimes cultural, sometimes political, sometimes economic. "(Anjos, 2005, p. 48).

Are discussions on national identity, which paved the way for other representational aspects. At the 30th Biennial (2012), there was also a space for discussion on the multifaceted identity, something directed around the proposed theme, which was the work of Arthur Bispo do Rosário, even so, it is preferable to the nickname "Biennial of rereading" (Albuquerque, 2014, p. 65). Retelling, because the artists involved are instructed to address current realities from the perspective of the artist's work theme.

At the 31st Bienal (2014), there were spaces for international artists who address the construction of gender. Among them is the Bolivian Collective Mujeres Creando founded in 1990, which has for some time drawing attention of the public and the international art criticism. Originally created for a native and regional reality, this group, along their dissent 2002: Mujeres Creando Comunidad / Community Feminist Assembly, are part of an artistic trend that "should be considered in a broad context of social and political transformation lived in that country and the mobilization undertaken by the combative Bolivian population, formed by a vast majority of Indians and mestizos "(Rago, 2013, p. 88).

Mujeres Creando were privileged to attend the 31st Bienal de São Paulo, next to a large number of transvestites and transsexuals artists. His work, entitled "Space to abort" was an installation mounted on the building ground. It booths representing wombs, close to two televisions with images of a march of activists in Bolivia, where each woman has her own abortion experiences. In each capsule could be heard in different languages, Brazilian women reported that they had already committed abortion. For the Collective "s young people, girls and boys have the right to hear the conditions under which a woman performs an abortion in Brazil, since many of these reports are just made for underage women" (Mujeres Creando, 2014) . And even with this in mind, after many visits schools with underage students, the work was censored on the grounds of being inappropriate for that audience.

Figure 3 – MUJERES Creando. Space to abort, this installation on the ground of the 31st Biennial.

You are perceived Foucault's thesis on the speeches. According to representatives who take care of the official site of the Collective "This censorship is disguised as an alleged pedagogical argument that does not exist, for that it is a work that was created just thinking of a massive public child and youth visiting the Biennale", and even according to the report, the Collective recognizes this as "an act of censorship, which prevents during visits schools use the work." (Mujeres Creando, 2014). This impediment functions as the speech power.

The difficulty is not in the lack of visibility given, but in the interest of sponsoring an art that subverts the dominant discourse. The SP / Art is an outstanding event of the art system, spot reserved for buying and selling works. The Biennial continues the tradition of being a propagator of new trends. We can reduce the art that reflects the sexual identity and their concerns in more a trend of contemporary art, it is a minority of art that draws attention of smartening elite art that needs a place.

Final thoughts: Museum of Sexual Diversity

The museological spaces exclusively for this type of art are very few. Precisely, are three museums dedicated to the LGBT community; among these, only one is in Latin America: the Museum of Sexual Diversity. They are very few references which are available on the Museum of Sexual Diversity, a shared site of ACGE - Culture Advisory Gender and ethnic groups, where there are still other cultural projects for minorities. There is still little information on the physical space of the museum, which suffers from lack of interest.

The Museum of Sexual Diversity and artists, collectives and works of the LGBT culture, feminist and / or queer, are part and at the same time reflect another feature of contemporary art has not widely discussed in this article: the market. According to Ana Leticia Fialho (2014), there are several types of the art market, varying mostly according to their negotiated objects, practiced business model or the range of operations. For contemporary art, the most important is to consider "the structural differences, as well as complementarity between primary market - made up of galleries representing artists at work and dealing with works that are being marketed for the first time - and the secondary market" - the one with the focus on the resale of works already traded among collectors. (Fialho, 2014, p. 37).

We have a secondary market dominated by collectors / owners, the auctioneer and again another collector interested in buying rare works, mostly are works of artists already dead. While the primary market, the protagonists are the artist, gallery owner and collector (FIALHO, 2014, p. 38). In Brazil, the primary market is still centered on the axis Rio-São Paulo, but has suffered considered progress across the country, thanks mainly to the creation "in 2007, the Brazilian Association of Contemporary Art (Abact) and Project Latitude "(Fialho, 2014, p. 51). However, the movement of decentralization of the art circuit has not had a direct impact on the market.

By linking the artist with the art market, we realize the importance of the primary market. While the galleries of this type represent approximately 22.5 artists, each the average of artists entering the market first is 10.8%, this means that there is constant renewal and expansion of the sector. The values are around 50% of the project price for the artist, what motivates the search for a gallery to represent them. (Fialho, 2014, p. 54-55).

With this perspective, we understand more clearly what is happening with the producer, mediator and public queer activist art. In the same book where Ana Leticia Fialho exposes your text, this is an international contribution of Alain Quemin sociologist at the University of Paris, she said, this author:

> Notes that, while there is clear trend towards internationalization of contemporary art systems whose agents circulate and (re) are often in the same places, independent of the country of origin, there is a strong hierarchy in the organization of the international art scene, where a limited number of agents and platforms defines the values of contemporary art. (Fialho, 2014, p. 34)

So if the initiatives of the Venice Biennale and the Sao Paulo failed to leverage an artistic practice, it was not only due to the quality of the aesthetic value of the works, but rather by market value. Not that the market is the one to blame, because, according to our source references, the market works as a network, which relates to and complements an artistic practice with others. Anne Cauquelin (2010, p 65) quotes the words that best represent the reality of the construction of gender in contemporary art: "If the act of making is rejected, it remains the choice, which is reduced to the artist action. Indeed, if the physical vessel is important, the temporal housing, the moment is it the same way as the choice of the object belongs to chance, to meet, to the occasion. "That is, if the queer art of time has not arrived It is why is yet to come.

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Figures

Fig. 1: RAY, Man Rrose Selavy (Marcel Duchamp) by Man Ray (1923).. Available in http://saint-lucy.com/conversations/the-button-hole-and-not-the-button/ access on 21 November 2014.

Fig. 2: Velasquez Work shredded by suffragist. Available in ESTADÃO COLLECTION. A "Velazquez" is cut up the right to vote. Available in http://acervo.estadao.com.br/noticias/acervo,um-velazquez-e-retalhado-pelo-direito-de-voto,9831,0.htm Access on 21 November 2014.

Fig. 3: MUJERES Creando. Space to cover. Available in: MUJERES Creando. Censorship in São Paulo Art Biennial. Available in http://www.mujerescreando.org/pag/activiades/2014/1409-bienalSaoPaulo/sao.htm Access 05 December 2014.

4.3. A possible herstory

Carla Genchi[1]

Abstract

As a performer or composer the individual finds himself in the in-between position of being himself and the other-than-self[2], in the election of what he/she wants to write about, of the repertoire to perform, the choices he/she constantly makes in his/her everyday life in order to achieve his/her goals. Choices make us "readable" and intelligible, they are the aura which allows the others to identify us. What entitles to identify us is our background and social context as well, where we grew up and come from. Being a composer/improviser, but above all a performer, how can I identify myself in a context where everything is hyperfeminized or hypermasculinized? Out of metaphor, is it really prominent to be gender-wise segregated or is it achievable to be evaluated as an artist/ performer/composer without reflections on genre?[3] From this point I began to trace a possible "Herstory", since I started to be acquainted with Riot Grrls and female and feminist DIY movements in the early 2000s. Instead of reproducing an Euro-American of fashion centered history, I would like to re-situate those movements as radical political ones, philosophical or cultural catalysts which continue to provide girls and women with encouragement worldwide. This would generate two questions: Which of those gender-related mechanisms could be useful concerning my development as a contemporary music performer? How can I use those aesthetics in a way that they subvert the boundaries established by hyperfemininity and hypermasculinity which rule our society?

Keywords: gender studies, subcultures, third wave feminism, music, diy, hyperfemininity, hypermasculinity, politics, society, pop culture.

Introduction

Riot Grrl was the collective brainstorm of a small group of women that became a national news story and influenced an entire generation of girls.

Emerging from the punk scenes in Olympia, Washington and Washington DC during the early 90s, it called for the liberation of young women by taking control of the means of subcultural production. In deep contrast to mainstream- and-underground-culture, it sought to unify girls, calling out culturally ingrained competitiveness between women while also recognizing and accepting individual girl's differences.

A direct response to the hegemony of the male punk scene, riot grrl encouraged women to play instruments and start bands, write and distribute fanzines and share experiences during the riot grrls meeting.

Although it was a movement, it was also a conglomeration of dissenting voices. Dissent-from-within is often seen, from an historical perspective, as the reason radical movements (especially on the left) fail.

By battling the traditional representations of girlhood, feminism and consumer culture, riot grrrl guaranteed the growth of new generations of cultural creators and activists. Women and girls found their own voices and power in the musical, artistic, literary and political environment.

> Riot grrrls began to rewrite and figure out for themselves what it means to be a girl, a feminist, an activist, a musician or an artist at one particular moment andplace. Since then riot grrrl has opened up the possibility to share our experiences, tell our own stories and create our own language. A riot grrrl history is an insight into a provocative moment in modern day feminism, youth resistance and popular culture.[4]

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[1] Hamburg Hochschule Für Musikm, Sweden.

[2] Ponzio A. (1999) La differenza non indifferente: comunicazione, migrazione, guerra, pp. 40-45, Mimesis Edizioni, Bari.

[3] "while we might well be able to say the same about a male artist, such statements about explicit methods of collection and display of texts do not occur as motivations or justifications for studies of him. The discourse on the male artist is "natural." It builds on the work and life of the artist without anxiety. But the "woman artist" is different. "Artist" is her surname, but she comes before us in the guise of "woman." "Maya Deren Herself," (2001) C.M Sousloff, in *Maya Deren and the American Avant-Garde,* edited by Bill Nichols, pp. 123, University of California Press, Berkeley.

[4] http://www.academia.edu/263110/Riot_Grrrl_The_legacy_and_contemporary_landscape_of_feminist_cultural_activism　　J. Downes, November, 27th 2014.

Riot grrl began as a challenge to a punk movement that, in many scenes, had become increasingly conformist.

> Right now, maybe Chainsaw is about Frustration. Frustration in music. Frustration in Living. In being a girl, in being a homo, in being a misfit of any sort. In being a dork, the last kid to get picked for the stupid kickball team in grade school, which is where this whole punk rock thing came from in the first place.
> NOT from the Sex Pistols or L.A, but from the GEEKS who decided or realized (or something) to "turn the tables" and take control of their (our) lives and form a Real Underground.[5]

Nonetheless, I felt a need to keep as close as I possibly could to riot grrrl words, stories and meanings. Therefore, in writing this "herstory" I resisted relying upon mainstream media representations, to instead indulge in the voices of the women involved in Ladyfests in their oral stories. Starting from this, I decided to analyze all the possible Ladyfests I have been experiencing and I am going to experience in the next year: Ladyfest Tallinn, Utrecht (because I have been living there for the past five years), Stockholm and Bologna (Italy) because I come from this place and it is deeply connected with the Dutch scene.

In order to re-situate riot grrrl as a radical political movement, worldwide philosophical and cultural catalyst I would utilize books written by philosophers, musicologists, sociologists, musicians and journalists.

I would be starting with outlining a sort of historical and sociological background relying upon post modernism variants talking as well about Guy Debord and the SI.[6]

After tracing this I will expatiate upon Riot Grrrl movement and the consequent genesis of the Ladyfest movement in Europe, focusing on Tallinn, Stockholm, Utrecht and Bologna.

Starting from this point, I interviewed some key figures related to the riot grrrl panorama and the subsequent Ladyfests:

- Concerning LADYFEST TALLINN, I conversed with:
  - Sandra Jogeva, Estonian artist, writer and a curator. She has been running the independent art space Art Container in Culture Factory Polymer in Tallinn, important hall concerning "Gender activities"
  - Brigitta Davidjants, historian and founder of Ladyfest Tallinn
  - Hello Killu, Estonian Musical duo (bass and drums) who took part into the Riot grrrl compilation http://riotgrrrlberlin.tumblr.com/cats_against_catcalling
- Concerning LADYFEST UTRECHT /BOLOGNA, interviews are still to be "performed"
- And *endlich,* in relation to LADYFEST STOCKHOLM , I talked to:
  - Susanne Skog, freelance writer and editor, currently member of the editorial staff of Divan (magazine for culture and psychoanalysis) and Nutida musik (magazine for Contemporary Music) and one of the founders of the feminist magazine bang, still a very influential publication in the Swedish Feminist media landscape.
  - Lise Lotte Norelius, Swedish composer and percussionist, a key figure of Stockholm's "feminine/ist" music scene.

The questions I would have administered to those pivot figures in the underground music scenes of this four cities would have been:

- How can all these scenes relate among themselves?
- How did they apply the main "Olympia"[7] statement?
- What was the role of the music?
- Is this kind of subculture in relation, opposition or parallel to mainstream culture?

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[5] VV.AA (2013) *The Riot Grrrl Collection*, p.37, Feminist Press at The City University of New York.

[6] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Situationist_International or A. Jappe (1993), *Guy Debord,* University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles.

[7] http://www.academia.edu/263110/Riot_Grrrl_The_legacy_and_contemporary_landscape_of_feminist_cultural_activism   J. Downes, November, 27th 2014, pp.20-21.

The SI and its legacy

The Situationist International (1957–1972) was a relatively small Paris-based clutch that came from the avant-garde artistic tradition. The situationists are ideally known for their radical political theory and their impact on the May 1968 student and worker upheavals in France. The Situationist International (SI) published a journal named *Internationale Situationiste* (IS). Selections from the journal's twelve issues have been translated and published by Ken Knabb as the Situationist International Anthology. The two other texts that are essential to an understanding of the SI's theory are The Society of the Spectacle by Guy Debord (the SI's leading theorist throughout its existence) and The Revolution of Everyday Life by Raoul Vaneigem.

In his book, Guy Debord, Anselm Jappe[8] writes,

> Guy Debord felt certain that the disorder that overtook the world in 1968 had its source at a few café tables, where, in 1952, a handful of somewhat strayed young people calling themselves the Letterist International used to drink too much and plan systematic rambles they called derives[9]

The Letterists were formerly a group of avant-garde artists for the sake of the tradition of the Dadaists and Surrealists gathered around Isadore Isou, whose "desire to reduce poetry to the letter"[10] gave them the name Letterists.

In 1951, a young Debord went to the Cannes Film Festival and was particularly enthralled by a film shown by Isou and the Letterists entitled "On Venom and Eternity," which had no images and onomatopoeic poetry and monologues for a soundtrack. Subsequently Debord was to play an important role among the Letterists. Debord's aesthetics sends a message while critiquing the medium:

> Cinema is dead. Films are no longer possible. If you want, let's have a discussion.[11]

The Letterists and the Situationists were interested in Dada-type cultural sabotage, discovering new ways to replace art and aesthetics.

The modern society was known as *the Spectacle* and they sought to incite a revolution by employing cultural tactics that exposed contradiction and openly critiqued society. Employing the tactic of *détournement*.[12]

They were concerned with breaking out of everyday routines and roles aiming at creating "situations" of a sophisticated quality. They were involved as well in urban planning and architecture. They went on derives throughout the city, experiencing the urban environment in a new way, and recording their findings and experiences. They took to

> [t]he study of the specific effects of the geographical environment (whether consciously organized or not) on the emotions and behaviour of individuals[13]

which they termed "psychogeography." They believed in the necessity of the realization and the abolition of art as a detached domain of life and the integration of the passion and beauty of art into everyday life.

The SI took quotes, symbols and representations from mainstream society and produced counter-cultural artefacts (journals, graffiti slogans, posters, cartoon strips) to destabilize intended meanings. This opened up a space in which the viewer could resist dominant cultural representations and gain access to an oppositional consciousness. Significantly, the SI also encouraged others to express their frustrations via doing their own forms of cultural subversion in their everyday lives,

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[8] A. Jappe (1993), *Guy Debord* , University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles.

[9] Ibid. p. 45.

[10] Isadore Isou, http://www.391.org/manifestos/1942-manifesto-of-letterist-poetry-isidore-isou.html#.Vcz5OfntlBc

[11] G. Debord in *Hurlements en faveur de Sade,* his first movie, realized in June of 1952.

[12] "*Detournement* involves a quotation, or more generally a re-use, that "adapts" the original element to a new context. It is also a way of transcending the bourgeois cult of originality and the private ownership of thought", quoted in A. Jappe (1993), *Guy Debord* , University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, p.59

[13] Ibid. p.59.

a revolutionary organisation must always remember that its objective is not getting people to listen to speeches by expert leaders ,but getting them to speak for themselves[14]

These troublesome tactics of everyday DIY cultural sedition were taken up within various1960s and 70s political and radical social movements inspired by the New Left, civil rights and anti-war movements. Particularly relevant forerunners for riot grrrl were youth "driven" groups such as the Mods, Punks, Fluxus, Hippies, Yippies and The Diggers. For instance, The Diggers, were a radical community-action group of activists and Improvisational actors operating from 1967 to 1968, based in the Haight-Ashbury neighbourhood of San Francisco. They were "community anarchists" who blended a desire for freedom with a consciousness of the community in which they lived. They were closely connected and shared a number of members with the guerrilla theatre group San Francisco Mime Troupe.

Feminist, women's liberation and lesbian gay bisexual transgendered and queer (LGBTQ) movements also reckon this legacy of DIY cultural subversions to resist and exert control over the negative depictions of women, feminism and LGBTQ individuals and anxieties in popular culture. Since the 'second wave' of feminism in the 1970s there has been a strong legacy of issuing independent media.

Publications such as Ms in America and Spare Rib and Shocking Pink in Britain prospered in this new environment and feminist bookstores, such as the Amazon Book Store Cooperative, provided vital cultural spaces to create a feminist community. Feminist and lesbian feminist collectives created their own separatist music community, known as womyn's music, which incorporated all women-run record labels, distribution channels, and women's music festivals. The sound emitted of this culture was amongst the first musical narratives of lesbian experience created by lesbians themselves.

In the 1980s and 90s collective movements like the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACTUP), Guerilla Girls, Queer Nation and Lesbian Avengers upset and drew attention to the contradictions and inequalities still endured in a so-called free and democratic society. For instance, Queer Nation began a series of visibility actions including 'Queer Nights Out' in straight-identified bars and areas to protest against the restriction of queer affection and socialising to gay bars. This legacy of reclaiming cultural space can be seen in contemporary queer dance troops actions such as Dykes Can Dance in New York City. The Guerrilla Girls are a group of anonymous women set up in 1985 who make use of the pseudonyms of dead artists and humour to produce posters, plays, performances and projects which expose against sexism, racism and social injustice. Riot grrrl sought to build upon this rich legacy of politicised DIY cultural subversion to resist the conflicting and ostracized practises of modern-day girlhood.

Riot grrrl: how it began

The story of riot grrrl has its roots in the pristine small American town of Olympia, in Washington State. The liberal Evergreen College was a kind of catalyst, encouraging students to pursue their own programmes of study and soon Olympia became periodically flooded with artistic, alternative and radical free-thinking individuals.

Historically, Olympia has profited from an durable gender-balanced music scene, support for independent ways of producing art and music as well as a strong feminist artistic and cultural legacy. In the early 1980s Olympia was the home of a collectively-owned store called Girl City in which artists such as Stella Marrs, Dana Squires, Julie Fay and Lois Maffeo with her rock radio show on KAOS, Olympia's community radio station whose 80% of music broadcast was DIY.

There were other Olympia-based independent record label like K- records, set up in 1982 by Calvin Johnson, who later formed the band Beat Happening with Heather Lewis, Laura Carter, and Bret Lunsford.

Beat Happening, encouraged by bohemian ideals, created lo-fi twee-pop music and revelled in a celebration of amateurship (the drummer looks always off- beat), lovability and innocence, a set of ideas that was later termed 'love rock'. One pivot element of Johnson's aesthetic was the return to youth with celebrations of the pastimes of a drown away era.

Beat Happening invigorated their audiences to build loyal non-competitive communities, creating an atmosphere that opened up creative opportunities and possibilities for many women and girls who were later involved in riot grrrl.

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[14] G. Debord (1967), *The Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit.

Another key figure in this panorama is Kathleen Hannah, former singer and guitarist in the band Bikini Kill. To her we can also kind of redirect the term " third wave feminism".

The third wave of feminism began in a time when the direction was to refer to everything as "post-feminist." It was widely postulated that feminism was off and was no longer a necessary as a political or social force in the "developed" world. Due to this, along with its relative initiation, third wave feminism is not studied as often or given as much respect as the first and second waves. While it is admitted that the third wave has been less definite by specific legal and political stages as the first wave was by suffrage and the second was by reproductive rights, it does have a concrete set of values if one chooses to look for them.

Third wave feminism in many respects worked to change the schemes that the first two waves fought to gain rights from. The third wave sought to bring down the ideologies that bred them.

The main idea of the third wave feminist movement was to fight the cultural ideologies that trained women to be acquiescent to men despite of their legal status. One major representation of this struggle was in the area of rape and other crimes against women.

The third wave feminists wanted to put women in a point where they would no longer be victims in the first place. The method for accomplishing these aims also sets the third wave apart from the second wave. Rather than highly organized protests, the new feminists relied on transformation at a more personal level. They emphasized the importance of the individual. They organized workshops and conferences to show women how to take up more space in the world. These conferences were meant to boost women to throw off the patriarchal ideas of femininity as quiet, small, obliging, weak, etc.

> They wanted individual women to discover their voices and be able to express their political views more effectively without the fear of being labelled as "bitchy," "difficult," "annoying," etc. They were focused on taking the legal powers that had been won by their predecessors and retrain women to take them on. What good are legal powers if women still don't feel as though they are "good enough" to exercise them?[15]

Because it focused more on the ability of women to participate in a political discourse rather than a set political platform many critics claim that it is not a legitimate political phenomenon. This idea however just exposes the patriarchy that keeps women from being taken seriously in the political discourse. This was invalid because it involves women teaching and communicating with other women outside of the traditional framework of patriarchal politics.

> But for the girls and women who participated in it, it was as real and legitimate as any movement before it. It was their attempt to create a political and social climate where women could truly be equal citizens of the so-called developed world.[16]

A large part of the riot grrrl movement was collective. It is not astonishing that the Underground Pop Convention is viewed as a major landmark in riot grrrl history because so much of their spirit came from its intense interconnectivity. More than anything else, riot grrrl was a way for a lonely teenage girl having revolutionary political thoughts to find uniqueness in otherness. As a large part of riot grrrl had to do with the DIY spirit of girls breaking into the world of cultural production these productions formed a perfect route for a discourse in a demographic that is often lacking in openings. Before the internet became as popular as it is today and forums and social networking site abounded, riot grrrl gave young women another way to gather even if they never met. The music, the zine, the films were all ways in which riot grrrls networked. Once established, this network was put to a variety of uses by different sectors of the movement. The sense of interconnection ran throughout the movement itself as well with each individual aspect aiding the others.

> Self-defense classes were taught at concerts and written about in zines while zines were distributed as concerts and often featured interviews and articles about bands. The whole movement worked together to spread awareness about the issues and recruit help. The issues themselves changed often and it is difficult to pinpoint a riot grrrl agenda because with so many different types of women and girls involved there're bound to be more than a few differing opinions. But regardless of the specific issues the riot grrrl machine was truly god-

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[15] VV.AA (2013) *The Riot Grrrl Collection*, p.37, Feminist Press at The City University of New York.

[16] https://www.mtholyoke.edu/~freem20n/classweb/Message.html.

like in its ability to convey information quickly and cheaply through one of the most disconnected demographics of the time.[17]

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4.4. Resistance? Through Rituals: politics and rock culture during the last military dictatorship in Argentina (1976-1983)

Julián Delgado [1]

Abstract

The relationship between Argentine rock culture and the last dictatorship (1976-1983) has usually been analyzed through the concept of resistance. Following the approaches proposed by Stuart Hall and the Birmingham CCCS in their classic work Resistance through rituals, the scholars who have studied the rock scene in Argentina during the military government stated that this pair represented "unbridgeable ways of seeing the world" (Pujol, 2013, p. 9). In a pioneering work, Pablo Vila affirmed that rock nacional —understood more as a social space than as a distinctive music genre— "served to give voice to the thought of youth, silenced by a violent and authoritarian society" (1987, p. 129). The statement has become a sort of milestone.

This paper proposes a discussion about the changing political meanings of a rock culture that became, in a time of violent repression and authoritarian reconstruction of Argentine society, a mass phenomenon. Is the traditional concept of resistance still useful to explain the sociocultural and political role that rock played throughout those years or does it undermine the development of a more complex (and perhaps critical) understanding of that process? Crossing borders —between keeping under and going mainstream, between staying in the country and leaving it, between contesting State power and negotiating with it— Argentinian rock scene profoundly transformed during the 1976-1983 period. Just as Argentine society as a whole did.

Keywords: Argentina, rock music, dictatorship.

Introduction

There are certain events that condense a very heavy burden of meanings. Sui Generis' last concerts took place on 5 September 1975 at the *Estadio Luna Park* of Buenos Aires city. They represent -from multiple points of view- a break in the history of local rock. Moreover, they point out a crucial moment in Argentina's recent history.

That day, the group ended its dizzying career playing for a crowd of 36 thousand people, mostly young (*Pelo*, 1975, p. 3). It was a massive audience, one that just a few years ago would have been even impossible to envisage for any local rock band: whether understood in terms of numbers or public visibility, the marginality of rock seemed to have come to an end. The inaugural significance of the event contrasted, however, with the socio-political situation. A few months later, a *coup d'état* led by the Armed Forces took place. Rapidly, the new government implemented a terrorist regime, based on the systematic practice of disappearing people (Duhalde, 1989). Censorship, police arrests and repressive laws developed in the preceding years acquired a qualitatively different dimension when a sector of the population -mainly composed of young people and workers- was abducted, tortured and murdered through clandestine methods (Calveiro, 2008; Franco, 2012). That is why the historian Valeria Manzano states that "in fact, Sui Generis' concert was the last mass gathering of any kind before the military again imposed dictatorship in March 1976" (2014, p. 425). The concerts of the *Estadio Luna Park* might be understood then, from this different perspective, not as the beginning of something, but as a closure act, the end of an age.

In any case, the harshness of the new regime did not necessarily harm local rock culture. Even if sociability conditions -of young people particularly- were affected by military control, the dictatorial project did not prevent the massive success suggested by Sui Generis' shows. It seemed, instead, to give it a strong boost. Between 1976 and 1983, rock acquired an enormous popularity in Argentina. Whether read in terms of music production, commercial circulation or dissemination of practices, values and mores associated with rock culture, the change became eloquent (Berti, 2013). A mainly *underground* phenomenon became *mainstream* –redefining, on its way, the meanings of *underground* itself-.

Therefore, Sui Generis' last concerts announced this massification. However, they could also be interpreted in an opposite way, that is, as an historical ending. How could this ambivalence be explained?

The tension condensed in that big event allows to consider the transformations of Argentine rock during military dictatorship of 1976-1983 as a relevant historical research problem. It supposes both an epistemological question and –it should be admitted- an uncomfortable political issue as well. The project that intended to restrain society also stimulated and legitimated rock. How could this be possible? If those shows of 1975 functioned as a sort of hinge, one big question remains still unanswered: which doors were opened and which were closed in the process?

State terrorism and the massification of Argentine rock during military dictatorship, 1976-1983

On March 24, 1976 a *coup d'état* took place in Argentina. Lead by the military and supported by different civil sectors, the new government called itself *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional* (National Reorganization Process). The chosen name announced quite transparently its main goal: to radically transform society[2].

Though it was based on the premise of assassinating a sector of the population (the so-called process of "surgical removal" of an evil without cure), the new repressive mechanism was basically a terrorist one -it was founded on the presumption that the enemy was internal and ideological and the conviction that only the fear of retaliation could convince subjects to absolutely accept *status quo*-. Coordinated by the State structure, the authoritarian methodology focused then on the novel figure of the *desaparecido* (the missing person). Instead of being publicly exposed or absolutely secreted, the annihilation of political enemies by the dictatorship was as evident as impossible to confirm. By this means, the military operated both on bodies and minds: they pursued the creation of a new dominant subjectivity, permeated by fear, individualism, passivity, lack of interest and acceptance.

In her research about the characteristics and implications of the military repression during these years, Pilar Calveiro points out that:

> Concentration camps, that secret that everybody fears, many do not know and some refuse to accept, is only possible when State's totalizing attempt finds its molecular expression -it plunges deeply into society, permeating it and nurturing from it. That is why they are a specific repressive modality, whose particularity cannot be dismissed. Concentration camps do not exist in every society. There are many murderous powers; it could almost be said that they all are in some way. But not all powers are concentracionary (…). Analyzing the concentration camp, as a repressive modality, can be useful to understand the characteristics of *a power that circulated through the social tissue and cannot have disappeared*. If the illusion of power founds in its ability to disappear what is dysfunctional, *it is also illusory that the civil society supposes that the disappearing power can disappear, by a non-existent magic*. (1998, p. 16)

The last military dictatorship was qualitatively different from other previous political regimes, radically innovative, because it not only tried to contain society, but to affect it, to reorganize it. It made an effort to restore the values of the legitimate and the illegitimate, to specify what was admitted and what was not. It worked hard to define what it was impossible to do, but also -and mainly- what it should be done. While its success is difficult to measure, its dynamic role in the shaping of living conditions must be taken into account to understand any socio-cultural phenomenon of the period.

Argentine rock is no exception to this statement. Since the late Sixties, this musical and cultural phenomenon rapidly flourished in the country in a powerful and unique manner[3]. In a historical context defined by political radicalization and intense social mobilization, young rockers -whether musicians, cultural promoters, or simple fans- developed their own practices and ways of life within a vast youth culture of contestation (Cattaruzza, 1997; Manzano, 2014). Even if it occupied a marginal position with respect to traditional or revolutionary political activism (specially the prominent guerrilla groups), rock culture emerged in those early years as a significant sphere of cultural and political socialization that expressed the diverse modernizing dynamics of Argentine society.

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[2] A complete history of the *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional* can be found in Palermo and Novaro (2006).

[3] Argentine rock was a musical expression that, while inspired by the English-speaking models, quickly acquired its own characteristics: the use of the Spanish language on the lyrics, the fusion with other national musical genres and the development of an original poetic and musical imagination based on its own short but powerful history. New sociability circles took shape around it and a series of political meanings were configured.

The impact of the 1976 *coup d'état*, as noted above, was ambiguous for Argentine rock. On the one hand, the spaces for gathering and participation were restricted and controlled, and any explicit opposition to the political regime was repressed. On the other hand, nonetheless, music and rock culture started occupying the center of the socio-cultural scene during those authoritarian years. Symptomatically, as Pablo Vila explains, it was during this transitional period that what used to be called *música progresiva argentina* (national progressive music) became *rock nacional* (1989, p. 10)[4]. How could these transformations be interpreted by considering the military government construction? What links can be established between rock massification and the goals sought by State terrorism, the particular repressive mechanism developed in Argentina?

New perspectives on Argentine rock during the last military dictatorship

"It is not by chance that this change in the use of the labels occurred during the dictatorship in the seventies, when the youth movement more strongly than ever needed a means to construct its identity" (1989, p. 10), states Vila. In a series of pioneering articles (1987, 1989), the author offered an explanation to the issue of rock massification during the last military dictatorship that has become a sort of milestone.

According to Vila, in the face of the closure of other participation spheres (mainly those related to political and student activism), young people found in rock concerts a place where they could somehow resist military repression and reconstruct an identity of their own:

> While the student movement and the political youth movements slowly disappeared as frames of reference and support for collective identities, the *rock nacional* movement established itself as the sphere within which a 'we' was constructed, a 'we' that surpassed the boundaries of the traditional fans. Thus, going to concerts and listening to records with groups of friends became privileged activities, through which broad sectors of the young sought to preserve their identity in a context in which they felt threatened by the military by virtue of their age. (1989, p. 15)

Following the arguments developed by Stuart Hall and other researchers of the Birmingham *Contemporary Center for Cultural Studies* (CCCS) (Hall and Jefferson, 2003), Vila states that Argentine rock was a cultural resistance movement that "in the concerts (like rituals) (…) celebrated itself and confirmed the presence of the collective actor whose identity had been questioned by the military regime" (1989, p. 15). In his perspective, therefore, there would be no paradox in the process of rock massification that occurred precisely between 1976 and 1983; its increasing popularity was a consequence of the social role it fulfilled during the violently repressive *Proceso de Reorganización Nacional*. Rock music and culture, he concludes, became a "genuine phenomenon of cultural resistance" that "was *highly dysfunctional* for the regime" (1987, p. 129).

However, this antagonism between rock and dictatorship does not seem so easy to be confirmed in the facts. Based on the evidence, it must be admitted that the massification of Argentine rock still stands as research problem and an unpleasant political question. It is necessary to emphasize, for example, that while guerrilla groups were violently repressed, several political and student organizations and trade unions were dissolved and thousands of activists persecuted, rock culture remained distant from the repressive focus of the dictatorship. Numbers, though never sufficient to represent repressive phenomenon in its whole dimension, indicate this lack of concern. There are no *desaparecidos* that were rock musicians or were involved in rock production, circulation or broadcasting. There were no exiles among them, *stricto sensu*; only some made the individual choice to leave the country in face of the oppressive political climate, rather than being forced to do so by specific pressures[5]. Besides, although all musicians had to be necessarily more cautious when writing their lyrics, there were few rock songs in the blacklists distributed by the government[6]. In fact, a series of documents of the province of Buenos Aires Intelligence Agency

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[4] An extended consideration on the label *rock nacional* on Alabarces (1993, pp. 23-30).

[5] Due to various personal circumstances, Pappo, Moris, Litto Nebbia, Charly García, David Lebón, Andrés Calamaro and Miguel Abuelo, among others went abroad during the period.

[6] Apart from any militant expression, which was rapidly banned, censorship continued being strongly associated to morality campaigns; it covered a wide range of musical genres –from folkloric to commercial music. In 2009, the COMFER (*Comité Federal de Radiodifusión*), published the secret document "Cantables cuyas letras se consideran no aptas para ser difundidas por los servicios de radiodifusión" ("Songs whose lyrics are considered unsuitable to be broadcasted") issued by the last military dictatorship. The blacklist of 221 songs shows clearly how censorship functioned in this moral perspective. Among a varied list

(DIPBA) shows that, unlike what happened with other music genres, the military regime understood rock not as a subversive expression but only as focus of potential agitation[7]. As for the military and police raids, they occurred indeed throughout dictatorship; however, they constituted –like censorship- a long-term practice (Martinez et al., 1998; Avellaneda, 1986). Its recurrence indicates deep lines of continuity between dictatorship and precedent and subsequent democratic governments.

In conclusion, from a different point of view, the strong dichotomy between the rock phenomenon and the military regime dissipates. This claim does not certainly overshadow the fact that repression fell with special emphasis on youth, affecting the possibilities of rock musicians and fans. As Valeria Manzano asserts, by 1974:

> a broad and dreadful rightist backlash had been unleashed: it targeted young militants and rockers alike as supposed links in a chain that included, in the perception of rightists and many other Argentineans, drug consumption, subversion, and deviancy. Youth had become the locus of potential danger for the national body, that which the military in 1976 had proclaimed its duty to heal. (2014, p. 427)

Yet the "tremendous boom" of concerts detected by Vila (1987, p. 133) in 1976 and 1977 and that Sergio Pujol finds in 1981 (2013, p. 171), and -more generally- the continuous and increasing organization of rock shows, many of them in big theatres or stadiums, contradict the image of a rock movement resisting persecutions and describe a much more ambiguous and contradictory scene. On 30 December 1980, for example, Serú Girán played for an estimated audience of 60 thousand people. The group played there his song "La grasa de las capitales", insisting that "no se banca más" ("it's not tolerable anymore"). The free concert, nevertheless, was promoted by the State television channel and took place at the estate of the Argentine Rural Society (SRA), one of the most powerful economic corporations of the country, strongly associated to the regime.

Even if military did not like rock or morally disapproved it, tolerance, and not hostility appears as the main attitude they chose and maintained towards it. An attitude they definitely did not held with other kinds of artistic or political expressions. The massification process, consequently, does not necessarily support the resistance hypothesis. It can also function as its perfect counterexample.

Resistance? Through Rituals: State terrorism and the (re)construction of subjectivity

Between 1976 and 1983 the Argentine State, led by the Armed Forces, assassinated an estimated number of 20,000 people, most of which are still *desaparecidos*. The concealment of crimes coexisted with its undeniable existence. This repressive strategy had, as noted above, a basic objective: to generate terror within the population, thus encouraging political demobilization and passivity. Dictatorial authoritarianism was, indeed, much wider; it featured censorship, police arrests, and the suspension of republicanism or any kind of political activity.

Considering this historical context, should not the process of massification of rock be interpreted in a substantially different way? How did this development become possible? Why did the military not strongly pursue rock culture or censor rock music? Why did they not prohibit concerts, even if they knew these meetings enabled society to express criticisms to their government?

The concept of resistance, understood in a very restricted and operative sense –this is, as a social movement explicitly organized in defense of a particular cause-, does not seem appropriate to describe a socio-cultural phenomenon like rock. It is impossible to affirm that rock musicians or fans have had a distinctive and common program or an unequivocal will to confront the military. For a broader definition, it does not work much better. If resistance is, as Pablo Alabarces suggests, "the ability of sectors in a subaltern position to develop actions that can be interpreted (…) as indicating or willing to modify domination relationships" (2008, p. 23), any sort of expression that do not completely reproduce the dominant discourse could be presented as an act of political opposition.

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of songs and artists (Cacho Castaña, Alfredo Zitarrosa or Donna Summer) there were only eight Argentine rock songs: "Violencia en el parque" (1973) by Aquelarre, "San Lorenzo" (1972) by Billy Bond, "Canción de amor para Francisca y su hijita", "Tema de los mosquitos", "La historia esta" y "Las dulces promesas" (todas de 1978) by León Gieco, "Ayer nomás" (1970) by Moris and Pipo Lernoud, and "Me gusta ese tajo" (1972) by Luis Alberto Spinetta. For a history of censorship in Argentine during the period 1960-1983, see Avellaneda, 1986.

[7] Secretaría de Inteligencia del Estado, "Antecedentes del conjunto musical 'Almendra'", Mesa Ds. Factor "Varios", Carpeta 15.321, DIPPBA; Secretaría de Inteligencia del Estado, "Antecedentes ideológicos de artistas nacionales y extranjeros que desarrollan actividades en la Argentina", Mesa "Referencia", Carpeta 17.479, DIPPBA.

Though it cannot be simply rejected, this explanation dismisses the ambiguities and contradictions that –in the light of what was said- define rock culture during the period 1976-1983. It might be politically correct, and it is evidently more pleasant: but it is epistemologically restricting.

It seems more appropriate, instead, to study rock transformations by considering what Roberto Pittaluga has described as the reconfiguration of the "representative frames that define representability" (2014, p. 2) that occurred during the National Reorganization Process. Pittaluga explains that the logic of silence that spread over those years had profound and lasting consequences on Argentine society. "There are those who understand silence as an act of resistance and fidelity to principles, but I found it more reasonable to recognize it as the emergence of a new subjectivity, aloof from its own past and from all political discourse", he suggests. The military regime promoted, according to the author, the creation of a new "subjective figuration" by which "staying alive supposed becoming mute; a muteness that had a weighty political meaning" (2014, p. 6). From this perspective, rather than symbolizing opposition strategies or embodying acceptance of repressive actions, rock massification process could represent, by its ambivalence and difference with other more radically political expressions, the success of State terrorism and its social consequences.

According to Lawrence Grossberg, "understanding how rock functions requires that it be continuously placed back into its context to ask what were its conditions of possibility and what were the conditions constantly constraining its possibilities" (1992, p. 134). Throughout the last military dictatorship, Argentine rock took advantage of its conditions of possibility; it changed and became a popular phenomenon. But it was also affected, constrained, and limited by these conditions of possibility that were -at least to some extent- imposed from the outside. It is true that, as Valeria Manzano explains, even if the government set up on March 24th, 1976 had its well-defined goals, "neither were historical breaks easily implemented nor the 'authority-reconstitution' project completely imposed (…)" because "the past associated with the libertarian and revolutionary movements of the 1960s and early 1970s was simply too close to produce a definitive break". Nevertheless, it must be admitted that "the military tried hard, and in some respects, they achieved major success (…). Political activism and its connection with youth and change", Manzano concludes, "(…) would lose its utopian meanings, gone with the (youthful) bodies of thousands of people" (2014, pp. 246-247).

During the early seventies, a time of political activism and social mobilization, Argentine rock occupied a secondary position. However, since 1976, rock progressively assumed a prominent socio-cultural role. This change has traditionally being explained by the theory of resistance. I state, by contrary, that rock success does not necessarily symbolize an opposition to the regime; still more, it represents quite the contrary. The National Reorganization Process aimed to alter radically the subjectivities; it tried to demolish the foundations of a society that was challenging hegemonic power. The enormous impact rock music and culture had in Argentina during the realization of this repressive project illustrates the achievements of the military and epitomizes, in its own way, the end of a time of social contestation. Even if it expresses a social disapproval, rock massification carries the indelible traces of a political defeat. Far away from the revolutionary ideals, it is a *product* of State terrorism and it announces, at last, the beginning of a new era.

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4.5. Problematizing the idea of subculture: a collective theoretical and practical approach

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Abstract

This paper presents part of the work developed by the History and Theory of Culture Seminar Series during its first course with the idea of confirming that collaborative working dynamics are one of the best tools for researchers to create critical knowledge and approach different subjects. To do that, and after an introductory epigraph to the Seminar's activity, we will share some of the questions and thoughts raised after discussing Resistance through Rituals as an evidence of the benefits of this way of working.

Keywords: subculture, reading groups, cultural history, critical theory.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present part of the work developed by the History and Theory of Culture Seminar Series during its first course and confirm that collaborative working dynamics are one of the best tools for researchers to create critical knowledge and approach different subjects.

Therefore the paper is divided in two halves. The first one is dedicated to explain briefly the existence of this project, all the activities done during this first year and how does the Seminar work.

After this necessary contextualization we would like to share the results of the working session dedicated to subcultures. Our goal is not to demonstrate that we found a new revolutionary paradigm within subcultural theory, quite the opposite. We want to share the questions and thoughts raised after a two hours discussion held by a group of historians about *Resistance through Rituals* as an evidence of the benefits of collaborative reading and working for young scholars and if it was possible, to get some feedback from the rest of academic community in order to keep on working and improving this Seminar Series.

The "Practical Approach": introducing the History and Theory of Culture Seminar Series.

The History and Theory of Culture Seminar Series (*Seminario de Historia y Teoría de la Cultura*) in the Department of Contemporary History (Complutense University of Madrid) was born firstly as an answer to the lack of an horizontal and democratic space for scientific debate in the department -where there's hardly ever any kind of feedback among researchers- and where the master class is still the dominant way of understanding the transmission of knowledge. Secondly we tried to place contemporary popular culture where it should be in a Contemporary History department: highlighting popular culture is a way of breaking the hegemony of big discourses and big political and economic issues within contemporary history.

How can we do it?

The Reading Group was our first proposal: a very popular and consolidate method for producing knowledge in European and American Universities, there was no active reading group in the Department, nor a seminar on popular culture or cultural studies. So, we thought that it would be a good way for covering various aspects of research in the History and Theory of Culture: our main goal would be working together to achieve specified goals as well as discussing about readings.

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What kind of readings? Being our first experience working with this issues we thought that the readings should be mandatory readings: some classic texts of our field with some examples of the latest works would be enough to generate discussions about some of the most important issues in the field. The main goal of the reading group was to raise some questions of interpretation and methodology that will help us to think about what is and which is the role displayed by popular culture in the contemporary western societies. Our methodology is based on focusing more closely on the texts and above all on three mandatory things: 1) the main argument, 2) the form of the text and 3) the relations between form and argument.

All very easy to say, all very hard to do: the learning outcomes we would like to reach were:

- To assess the strengths and weaknesses of scholarly interpretations in relevant academic literature
- To learn to use theoretical tools in a critical way
- To learn from each other –helping each other too- in order to generate collective knowledge

In many ways, the reading group depended crucially on the active and collective participation of the people and we are pleased to say that, during this year, the participants have been more than active. Based on a 2 hours session per month, the dynamics of the reading group consisted on a brief introduction to both the texts (one compulsory and one complementary) and their authors followed by an open debate in which each of the attendant students expressed their thoughts about the ideas discussed. Sharing different opinions influenced by different theoretical backgrounds has produced very interesting results: according to these different backgrounds every student has developed a common approach to each of the subjects highlighting one point, focusing on another and finding different theoretical or practical weaknesses. From all these views we have tried to reach in each session a series of common conclusions proving that this democratic and horizontal way of working generates valid and rewarding knowledge.

A complete list of this last course's reading is included here in order to show the Seminar's orientation:

FIRST QUARTER READINGS

1st session - Tuesday 14 October 2014
Compulsory reading:
Williams, R. (2008). La cultura como algo ordinario. In A. García Ruiz (ed.), *Raymond Williams. Historia y cultura común.* (pp. 37-62). Madrid: La Catarata.
Complementary reading:
Adorno, T. and Horkheimer, M. (1998). La ind ustria cultural. Ilustración como engaño de masas. In T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, *Dialéctica de la ilustración. Fragmentos filosóficos.* (pp. 165-212). Madrid: Editorial Trotta.

2nd session – Tuesday 11 November 2014
Compulsory reading:
Chartier R. (1994). Cultura popular, retorno a un concepto historiográfico. *Manuscrits: Revista d'historia moderna*, 12, 43-62.
Complementary reading:
Ginzburg, C. (2001). Prefacio. In C. Ginzburg, *El queso y los gusanos. El cosmos según un molinero del siglo XVI.* (pp. 9-28). Barcelona: Ediciones Península.

3rd session – Tuesday 9 December 2014
Compulsory reading:
Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T. and Roberts, B. (2014). Subculturas, culturas y clase. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds.), *Rituales de resistencia. Subculturas juveniles en la Gran Bretaña de posguerra.* (pp. 61-142). Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.
Complementary reading:
Clarke, J. (20014). Estilo. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds.), *Rituales de resistencia. Subculturas juveniles en la Gran Bretaña de posguerra.* (pp. 271-291). Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.
4th session – Tuesday 13 January 2015
Compulsory reading:
Jenkins, H. (2008). Photoshop para la democracia: la nueva relación entre política y cultura popular. In H. Jenkins, *Convergence culture. La cultura de la convergencia de los medios de comunicación*. (pp. 209-238). Barcelona: Paidós.
Complementary reading:

Dorfman, A. and Mattelart, A. (2012). La máquina de las ideas. In A. Dorfman and A. Mattelart, *Para leer al pato Donald. Comunicación de masas y colonialismo.* (pp. 115-137). Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

The readings were sent by email 15 days before each session. During the first quarter we (Fernando and José Emilio, both authors of this papers and the Seminar's coordinators) were leading the sessions, doing the introduction for the readings and asking some questions in order to focus the discussion to the main issues. Most of the times the discussions were vivid and produced a fruitful debate among the participants. All these sessions were recorded and sent by email to each one of the participants in order to have the chance of rethink about the main points of the sessions. Although the sessions were running well during the second quarter we decided to ask for people to lead them: some students were volunteers (Pablo Sánchez López, Patricia Gil Salgado y Federico Peñate Domínguez) and decided to add some new text proposals, that is why most of the second quarter reading list was made by them:

SECOND QUARTER READINGS

5th session - Monday 09 February 2015
Compulsory reading:
Goffman, E. (1991). La ritualización de la feminidad (1976). In E. Goffman, *Los momentos y sus hombres.* (pp. 135-169). Barcelona: Paidós.
Complementary reading:
Hall, S. (2009). The spectacle of the other. In S. Hall (ed.), *Representations. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* (pp.223-279). London: Sage and The Open University.

6th session – Tuesday 10 March 2015
Compulsory readings:
Rincón, A. (2014). Introducción: Cine, Género y Poder. In A. Rincón, *Representaciones de género en el cine español (1939-1982). Figuras y Fisuras.* (pp.15-27), Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.
Rincón, A. (2014). Conclusión. In A. Rincón, *Representaciones de género en el cine español (1939-1982). Figuras y Fisuras.* (pp. 337-349). Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.
Complementary reading:
Abril Curto, G. (2010). Cultura visual y espacio público-político. *Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*, vol. 15, 21-36.

7th session – Tuesday 14 April 2015
Compulsory reading:
Morley, D. (1998). Populismo, revisionismo y los "nuevos" estudios de audiencia. In Curran, J., Morley, D. and Walkerdine, V. (eds.), *Estudios culturales y comunicación. Análisis, producción y consumo cultural de las políticas de identidad y el posmodernismo.* (pp. 417-437). Barcelona: Paidós.
Complementary readings:
Curran, J. (1998). El nuevo revisionismo en los estudios de comunicación: una revaluación. In Curran, J., Morley, D. and Walkerdine, V. (eds.), *Estudios culturales y comunicación. Análisis, producción y consumo cultural de las políticas de identidad y el posmodernismo.* (pp. 383-415). Barcelona: Paidós.
Curran, J. (1998). Debate mediático: una réplica. In Curran, J., Morley, D. and Walkerdine, V. (eds.), *Estudios culturales y comunicación. Análisis, producción y consumo cultural de las políticas de identidad y el posmodernismo.* (pp. 439-454). Barcelona: Paidós.

8th session – Tuesday 12 May 2015
Compulsory reading:
Crabtree, G. (2013). Modding as digital reenactment: A case study of the battlefield series. In A. B.R. Elliot & M.W. Kapell (eds.), *Playing with the Past: Digital Games and the Simulation of History.* (pp. 199-212). London: Bloomsbury.
Complementary reading:
Juul, J. (2005). Video games and the classic game model. In J. Juul, *Half-real: video games between rules and fictional worlds.* (pp. 24-54). Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press.

The closing session entitled: *Historia y Teoría de la cultura, un taller de lecturas: los resultados provisionales de un proyecto en desarrollo* (8 June 2015) was leaded by us (the coordinators) and it was a discussion about the future of the reading group: the students gave us their impressions about the whole course sharing with us some

critics and comments in order to improve the results of our project. All of them were pretty interesting and we would like to summarize some of them:

- To write overviews with the conclusions of each session.
- Each mandatory text should be in the opposite approach from the other one in order to compare them from a critical point of view.
- To focus the whole course on a specific issue, wide enough to be analyzed in different sessions.
- To have the chance to do research on specific issues arose during the course
- To do extraordinary sessions as a working group, supervising collectively each research.

The parallel activities. During these months we did some parallel activities in-and-out of the Academia; here you got some of them:

- Book Launch: *Rituales de Resistencia*, published by Traficantes de Sueños (translation of the seminal book from the CCCS: *Resistance through Rituals*). 16 December 2014 at 11:30am. We organized this event in the Department of Contemporary History (UCM) in the room 21 (10th floor) with the support of the Director of the Department and the staff of Traficantes de Sueños: two people from the Publishing house came to the University to do a talk about the book but there were not enough audience –most of the students were doing exams on those days- so, under those circumstances, we decided to cancel the event with the deal of organizing another event next year. While events can fail for many reasons, we contend that the main reason was a problem with the schedule: we did not realize that during those days it was the examination period so most of the students could not attend the event. It was our first activity, the first time that we organized a book launch with a publishing house but we failed. Indeed, it was a deception but, as Samuel Beckett said, we decided to try again even if we will fail again, we will fail better.
- Book Launch and Symposium at Traficantes de Sueños Bookstore (Madrid): We decided to attend the Symposium *Culturas juveniles* hoy organized by Traficantes de Sueños (22 January 2015 from 4:00pm to 9:00pm) with brilliant speakers as **Carles Feixa** (Department of Geography and Sociology, University of Lleida, JOVIS, European Youth Studies, International Sociological Association, KISMIF Project, Spain) **Amparo Lasén** (Department of Sociology, Complutense University of Madrid) **Joana Bonet** (Journalist) **Jorge Benedicto** (Department of Sociology, UNED) and **Beatriz García** (Traficantes de Sueños Staff). This successful event consisted on a mind-blowing discussion on theoretical positions to address the context of youth culture in late modernity articulating the subcultural approach as a tool for youth culture analysis. Then Carles presented the translation of the seminal classic book from the CCCS: *Resistance through Rituals* published by Traficantes de Sueños and the rest of the speakers presented his last book, *De la Generación@ a la #Generacion* (Feixa, 2014).
- "Mapas de Acción" by Yolanda Domínguez. We decided to attend the exposition organized by Yolanda Dominguez -(Madrid, 1977) visual artist, she studied Fine Arts in Madrid's Complutense University and gained an MA in Art and New Technologies at the European University of Madrid and in Contemporary Photography in Madrid's EFTI School -. She gave us some clues to understand her work as a tool for awaking social consciousness and empower people through performative and relational actions. Actions like "Poses" (a comment on female representation within the fashion industry) or "Accessible and Accessory" (a critic on the use of women's bodies as an advertising gadget). It took place on Serendipia Space (12 February 2015 at 7.30pm)

Most of the activities were closely related with the topics discussed in the reading group and we should say that we achieved our goals. Furthermore, we were very pleased to announce to our students that we were selected to do a talk in the International Conference "*Keep It Simple, Make It Fast (KISMIF), Crossing Borders of Underground Music Scenes*" (Porto, 15-17 July 2015). We thought that it would be the best place for introducing the History and Theory of Culture Seminar Series as well as some of the conclusions developed in our sessions, specially the one dedicated to discussing the idea of youth subculture. Now, after having a great time at the conference –as well as a really positive feedback-, we have no doubt it was a good idea.

Next year wishes (2015/2016)

As a conclusion for the first part of the paper, we would like to add some proposals for the next course. Please feel free to contact us if you have any further questions or concerns:

- Internationalization: We argue that creating successful social networks is the best way for achieving our goals. Moreover it is a good way for keeping up to date in changing field like this; that is why we are pleased to announce that for the next year we are going to work with a Young researcher from the University of Guadalajara (México) whose main area of research is the representation of the past in the mass media, focused on the television field.
- Reading Group: It will continue being the main activity of the History & Theory of Culture Seminar Series, but for the next year we will try to focus the whole course on a specific issue, wide enough to be analyzed in different sessions: in our last session we decided to propose the issue of the *Mass Media and Power Relations,* something that will give us the chance for working with different media (press, radio, television, photograph) and the power relations involved on them (gender, class, ethnicity).
- Working Group Sessions: as an optional parallel activity, we proposed the organization of a working group for doing research on these areas. Our main goal would be to work together over these issues in a democratic and horizontal atmosphere that help us to put into practice this way of working that generates valid and rewarding knowledge.
- Parallel Activities: We would like to continue doing parallel activities in-and-out of the Academia. We argue that it would be interesting to organize two events during the course (one in the first quarter and one in the second quarter). One of them would be a one day symposium where young researchers will present their works in progress and get feedback from an open debate between them and the audience. Possible topics for this symposium are: *Gender, Herstory and Cultural Products* and *Films and (as) popular culture and their relation with our past*. The second activity would be an encounter between scholars and people from different professional areas related with medias that usually represent the past (i.e. film producers, publishers, radio personalities, actors, scriptwriters). Working with these two world's point of view we will be able to include the non-academically-indoctrinated perspectives and their questions into the academia debate and generate a discussion about how media deal with the past and the consequences of these (non-innocent) representations. We know that planning these events would not be easy but we bet it will be of worth: Secret to success is '*Renew Or Die*.

The "theoretical approach": what happens when a group of cultural historians think about the idea of subculture?

In the first part of this paper we have seen the origins and the working dynamics of the Seminar Series. Now, in this second half, we would like to present part of it results. Thus we are going to focus on the 3rd session (9 December 2014), the one dedicated to youth subcultures, and share with you the questions and ideas produced by the open collective debate.

However before exposing those questions and theoretical issues, we should explain the reasons why we decided to work with the idea of subculture in the *Seminario de Historia y Teoría de la Cultura*. There are three main reasons behind this decision.

The first one is the importance of subculture(s) as on of the most spectacular products within popular culture. Subcultures are, in our humble opinion, one of the most interesting popular phenomena since the post-war years, when they appeared. Therefore it made sense that after two sessions in which we worked with general notions of culture (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1998; Williams, 2008) and popular culture (Chartier, 1994; Ginzburg, 2001), the third one focused on a concrete aspect of popular culture, and that was, as said before, subcultures. The way anthropology, sociology and semiotics are involved in the study of subcultures was also very appealing, as well as the fact that they are a clear example of how culture and ideology are sites of (magical) resistance and struggle against the dominant and hegemonic discourses, giving subaltern groups – working class youngsters – the chance of contesting the power dynamics in contemporary societies.

Our second reason was introducing the students attending to the Seminar Series to Cultural Studies. This discipline remains unknown for almost all the historians, as it is not normally taught during the History degree. As one of our main goals and ideals is to promote interdisciplinary frameworks we consider that Cultural Studies are a very useful tool for historians attending to their features: they, somehow, embody interdisciplinariety, they have focused on popular culture since their inception and they have always presented a high level of critical and political commitment – at least the first generation. Thus it seemed a good way of filling in some theoretical blanks in our background.

Finally, the third reason why we decided to work with subcultures in one of our session is closely related with the appearance of the Spanish translation of *Resistance Through Rituals*. Traficantes de Sueños (a publishing house from Madrid with a high level of political commitment) published in 2014 *Rituales de Resistencia* (Hall & Jefferson, 2014), the first time the book was easily available and translated in our country (although with a weak title translation, from our humble point of view).

This seemed to be both a reason for celebration and a good chance to widened our theoretical perspectives. Our commitment was such that we even organized a (failed) book launch event in our department and weeks after the session we attended as a group to a symposium on youth cultures in order to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Carles Feixa, maybe the biggest Spanish specialist on subcultures, was the main speaker in that symposium and his talk was really exciting and enriching for us.

So, once we have seen what took us to include subcultures as discussion topic, it is time to see how we organised the session itself.

Preparing the session

According to the reading group's working dynamics we had to chose two texts, which would be the basis of our debate. Considering the wide range of topics covered by *Resistance Through Rituals* (*Rituales de Resistencia*) we decided that a chapter of theoretical content should be the compulsory reading, as it will provide a wide context to understand subcultures. "Subculturas, culturas y clase" (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson & Roberts, 2014) was the best option as it gave us the general theoretical lines to approach the concept of subculture from the CCCS' point of view. Thus the complementary reading should focus on a concrete aspect of subcultural theory. Clarke's chapter on subcultural style (Clarke, 2014) suited this requirement as it deals with one of the most interesting and spectacular subcultural features. Its anthropological influences and the way it explains how these subcultural styles are at some point adopted by the dominant culture and turned into means of consumption, losing their counterhegemonic values and becoming mere fashions, were appealing enough to convince ourselves about the decision.

So, we had the texts to discuss. However we were aware that selecting only two chapters from such an important book was a way of narrowing our point of view as we were not dealing with some other aspects of subcultures as important as style. That was a risk we had to assume. Only a partial approach to the subject was possible considering the format and we think it worked pretty well, attending to the conclusions we reached.

But before presenting the results of our work we have to bear in mind that what we are going to expose is the result of an open collective debate between historians. A group of historians with different scientific interests (our research areas include: social movements such as free radios or the pro-bicycle collectives, Spanish cinema and nationalism during the 1920's, the relationship between historic narratives and videogames, female representations in Spanish photography in the 20th century, prisoner camps in Madrid during the Civil War, scientific publications during the francoist dictatorship or women and public radio from 1960 to 1975) that were dealing with subcultures almost for the first time (only one of the seminar's coordinators had read the book before). We know that we are not going to change the way subcultures are understood, that is not our goal. What we pretend is to show the outputs of this almost DIY intellectual project (no funding, almost counterhegemonic in our institution), confirm that horizontal/participatory dynamics are an inspiring and productive way of working and, why not, get some feedback from the subcultural academic community in order to keep on working and getting a deeper understanding of this phenomenon.

The session: thinking, debating and wondering about the idea of subculture

After introducing briefly both texts and some of the authors, specially Stuart Hall, and giving some notes on the history of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, we opened our debate and immediately some interesting questions were made and some of them are going to be exposed here.

The general opinion was that, somehow, the idea of subculture appears, according to our understanding of CCCS' statements, as something fixed, almost monolithic. This made us question the limits and boundaries of subcultures.

The centrality of social classes in the CCCS' analysis was the first issue we dealt with. Without denying the existence of classes and their importance, we wondered about subcultures' permeability and their boundaries. Is it possible to break with the classic dichotomy: working class-subcultures/middle class-countercultures? Could subcultures become inter-class phenomena? Could not leisure oriented activities, such as northern soul all-nighters, become a meeting point for youngsters from different social origins? Would social mobility affect somehow this apparently strict division?

Following with class issues it took us a big effort to understand clearly the relations existing between subcultures, parent culture and dominant culture and once with did it a new question appeared. If working class culture can generate subcultures and middle class culture can be the origin of countercultures, could the dominant culture generate its own version of subcultures? If it could, would they be more than mere fashion and consumerism?

Other point that attracted our attention was that some British subcultures (mods, skinheads, etc.) from post-war years are present worldwide nowadays. It seemed clear that this expansion happened once these cults had been commodified by the hegemonic culture, losing their "critical" features. Once this happens, can we talk exporting and importing subcultures? Or should we analyse it in terms of translating this subcultures into new national contexts? We considered that the second approach was the best as both time and space are crucial contextual defining elements of subcultures which raised one new question: would it be possible that subcultures lose their class features through this translation? Some examples, like the appearance of mods in Spain during the early 1980s, were briefly commented and we confirmed that this had actually happened as many of Spanish mods during those days were middle class kids that became modernists for fashion related reasons not as a way of contesting an unfruitful life.

Style issues also appeared during the session as it is one of the most interesting and astonishing subcultural features. After talking about the idea of *bricolage* and how style is constructed and developed some comments on the possible role of advertising in this process were made. Is mainstream advertising somehow involved in the development of different styles? Do subcultures own their own advertising methods and channels? How are styles spread within the limits of subcultures?

This took us to think about the different levels of belonging existing in subcultural world. Is being a member of a subculture a full time occupation? Is it possible to have different degrees of commitment with a subculture? Do these different degrees affect features such as style? Which place do subcultures have in identity generation processes? Are they dominant identities? Do they prevail over other identities such as the one provided by the job, local area or even religion?

Being historians time is an important variable for us and obviously we wondered if the analysis contained in *Rituales de Resistencia*, closely related to a specific historical context, can be still useful today. Even more, is the idea of subculture itself valid in today's context? We did not reach a consensus at this point, but it seemed clear that some important updates are needed – during the KISMIF conference we discovered the whole post-subcultures theory and we realised that there were a lot of reading waiting for regarding these issues.

To conclude with this epigraph we would like to include one last question that was raised during the seminar session: are subcultures really such a threatening phenomenon to dominant culture that they have to be incorporated and turned into commodities? Should not their lack of clear political agenda and thus their inability to produce real social changes be a reason to observe them as simply anecdotes or curiosities?

We thought it was a good idea to follow the CCCS' ideas regarding this and firmly believe that, although magically, subcultures are or were a significant site of resistance.

Conclusions

As we said we were not pretending to stir up subcultural studies. Our main goal was sharing with you this collective experience and proving that horizontal collaborative work dynamics constitute a satisfactory and worthwhile means of generating knowledge and criticism.

Different researchers, different readers, different interests and different theoretical backgrounds all combined provide a more complete approach to any subject, even more if they work with it for the first time.

Considering this our faith on the History and Theory of Culture Seminar Series grows everyday as its effectiveness has been demonstrated here.

Finally we would like to ask all the specialists on subcultures and scholars coordinating similar projects out there for feedback and recommendations. Recommended readings, new working dynamics and any piece of advice is welcome as the Seminar Series is an alive and work in progress experience.

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4.6. Retaking the tragedy: Creative practices and meanings of politics in the Bogotá hardcore

Iñaki Zárate Cantor [1]

Abstract

This work studies the hardcore scene in Bogotá in order to approach the understanding of the relationship between creative practices and the different meanings of politics that have emerged in that space, over a period comprising the past decade, focusing on a particular group of anarchist tendencies, affiliated to different political movements. It seeks no longer to describe, classify, or make an apologetic work of hardcore; it now seeks to demystify it through a critical look, to problematize the scene, to show it as a place of flesh and blood, where personal relations and affectivity have a huge important role that goes unnoticed behind the veils of a certain type of selective and outdated politics, and a music that moves and thrills but in the end is destined to the particular interests of those involved in the space. This article, then, is an overview of my master's thesis.

Keywords: hardcore, politics, creative practices, Bogotá, cultural studies.

Introduction (to the tragedy)

My work seeks to generate a reflection that serves as a precedent to whoever wants to think the Bogotá hardcore scene far beyond the slippery and seductive surface of the images and sounds, to whoever considers that hardcore can become more than just music. Therefore, it becomes a structured attempt to document the political stream of Bogota hardcore that emerged over the last decade, in terms of the relationship between its creative practices and meanings of politics.

One could say that the relationship between music and politics is crucial for understanding the creative practices of this group. However, the inquiry made through different sources (archive and interviews) gave certain turns to the investigation, which I believe constitute different contributions to the approaches that have traditionally dealt with this kind of musical groups in Cultural Studies and Social Sciences. Focusing on the methodologies of ethnographic interview and autoethnography I have been able to reconstruct the life stories of a selection of different people that remarkably influenced the development of political hardcore in Bogotá. I compiled a central life story, using it as a basis for the reconstruction of specific stories, related to the musical, political and creative life, taking affectivity as a cross-category, in tune with the dialogue between the affective turn and Cultural Studies.

> The tragedy is not primarily unhappiness or misfortune. It is rather a struggle between two opposing forces. This struggle reveals the mutual need of the forces and only remains as the dispute does not reach a point of equilibrium. Sometimes a force takes over the other, but there is never such a thing as a cancellation. Hence the inherent mobility that accompanies the tragedy and its utility for characterizing the history of worldwide and Colombian hardcore. In this way, and simply put, our hypothesis is that hardcore does not have a beginning or a homogeneous development, but is based on the clash between at least two different forces (…)[2].

I retake this concept of tragedy because I believe that it is a relevant idea in a time when different forces operate in the hardcore scene, in which the referent of political hardcore is in great disadvantage against other meanings, so for some it has become urgent to its resignification and reconstitution.

In accordance with the above, the overall objective of my work is to investigate the construction of meanings of politics through the creative practices staged by the political hardcore of Bogota. As derivations of this goal, I proposed to establish which disputes, tensions and contradictions crosses the meanings of politics in hardcore practices; examine the practices, the subjects, the creative processes and the meanings of politics that have

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constituted this group since the milestone of *Evolución Bogota Hardcore* (2002); and finally, document milestones, appropriations, the comings and goings, and the workings of the manifestations that developed this group, through a selection of archival material (printed material, digital images, digital and analog video, recovered websites and analog and digital audio).

"If not political it is not hardcore": hardcore and politics

The reconstruction of the main life story evidenced the incidence of the most important milestones of the Bogotan political hardcore in its configuration. However, it is suggested to investigate the origin of the process of politicization and the places and roles that these milestones played throughout its trajectory.

Seeds of politicization

This seeds can be understood as a gesture of initial negativity, a distancing and a reaction against the status quo. The hardcore kids of the nineties were more or less serious about the idea of being the outcasts of society, the nonconformist alternative to what mainstream represents, or the bulk of society. This implied a kind of alienation from the mainstream, a "departure" that took place in the space of the underground, where hardcore made sense for being different from what others typically listen, for its sound and lyrical content, and because it could be produced by anyone without the intervention of the music industry and the media. These ideas have a strong bias towards identity debates, which in the opinion of my interviewees are left behind with the help and the orientation provided by politics, which it is both a motivation and a good leading thread of the energies and purposes of hardcore.

Milestones

I identified five major milestones through the reconstruction of the main life story. The first was a process of deterritorialization that happened in the late nineties, which was characterized by the expansion of the hardcore scene throughout the city, whose activity was highly concentrated in the northern area. The meeting of *parches* (crews) from different areas involved antagonism and dialogue between different forms of experimenting hardcore, that were initially scattered and isolated from each other.

Second, the rupture with the extreme right wing band *Sin Salida* brought access to new ideas. *Sin Salida* occupied for a long time the space of the scene without being subjected to any criticism, but the political output that they showed in the late nineties dispelled any doubts that my interviewees had about them and facilitated a schism which would result in the possibility of thinking and building other forms of hardcore.

Figure 1 – Cover of the booklet "La tragedia del hardcore", 2011.

Figure 2 – Some flyers of hardcore shows at the end of the 1990's.
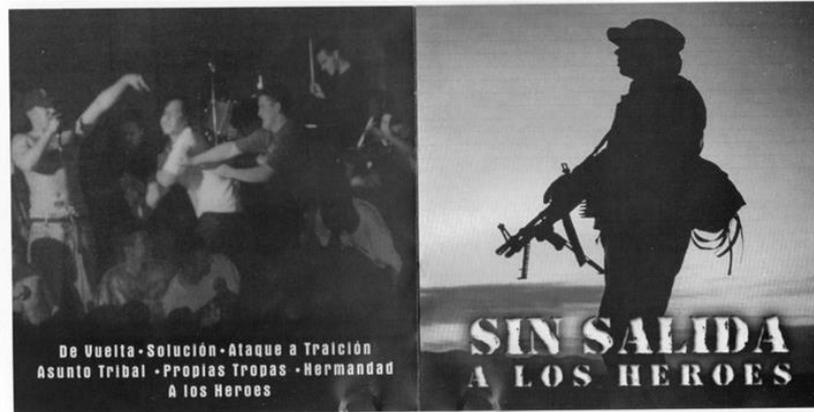
Figure 3 – Detail of the booklet of "A los héroes", a seminal record of *Sin Salida*, 1996.

Thirdly, my interviewees made a couple of trips to Brazil, arranged through their contact networks. They had the opportunity to meet the Sao Paulo hardcore scene, characterized by a high degree of politicization, organization, and coordination with the social movements. In this context, there was a significant exchange of symbolic, political and cultural capitals that enriched the seed of their political commitment, allowing them to think of a different staging from that which existed in Bogota, a political proposal open to dialogue, questioning and debate.

Fourth, the encounter with the anarcopunk in the space of the meetings of the National University anarchists was determinant to break down the prejudices between the two groups and pave the way for the possibility of feeding the experiences of either, punk and hardcore, by establishing links through which would circulate ways of understanding and working politics, creative practices, musical projects and affections.

Figure 4 – *Point Of No Return* of Sao Paulo, one of the greatest influences of the political hardcore in Bogotá.

Figure 5 – Cover of the fanzine included in the compilation Sonidos para activar la revolución (2004).

Figure 6 – Cover of the compilation Sonidos para activar la revolución (2004).

Finally, the compilation *Evolución Bogotá Hardcore* (2002) was the result of all the above processes. It was not only a statement of the management of projects under the *Do It Yourself ethics*, but it set a precedent by a radiography of that particular moment in the scene, seeking to leave behind the traditional narrative of the nineties (the Santafe de Bogota hardcore, SBHC), in favor of a new narrative. To this end, some texts were included, created from the idea of "the edge of hardcore", referring to the need to make hardcore massive, not in the sense of reaching wide audiences through mass media, but to make massive the presence and the work of the hardcore kids in conjunctural spheres of society (universities, social movements, neighborhoods, etc.), whereupon hardcore would really become something more than music. Hardcore reaches its limit when it meets politics and begins to be insufficient given its characteristics and its small size and impact on the reality of our country, so it becomes

imperative that its participants start looking for other modes of organization in coordination with social actors. Then, the scene would be transformed into a school, a gateway to politics, where those involved would come in contact with the reality of the country, with new forms of organization, with the DIY ethics, with various discussions related to politics, music, animal liberation, etc.

Hardcore/punk

Following the meeting with the anarcopunks, and in view of the impossibility of politicizing the traditional scene, my interviewees and their colleagues decided to create their own political scene: the hardcore/punk. This scene was strongly linked to the *Coordinadora Libertaria Banderas Negras* (an anarchist collective organization), an anarchist organization that was the place of convergence of the collectives and bands of my interviewees, the anarcho-punks, and other interested partners. *Contracultura* (Counterculture) was one of the most active collectives of the organization, and its goal was to connect with the hardcore/punk scene through the organization and dissemination of events and initiatives, writing texts about hardcore and political work, working in recording projects, and other activities.
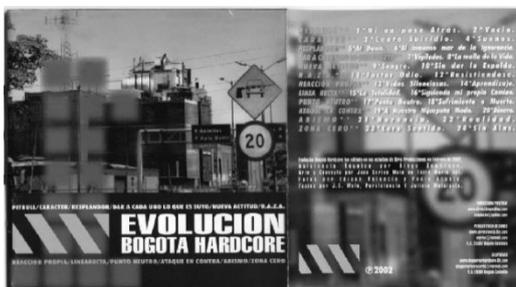
Figure 7 – Detail of the cover and the label of *Evolución Bogotá Hardcore*.

Figure 8 – Members of *Colectivo Contracultura*.

Figure 9 – Logo of the Coordinadora *Liberataria Banderas Negras*.

There's no emotion: Affective life

Passion and investment are two key elements in understanding the peculiarities of emotion in hardcore. While projects begin with a certain bet of organization, logistics, economics, communication, etc., they do not correspond to the terms of an investment in its traditional economic sense, where the quantity and quality of invested items must return in some time, expanded and improved. The interest in supporting, creating, developing and disseminating a scene project is not based initially in numbers or administrative management to generate profit, but a passion, leaving the skin on the projects; is all or nothing, sacrificing time, effort, money, affections, and so on, for hardcore, and above all, by trying to create a different space for discussion of new ideas, in line with a commitment to create a new relationship with the creative and aesthetic expressions, different from the mercantile, and not merely a musical scene. In principle, hardcore is done for the sake of doing it, but other incentives are added along the way, like politics. Besides passion, I found three demonstrations of affection: friendship, romantic relationships and the nostalgia/disenchantment-binary.

Friendship

In the conjuncture of the process of politicization, the friendships of my interviewees suffered a turn, they left behind those old friends who did not ascribe to this process, to the point of generating conflicts and hostilities; the matter is radical, condemning to irrelevance all the personal relationships that were not linked to politics. Thus, their circle of friends is reconfigured, establishing parallel bonds with people interested in politics, forming a new circle. Also, some of my interviewees think that hardcore social formations such as collectives or bands are machines

that need to be oiled, and beyond the political stakes, the affective is the lubrication for those machines, since affection can be a potent political force itself.

Romantic relationships

The emotional intensity of the romantic relationships reverberated greatly in the political development of the scene during the era of hardcore/punk. My interviewees recognize the importance of this aspect, transversal to their experience. They consider that the bonds that were established contributed to consolidate the project while they were fueling the personal experience of those involved in various ways; punks learned from the hardcore kids and vice versa, something that might not have been possible without the presence of these relationships and the invested affections. Therefore, even though some of the projects and relationships are now over, some still exist outside of music.

Nostalgia and disenchantment

Hardcore is pure disenchantment. It is ephemeral, because its uptime is really short, as the projects last at most a couple of years, and takes place in a time of life in which there is little experience, mistakes and setbacks are constant, and the vital becomings of those involved begin to generate tensions. My interviewees distinguish between the disenchantment produced by those who "sell out", especially in political and emotional terms, and the disenchantment produced by teen idols falling. Nostalgia takes place when we are unable to find in today's hardcore what once fascinated, moved and touched us, and made it part of our lives, when the scene diverts to vague logics produced from the depoliticization of the space.

"There are the instruments, it's time to make use of them": Creative practices

Most of the creative practices of hardcore orbit around the musical creation. I think that what has really changed over time are the referents to which people ascribe when they get in touch with the scene, a process that is also linked to the transformation of practices. The referents are the predominant narratives with which people find themselves when they first encounter hardcore, and through which can generate bonds and familiarity with the music and other people. The referents change over time, to the point that today the political referent created by my interviewees has lost its force and has given place to others.

The means by which the referents endure not only have to do with the number of people who belong to them, but with certain practices of transmission. Thus, recording projects are conduits through which referents can spread, and equally, the relationship between clothing and the image it produces on the interested persons, which is usually the first element that they can appropriate from hardcore. In short, the creative practices of the scene are tools that help forge the referents. In the case of political hardcore, its referent is not only formed from the introduction of certain practices that the scene was unaware of at the time, but thanks to the political use made of such practices.

Figure 10 – Main record labels of the political hardcore, Dirección Positiva Records, Persistencia Records; main bands of the political hardcore, Res Gestae and Reacción Propia.

Labels, bands and recording projects

In this section, I detail the practices related to musical creation. First, *Dirección Positiva* and *Persistencia Records*, which are record labels created by my interviewees for purposes of creating and distributing the material. These labels played a very important role in the establishment of contact networks that facilitated projects of a different nature, such as editions, events or tours. Secondly, I walk (look) the history of the two main bands of the hardcore/punk scene, *Reacción Propia* and *Res Gestae*, and I briefly outline the other bands derived from this process, *Nagaf* and *La Vendetta*.

Writing

In this section I detail the particularities of the practice of writing in the hardcore/punk scene. This practice was guided by various political uses, ranging from the dissemination of the idea of "the hardcore limit", to the construction of the historical memory of the scene. The fruits of this creative work were, first, a series of booklets called "Textos Libertarios", signed by the *Colectivo Contracultura* (Collective Counterculture), which included translations of foreign anarchist collectives, like *CrimethInc.*; second, explanatory texts accompanying the lyrics of the songs in the booklet of the CDs, whose aim was to broaden the content of the songs, or to explain some ideas that were not clear, and may include links to other topics related to the contents of the lyrics; finally, scene reports, articles for libertarian publications and fanzines.

An ideal world for men: Gender

The gender issue is presented as an initial suspicion, given the disproportionate male presence in the scene, and the relegation of the minimal role of women to the male interests. The reconstruction of the central life story realizes the marked absence of women in the Bogotá hardcore scene at the dawn of the century, which was stressed with the presence of punk girls who took part due to the encounter with anarcopunk, an event that helped to create a referent for subsequent generations of women. On the other hand, the traditional narrative of the hardcore scene of the nineties included a strong stealthy homophobia, which is a charateristic of the homosociality male spaces, which was fractured following the outbreak of homosexual subjects in the middle of the last decade, like the case of Nicolás, *Res Gestae*'s bass player, the first openly gay man in the history of the scene. However, my analysis reveals that while women have gained visibility and some prominence over time, their roles in the scene are still set by the male interests and privileges, and sexism reigns stealthy, protected by narratives like those of the "machos de izquierda" (male left wing sexists), free love instrumental for this purposes, and competition between women sponsored by men.

By way of conclusion: the tragedy does not end

The lack of an optimal generational shift process caused the referent of political hardcore to lose the dominance it had during the past decade. The key referent of today is more like the traditional narrative of the nineties than the hardcore practiced by my interviewees. Still, I believe that its commitment to reaching the limit of hardcore, by making it a gateway to politics through the political use of its practices, is a must for building a political referent, with all the problems and contradictions that it may have. Here we would also have a struggle to fill the significant of "politics" in context, because I believe that this project, in its sense of *school*, should be pierced by multiple forms and meanings of the political. Self-criticism, the appreciation of the role of collective work and practices, the recognition of both mistakes and successes, and assessing the previous experiences of others, are unavoidable tasks in the bid to build a new referent for our scene.

4.7. "I hope I die before I get old", an approach to British cinema and youth subcultures

José Emilio Pérez Martínez[1]

Abstract

Can British films dealing with youth subcultures be considered a genre within British Cinema? Are all these films just a mere coincidence or can they be understood as part of British Cinema's traditions? These are some of the questions that I will try to answer in this paper, working with some films released during the last years, locating some of their common features and analyzing if they are enough to consider this group of films a genre or a cycle within British Cinema.

Keywords: British cinema, subcultures, social realism, film genre.

Introduction

Can British films dealing with youth subcultures be considered a genre within British Cinema? Are all these films just a mere coincidence or can they be understood as part of British Cinema's traditions? These are some of the questions that I will try to answer in this paper, working with some films released during the last years.

In the last decade there has been an increase in the number of British films that deal with youth subcultures. Films such as: *The Football Factory* (Nick Love, 2004) dedicated to the casual subculture; *16 Years of Alcohol* (Richard Jobson, 2004) which narrates the story of a skinhead; *Green Street Hooligans* (Lexi Alexander, 2005), an immersion into hooliganism; *This is England* (Shane Meadows, 2006) dedicated to the skinhead subculture; *Clubbed* (Neil Thompson, 2008), dedicated to the 80s ska music scene –its clubs, music and people –; *Cass* (John S. Baird, 2008), *Awaydays* (Pat Holden, 2009) casuals; *The Firm* (Nick Love, 2009) also dedicated to the casuals; *Soulboy* (Shimmy Marcus, 2010) that focuses on the Northern Soul scene, as well as *Northern Soul* (Elaine Constantine, 2014); *Brighton Rock* (Rowan Joffe, 2010) related with mods and rockers, and *NEDS* (Peter Mullan, 2010) also dedicated to the skinhead subculture. All these films have been released in Britain and won awards[2], even international ones.

This recent increase in the number of films that deal with subcultures can be traced back to the late 60's with the appearance of *Bronco Bullfrog* (Barney Platts-Mills, 1969) a film that used some amateur actors that were actually suedeheads, an evolution of skinhead subculture. In the late 70's we find *Quadrophenia* (Franc Roddam, 1979), a film about the mod subculture, based on The Who's album of the same title (*Quadrophenia*, Polydor, 1973). In the next decade Julien Temple directed *Absolute Beginners* (1986), a film about the origins of the mod subculture – the Soho's modern jazz scene –, Franco Rossi released *Babylon* (1980), a film depicting the reggae/rasta subculture in London, and Tim Roth played the role of Trevor, the skinhead, in a TV production called *Made in Britain* (Alan Clarke, 1982). Between 1982 and 1984, *The Young Ones* (Paul Jackson and Geoff Posner), a parodic TV series on subculture, was broadcasted by BBC.

Although I am focusing on British cinema, it is interesting to highlight that subcultures have also gained public recognition in other cinemas. Since the 1990s several films about nazi skinheads have been released in countries such as USA[3], Australia[4] or even Spain[5]. Antother example could be *Foxfire* (Laurent Cantet, 2013) a French film about an American girl gang in the 1950's.

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[2] *The Football Factory* won a Kodak Award for Best Cinematography, *This is England* won eight different international awards and fourteen nominations, *Clubbed* was nominated to the Raindance Award in the British Independent Film, *Awaydays* won the Fringe Report Award to the Best Feature Film, *NEDS* won four international awards and had one nomination and *Brighton Rock* was nominated to five British awards.

[3] Films such as *American History X* (Tony Kaye, 1998) or *The Believer* (Henry Bean, 2001) among others.

[4] Romper Stomper (Geoffrey Wright, 1992) with a young Russel Crowe playing the main role.

[5] In 2005 there was a TV production based on Antonio Salas' best seller *El Diario de un Skin*, directed by Jacobo Rispa.

Among the British films listed above only one, *Brighton Rock*, is set in the 1960s, that is, in the notorious "battles" that took place between mods and rockers on the beach in Brighton in 1964. Most of the other films recreate the decades of the 70s and the 80s. *Soulboy* is set in 1974, and depicts the northern soul scene with its all-nighters and venues such as Wigan Casino (Hewitt, 2010). *NEDS* dramatises " the gritty and savage world of 1970's Glasgow" (Kwok, 2011) while *16 Years of Alcohol,* also set in Scotland in the early 70s, is a reconstruction of the memoirs of its director, Richard Jobson, former singer of the Scottish punk band The Skids (Jobson 2011). *Awaydays*, is set in 1979, the post-punk era, and is based on Kevin Sampson's novel of the same name. In Sampson's own words:

> I decided to set Awaydays in late 1979 for a few reasons. One big thing I wanted to do with the book is to show how, six months into their first term, Margaret Thatcher's government was already sewing the seeds of discontent and disillusionment among Merseyside's youth. It was like watching a virus start to take a hold - the symptoms start to show, then people start to drop, one by one, (2008).

Cass Pennant's biopic Cass focuses on the years he was the leader of the ICF (Inter City Firm, West Ham United hooligans) during the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The film is based on his autobiography Cass (Pennant 2008). Clubbed, which is based on Geoff Thompson's Watch my Back (1995), is set in Coventry in the early 80s – the years of the Two Tone musical explosion[6] – and relates his days working as a "bouncer"[7] at a club's door. Shane Meadows' *This is England* is set somewhere around the Midlands in 1983. It is based on Meadows' own experiences as "a skin growing up in Staffordshire during the 1980s" (Bonner 2006). *The Firm*, which can be considered a remake of Alan Clarke's TV production *The Firm* (1989), is set in London in 1984. Finally *The Football Factory* is set in the 1990s and is based on the best selling novel by John King (1997).

Considering these dates, it is possible to affirm that there was special interest in subcultures during the 1970s and 1980s. It is also interesting to highlight the number of films based on novels and how many of them were (auto) biographical. Literary fiction dealing with British subculture was not a new phenomenon since a writer like Richard Allen[8] had already reached success with novels based on skinheads, boot-boys, suedeheads[9], etc.

Films on subculture and British realism

The way these films are conceived also link with the British tradition of social realism which is "one of the main paradigms in Britain's film culture" (Cornut-Gentille 2006, 51). According to Raymond Williams' ideas, realism implies a "movement towards social extension" (Williams 1977, 63). By this he means that attention is turned to, up till then, hidden or marginalised groups, mainly the working class. In Hill's words, the idea that realism is linked to representations of the working class "derives in part from context, and specifically the perceived absence of (adequate) representations of this group within the dominant discursive regimes" (2000, 250).

The origin of this realistic trend in British cinema was the documentary film movement (Aitken 2001) of the 1930s, led by John Grierson (1888-1972) who thought that "documentary films could play a key role in the society as they provide an effective means of communication between the State and the audience". The aim of such films would be "promoting the understanding of the connections between the social and the cultural within the nation" (Cornut-Gentille 2006, 51). As Alan Lovell (1972, 35) highlighted, not only was an important difference established between "realism" and "escapism" but soon realistic cinema, with its origin in the documentary movement, became the main reference for an autochthonous British cinema. The decade of the 1940s was the "Golden Age" of documentary. Because of the Second World War, Great Britain needed to create a specific mood and to establish a common objective for all the population. Documentary films played an important role in achieving these aims. Films such as *Millions like Us* (Sidney Gilliat 1943), *Ships with Wings* (Sergei Nolbandov 1941) or *Waterloo Road* (Sidney Gilliat 1944) were huge successes in their time.

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[6] See Marshall (1993), Eddington (2004) and Thompson (2004).

[7] According to The Oxford Dictionary, a bouncer is "a person employed by a nightclub or similar establishment to prevent troublemakers and other unwanted people entering or to eject them from the premises" (Anon. 2011 E).

[8] Richard Allen was one of James Moffat's pen names, a famous Canadian pulp writer. He focused on writing novels about British youth cults. See Allen (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997).

[9] For detailed explanations respecting the origins and styles adopted by subcultures such as boot-boys, smoothies and suedeheads, see Roest (2011); Anon (2011 D) and Ruffy (2010)

Once the war ended, the next exponent of realism in British cinema history was the cycle of films known as British New Wave. This genre, common in the late 1950s and early 1960s, portrayed working class characters at a key moment of social and economical change. Films such as *Room at the Top* (Jack Clayton, 1959) or *A Kind of Loving* (John Schlesinger, 1962) "did not simply represent the working class but did so from a particular social perspective" (Hill 2000, 250). These films presented the existing tensions between long-standing, working-class ideals and the changes introduced in the post-war British society, that is, the clash between the traditional ideas of work, community and attachment to place with the new ideas of consumerism, mass culture and suburbanisation (Hill 2000, 250-51). During these years, one type of films prevailed over the rest of genres: 'kitchen sink films', this is films about social problems (Cornut-Gentille 2006, 55). These New Wave films extended "a degree of sympathy towards the virile, working-class male who seeks to resist the pressures towards embourgeoisement and social conformity (including domesticity)" (Hill 2000, 251), a trend that would be reinforced in the realist cinema of the 1980s and 1990s.

The British films of the 1980s and 1990s focused on the consequences Thatcherism for the working-class. The economic crisis and mass unemployment were also among the factors that weakened traditional working class identities. The decline of the traditional, working-class way of life is a prominent theme in most films of the time, and the situation of the working class is clearly linked to "the collapse of traditional heavy industries" (Hill 2000, 252). Films like *The Full Monty* (Peter Cattaneo, 1997) or *Brassed Off* (Mark Herman, 1996) deal with fractured and split working class identities caused by Thatcher's harsh economic re-adjustments and rationalisation of the industry in Britain. There is, in these films, a "re-articulation of working class identity through its relation to national and regional stereotypes and geographical marginalisation" (Hallam 2000, 268). However, a director like Ken Loach focused on working-class domestic tensions, depicting how changing gender roles affected especially male characters, and family disintegration, as in *Ladybird, Ladybird* (1994). For his part, Mike Leigh opted for exploring "the interface between the working classes and the lower middle class" (Hill 2000, 254) as in *High Hopes* (1988) or *Secrets and Lies* (1996).

I think that the cycle of films mentioned above can be considered a continuation of this British realism. All of them focus on class issues and changing gender roles but what about youth concerns? Admittedly, *Trainspotting* (Danny Boyle, 1996) dealt with youth and drug-years before the films I am interested in were released. But what distinguishes the films I propose to analyse from Danny Boyle's portrayal of the sub-world in Edinburgh is that this genre or cycle deals with young boys and girls belonging to different subcultures, each of which implies a different world view, different maps of meaning and different styles. In one word, they present or *re*-present specific cultures that co-exist in British society.

Films on subculture and questions of genre

All these films present a series of similarities: narrative devices, common sites, topics, structures and artistic features. These are a series of conventions in content and form. Can these films be considered a genre in themselves? As Chantal Cornut-Gentille (2006, 103-04) points out, following Tom Ryall's ideas, there are 3 different levels to consider when talking about genres: "genre systems", "individual genres" and "individual films". The first two elements are abstract ideas based on the analysis of films. Thus, for the critic, the first step when considering a genre would be to watch and analyse a corpus of films. Obviously the corpus of films considered in the present work are all the titles mentioned at the beginning of this paper. A film genre is considered a genre, in Cornut-Gentille's own words, as a result of:

> a general process (conscious or unconscious) through which some films are mentally associated with others due to a system of shared expectations, previously internalized by the audience after having seen some similar films (...) The appearance of a particular genre is the result or the consequence of a (tacit) agreement between the audience and the film-makers, (2000, 104).

According to Stephen Neale, genres consist of "specific systems of expectation and hypothesis that spectators bring with them to the cinema". These systems involve the knowledge of "various regimes of verisimilitude – various systems of plausibility, motivation, justification and belief". Regimes of verisimilitude entail "rules, norms and laws" (1995, 160) and these are provided through or by means of a series of conventions.

Should the critic consider these films as a genre? It is difficult to give a clear answer to this question. What I can affirm is that all these filmic texts present a series of conventions that at least make them a more or less homogeneous group and consequently they can be analysed and studied as a 'cycle', if not a genre. These conventions that give a sense of homogeneity to the cycle are going to be analysed here.

Actors

The cast can be considered a defining element when talking about films about subcultures. These films usually use unknown, almost amateur, actors, or actors from the independent/alternative cinema. Moreover, several of these actors appear in more than one film. This would be the case of Stephen Graham who plays the role of Combo in *This is England* and Godden in *Awaydays*. He had already made a name for himself as member of the cast in Guy Ritchie's *Snatch* (2000) –which is also an independent British film. When analysing *Awaydays*' cast the critic discovers that a high percentage of actors had never had a main role in their careers. For example, Nicky Bell's character in this film (Paul Carty) was his first lead in a feature-length film and Lee Battle's participation in this film as Billy Powell is the first time he appears in a film. *This is England*'s cast presents a much more surprising case: Thomas Turgoose – Shaun in the film – had never thought about acting before being chosen to play a role in this film when he was only a kid – afterwards he acted in Meadows' *Sommers Town* (2008) which reinforces this idea of continuity among these films and directors. The young Calum MacNab is Dom in *The Firm*, years before he played the role of Raff in *The Football Factory*. Again we find an example of a director, Nick Love, using the same actor in two closely related films – both are dedicated to football hooliganism. Looking back to the forerunners of this kind of film, it is interesting to note that Phil Daniel's first lead role in a film was his interpretation of Jimmy in *Quadrophenia*.

In my view, the use of unknown actors and actresses has become a convention in/of these films. It reinforces their youth appeal and gives them a certain alternative aura.

Between literary adaptations and biographical accounts

If one of heritage films' defining feature was/is the adaptation of the literary works of great masters of the past, films dealing with subcultures are also often based on British novels – in this case, not classic masterpieces but contemporary best-sellers. *Absolute Beginners* was based on Colin MacInnes' novel of the same title (1959). Rowan Joffe's *Brighton Rock* is an adaptation of Graham Greene's novel (1938). Kevin Sampson's novel *Awaydays* (1998) is the basis for Pat Holden's film. *The Football Factory* is an adaptation of a John King's novel. *Clubbed* was based on Geoff Thompson's *Watch my Back* and, as mentioned before, *Cass* is a dramatisation of Cass Pennant's own autobiography. It is also worth pointing out that *Quadrophenia,* the film which can be considered the origin of this trend, was based on an opera rock by The Who rather than on a literary work. Adaptations to the screen can therefore be read, in my opinion, as a constitutive feature of this particular film cycle.

There is another group of films within this cycle, the ones which are based, or partially based on biographical features or even autobiographical. *This is England* as its director, Shane Meadows, points out, is based on his own experiences as a twelve years old skinhead. *The Firm* contains some autobiographical features as Nick Love, the director, points out in an interview (Love 2010). He used to be a young Millwall Football Club supporter and the film reflects some of his experiences during those years. Finally *16 Years of Alcohol* is, as has been pointed out before, an autobiographical account of the director's youth. This biographical content provides these films with a particular approach to Great Britain's past. In my opinion, such reliance on lived experiences can be seen as representing a step further in the development of British social realism. Indeed, these films do not only portray the living conditions of working-class youngsters. They dramatise particular private memories, which are presented as giving these stories and extra layer of authenticity. Thus, in spite of memory's subjectivity, the autobiographical content serves to legitimize these films' discourse, differentiating them from other approaches to the past.

Representing a conflictive past

Many films about subcultures centre on past times. However, the past they deal with is not a quiet, idyllic and romantic one. Violence, unsteadiness, anxiety, drug-addiction and despair are some of the problems depicted in these films. Thus in a world in which "the main source of historical knowledge for the population are doubtlessly the audiovisual media" (Cornut-Gentille 2006, 109), these films offer a raw and bitter approach to that past. In their attempt to reflect that past reliably and in as faithful a way as possible, much use is made of real locations.

Clubs, cafés, teenager's bedrooms, pubs, terraces, record shops, etc. are therefore presented in these films with a high grade of realism. Clothes, music, television programmes, radio broadcastings, public transport are recreated to immerse the audience into the lived experiences of youths in past times. As such, these films open a window unto unknown past phenomena, and by presenting gritty pictures of life; they challenge the normative views of a grand past promoted by heritage films. In this respect, the historical content of these films can be read as another characteristic feature or convention of this genre.

Films about subcultures deal with past in a way which link them with the 'Brit-grit'. They represent a problematic past, full of tensions and closely related with working class people's experiences. Therefore it is obvious that these films do not pretend to be a way of escaping reality. They do not invoke perfect past times, quite the contrary, social, political and economical crisis and their effects over youth are issues clearly represented in these films. This fact implies two different features from my point of view. The first one is –as it was mentioned above– that representing this past the subcultural films contests the idea of the past promoted by heritage cinema and other films which present an idyllic view of past times. The second and most interesting feature is that this focus on social conflicts directly links subcultural films with present times. Problems depicted in some of these films can be directly connected to contemporary issues and this sets a series of reflections and debates about problems which are happening now – or what were happening when the films were released. Subcultural films give the critics the chance of exploring contemporary issues through representations of past times. These processes facilitate the analysis of contemporary issues such as youth problems, violence, racism, etc. through a historical perspective. Considering that all these problems are rooted in British social structure that they are not contemporary phenomena, leads consequently to analyse the past, which could be a way of finding solutions to these issues.

Subcultures: maps of meanings, worldviews, ways of life and style

As stated above, these subcultural films introduce a new social actor into their account of the British past: youth subcultures. The world they recreated is inhabited by skinheads, casuals, mods, rockers, etc. whose values and way of life are exhibited. Although these films do not exactly *celebrate* the world of violence, drugs and rage that characterises youth subcultures, their representations of this world does nevertheless serve two different purposes. On the one hand, they introduce new elements in people's view and understanding of the British past. Precisely because subcultures have never been considered part of the country's heritage, such films introduce the audience into a world of different dress codes, moral systems and maps of meaning and thus provide audiences with a window unto these closed worlds which have their own internal dynamics and meanings. Through these films spectators can better understand the role of clothes, music and violence within each subculture, and learn to differentiate one way of life from the other. Secondly, these films deal most particularly with subculture i.e. one of the ways deployed by youth to resolve their tensions with dominant culture. This can be read as a filmic device directly opposed to heritage cinema whose main asset and allure for audiences is its tendency to "praise (...) higher classes' traditional values" (Cornut-Gentille 2006, 109). Unlike heritage films' focus on the lives of wealthy aristocrats the defining element of these films is the protagonism of working-class youngsters.

Narrative Features

The last point I would like to highlight in this section is the existence of some common narrative features within these films – another element that reinforces the idea of affinity and/or genre.

Three narrative features stand out, in my view, as defining elements of these subcultural films. The first is clearly connected with the rite of passage through which a young protagonist succeeds in becoming a member of a particular subculture. In the case of *This is England*, Shaun becomes a skinhead through style. He gets a couple of *monkey boots*[10] and a pair of braces, Lol (Vicky McClure) shaves his head, and Woody (Joseph Gilgun) gives him a Ben Sherman shirt. By thus taking on and adopting the basic skinhead look he is accepted by Woody's gang. As regards *Awaydays* the rite of passage involves and has to do with violence. Carty gets the correct clothes – Adidas trainers, green slicker and tight jeans – to meet *The Pack*, but what legitimizes him as a member of the gang is his behaviour in the first fight against other supporters. He stands the line, demonstrating that he is brave enough to be part of *The Pack*. So his rite of passage proves successful. This feature is also present in films such as *The Firm*,

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[10] For a full description of the particular design of "monkey boots". See Rufy (2008, 22).

Green Street Hooligans, *Soulboy* or *NEDS*. However it does not appear in films like *16 Years of Alcohol* or *Football Factory*, among others, since in these cases, the protagonist is already a member of the subculture.

Another narrative feature I would like to analyse is what could be called 'the moment of disappointment'. Once the protagonist of the film becomes a member of the subculture, his or her 'adventure' starts. For him, being part of the subculture becomes a way of life and he immerses himself into the subculture's universe. Some tensions appear between the protagonist and the group. Because these are usually solved in a violent way, the main character suffers disappointment and opts for abandoning the subculture or reconsidering his situation within the subculture. This 'moment of disappointment' usually corresponds with the film's end. We find examples of this in *Quadrophenia* – when Jimmy throws Ace Face's (Sting) *Lambretta*[11] over a cliff, after deciding to stop being a mod; in *The Football Factory* – when Tommy Johnson (Danny Dyer) decides to change football fanaticism for greyhound racing after being almost killed in a fight; in *This is England* – when Shaun rejects right-wing politics after Combo almost murdered Milky (Andrew Shim); and in *Awaydays* – when Carty decides to stop being part of *The Pack* after Baby (Oliver Lee) slashes his face after Godden's death and Elvis (Liam Boyle) disappears.

The last narrative feature that should be commented is the role of the "guarantor". This is the character who introduces the main character into the subculture and who guides and supervises his "trip" into the mysteries of the said subculture. The "guarantor" is an important character because he (or she) usually triggers the protagonist's relationship with the subculture, and once he disappears, or the relationship between both characters degenerates, tensions will build up and lead to the "disappointment moment". Elvis is Carty's guarantor in *Awaydays*, Woody acts as guarantor for Shaun in *This is England* and Bex (Paul Anderson) is the one who introduces Dom to the group of hooligans in *The Firm*.

Conclusions

Over and above the other conventions (actors, adaptations, the past) it seems that the recurrence of these three narrative features in these films confirms that we are not dealing with individual films, but with a homogeneous group that could be labelled a cycle or genre.

Therefore this paper sets the basis for a wider forthcoming work. Once confirmed that it is possible to consider these films a cycle, we should analyse every film mentioned to check if all the conventions appear, and what happens when one of two of these features are not present in any of these films.

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[11] Lambretta was, together with Vespa, a popular Italian scooter trademark.

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THEME TUNE 5 | DIY, entrepreneurship, social values and music scenes

5.1. The (pop)rock singer: a self-taught or skilled artist

Samuel Tomeček[1]

Abstract

The paper focuses on the relevance of training rock music singers in regard to the most frequently used (pop)rock vocal techniques. Although rock singers originally began as an opposition to an older generation of musicians or they used avant-garde and experimental interpretational practices, rock music gradually developed specific vocal and singing techniques that enriched the existing ones with particular nuances. What had originally belonged to the rock opposition became, over time, a part of pop music, and experimental or unusual singing techniques became a part of the mainstream. Several vocal techniques, such as belting, speech level singing, various types of guttural singing, and the classical bel canto have been used throughout the history of (pop)rock music. Using the examples of particular musicians (e.g. James Hetfield, Dave Grohl, Chris Cornell...), the paper analyses the historical development and relevance of (pop)rock vocal techniques. The author explores how initially self-taught singers and experimenters with untrained voices can learn to improve their vocal techniques. The development of rock styles in the world and the self-taught - trained singer relationship in a musical environment have been accompanied with natural explorations of new singing possibilities. Using a selection of distinct rock singers, this paper puts vocal practices of self-taught and trained rock vocalists into a historical context. It also analyses the formation of a vocal tone, which is demonstrated by the recordings of prominent world, as well as Central-European singers. The article aims to dispel doubts about the (no)need for a vocal training of (pop)rock singers.

Keywords: singing, pop music, mainstream, vocal technique, vocal training.

Introduction

The human voice is the most universal source of sound. We do not classify it as a musical instrument; the research of the human voice is perceived as an independent discipline of musicology from the boundaries of organology[2]. We all possess it since birth, and yet we cannot utilize it sufficiently. Not only singers, but also presenters, teachers and physicians use their voice on a daily basis, and all of them need some vocal technique for their work. Of course, the singer can develop his/her career and have no singing or vocal technique, but its utilization can ease their work to a greater extent.

Let us start with a definition of "singing". By what does it differ from the spoken word? By intonation. And what is the condition for this first-rate intonation? It is imagination.

Rock vocal techniques

We will introduce our overview of the singing techniques used in rock music by a survey of their development. At the time of the rock music beginnings, singers usually employed a natural way of singing, lacking any kind of vocal technique, whether a classical bel canto technique or another one – e.g. shouting in Afro-American folk music. At the time of the nascent rock era, the singers disregarded the need for technical enhancement of their singing, on the one hand due to the deliberate rebellion pertaining to rock as a newly-born style and on the other hand due to the shortage of voice teachers specializing in rock. An enormous rise in the rock music popularity, also brought about the rise of the number of concerts worldwide, and this led to excessively demanding conditions for rock musicians, especially singers. All this resulted in the necessity of their professionalization, and thus in the usage of singing technique and collaboration with voice teachers. Our analysis will confirm it by presenting a considerable technical development of the singers in particular periods of their career. Of course we can find exceptions, e.g.

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[1] Comenius University Bratislava, Slovakia.

[2] Elschek, Oskár (1984) *Hudobná veda súčasnosti*. Systematika, teória, vývin. VEDA, publishing house of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava (386 pp.,1st edition, summaries in German and Russian).

Freddie Mercury, Prince, Michael Jackson and others, who were excellently technically equipped from the outset of their careers.

The commercial success of rock groups and performers also induced the pressure from the side of producers and managers demanding the improvement of the performing quality and maximal endurance during the performance. On the other hand, the voice teachers of the time had to adapt to new trends and specifications of the rock genre. The origination of new rock styles brought about the introduction of new expressive devices in the vocal performance, resulting in the birth of new singing techniques; we are speaking particularly about guttural singing used in screaming and growling techniques. Screaming in its natural appearance started to spread in the 1970s, mostly in hard rock and metal. For instance, James Hetfield from Metallica used it as an additional expressive device in their first album from 1983. This vocal technique established itself in rock music permanently no sooner than in the 1990s, when it became more elaborate, and some voice teachers specialized in it particularly. It was no longer used exclusively as an expressive device in short passages of the compositions, but as the main vocal technique, on which the whole or almost the whole composition was built, e.g. Chester Bennington from Linkin Park popularized it widely, not only as a stylistic rock modification for a smaller fan base.

Researching vocal techniques in the historical development of rock music, analysing a number of male singers chronologically, we came to the conclusion that the classical bel canto technique is the basis for the entire American school of belting, speech level singing (singing with the mix) and their various modifications. This is also confirmed by the voice teachers themselves, either on their websites (Seth Riggs, Ken Tamplin, etc.), or by the use of the same kinds of vocal exercises, breathing technique, voice placement, usage of registers and others.

Voice and health

Proper vocal technique protects the vocal cords during the singing performance. Considering the frequency of public appearances of professional singers, the singer has to do more than 20 two-hour performances in a month; it could be a huge problem in the course of time without a proper vocal technique. It is possibly, also attainable by using the natural technique, but if the singer gets a bronchopneumonia, tonsillitis etc., during the tour, and he cannot cancel the concerts due to contracts, then the proper vocal technique can "save his life". Regarding the injury of vocal cords, it is necessary to consider each instance individually. Vocal cords are muscles that can be injured like any other muscle, for example by untechnical shouting. A polyp can be formed on them, or, in layman's terms, a small vein can burst. Similarly to a top level sportsman whom can be injured during his training, so can a singer be caught unaware. The majority of such injuries result from the excessive number of performances and singing while indisposed. Also, a technically sound singer can be swept along by emotions during the performance, thus bring about some health damage.

Selected examples of rock singers' analyses

James Hetfield's (*1963) baritone differed from metal voices of the time (groups like Anthrax, Slayer, etc.). It excelled by its greater melodiousness combined with aggressive singing without a distinct pitch and possessing a characteristically low voice, still accentuated by the chest register. From the beginning of his career he had been using guttural distortion instead of high screaming tones in order to accentuate aggressiveness. Thus his voice acquired a substantial deepness and evoked the impression of very high tones at the same time; James didn't need to sing in such an extremely high pitch around c^2 and higher so often. It does not mean he avoided them, he only did not use them frequently and the listener did not realise it was a source of tension. In his compositions so far, he had used the range of almost four octaves (using also falsetto and screams). On the recordings from the 1980s, his voice has not been so deep as it had been since the 1990s. From the first album *Kill'Em All* (1983) till 1991 he used a natural vocal technique, although the first instances of the screaming technique appeared here, e.g. in the piece *Seek And Destroy* (1983). Here he uses screaming in the chorus from 1:49 on the *b flat¹* in the word "destroy". In some choruses we can sometimes hear him singing out of tune on the prolonged tone *e¹* in the word "searching". During the recording session of the album *Metallica* (1991, an alternative title is *Black Album*) James lost his voice, because he had forced it over excessively. In addition to the audible voice murmur he was not able to intone properly. He had to find a voice teacher who helped him to get back the proper vocal placement and introduced him to the bel canto technique. For this album the band also recorded the world-known ballad *Nothing Else Matters*

(Figure 1), in which they used large strings with deep heavy-metal sounds, atypically for the heavy (thrash)-metal bands of the time. Here, James presents his smooth balladic character in verses contrasting with the "distorted" full voice in choruses. At the end of the phrases in the second verse and in the third chorus he uses another distinctive effect: he prolongs the vowels "u:, o:, e:" in conspicuous exhalations.

Figure 1 – (Transcripted by Samuel Tomeček)

Familiarizing himself with the bel canto technique, he improved his voix mixte, working with false vocal cords to create distortion, which he uses less frequently (mostly at live concerts), and his screaming technique. His full voice is deeper and purer. Sometimes he also uses cantilena. All these aspects of improving his vocals can be noticed in the piece *Saint Anger* (2003), for example.

Chris Cornell (*1964) forever entered the musical public awareness with his world-famous piece *Black Hole Sun* (1994) using a vocal technique, belting to collaborate with his enormous vocal range $G - g^3$. Cornell's tessitura is baritone and the belting technique is his vocal domain. However, he also included a new technique of screaming into his vocal performance. It is a new technique combined with the already familiar technique of belting, which indicates advancement in the rock music development. For example, Cornell uses high-pitched screaming in the piece *Outshined* (1991), where at 3:35, after a short humming "mm" he sings legato on c^3 one beat long, then on d^3 almost two and half beats on vowels "o:-a:-u:", six bars later again on d^3 in the word "outshined", where it is just the prefix "out" which is one beat long. "Shined" is sung again with full voice one octave lower. Thus in this piece the belting is combined with screaming, which is very interesting from the aspect of the technique development. In another piece *Shadow of the Sun* (2002) by the band Audioslave he used another kind of screaming, fry screaming. At the end of the piece at 5:04 and during the following eight bars in the lyrics "Shadow of the sun" he used this technique with a clearly discernible pitch intonation. Then in the final two bars of the piece he sings legato twice on the word "sun" for four beats long, using a rich timbre spectre, but this time without an explicit pitch.

Generally it may be said that all Cornell's vocal creation is typically recognised by long legatos, technically perfected belting (using false vocal cords for more or less distortion of the voice, thus adding to it a unique timbre), which can be used simultaneously with screaming, full and muffled voice, voix mixte and falsetto. He does not avoid a soft tasteful vibrato, either. All these nuances are combined together into one composition, like in the piece *Fell on Black Days* (1994). His articulation is a typical attribute of his, and it has been changing during his career. It is true that once a singer gets on a technically high level, he/she can dare to articulate less clearly, mostly in lower ranges, but also in the higher ones; however, the comprehensibility of the lyrics diminishes. He partly displayed it during his work with the band Soundgarden (*Fell on Black Days*), in the project Temple of The Dog (*Hunger Strike*), and especially during the collaboration with the band Audioslave with their first eponymous album. We often see it in more balladic and slower pieces. Thus an interesting effect occurs, when the whole composition appears as if it to be tied (cantilena), disregarding his untypical phrasing (frequent up-beat entrances, melodic R&B embellishments, and phrase endings, e.g. in *Like a Stone*). Typical of Cornell's phrasing and vocal work is the joined and interesting harmony that can be displayed, for example in the second verse of the piece *Black Hole Sun from 1994* (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – (Transcripted by Samuel Tomeček)

While all Cornell's work is mostly based on a distorted guitar sound, his dynamic handling of voice, bridges through vocal registers, voice timbre, agogics and interesting phrasing joined with the above-mentioned technical nuances, especially comes to the fore in independent unplugged performances (guitar, singing). One of his top unplugged performances is a cover version of Michael Jackson's *Billie Jean*, but he is also well known for his own works, e.g. *Like a Stone* and *Black Hole Sun.* While he is playing and singing one single phrase, a dynamic progress from piano to fortissimo can occur. Simultaneously, the dynamic development of various accents and tempos will appear (and while playing rubato, the usage of fermatas also act as agogic devices). Cornell's vocal performance is markedly influenced by older gospel and R&B singers. His most recent album *Scream* (2008) confirmed it, which borders on R&B and dancing pop, while Cornell keeps his standard rock performance while singing.

The natural voice register of **Dave Grohl** (*1969) is tenor (he used the lowest sing tone *B* in the piece *Learn to Fly* in a bridge at 2:57). Similarly to other rock singers Dave has some specific characteristics in his vocal performance. Due to his preference to piercing, rock vocals, as he doesn't have a natural hoarse voice like Louis Armstrong had for example, he needs to distort his voice quite often (with the help of false vocal cords). We can see it for example on a recording of *Learn to Fly* (1999), where in choruses he reaches the highest tone of the whole composition *f sharp*[1] by a pure full voice without hoarse timbre ingredients. On the contrary, on other recordings, e.g. in the first verse of *Pretender* (2007), he uses a discernible distortion in full voice on the tone *e*[1] from 0:36, which is still more accentuated by higher dynamics in a chorus from 1:23. To produce such a timbre, or sound effect, by his voice without hurting his vocal cords, he inevitably has to use a precise vocal technique. Similarly to Chris Cornell and other rock singers, he uses the belting technique. His massive distortion in the high register is attainable only by the usage of correct exercises, and an enormous capacity of the lungs in combination with a perfect handling of breathing. Indeed, the more resonant effect on albums is achievable in the studio also by a superimposition of several unisono voices. He also uses a technique of screaming (fry screaming), which is noticeable in an almost thrash-metal piece *In Your Honor* (2005) from the eponymous double album. It is in this piece where one of the most distinct usages of screaming can be found through Dave Grohl studio recordings. Following the two-bar rest and a deep inhalation on 3:21, which can be described as an exemplary preparation for a scream, the scream itself comes held in four bars, maintained by a legato without a distinctively discernible pitch, and descends from *e*[2] gradually to a tone one octave lower. The other, acoustic CD from the double album can be seen as an absolute opposite. On it we can find e.g. a duet with the singer Norah Jones in a Latino piece *Virginia Moon*. He is handling his fine velvet voice in a very untypical way in an almost baritone register. He has displayed interesting work with his voice in the latest piece, *Razor* (Figure 3), in an ambient acoustic style. In a short segment he also displayed some other vocal skills, which would not show off in rock pieces. At some places in verses "wake up, it's time, ... mind ..." the use of a very fine vibrato ending the phrases is interesting. In choruses he also uses a tiny melodic embellishment on the word "razor". Similarly, we can notice his tied singing, which helps to complete a pleasant air of the piece.

Figure 3 – (Transcripted by Samuel Tomeček)

Chester Bennington (*1976) – his vocal excels by a flawless screaming technique, fry screaming in particular, and its combination with a pure bel canto and a "distorted" singing. His tessitura is tenor, and he practically never uses a pure falsetto or a head voice. Mainly in the high register he forces his voice by the use of false vocal cords and "distorts" it considerably, what is typical for him in each of his compositions. We can use the piece *Numb* (2003) (Figure 4) as an example, where in the first verse (8 bars) he uses the range of *a – d¹* in a cantilena of a pure voice in mezzopiano. Then 6 bars of a bridge come in the range of *c sharp¹ – f sharp¹* in the same voice timbre, which is concluded by a straight legato on *e¹* in a crescendo as a preparation for the chorus. The chorus itself is distinctive by a distorted voice in forte in *e¹ – g sharp¹*; that means, he uses two characters of vocals in the same register.

Figure 4 – (Transcripted by Samuel Tomeček)

We could find an uncountable number of examples of screaming by this singer; the longest one belonging in the piece *Given Up* (2007), whose duration is more than 17 seconds in a 7-bar-legato from 2:27. Another unusual sign is rap combined with distorted singing, e.g. in the piece *Papercut* (2000). In the first verse from 0:51 he raps during four bars, concluding them by a distorted voice on words "but in my skin". A confrontation of Chester with Chris Cornell in live performances in 2008 (music project Revolution) is interesting: three different singing techniques are juxtaposed (belting with bel canto and screaming) in two duets *Crawlin* (Linkin Park) and *Hunger Strike* (C. Cornell).

Presenting here American singers, let me introduce to you one example from the Slovak rock scene beside them. **Mário "Kuly" Kollár** (*1972) governs the baritone tessitura, which can be characterized as a dramatic one. His vocal sounds are respectably compact in full voice during the whole range of almost two octaves. It does not weaken even on the highest tones around *a¹*. "Kuly" started in the Desmod band in the 1990s as a natural singer. It is interesting that in that time, from its beginning until the release of its first two albums *001* (2001) and *Mám chuť...* (2003), the Desmod band played metal, almost nu-metal. But for both these styles, a "yelling" belting or screaming way of singing is typical, which "Kuly" does not use. With his typically tinged vocal he brought a more cultivated, softer and still more romantic pop-rock performance with an increasing number of bel canto elements. Studio recordings did not reveal any problems, but live performances till 2008 often brought audible out-of-tune singing in a higher register. It is a question whether this off-key singing was caused by the lacking of vocal technique, poor onstage monitoring at live performances, or stress-related issues which "Kuly" has been fighting for years. One thing is for sure: after a 12-year-long singing career "Kuly" decided to find a voice teacher, who apparently helped him with his technique, which is confirmed by the latest live concerts of the Desmod band, of which "Kuly" is the frontman. In 2006 they released a CD *Uhol pohľadu*, where he sang a cover version of one of the most popular songs of a significant deceased Slovak singer Karol Duchoň – *V dolinách.* In this piece we can notice "Kuly's" voice's characteristic features and nuances. His vocal "a, a:" is not as conspicuously covered as a classical bel canto would demand it, but despite this we can say that cantilena is his domain. He belongs to a small number of singers in Slovak pop-rock mainstream who use it frequently. Another distinctive attribute of his is a characteristic vibrato, applied mainly on the long vowels of the lyrics "v dolin**a:**ch, m**a:**m ho r**a:**d". Another fact of interest is that he does not use the distortion despite its – we can say – stylistic necessity. Let us also mention the fact that "Kuly" does not use either falsetto or head register on his recordings or concerts.

Conclusion

Proper vocal technique generally helps with easy singing, juggling the voice and materializing the singer's image into particular tones, having the best possible expression. This is also the only way how to help protect one's vocal cords from the excessive number of performances. It is one thing to practice the technique at home or to record it in a studio, but quite another thing to perform the song in front of a live audience at some major concert. Routine/habit, practice, musicality, singing techniques and effortless of singing, all these contributes are needed in order to become a good singer; to manifest into an idle for the next generation of singers. Simultaneously, all of the analysed singers that we referred to, are not only performers or singers, but are also composers. Their songs became world-renowned hits and addressed a large audience at the time, and could possibly still influence a younger listener. Musicality is the way and singing techniques are the tools to materialize our imaginations.

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5.2. The Cyber-guitar system: nuance in instrumental practice as a motivation for immediacy within gestural controllers

Jonathan Crossley[1]

Abstract

This article examines the Cyber-guitar system developed as part of a doctoral research project. The specific focus lies on the use of various body-attached controllers (gestural or prosthetic) and the relationships between these and the particular nuanced and sonic changes that are facilitated. The system is located in a continuing organological and instrumental developmental process. It has been intrinsic to the instrument since its inception rather than being a wholesale departure or new, independent appendix to it. The development of the system is ongoing and continues to technologically enable the instrument. The intent is to further realise extended and specifically fine nuanced changes to an increasing variety of effect parameters. At the core the system ensures that these changes are available to the performer with no lag. Changes are as immediate as the tactile-acoustic experience of plucking a string would be. The performance, composition, technology and organology are neither researched nor considered as independent entities, rather the research process has involved interrogating these through regular performance events of a varying and comprehensive nature. These events have intentionally avoided using pre-recorded material or samples modified live via the suit engagement. One of the goals of the project (as located within instrumental tradition) has been to integrate the new design components into the performer's practice of composition, performance and improvisation. The instrument's development has, thus, involved parallel areas of interrogation. With each imagined nuance the process of development has had multiple stages. These broad stages can be chronologically understood as: (1) desired signal modification, (2) technological realisation, (3) performer experimentation, (4) compositional and improvisational application, and (5) application in real life performance. As a specific process and its audio result are successfully achieved the new skill is absorbed holistically into the performer's repertoire of techniques and musical expression.

Keywords: gestural control, nuance, cyber-guitar, augmented instrument, continuous controllers, organology, improvisation, notation

Introduction

Instruments (in the acoustic sense) have a long and detailed historical development. Their organology runs parallel to the development of the technical skills required to compose for them and to play them. This is a natural evolution, one in which the composers and performers imagine new sounds that often propel revision and additional instrumental design. The new instrumental and compositional/performance developments lead to new technical requirements that quickly develop into fine motor techniques. These are then subsumed into instrumental practice and become part of the ongoing skill narrative. Such techniques often required small, nuanced movements that are not necessarily observable to the eye of the audience member. In my own observation it is often a point of pride or musical authority in listening culture when these nuances and fine motor movements or gestures are observable, and their musical results heard.

In the history of the guitar the design process changed during the twentieth century due to the rise of the electric guitar. Initially the guitar's electrification was principally propelled by the need to raise the volume of the instrument within a big band setting. However, the nature of the amplifier itself and the later creation of guitar effects pedals spawned a new organological system. This system was one where signal modification could take place outside the instrument on the signal's journey to the amplifier, but most importantly away from the practitioner's body. Guitarists and other musicians have expressed an insatiable desire for ever more varied signal changes and this has led to a dizzying variety of processors, and on each of these an ever increasing variety of complimentary control possibilities. Naturally, musicians have desired to access these specific changes with increasing frequency and simple on or off values are no longer an acceptable maximum.

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Gestural or extended body control opens up these additional possibilities to the guitarist (and, indeed, any other instrumentalist or vocalist) leaving the entire body available to the performer as a potential actuator. No longer are the hands, feet or voice the singular ways of generating control changes. These options are being explored at phenomenal rates. The current project sets out to specifically examine gestural modification in a way that furthers existing guitar performance methods rather than abandoning the instrumental technique (or parts thereof) or replacing integral components of the instrument. The guitar itself is of no intrinsic value other than being the researcher's lifelong instrument and the discoveries and technologies developed could quite easily be deployed by any other instrumentalist or vocalist with specific integration with that instrument's technique. The controllers in general have intentionally been imagined in such a way and the controller suit would only be physically prohibitive for a small number of commonplace instruments.

The types of movements selected for refinement in the controller have been calibrated in a way that relates directly to nuanced motions. These minimal movements have been calibrated based on integration with the existing performance methods. In other words, the hands and arms of the performer can continue playing the instrument whilst making a control adjustment. For more visual or easily observable events movements have also been assigned to aspects of the controller suit. These movements can be made without the hands being placed on the instrument or with the hands held outside of the conventional playing position. The immediacy of the system allows for extremely fine movements to be made with accurate control response due to the continuous controllers potentiometers having roughly 4,000 points per cycle of rotation. Thus, they demand nuanced technical skills, not unlike those one would learn as part of a traditional instrumental skill base. The project did not aspire to large visual effects that could easily be identified by audience members and associated with audio results, but has rather focussed on the types of fine motor movements common to skilled instrumentalists where the goal is nuance with maximum sonic change.

Background

This article focuses on the exoskeleton component of the project (specifically the nuanced or minimal movements that are principally activated by the suit). The progress of this component took place as part of a number of developmental layers. The design of the instrument was first laid out as part of a range of musical goals. These included:

- Bringing selected controls into the instrument itself within the immediate reach of the performer's hands.
- Creating a three-way signal path inside the guitar to provide capacity for the spatial manipulation of sound. This allows the user to switch between different signals inside the guitar.
- Ensuring that this signal path should output to looping (live audio recording) devices for the recording of minimalist (phase drift) compositional materials.
- [Start with a verb] The ability to modify signals both once they have been looped and to modify them in combination with the improvised signals on top of them.
- [Start with a verb] The ability to further record the modified looped signals and new layers for additional base sound layers materials (bed layer material) at the end of the entire signal path.
- Creating a system that was not computer-dependant, in the sense of being a system that required a laptop or desktop computer for the navigation of the controller changes.
- Ensuring that the final result was one that could be imagined and used in the way a standard instrument is, and is a stand-alone instrument system that could be performed on with the degree of mastery and complexity common to existing instruments.

In light of these goals this system exhibits a slightly different nature compared to many other gestural or physical controllers. Mainsbridge and Beilharz (2014, p. 110) assert that, "for musicians hoping to incorporate gestural control seamlessly into their performance practice, a balance of technical mastery and kinaesthetic awareness is needed to adapt existing approaches to their own purposes". This kinaesthetic awareness and technical mastery go hand-in-hand as an evolutionary pair that converge to create specific techniques. This is the case for a system that is resident in a holistic single performer, however, the pair is often divided in discourse. This may be due to a larger portion of gesturally enabled performances being presented with two or more performers, where the

instrumental performance and gestural activation are split. The current system depends on both being continually present for its ongoing evolution.

The Cyber-guitar seeks to amalgamate kinaesthetic awareness of any additional controllers into the instrument so that holistic integration of the control variates replicates a learning process similar to the initial procedure of learning an instrument. Schacher (2013, p. 1) explains that instrumental training

> in its initial stages at least, is mainly concerned with building this rapport between the body and the actions on the instrument that produce the sound. It serves to imprint the shape and sound of an instrument and its affordances and constraints into an adaptive, dynamic, extended and perceptual body.

The current project has sought, over its three to four year development, to mimic this process. In order to do so, original compositions were composed, practised and performed at each major design juncture allowing the user to absorb the techniques and to refine them. The performances and compositions were specifically designed to focus on these aspects and then, after the concert performances, additions or removals could be made.

This intent has led to an ebb and flow between the processes of improvisation, composition, performance and organology. These traditionally well-delineated areas have blurred in unexpected and informative ways. Ingrained procedures of taking the static instrument as inspiration for the composer's writing, then intended for a performance, have been catapulted into flux. If the instrument is not complete then the relationship no longer holds linearity. Cadoz (1988) refers to this scenario in the following way:

> if his (the composer) idea, his idea of the object to be produced is perfectly preconceived, with a given system, he will look for the command that will achieve it, will have to reconsider the device itself if necessary, and go back and further between the device and its use. - but inversely, the device, if used in an exploratory fashion may propose objects, although not preconceived by the creator, that he may wish to use in his language. (p. 3)

Cadoz's (1988) concepts of material are useful when understanding the motivations for continual ebb and flow within the system. The notion of material breaks down the idea of composer (or improviser) in a way that leads away from the division between the two and brings a focus towards the instrument (in the holistic sense) as a method for the generation of useful material. His assertion that the "rules of harmony and counterpoint are organisation producer systems" (1988, 3) could be brought to bear on any particular formality of logic, even ones as yet undiscovered. These systems in essence become producer systems in their own right facilitating new capacities and new avenues of discovery. They are new producers of material. Cadoz (1998) continues by explaining the following:

> In fact the composer can formalise a number of rules or laws of organisation and materialise them by modelling in an algorithmic system. His relationship becomes to some extent to that of the instrumentalist with his instrument. As soon as he explores the 'behaviour' of the system and chooses a given organisation at a given moment by prescribing a specific "command", he removes the initial indeterminations proper to the system. The compositional model becomes, in his turn, production system and sets up a new dialogue and experimentation order between between creator and tool. This objectivisation of the compositional model into an automatic system is virgin territory, made accessible by the computer. (p. 4)

Description and build of the system

As much as the process of building the system may seem descriptively linear (or retrospectively is describable as such) the initial designs were embarked upon with a Reed Ghazala (2005) inspired hardware hacking aesthetic. This stance provided some necessary impetus at the outset and also created an imagined space where the absence of a computer seemed plausible. Lähdeija, Wanderely and Malloch's (2009) work on ancillary gestures for effects tracking in the electric guitar is an example of one of many existing software-driven solutions (principally Max MSP) that solve many core issues of the project. However, I set out to drive the research using familiar effects pedals and wished to enable their access for the guitarist as I contend that the tactile familiarity of this system may be key to realising ongoing usage beyond the project scope.

This was not, as one may easily assume, due to simply owning the units, but rather to the tactile familiarity that can be built up with these units. This offers a certain physical familiarity that many guitarists find comforting and brings the project into the realm of plausible usability. Instrumentalists build relationships with certain pieces of electronic equipment and these relationships are analogous to those held with traditional instruments. Even Brian

Eno desires unpredictability in the Yamah DX7 for instance and 'is famous for his mastery of' it. (http://www.soundonsound.com/sos/oct05/articles/brianeno.htm) and the inspiration this creates. Often the experience of working with software-based effects processes or plug-ins lacks this viscerality.

An entry level hollow body jazz arch top was selected for the instrument due to the internal cavity and a hole was cut out of the back to house circuits. Circuits were selected based on the signal path model seen below and the best case scenario was a combination of 'size meets audio'. The brands and models were chosen based on characteristics that are unique in how they distinctly colour the sound and their behaviour during controller changes. These aspects were chosen to ensure a sonic difference in the three outputs (see figure 1). Also, the choices were made pragmatically in relation to the units being able to fit into the cavity and also in terms of ensuring that the potentiometers could emerge out of the surface side of the instrument.
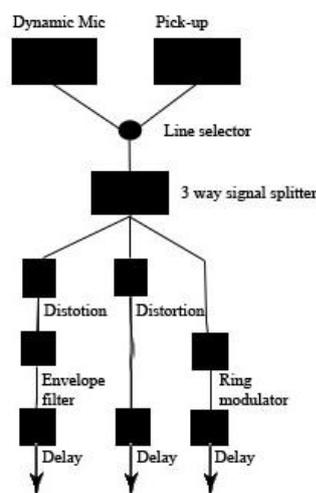
Figure 1 - Original signal path

A similar process of experimentation and adjustment threaded through the balance of the project. The second component to be built was an attempt to connect three looping devices through a single switching mechanism to explore the possibility of phase drift across time. This was not successful. The ganged switch created chip noise interference and, even when the units where triggered together, the amount of time that had to elapse before any noticeable drift (phase in the loops) was observed made the system practically unusable.

At other stages ribbon controllers were attached to various points on the guitar and then used in live performances. However, these proved to be musically ineffective, as were infra-red controls and web-cams. The original dynamic microphone installed in the instrument has also been abandoned in favour of an iPod headphone which I have now inserted into the mouth.

The consistent drive behind the construction has been musical usability above all other aesthetic goals. This has been assessed throughout the three to four year process and within the numerous performances in which the system has been used. Each performance included substantial modifications as well as minor tweaks and the system has, thus, grown organically in relationship to performance practice.

The system currently in use has the original enabled guitar (hollow body electric with effects built in) which then directs the signal to three unlinked looping devices. These are then individually sent through a pitch shifter, bit crusher and a multi effects unit which are each switched on or off with the feet.

The exoskeleton was the final component of the system to be realised.

This section of the system uses a re-purposed midi controller suit mapped through an Arduino. The suit is attached to the upper torso of the performer and behind the arms. It provides multiple continuous controllers on certain joints. Although all of the controllers are not yet in use they include two values on the shoulders, two on the elbows and four on the wrists. The ones currently used most are the wrist controllers, however, as comfort with the system is growing the desire for additional joint and range of usage is increasing. The range of motion on the suit has been calibrated in two ways, firstly based on the range of motion available with no impact on instrumental

performance and, secondly, based on range of motion when hands are off the instrument. This easily separates the available joints as, for instance, certain movements on the shoulders are not practically useful whilst playing. Once the performable ranges of motion have been established they are then mapped in software to midi 0-127 values and uploaded and saved onto the midi-enabled Arduino.

In each of the floor-based effects units one or more values are controllable via the exoskeleton. For instance, the pitch shifter has a two octave pitch range assigned to the right wrist of the performer and is post one looping device. The performer can, thus, activate a pitch incline on one of the three signal paths exiting the guitar whilst playing or, if this internal signal path is disengaged, then the shift would apply to only a recorded loop if present. This particular joint choice means that the right hand of the guitarist can continue plucking the strings, uninterrupted, whilst changing the pitch of the signal.

The bit crusher device is assigned to two of the signal paths exiting the guitar, post two looping devices, and is in a dual mono state of configuration. The clock speed of the digital to analogue converter in this device is assigned to the left wrist. This means that by pushing the neck forwards and backwards the clock speed can be adjusted with no playing interruption. The clock frequency for the converter is assigned to left elbow height and, again, can be adjusted with no playing interruption.

On the multi effects unit up to four individual effects can be engaged at any given point during performance and many of the individual parameters can be assigned to any particular joint on the suit. The currently used choices of assignment have been selected through many hours of improvisation and experimentation and their ranges of expression have also been selected based on performance experiences. For example, in the multi effects these controllers range from delay times, to reverb duration, mono synthesizer pitches, auto panning movements and many more, however, their use is still being adjusted and interrogated through performance.

Due to the three-way output of the instrument the majority of the concerts have been presented in a manner that includes spacial experiences for the audience. The least complex scenario has been that one guitar is panned to the left, and the other to the right and a further one in the centre to provide signal distinction. With duration values (such as on delays and reverb) being adjusted by the performer on the left and right images the spatial experience becomes amplified. The most successful concerts have been presented in surround sound with the three signalspanned into the corners of the room. The spatial movement, therefore, becomes three dimensional. This allows an individual performer to improvise with the three dimensional space and to tailor signal movement in this way.

A WiFi or Bluetooth enabling of the exoskeleton is currently in design. Fader volume adjustments will, thus, become improvisational thereby heightening the three dimensional capacity of the system as well as freeing the exoskeleton from cabling which has proved cumbersome.

Performance and composition: motivational directives within the project development

Performance and composition are research-driven initiatives within the scope of the Cyber-guitar project. From the outset the expectation was that, by placing the performer and system regularly into a public forum, the project would benefit as the stresses inherent could not be duplicated in laboratory settings. Further, these environments were continually conceptualised to interrogate specific goals that were felt to be integral to the hope of a long-lasting and usable outcome for the research. Some of these goals included:

- Working with other performers across a wide range of instruments, genres and stylistic influences.
- The behaviour of the various system aspects should be interrogated under varying notational and structural systems.
- Considering notational materials that include original composed materials as well as materials from multiple other styles and periods.
- Exploring performance situations of both a professional and public nature to place stress on the user and systems. Ideally, touring with the system should be a goal.
- Stretching the technologies to their limits and introducing new aspects in as many performances as possible.
- Recording the performances, where possible.

- Reflecting upon all performances, artistically and technologically, and these reflections should inform system changes and adjustments. Feedback should be sought from collaborating musicians, engineers and audience members.

Descriptions of five concert examples are provided below.

What if the machines spoke back to you? - August 2010

This concert used the system in collaboration with two other musicians (Jacob Israel on electronics and Justin Badenhorst on drums) and endeavoured to improvise through a logic (computer daw) audio mixing system. This system was specifically designed to feed audio to the performers after having been directed through audio effects where the parameters were configured to behave in selected random ways. Conceptually the concert intended to present wholly improvised music for a limited 45 minute set, interfacing the live performers through an unpredictable mix platform. Although the process of setting up the interfaces took seven hours the concert was not rehearsed in any way beforehand (other than procedural and process agreements being made) and the set-up process consisted only of signal and process testing. The score provided for this event was a single hand-drawn line of stepped heights on a sheet of paper. This was the first graphic score material used.

What was observed was that it became unclear in large sections of the event as to who or what was generating the signals, and who or what one felt one was responding to. This was due to the guitar system as well as the software system being new sonic entities in the hands of all performers. It was as if the performers' own signals became unrecognisable to themselves through machine intervention. This unpredictability in sonic result has since been an enticing goal and the project has, at least in part, continued to aspire to it. This concert provided evidence that inside the project unpredictability creates sonic contingencies that propel the creativity of the event to unexpected elevations. In essence the newness of the material generated by system extension fused with unpredictability yields creative contingencies beyond the performers' imaginations.

What if the machines took control? – August 2011

The instruction for this event was that the performers now had to wait indefinitely for the system/s to provide audio feedback and, thus, the systems became an additional performer. The concert was designed to be an extension of the research goal from the previous one in August 2010. It was simply built around the naïve idea that if the random machine interventions elevated the artistic output surely handing over the initial creative impulses to such events would energise this process further. Fuelled by the encouraging results of the previous event two additional performers were added and the size and scope of the software interface were expanded. Unlike the previous concert no score material was provided and only waiting was specified.

The concert began in absolute silence with the performers instructed to wait for the mixing interface to generate sound from the silence and only then to begin engaging or interfacing with it. At a point the newer members of the ensemble could no longer wait for the physically absent audio and the concert became a live improvised event as they began playing. This insecurity derailed the concert from an aesthetic standpoint, however, the audience members were (on the whole) unaware of this and enjoyed the event. Retrospectively one could say that the absence of presence made for an absence of gesture and this created an unbearable tension for the newer performers. From the research standpoint this highlights the relationship between the system development and the participants. Although the goal of waiting was not realised at this particular performance components of this intention remain a part of the project.

The link between this concert and the previous one was vital from a system based organological standpoint and herein lay the aesthetic failure. Further, from this point onwards score materials have been used for each concert.

Zoo Lake Bowling Club and Bassline club – 2011-2013

As part of the Carlo Mombelli trio I used the system almost weekly in a modern jazz trio context. This allowed for extremely regular testing of the system. Without this regularity the system stability and familiarity with it would not have been possible. The relaxed nature of the weekly club date, along with the fact that many compositions were repeated weekly, resulted in a great deal of trial and error being possible. Mombelli's music is, in most cases, composed material with modern jazz styled improvisational sections and some use of free improvisation. His music uses conventional score practices with word-based instructions at various points.

Czech Republic tour – November 2013

This tour booked 13 performances in as many cities in the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 14 days. This tour was vital for preparation for a major performance planned for February of the following year. The tour placed pressure on the system and performers due to the expansive repertoire performed along with the physical testing of the system.

The concerts up to this point had explored a wide variety of compositional materials ranging from traditionally scored classical compositions by composers such as John Cage and Mortin Feldman to graphic notation works by the same composers as well as by Cornelius Cardew. Original graphic and standard scored original works were explored and jazz standards were also used on tour. During the Czech tour popular works were also used for the first time, specifically works in the No Wave and Grunge styles due to a historical link between Cardew and Sonic Youth.

Doctoral recital examination – February 2014

The intention for the recital in February 2014 was to present a completely new composition for the performance, one which would synthesize the research thus far and bring the best elements to bear on a new work.

The examination presentation was a larger scale performance booked in Johannesburg in February 2014. As many of the lessons learned from the previous performances influenced the specifics of the concert. A composition was created for the concert (see figure 2) incorporating the most effective elements used thus far. These included pointillism, graphic designs and conventional harmony all deployed across a clocked timeline (see figure 3).

A quadrophonic PA system was used to maximise the spatial possibilities that the three signal paths provided.

Signal path interventions to the monitoring feeds were pursued, but were aligned to the digital clock rather than introduced randomly.
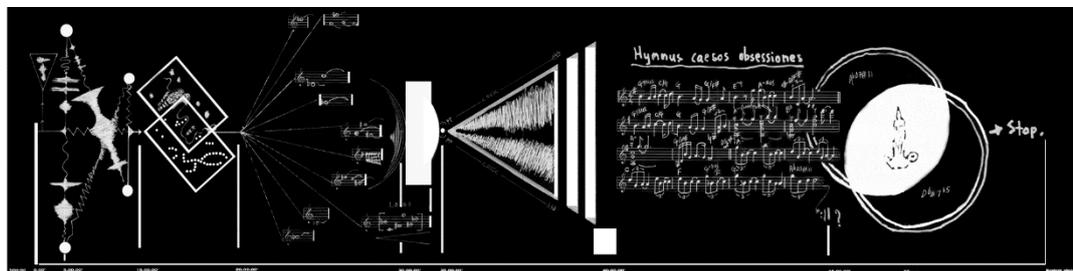
Figure 2 – Full graphic score

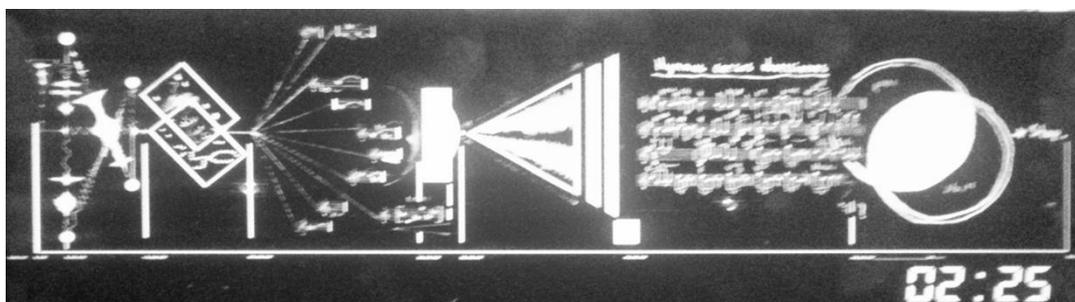Figure 3 – Digitak version of graphic score including digital clock

This performance offered useful insights:

1. The composition provided a timeline and was experientially successful, however, many audience members expressed the desire to hear the system deployed on known materials
2. Whilst the audio events or effects were easily heard from a standpoint of sound, the fine movements made them hard to recognise visually.

The concerts since this time have used more familiar popular materials to address point one, however, point two has been identified as one which this project will not completely adjust to. Rather, it is the confirmed position of this project that, like the fine nuances of an acoustic instrument, it it not a requirement that the control changes be easily observable. Rather, if the instrument gains traction and permanency then these will become recognisable to informed listeners over time. There are a selection of events in the suits repertory that involve larger gestures, but they are in the minority and the ongoing addition of gestures lies mainly in increasingly smaller movements.

Reflection and future work

At the outset of the system design a number of key impulses governed the thrust of the design. The key motivations to not pre-prepare audio, to not use a laptop-based system, to build technologies into the instrument and to interrogate notational practices were all born out of personal experience. In a sense the research has validated some of these desires and refined the nature of others in a practical way. What has been encouraging is that the system is becoming ever more 'usable' and the continual refinements are making it deployable in performance and collaborative circumstances.

In the first two concerts mentioned earlier in this paper the scale of the set-up procedures (seven hours in the first case) meant that the system was not practical and was, thus, confined to a very limited set of circumstances which would have constituted an impracticality. Currently the basic set-up time can be realised in a standard live context and this affords ease of use in performance. This flexibility means it can now be used to engage other opportunities on a more regular basis.

The next six months will be devoted to addressing a number of new research goals. These include development of the following:

- WiFi or Bluetooth connections for the exoskeleton: The suit has just been exposed to the first round of WiFi enabling, however, for reasons of lag it is still currently running cabled. Bluetooth may provide a solution in coming months.
- Software effects systems: The exoskeleton is now going to connect through software effects for ease of transport. With an increasing number of performances the weight and size of outboard equipment is proving to be prohibitive. This does not conflict with the 'no laptop' aesthetic as the materials will still be completely improvised.
- Engagement with a live engineer through digital consoles: A current research goal is to try to stage performances where effects automation (firstly volume and panning) on a live console could be automated through the performer exoskeleton. Many new digital mixing consoles have live automation (via an iPad, for example) and through advance planing and mapping the exoskeleton could control this.
- Collaborative effects improvisation: This would be an as yet unexplored aspect where dual mapping could occur. Where the Cyber-guitar system could, whilst performing itself, also be simultaneously mapped through another (willing) performer's effects matrix.
- Internet collaboration: Exploring the possibility of sending the exoskeleton controller data via the internet for collaborative live performance.

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5.3. Social and generational inclusion: the "Social Crochet Program", from Coimbra

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Abstract

This article aims to raise a discussion about a theme not yet fully explored: artistic and cultural production by the elderly. We will therefore take a critical look at the "Social Crochet Program", an urban intervention project coordinated by the Social Welfare Office of the Municipal Council of Coimbra in order to promote social and generation inclusion by fostering an artistic-cultural, productive, and creative intergenerational activity. This approach is based on a theoretical reflection on old-age conditions in current times from the following question: What is the place of the elderly population in the Western contemporary society in general? We will then focus the discussion on the supply and access to goods and cultural and artistic products for and by the elderly, respectively, and on the legitimacy and value of this elderly population as producers of art and culture. Our discussion ends with the concrete example of the "Social Crochet Program" whose limitations, in our opinion, cannot invalidate its qualities, but rather project new and future possibilities.

Keywords: inclusion, intergenerationality, old-age, culture.

Introduction

Population aging is a reality at an overall global level, even though it occurs in different forms and has different impacts on the various countries[2]. In Europe and in countries such as Portugal, the number of elderly people (individuals of 65 years of age and above) has already exceeded the number of young individuals (individuals between zero and 14 years of age): in 2012, there were, in Europe, 115.5 elderly people for every 100 young people, while in Portugal the proportion was of 129.4 elderly people for every group of 100 young people[3].

Changes in the age pyramids, the trend of which has almost been reversed, where the base of the pyramid has broadened and its top is narrow, happen basically for three reasons: declining fertility rate, increase in life expectancy, and migratory phenomena in some countries, where economic and/or political crises force the active population to travel and settle in other countries in search of new and better opportunities[4] (Wilson, 2009).

These new age settings have been an overall concern, featuring as one of the top international items on the agenda of large worldwide entities and institutions, public and private. While they reflect the progress of civilisation in terms of health, basic sanitation and pubic hygiene over the two last centuries (Pereira & Pita, 2011), they nevertheless render the capitalist economies – based on productivity and profitable – more vulnerable. This vulnerability obviously drifts over the historically more economically, politically, and socially vulnerable, which, in a capitalist perspective, covers large numbers of the elderly population, the "inactive" and "unproductive". Although the instructions given by the various bodies (United Nations, World Health Organisation, and European Community, for example) send a clear call to the promotion of solidarity between generations and to active aging, with the continued participation of the elderly population in community life, what can be noted is that the elderly are being held responsible for the alleged *social unsustainability*, caused by the imbalance between the proportion of inactive

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individuals and active workers who, looked at from this angle, would bear the expenses, causing a generation conflict and, consequently, completely inverting the logic of social solidarity (Marques, 2011).

So, despite the rapid growth and the changeover from a numerical minority to a numerical majority, at least when compared to the young population, elderly individuals have been treated with indifference or prejudice, and even ruled out, in many everyday life situations and even in politics and public activities. Another negative factor is the insistence on the standardisation of a category that is, *par excellence*, heterogeneous and plural[5]. So, many policies and social answers often serve only a portion of the elderly population, leaving out most men and women aged 65 and over. The establishment and the imposition of lifestyle patterns and behaviours[6], in turn, also seem to exclude, often holding responsible those who do not fit in by lack of conditions or even interest or will in the established patterns, as someone who *does not know or does not want to age well*[7].

The aging issue as a social problem should therefore be addressed in context. We will reflect on old age in the contemporary world based on a brief historical retrospection about the construction of this category.

The "place" of old age in the contemporary world

Built on natural foundations (physical, chemical and biological), old age is now widely acknowledged as a socio-cultural category, as its representations, imaginary and meanings significantly influence the experiences in this stage of life, changing over time and space, within historical, geographical, social, economic, religious, and cultural contexts, specific and different from each other.

This acknowledgement, however, only occurred in the early 20th century with the institutionalisation and universalisation of retirement as a right of inactive workers – for the most part elderly – and the emergence of Geriatrics[8] as a medical science specifically tailored to this population. The two phenomena, however, eventually helped to consolidate a social imaginary of old age associated to inactivity (and, consequently, to the lack of productivity) and to disease (Debert, 1999).

The organisation of contemporary societies relies very much on the classification of individuals according to their age[9]. For example, school age, minimum age for legal and criminal accountability, minimum age for driving a vehicle, retirement age, among other age boundaries.

Social life was divided into distinct periods marked by age difference in the mid-19th century, when the need was felt for a social organisation that would enable the establishment of duties, rights and prohibitions in a particular stage of life (Freitas Silva, 2008). Age therefore appears as "an explicit form of social control and a way of manipulating and regulating all areas of life" (Lima, 2010, p. 128-9).

Although it is still being used today, social organisation based on age classification was accompanied by some social changes. Industrial societies, for example, anchored in production relationships, eventually reshaped the cycle of life, establishing three major milestones: "… childhood and adolescence – a time for training; adulthood – a time for producing; and old age – a time for resting, non-working time" (Peixoto, 2000, p. 61). According to authors such as Moody (1993, *apud* Debert, 2004, p. 57) the outlines of the contemporary age limitations are more blurred and flowing because, in their opinion, Western contemporary economies, while highly capitalist, focus more on consumption rather than on productivity.

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[5] Because this is the social age category more likely to show differences, due to the very different individual pathways and life experiences, more visible in this stage of life than in others, such as childhood and adolescence, for example (Paúl, 2005), old age is still regarded as a unit by society in general and by public policies.

[6] The imposition of active aging as a pattern to be followed by all old women and men can also carry the risk of homogeneisation and exclusion of many of these individuals. As a free participation, spontaneous and citizen activity, it presupposes the possibility of choice and, as such, is a right and cannot be imposed as a duty.

[7] This individual responsibility of the elderly for aging well or poorly is what Guita Grin Debert (2004) calls reprivatisation of old age and aging. It can be considered as a reflection of a society in which the neo-liberal logic prevails.

[8] The medical specialty in geriatrics appeared after Gerontology, in the early decades of the 20th century. Although they both gave incredible visibility to the phenomena of old age and aging, both sciences were largely responsible for the homogeneous view of old age and its individuals (Debert, 1999).

[9] This process of categorisation according to age combined with the notion of expenditure with aging as a threat to economic and social stability and to the predominance of a youth culture was at the base of ageism against old people, that is, the prejudice in relation to old individuals (Marques, 2011, p. 36).

The construction of old age as a social category, the representations and imaginary it embodies, combined with this new demographical and economic pattern, that reflects directly on social life, reveal some inconsistencies when we address the issue of the position of the elderly in our societies.

However, while the universalisation of retirement allowed some kind of economic and social mobility to some of the elderly, who in some cases became the main providers in their families[10], becoming one of the target audiences as potential consumers, on the other hand the crisis affecting the social security and health sectors in many countries –Portugal included –, often transforms old age into a period of hardship and needs.

Note also the rapid technological obsolescence, in particular in the information and communication requirements, in contemporary societies. This feature eventually affects the elderly directly. In the vast majority of cases, these individuals cannot keep up with the pace of changes taking place, and are themselves seen and treated as obsolete (Mendes, 2009). Although the importance of the workforce, typical of active individuals, has been replaced by the supremacy of knowledge, where, supposedly, the elderly would be at a vantage point, what we do see is that the previous logic, encouraged by industrialisation, the overvaluation of work as a promoter of economic capital and profit, continues to exist (Rosa, 2012).

So, the crystallised image of old age appears shrouded in prejudice and negativity. The fact that it is associated to deprivation, poverty, vulnerability, risks, obsolescence and proximity to death eventually drives people away from any of these signs in that stage of life. Although longevity is celebrated and desired, everyone darts from old age, and it eventually is described as a negative lifestyle as opposed to positive youth (Debert, 2004). Lima (2010) stresses this sad fact:

> (...) As if we had not yet awaken to this new reality of older people – aged, with a longer life expectancy than a few decades ago and with successive generations showing both mental and physical gains – we continue to judge them based on beliefs and outdated prejudices. (...) (Lima, 2010, p. 129).

Although some work has been done to reverse this situation, contemporary Western societies have made some uncomfortable space for its elderly population. Its recent fast growing numbers is viewed as a problem, a real social nuisance. And old age thus continues to be stigmatised and excluded.

Cultural consumption in old age

When we think about supply and access of older people to cultural products and goods, what comes to mind is that despite the new demographical configurations, this population is very much ignored by agents, promoters and disseminators of culture.

This is mostly due to the imaginary built around the category of "old age", insistently viewed in the singular, and, consequently, to the invisibility and/or discomfort that Western capitalist societies assign to their old individuals.

There are still relatively few research works that associate old age with culture, that care about the over 65 age groups[11]. Most research work and reports[12] on cultural practices define very broad age categories, beginning at 50 years old or more. Some authors[13] whose studies focus on old age and aging, however, emphasise the importance of generations and of aging for establishing differences and characterizations more in line with the diversity in the real world.

Another issue addressed by researchers (Rosa, 1999; Lopes, 2000) is the limitation of the very category "age". As a relational category, its autonomy in relation to other variables, such as sex/gender, level of education, professional pathway, among others, is inevitable.

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[10] The crisis is a major contributor to this situation in a significant number of people in the employment sector, felt mostly by the young population in working age.

[11] This concern begins to appear in some marketing areas or in research on the profile of a certain consumer (Motta & Schewe, 1995). Research work on the elderly is still insignificant when compared to other age groups.

[12] Including the "Eurobarometer", a research instrument of the European Parliament, and the "Culture Statistics", published by Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) based on the Portuguese Censuses.

[13] Debert (2004), Peixoto (2007), Rosa (2012), among others.

The little use made of urban cultural facilities and of the so-called "cultural outings"[14] (cinema, shows, clubs) by old people can be interpreted in many ways.

Rosa (1999), in a survey about leisure time of Portuguese pensioners, notes the prevalence of activities within the homes of respondents aged 65 or above, showing a low degree of sociability in this age group and a preference for activities that cannot always be described as "cultural", for e.g., organising the house. Her interpretation of this reality shows, first and foremost, the low levels of education and the poor urbanity of most pensioners aged 65 or over, who, for the most part, live on the outskirts of cities or in more rural places. Most pensioners surveyed by Rosa (1999) used distance from their homes to the cinemas or shows, for e.g., as one of the main reasons for hardly attending or not attending at all. By analysing this data, the author noted that the so-called distance was not actually the reason, thus concluding that this "distance" could represent a lack of a sense of belonging, or of "not being invited" to attend a certain space.

In the same line of reasoning, Lopes (2000, p. 99) noted the "juvenility of cultural practices", and found that they are imbued in a "juvenile model". As Lopes (2000, p. 227) added, "the very social fabric adopts symbolic references common to the prevailing image imagem of youth". These references can be seen from the little research work on the practices, tastes, and cultural trends of the elderly – which should in fact subdivide old age into different age groups and establish relationships between other variables –, even advertising, targeted most insistently to a younger audience.

Moreover, we note that the elderly with more purchasing power begin to appear as the target of some cultural products[15], in particular religious tourism[16] and tourism for senior citizens, and some literary publications intended more specifically to an older audience. The lower classes and the older people[17] are also excluded from accessing many cultural goods and products, especially those elected as "the high"[18] cultural products. This exclusion is directly or indirectly felt by these people, who eventually refrain from going to or enjoying certain cultural spaces and products. The stereotypes and prejudices about older people are also obstacles to the access to culture. The emphasis on the overlapping of elements needed for human survival, such as food, health and hygiene conditions favourable for art and culture transforms the latter into a smaller and dispensable dimension. The taste and/or practice of elderly individuals for and cultural activities seen predominantly as being young activities transforms them into atypical, unusual, bizarre beings, attracting curiosity and even ridicule[19].

The elderly as cultural producers

If the elderly still remain strangers to cultural contexts whilst consumers, this "strangeness" increases even more when we think about older people as producers, "makers" of culture and art.

Obviously, the protagonism of some elderly individuals in artistic, cultural, and creative contexts exists and there are many examples of it. Taking Portugal as reference, we can name a few: the fado singer Carlos do Carmo, who, at the age of 75 became the first Portuguese to ever win a Latin Grammy Award for his entire music achievements in the last ceremony in Las Vegas, United States, in November 2014; the writer António Lobo Antunes, 72 years

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[14] Although the younger population compared to older people attend more the cultural activities outside the home, "the cultural practices of the Portuguese people are, according to various studies, focused on the leisure time home-outdoors, especially marked by extremely high rates of television viewing." (Lopes, 2000, p. 86).

[15] Some market scholars see in this fringe of the population a "differentiated and special group of consumers" (Motta & Schewe, 1995, p. 24).

[16] Dedication to religious activities was decisive for the pensioner women questioned by Rosa (1999): 47% of these women said it was a common practice.

[17] As in Portugal a considerable portion of the aged population belongs to the economically disadvantaged bracket, these two categories are almost confused. While this "confusion" generates and feeds a series of stereotypes, does not happen in vain. According to the research carried out in 1998 by the Centre for Research and Studies on Sociology, of the Lisbon University Institute, under the coordination of Luís Capucha, "the elderly, in particular those marked by the lack of economic resources due to their low pensions, loneliness and family disintegration" would be more vulnerable as social categories (Rodrigues et al, 1999, p. 71).

[18] According to Lopes (2000, p. 19), the opposition "elite culture/high culture/cultivated culture versus mass culture/low culture/common culture" became more clear in the 20th century.

[19] There are many examples in "interesting" videos published online: the "grannies" capable of physical feats, dancing away; the "grandpas" attending rock festivals, and many others.

old, known worldwide for his unique literary style and the recipient of many prizes; and even the oldest filmmaker still active, Manoel de Oliveira, at the age of 106. Moving away from the male protagonists, we can also name the Portuguese actresses Eunice Muñoz, 86 years old, who only interrupted her career at the age of 83 when she fell during a play rehearsal, Margarida Carpinteiro, 71 years old, who recently starred in the very famous Portuguese television mini-series, "Os Filhos do Rock", and Maria do Céu Guerra, also 71 years old, who starred in the recent film "Os Gatos não têm Vertigem". All these men and women over 65 are seen as Portuguese cultural heritage. However, the fact that they are old does not seem to be sufficient reason for identifying them along with the other older people, because their image as artists outperforms their image as old men and old women[20]. In a society that cultivates youth as a value (Debert, 2004), young age is in fact seen as a merit. So we are amazed by the youngest billionaire in the world, or the youngest athlete in history, for example.

Cultural, artistic and creative production apparently is not the métier of older people and its promotion and encouragement is not worth it. Arts and culture, associated with irreverence and creativity – characteristics not so suited to older people, as they are expected to be resilient, passive, philosophically wise and spiritually at peace –, are therefore almost the exclusive domain of young people. What we then have is the strengthening of stereotypes and stigmas as regards the elderly.

As opposed to this state of things, some one-off initiatives with some limitations in scope begin to emerge. At local level, note the project intended to foster intergenerational artistic production.

The "Social Crochet Program", promoted by the City Council of Coimbra, appeared two years ago as an institutional partnership of "InProject", which is an initiative of the Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences of the University of Coimbra, more specifically of the undergraduate degrees in Social Service and Masters in Psychology. The initial goal of the project was to raise awareness to an uncomfortable reality: the isolation of the elderly living in urban areas, in particular in the historical part of Coimbra. With two previous editions, the "Social Crochet Program" is organised by private accredited charitable institutions and consists in the production of artistic crochet items, which are exhibited in public sites across the city over one and a half months[21]. The organising institutions must arrange the accreditation by the City Council and provide the raw materials for the production of the items, usually donated by the relatives of those who work in and attend these institutions, and by the community in general. Moreover, they have to choose and inform the Council of the places where this activity will take place, and define the type of intervention to be made, and are responsible for the production of the items. The City Council is responsible for monitoring the entire project, including the accreditation of the participating institutions, ensuring the availability of venues for the activities, and provide the technical support for setting up and taking down the exhibition, and also disseminate the event, which will be included in the commemorations of the anniversary of the municipality.

The critical analysis of this initiative shows some issues that can be highlighted and/or questioned.

First of all, the positive attributes: 1. The mobilisation of the community in general for an activity intended to promote the visibility of the city and, consequently, of its citizens. The various possible forms of participation (donation of raw material, the manufacture of the items, help in setting up and taking down the exhibition) involve various kinds of people, men and women, children, youth, adults, and the elderly, people more or less economically, socially, and even physically vulnerable, in the same activity; 2. The availability of an urban public venue for the collective creation. Although the city venues are public, they do not always attract the sense of belonging of everyone alike. The artistic activity in urban venues, especially in spaces regarded as the most "noble" of the city, such as historical and heritage centres, or administrative centres, can promote this sense of belonging to all those who in some way are part of this project, and, indirectly, other city residents, when they enjoy and feel involved in

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[20] In a recent work on the image of older people on the newspaper "Diário de Coimbra", this finding is confirmed: old age was identified from pictures of anonymous people, and addressed using classification terms such as "grandpas/grandmas", "old man/old woman" or "seniors". The old aged men and women known to the public, such as actors/actresses or politicians, or with a certain social status, such as religious authorities, and teachers and doctors), were not identified as such (Veiga, 2014).

[21] Information obtained from the local and national press on the report of the first edition of the Programme and the interview with one of the coordinators, the social worker of the City Council of Coimbra. Images of the project can be found at https://pt-pt.facebook.com/coimbracartazcultural/posts/663872183642244 (Accessed on 08/01/2015).

the aesthetic of the activity[22]; 3. The rehabilitation of a traditional artistic activity such as crochet, which in a way brings the older population – especially the women – together, as this type of craftwork used to be a common practice in the younger and older days of a significant part of the population[23]. Typically, the urban interventions are carried out by young people, whose languages are eminently young, for example, graffiti, mask paintings, rhythms and street dancing, such as hip-hop and percussion, for example.

As questionable points of the project, we highlight: 1. The control of the public venues by the City Council, by imposing the registration of the institutions who wish to take part in this project. Although the Council's intention is to better distribute the spaces, this control minimises the "transgressing" effects of the intervention, eliminating the sense of belonging, which in a way is still only felt by those who are called and feel invited to attend and intervene in these spaces. This will also promote the existing inequalities between the status of "young" (the one who is expected and even allowed to transgress) and "old" (the actions and behaviour of whom is supposed to be restrained and controlled). 2. The need to be linked to a private charitable institution in order to participate in the activity. Although some shops and families joined the project (after registering with the City Council), individual and/or voluntary initiatives are not repressed nor facilitated. If during the exhibition people are attracted and motivated to participate spontaneously in the project, they can do so by producing work. This work, however, can only be exhibited in private spaces (façades and balconies of their own homes and apartments, or as props in their own cars, for example). We believe that this limits also the sense of intervention as an occupation and transformation of the public space. 3. The anonymity of the people who participate in the activity, especially those that actually produce their work to be exhibited[24]. Although this anonymity may represent a broader inclusion of everyone who participate in the project, and does not actually emphasise a specific type of activity, in our opinion it still cripples the subjects, in particular the elderly, who are already so invisible and marginalized in their daily lives. The question is: would the signature and dissemination of these artists not qualify the status of the elderly in our communities and/or accentuate the relevance of diversity in collective productions and intergenerational relationships?

In any case, despite their limitations or issues that can appear, our communities still need projects to boost creative production as an activity that can be carried out by and for everyone, by regarding diversity as a social and cultural gain.

Final comments

Our main goal was to reflect on the relationship between old age and culture in contemporary times.

Although we are experiencing a phenomenon of worldwide dimensions hitherto unheard of, with changes in the demographical configurations in almost all countries, especially in developed countries, including Portugal, population aging has not yet brought the deserved visibility and recognition of the elderly population, which today is in numerical advantage in almost all countries.

Our old men and women still suffer from prejudice, stigmas and segregation from the lasting culture based on youth. This reflects on the cultural life of older people, both as consumers and as producers of culture.

Without realizing it, research – or the lack thereof – often end up crystallising this reality: the persisting homogeneous and unique view on "old age" as a uniform and independent category, without any relation with other categories and variables; the little or no concern about considering the elderly as potential, effective, and even differentiated consumers and producers of culture; the use of questionable terminologies, such as "leisure time", that can give rise to a weakened image of old age as "useless" or "inactive", on the one hand, or of culture as a mere "hobby", on the other hand, are examples that lead us to question the responsibilities of each and

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[22] In the two years when the project was being developed, there was only one problem with one of the monuments used in the intervention, called "Cruz de Celas", a cross that marks the centre of the Celas neighbourhood, in the parish of Santo António dos Olivais.

[23] The rehabilitation of this type of activity and the fact that it catapulted from being craftwork to a legitimate form of art is not new. The Portuguese plastic artist Joana Vasconcelos uses crochet and knitting in her creations. The Polish plastic artist Olek – Agata Oleksiak also uses the traditional crochet technique in her artistic productions. Sources: http://www.joanavasconcelos.com/ and http://oleknyc.com/home.php (Accessed on 08/01/2015).

[24] This anonymity is part of much of the promotional material and even of the report, which contain only the participating institutions and its coordinators. Most of the images disclosed are from interventions and not of the individuals who were part of it.

everyone about the representations and imaginary built around the negativity of old age and culture and art as lesser dimensions, and not as part of what makes us humans.

We can conclude that old age as imposed by contemporaneity directs the cultural experiences and practices of ole people. The lack of investment in the potential of the public audience, fruit of the negative image construed and reproduced around this population, is an economic, social and cultural problem. Although diverse and complex, life at old age has peculiarities that can and should be used and optimised in terms of supply of cultural goods and products for that audience.

An almost insignificant initiative to change this scenario is, for example, the "Social Crochet Program" of Coimbra. Although questionable in many aspects, it appears to be a small step to the creation of an intergenerational cultural production. This is how it should really be seen: as a small step, and not as the solution for a problem of a structural nature. But also not as a ready-made programme, free of criticism and assessment, and not as the only part that falls under the responsibility of the public authority. A first step presupposes advancements, subsequent steps. There still remains much to be done by public powers, institutions – public and private – and societies in general, whether in a collective or individual way.

We believe that it is necessary and pressing to change the distorted view of old age. Demographical transformations imply social and cultural changes that represent a civilisational progress towards a peaceful and respectful learning experience of difference as an integrating element, rather than excluding and segregating. This is the course we hope the world will take.

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5.4. The theatre in the places of social exclusion: preliminary analysis of the Pele - *Espaço de Contacto Social e Cultural* association activities

Irene Serafino [1]

Abstract

This paper is based on a case study still in progress that aims to analyse how civil society actions can provide alternatives for social exclusion and segregation. Besides that, we hope to understand whether and how these actions can be a support for the community, generating solidarity and enhancing democratic participation. Our case study is about an association who acts in the urban area of Porto, since 2007, and bets in the theatre as a privileged space for dialogue and collective creation that increase community development and promote social and territorial cohesion. Therefore, as part of the investigation, it fits our proposal in this paper to execute a preliminary analysis of the projects and activities developed by Pele - Espaço de Contacto Social e Cultural association. These activities involve different groups that face social exclusion. Thus, we are proposing a diachronic view of the eight years of Pele's existence.

Keywords: urban social exclusion, theatre, Porto, Pele - Espaço de Contacto Social e Cultural Association.

Introduction

This paper is part of a PhD project, with a mainly qualitative approach, that aims to understand the importance of socio-cultural proximity relations and social cohesion in the urban sphere. It is a work-in-progress based on the presentation made at the KISMIF International Conference 2015 that happened on July, in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, Portugal.

From the case study of *Pele – Espaço de Contacto Social e Cultural* association (from now on referred to only as *Pele*), who acts on Porto, Portugal, our project propose to understand how the spaces of action and collective participation generates new local networks that provide inclusion, connection, solidarity, feelings of belonging and proximity in spaces of social exclusion. Through the case study, inserted in the territorial, social, economic and political context, we search the understanding of how and in which way the use of artistic and cultural procedures can be considered forms of revitalization of the democratic participation, creating new local social networks.

The scientific disquiet was narrowed during the investigation and developed from three thematic axes, central to the initial delimitation of the object of study: the social exclusion, the civil society actions and the territory. Social exclusion as a multidimensional situation, that develops in a vulnerability process with economic, political, cultural and social dimensions (Castel, 2009; Paugam, 1996). Despite of being a disputed term in many aspects, we still believe in its importance for focusing on the processual, multidimensional and relational feature that ended up favouring an integrative look that compass the complexity of social phenomenon, particularly relevant in the current society.

Civil society actions as a new possibility to answer to contemporary challenges (Nunes, 2013) and, at the moment, with new relevance as the Welfare State decrease. In the reflexive modernity described by Beck (2000), where endemic uncertainty is what characterizes the life and basic existence for the majority of people, including the middle class apparently accommodated, the voluntary organizations play an important role in the construction of a global civil society, contributing to generate the public meaning and the public trust.

The territory is considered as an urban context where there is territorial exclusions and stigmatization (Wacquant, 2010). In the Wacquant perspective (1997, 2010), the metropolitan core deteriorates faster and the labour districts witness a deterioration of the social conditions. The context of advanced marginalization helps to develop new ways of social enclosure promoted by an unequal transformation of the more advanced western economic societies.

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In our case, the territory is the city of Porto, specifically the metropolitan area that includes seventeen municipalities. Our case study is located in marginalized territory characterized by situations of economic and social deprival.

This work is a preliminary documental analysis of projects and activities of the *Pele* association and we propose a diachronic view of the eight years of its history. In this preliminary phase, the documental analysis was made through the study of audio-visual and texts extracts from the association's website (www.apele.org), from pamphlets and others sources collected during this phase of observation. We also followed the updates from their Facebook profile. The documental analysis helped us to understand the nature of the group and their activities, identifying the typology of their projects, the connection with the territory and the degree of institutionalization.

The case study

The sociological discussion about the social exclusion as a process that involves a multiple population segments (Castel, 2009) became central in the context of new risks and contemporary challenges (Beck, 2000; Giddens, 1991). In view of the problems that pervade our society, it seems necessary to advance in the knowledge about these questions and their dynamics to provide a better understanding that could lead to transformation and change and boost the eradication of problematic situations (Estivill, 2003). The social exclusion becomes a determining factor to explain the problems of society (Paugam, 1996). As a transversal, multi-dimensional and processual notion, it allows to investigate the vulnerabilities and risks of modern societies. It helps in the interpretation of the labour market challenges, in the weakening of social ties and in the assertion of new risks of marginalization with an integrative look.

Another debate that seems to acquire new centrality is the importance that collective actions of civil society gained at strategic levels in financial crisis context and political legitimization of the Welfare State (Santos, 1999). This is especially relevant in the continental or corporative model (Esping-Andersen, 1994); in the South European model (Silva, 2002); in the crisis of classic institutions once responsible to assist families and local communities; in the individualization and society fragmentation (Giddens, 1991); in the increase of distrust and fear of one another (Bauman, 2006); and in the increase of inequality in the south of Europe (Pordata, s/d). With the desegregation of the social bounds at territorial levels, it is necessary to rethink the "mediator institutions" (Lamphere, 1992 *apud* Wacquant, 1997, p. 138) that can have a central role in the positive dynamics of the territories that lacks unifying strengths between people who experienced the same marginality condition: "(…) it needs to be invented [mediator institutions] to promote once more solidarity in the city and to produce social integration previously originated by the incorporation of a class or compact ethnoracial community" (Wacquant, 1997, p.138). Holding these questions in mind, we started our investigation about the *Pele* association.

Pele association, who works in the urban area of Porto since 2007, invested in the theatre, and in the Theatre of the Oppressed, as a privileged space for dialogue and collective creation, which can contribute to the development of the community and promote social and territorial cohesion (Pele, s/d). This case study was selected from an exploratory phase of research conducted in the Porto Council between March and June of 2014. We used a snowball methodology of interviews that started with six privileged informants. During this process we have done eleven interviews and made a list with sixty-two groups, such as associations, social movements and cultural spaces.

In this first moment of negotiation and access to the field, we aimed to get to know the territory and to identify the existent associations that developed projects with and in favour of the population who lives in socially and economically deprived neighborhoods, through systematic and permanent actions. Once the information was retrieved by means of individual semi-structured interviews with privileged informants, we identified the relevant features in relation to the starting point and the goals of this project. The interviews aimed also to the narrowing of a relation and building of trust between the researcher and others actors, approximation to the field of study, fundamental to the ethnographic research *in loco*.

For each association we have made an identity card with the following points: the mission, the kind of organization, the kind of activities, the history, the local (head office, the use of public spaces), the participants profile, the relationship with other groups (the network) and the kind of job that the association developed[2].

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[2] According to the central thematic promoted by groups, we have identified seven different spheres of action: education, culture, environment, homeless, gender, politics and housing.

The methodological strategy of this case study is to provide accurate and deep analyses of a social phenomenon, taking in consideration the context and, at the same time, to highlight and wonder its specificities (Yin, 2009). We have chosen the case study following a parameter that would match with our goals. So, we tried to find an association that worked with people in a situation of social exclusion and in a marginalized territory, with a specific space connotation and place stigmatization (Wacquant, 2010). At the same time, it was important to find an association that had worked continuously for more than five years, in order to allow an analysis about long-term projects and with the chance to observe their impacts through the participant experience. So, we looked for an association with a territorial connection and with frequent activities in Porto in the last five years and that had a real possibility to maintain their activities in the near future.

In the ethnographic studies, in which we are inserted, the main technique is the participant observation, but it is worth stating that another central element to the qualitative research is the methodological triangulation, i.e., the combination of different strategies that includes documentation and statistical sources with more classic techniques (Valles, 2007). Our preliminary analysis is framed in this scenario of documental research about the association.

A diachronic analysis of Pele – *Espaço de Contacto Social e Cultural* activities

According to Sá-Silva, Adams & Guindani (2009), the documentary research is characterized by the search for information on sources who received no scientific treatment, for instance reports, newspaper articles, magazines, letters, recordings, photographs. To learn more about the *Pele* association we analysed the documents produced about them and their activities that are published in their own website. In this sense, we performed a diachronic analysis of the association's activities through the images, videos, synopses and text information about their developed projects available in the website (Pele s/d). In addition to the website, we analysed the material collected at the place of their public presentations as pamphlets and programs. The analysis of these secondary sources helped in the understanding of the nature of the association and of the dynamics that *Pele* intertwines with other institutions and the relationships between the group and the territory.

The specific nature of the association, who assumes the artistic creation and the theatre as a lever to work the issue of social and territorial cohesion, also introduces the discussion on the use of artistic and cultural practices as ways of revitalizing democratic participation, intervention in the public spaces and the fight against social exclusion (Pinto, 1995). This is an interesting starting point to understand possible ways of emancipatory change, disruption of social reproduction mechanisms besides understanding their implementation difficulties (Azevedo, 2012). This discussion fits into the line of thinking that articulates the cultural instances with other social issues (Borges, Costa, & Graça, 2014) as urban regeneration, social inclusion and democratization, boosting the socio-economic development and the well-being also with the contribution of artistic and cultural elements. In our case, the theatre is interpreted as having a strong social and political implication in the development of the community (Bezelga, 2015) with impacts on community networks, where theatricality becomes a permanent research object and a way of questioning the dominant views. Through experimentation, the shared and collective process of artistic creation promotes the capacity of self-reflection and can foster new spaces for meeting, socialization and mobilization (Cruz, 2015) so important to the scenario described on contemporary societies. In the case of socially stigmatized places, cultural intervention may trigger virtuous processes of identity repair, which generally are aimed at combating social exclusion (Pinto, 1995). In the case of places affected by persistent processes of segregation and stigmatization, Pinto (1995) proposes a sociocultural change from the creation of new socialization contexts that may cause "biographical shocks" to produce new social relations. Therefore, it is essential to promote the work developed from and with the territory, aiming at an active participation of people in a perspective of autonomy and continuity of groups.

The theatre, more specifically the community theatre and the Theatre of the Oppressed, can be considered a tool that allows us to examine the social reality and the possibilities of social change. The theatre helps to achieve change by trying out new roles and situations and by helping the social actor to better understand oneself and the surrounding context. For Augusto Boal (1931-2009), the Theatre of the Oppressed can provide, through research of social options to the limits of the imaginable, an essay that examine the possible alternatives and encourages the "spect-actor" to change (Boal, 1975).

We present here a diachronic view of the activities undertaken by the association (table 1). This association establishes as specific practice areas the following: (1) projects in prisons; (2) projects with communities (Community Theatre); (3) theatre projects developed in partnership with the Porto Deaf Association (*Associação de Surdos do Porto* - ASP); (4) and projects in the scope of training and Theatre of the Oppressed. In all projects, the artistic activities and mostly the theatre are the tools that are taken to achieve aims of a social nature, "assuming the artistic creation as a tool for community, social and economic development, contributing to social and territorial cohesion" (Pele, s/d). Across the five specific practice areas, we identified five international partnerships that have taken place since 2009 and followed several projects to date: PBeware Fanaticism (2009-2011); PEETA - Personal Effectiveness and Employability Through the Arts (2010-2012); International Puppet & Mime Festival of Kilkis Grécia (2011-2013); Altriluoghi!! Otherplaces!! (2013-2015); and Partners In Crime Prevention (2013-2015).

As can be seen in Table 1, over the eight years of the association, they have developed activities in the four areas of intervention, with a recent increase in community theatre projects. To better understand the progress of activities it is necessary to explain that there are five working groups that were created from the association's projects, each one working autonomous and continuously in different intervention areas. However, since 2014 with the spectacle *Mapa* (2014-2015), these groups began to work together more continued and steadily for a common project for almost two years. Specifically, we are referring to the following groups: : 1) *AGE – Grupo de Teatro do Oprimido* that is a group of joung people in the centre of the city that perform Theatre of the Opressed; 2) *Grupo de Teatro do Oprimido Auroras* that is a group of women in Lagarteiro's neighborhood, in the east of the city; 3) *Grupo de Teatro Comunitário EmComum de Lordelo do Ouro* that is a group of community theatre in Lodelo do Ouro neighborhood, in the west of the city of Porto; 4) *Grupo de Teatro Comunitário da Zona Histórica* which is a group of community theatre in the historical centre of Porto; 5) *Grupo de Teatro de Surdos do Porto* taht is a deaf theatre group that share "the desire of building bridges between the Deaf and Listener communities, which have been establishing a dialogue through the theater - as a universal language" (Pele s/n).

The groups identification, which together involve about a hundred people, allows us to better understand the ways of working of the association that is geographically present in three areas of Porto, as we can see in the following map.

The stars in the map show the community theatre groups and the territories that they belong to. The red dot is the *Pele* head office in the street *Rua da Alegria*. The rehearsals happen in different places according to each project, but often they take place at the *Pele* head office. There are also other groups in other territories that *Pele* accompanied at the time of creation and which has some partnerships but does not constitute the hard-core of the association activities since they act independently and without frequent interactions.

Some temporary considerations

Therefore, according to the collected documents, the *Pele* association developed directly a total of forty-five projects over the eight years of activity and until date: three in prisons, seventeen projects from community work, four projects carried out with the deaf theatre group, and twenty-one projects in the Theatre of the Oppressed and training. At the moment there are in progress four projects named *Mexe*, *ECOAR*, *Mapa* and *Passeios ao Pôr do Sol*.

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Europacolon (4)		■								
Preto às cores (4)		■								
Nem anjo, nem diabo (4)		■								
O que é que tu queres mais? (4)		■								
Nascemos da água e à água voltaremos (3)			■							
Eram umas quantas vezes (3)			■							
Meto a colher (4)			■						* [3]	
Ler-te ao perto (4)			■						*	
Texturas (2)			■							
Ciclo de teatro do oprimido (4)			■							
Iniciação ao teatro do oprimido (4)			■							

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[3] Displayed as "Projects in progress" or "Available for circulation" on the website.

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Lgt mexe (2)				■						
Entrado (1)				■						
Agosto azul (2)				■						
Miguel + Rita (4)				■						
Diz-crime-na-acção (4)				■						
Curso de teatro do oprimido (4)				■						
Teatro fórum e violência (4)				■						
Curingagem (4)				■						
Laboratório Madalena (4)				■						
Capital europeia da cultura Guimarães 2012 (2)					■					
Férias na quinta (2)					■					
Quase nada (3)					■					
Mexe: i encontro de arte e comunidade (2)						1				
Procura-se futuro (4)					■					
Aurora (4)									*	
Arco-íris do desejo (4)					■					
Teatro-fórum – a estruturação da pergunta (4)					■					
Raízes e asas (4)					■					
Inesquecível emília (1)						■				
Siga a rusga (2)						■				
Peregrinações (2)						■				
Espelho (4)						■			*	
Nós (3)							■		*	
Povoar (2)							■		*	
Terra (2)							■		*	
Mostra de vídeos de teatro comunitário (2)							■			
Mexe: ii (2)							■			
Tam... O caminho do rio (2)								■		
Hoje é dia de festa (4)								■	■	
Mapa (2)								■	■	
Passeios ao pôr do sol (2)									■	
Mexe iii (2)									■	
Salta (2)									■	
Ecoar. Empregabilidade, competências e arte (1)									■	■

Table 1 – A diachronic analysis of Pele – Espaço de Contacto Social a Cultural activities
Source: Performed by the author resulting from the documentary analysis of the website: www.apele.org
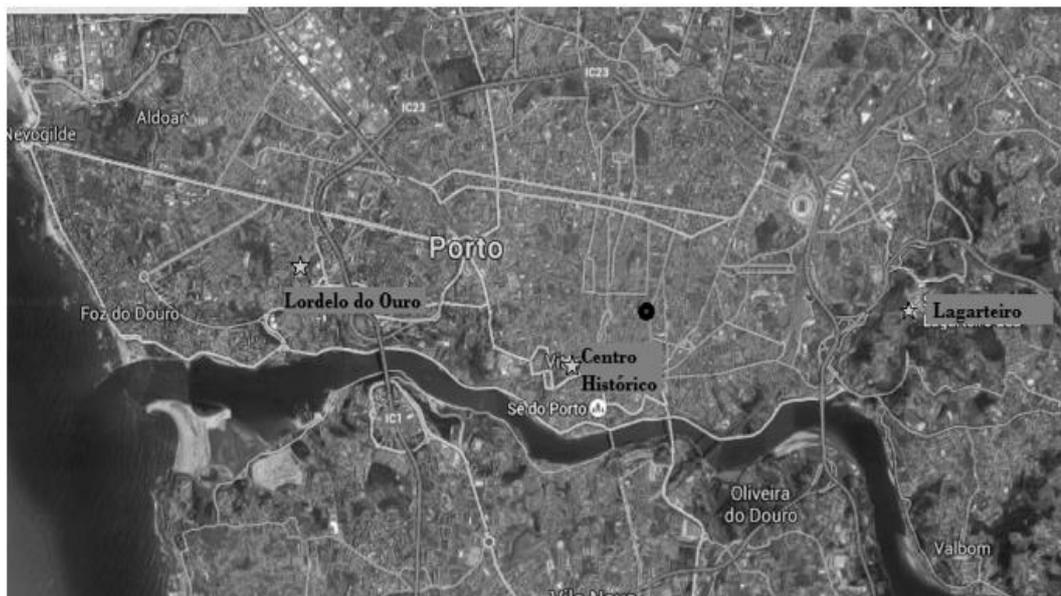

Figure 1 – Acting territories of *Pele – Espaço de Contacto Social e Cultural* activities
Source: Adapted by the author from Google Maps: https://www.google.it/maps/@41.1194156,-8.6110385,9569m/data=!3m1!1e3?hl=it

This association has developed two kinds of activities: the ones that are occasional activities and the long-term activities. In this case is important the role that the five groups have in a continuity perspective. In other words, the association works with projects of limited time, but the constitution of territorial groups allows a continued approach in the territories and with the people involved, especially in regard to the Theatre of the Oppressed, community and deaf people. In this respect, it can be seen the integration of people from groups in the body of the association and in the follow-up of new projects.

This association has different levels of institutionalization: there is a *continuum* where in one side there are projects in public spaces without relation with other institutions and on the opposite side projects with public support as the ones performed in penitentiary institutions. In the middle of the continuum they have projects in partnership with the National Theatre, for example.

In this preliminary part of the present research we have observed the financial sustainability of the *Pele* projects, looking at their projects continuity, although it is quite difficult to anticipate the future activities without a long-term perspective.

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THEME TUNE 6 | Underground music scenes, fragmentation, borders and diasporas

6.1. Breaking the Electronic Sprawl

Hillegonda C Rietveld [1]

Abstract

This paper addresses a contemporary mediation of urban alienation and a delineation of sonic space through DiY electronic music. It thereby aims to find a way to understand associated music scenes beyond the notion of distinct subcultures. It will do so by addressing the intersection of the dub diaspora and post-punk nihilism London's underground electronic music, in specific grime and dub step. The deconstructive musical aesthetic of dub step and grime can produce social empowerment as the articulation of shared social experience. The resulting aesthetic as well as low-tech DiY approach to music resonates with, for example, the minimalist digital sounds of Kuduro in Angola and Gqom in South Africa. Such a raw and broken electronic sound reaches beyond the localised limits of subcultural theory, as common meeting points may be identified across Black Atlantic post-colonial post-human experience, breaking both with and against the alienating complexities of living in an electronic urban sprawl.

Keywords: urban electronic music, DIY, subcultures, post-colonialism.

London's underground electronic music offers, arguably, a range of music styles at the intersection of post-punk nihilism and diasporic dub reggae. Already during the late 1970s, Dick Hebdige (1979) took the postcolonial sound of dub as a starting point for his subcultural approach to London's punk scene, identifying an array of influences that included glitter-rock, and American proto-punk, as well as mod styled music, northern soul, and reggae. Thirty years on, dub step and grime are London's established underground music genres, exported globally to the US, Canada, Australia, and a range of European destinations. Here, one could argue that subcultural capital, a concept defined by Sarah Thornton (1995), is being exported. However, perhaps the situation is more complex for electronic "ghetto music" than a localised notion of subculture versus dominant culture can explain in the context of digitized global post-human culture and shared colonial histories.

Grime and dub step, both electronic music genres that first developed in East London and South London respectively, have a shared genealogy that stems from late 1990s UK Garage, itself a mix of electronic dance club music known in the UK as 'garage' due its lineage to New York's club Paradise Garage, and bass-lines that, via mid-90s drum'n'bass and jungle, resonate with reggae dancehall music. Their path differ in that grime is characterised by a type of rap, which is rooted in the rapid MC style associated with pirate radio stations that, illegally, offered a continuous programme of underground garage, house music and drum'n'bass on London's airwaves. A good example is Wiley's "It's Wiley" on the *Showa Eski EP* (2011), released in Jamaica, on which producer and MC Richard Kylea Cowie, aka Wiley, states his manifesto of daily grime culture in rapid rhyme, at 140 BPM (beats per minute). Lyrics in grime often speak of anger and frustration. Competition seems a priority, in terms of physical strength, fighting fitness and material goods. Mostly they seem to define what it means to be a young man in a world where the working classes no longer can count on a regular job, where brotherhood is valued yet sexual relationships are atomised and objectified in terms of conquests.

On a speculative level, it may well that the resulting misogyny helps produce a false sense of superiority in a world where the social standing of the post-industrial male has been crushed to underclass status. This point is made not to justify masculinism, but may go some way to understand its political-economic underpinning within a neoliberal context. The musical aesthetic of grime, with its rapid rhymes, seems to embrace an accelerated culture, which is described well by Benjamin Nuys in *Malign Velocities* (2014), offering a critical overview of speed cultures, which embrace acceleration as both aesthetic and political tools to vainly stay ahead of the individualism of capitalist machinery. Alienation, then, is articulated here through a DiY approach to music that breaks with pop music conventions, juxtaposing drones and bass-heavy textures with, what are at times, complex rhythms.

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Dub step, by contrast, is often instrumental, emphasizing a deep, almost subsonic bass that echoes the old dub basslines that emerged from Jamaica during the 1970s and which seems to emphasize the half-tempo of a track. This way a dub step track can be heard as being 140 BPM when listening to the drums, or 70 BPM when focussing on the bass. When vocals are used, they sound like pastiches of Jamaican dub reggae voice-overs, usually treated with excessive spaced out echoic audio effects. For example, "Anti War Dub" by Digital Mystikz (2006), which features the echoic dub vocals of Spen G. The emotive yet intellectually engaging MC performances of The Spaceape (Stephen Samuel Gordon) who collaborated especially with Hyperdub label boss Steve Goodman, aka Kode9, both from South-London, reflect on the surrealism of post-human existence. On the album *Memories of the Future* (2006), we hear dub poetry underpinned by contemporary philosophy. In these electronically produced tracks, the modern subject is decentred through labyrinthine echoic effects and digitised audio traces, while the musical structures offer a mix of violence and melancholy. As Chris Christodoulou (2011: 44) has argued in the context of drum'n'bass, the deep sound of bas "produces a powerful sense of *jouissance* where identity can seem to unravel on the dance floor and an articulation of contemporary urban space as a place of subjective loss and regression." Simultaneously, the subjective halving of the tempo seems to provide a counterweight to the information overloaded accelerated experience of a digitised and networked urban existence.

In *The Dark Side of Modernity*, social theorist Jeffrey C Alexander resonates with Georges Bataille's discussion of the sacred by stating that "The social creation of evil results not only in efforts to avoid evil but also in the pursuit of it" (2013: p. 120). As young working class men and women lose opportunities to start their lives as independent young adults, prevented from setting up a stable home based on a regular income, a disenfranchised underclass develops that produces its own ecology, accompanied by its own sonic articulations. What seems so right to the state, is perceived as wrong by those who suffer the consequences. In this sense, Hebdidge's subcultural theory still holds fast. A musical aesthetic develops that is partly based on necessity, in particular in the case of grime, utilising affordable electronic music technologies to produce minimalist, yet effective, tracks, turning traditional pop structures upside down and inside out. While bass is emphasized, the vocals either speed up to 140 BPM, in the case of grime, or decelerate to emphasize a tempo of around 70 BPM; this in contrast to the tempo of a pop song, which seems on average between 110 – 125 BPM, the speed of one's heart rate ranging between slightly excited to mild exercise. Such music styles break both with, and against, musical structures to create innovative ways to respond to challenging circumstances. In this sense, we may agree with Michel Foucault (1981) that power, wherever it is directed from, can be productive. And, as Jacques Attali (1985: p. 20) states, "Representation against fear, repetition against harmony, compositions against normality. It is in this interplay of concepts that music invites us to enter, in its capacity as the herald of organizations and their overall political strategies - noise that destroys orders to structure a new order." The deconstructive musical aesthetic of dub step and grime can produce social empowerment through the seduction of their shared secret, to paraphrase Jean Baudrillard (1988). We may even find, in these musical styles, a detoxifying inversion of its sonic articulation of evil.

The participants (the dancers, listeners, MCs, producers, DJs) of stripped down electronic music genres such as dub step and, in particular, grime, share a secret because of a shared life experience. These are articulated within specific affective sonic structures and ways of producing these within the context of a post-colonial and post-human(ist) urban society, where neo-liberalism has partly percolated mutating itself to a particular urban economic configurations of, especially, East and South London. In what Paul Gilroy (1993) identifies as Black Atlantic culture, indicating the historical experience of the colonialist slavery of African peoples and the enforced passage across the Atlantic Ocean, early voice was given to capitalist alienation, in the form of extreme commodification of human life. This voice has woven itself through the syncretic musical forms associated with African-Americans, Latin-Americans and Afro-Caribbean cultures, including the mixed demographic of London working class youth with its mix of Caribbean, Irish, South-Asian, Anglo and other ethnic backgrounds. Understanding the wide geo-political scope of this long-standing cultural history, one starts to wonder if the notion of 'subculture' suffices to explain the music forms that have evolved form this, as one must wonder what dominant culture this subcultural musical aesthetic is actually 'sub' to.

The broken and minimalist low-tech DiY aesthetic approach to music resonates with other music scenes. For example, there are the minimalist digital sounds of Kuduro in Angola, that is researched and discussed in the work of Stefanie Alisch and Nadine Siegert (2011, 2013) as well as Garth Sheridan (2014) and can be heard in videos like "Kuduro in Angola: Os Detroia, Não Faz Isso Bela"; The electronic tracks feature vocalists most of the time and both groups of young men and groups of young women show off their dance steps, which involve strong body

chores as torso's band backwards and, when genders mix, dancers simulate explicit sexual poses. Another example of a low-tech minimalist electronic music style is gqom from South Africa, which mainly seems to consist of stark drum programming and a bass line, yet each track offers a unique *riddim* (as one would say in the world of reggae to indicate a bass and drum track), often inspired by traditional drum rhythms. Gqom followed after the bling optimism of South Africa's version of house music, kwaito, which celebrated the end of Apartheit. Gqom, by contrast has a rawer, DiY, and almost menacing quality, in its cleverly stripped-down yet stubborn repetitive phrases and drone-like tonality, as can be heard on, for example, a recent DJ mix: GQOM, 2015 Reprise Mix. In these styles, resonances can be identified in the shared post-colonial post-human urban experiences of accelerated digital cultures. Although musicians and scene participants travel and settle elsewhere, resulting in some exchange, say in the case of Kuduro, between Luanda, Lisbon and Bahia, as well as New York and London this does not necessarily mean that there has been a direct musical exchange between these local scenes. However, there are shared political and even cultural history styles that rhizomically emerge from similar experiences of alienation.

A complex web of connections loosely binds together these disparate electronic music styles, which, for lack of a better word, may be identified as a type of ghetto-tech. This term has, admittedly, been reserved for a specific style of gritty club music from Chicago and Detroit, which combines electro, techno, drum'n'bass and UK garage, and is thereby relatively explicitly part of a cross-Atlantic dialogue with musical developments in the UK, which is not necessarily the case with Angola's Kuduro or South Africa's gqom. Such minimalist aesthetics are also not just resereved for music scenes that can connections with African styles, as also in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, a minimalist male-dominated techno style emerged, locally known as gabber (meaning a male friend or mate), and since mutated by English-speakers to gabba, indicating its simplicity of four-to-the-floor beats and single melody lines, embracing accelerated culture with approximate tempos of 180 BPM.

Within the seemingly unrelated music scenes discussed above, it may possible to identify, within what politically may be identified as *noise,* articulations of: neoliberal economics of competition; post-colonial diasporic identity formation; global urbanization; digitization of music production; power shifts in gender identity; and, perhaps, brotherhood community as 'alternative'. I argue here, therefore, that the raw electronic musical aesthetics discussed reach beyond the limits of subcultural theory. The latter makes sense on a local level, where dominant cultures and subcultures may be easier distinguished. But on a wider, even global, scale, one needs to look further into shared histories and shared experiences based on larger political economic forces.

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6.2. Black Metal: history, trace of character and archetype

José Filipe P. M. Silva [2]

Abstract

In this communication it is intended to realize an historical analysis on the nature of "Black metal", considered as the most extreme subgenre and subculture of heavy metal music, and, simultaneously, to discuss its philosophical and psychoanalytical interpretations, namely through the concepts of "emotion", "trace of character" and "archetype". I will demonstrate that this musical style constitutes a perfect example of the psychological semi-primeval mental figure of the "Horrible Father", a mitigation and degeneration of the symbolic fertility of the "Great Mother" (which is represented among every culture since pre-historical times). For such, the study will be framed in four fundamental authors (Erich Neumann, Malcolm Budd, Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung), orientated by three thematic moments (nature and significance of the "Great Mother" and the "Horrible Father"; Black metal anti-Christian founding ideology and the actions perpetuated in the name of the "scene"; philosophical perspectives on beauty and psychoanalytical interpretations) and having as plumb-line the major nihilistic and anti-Christian statements of the late nineteenth century philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, which are usually quoted ad hoc in black metal songs.

Keywords: archetype, beauty, black metal, horrible father, trace of character.

Roots of darkness

Black metal is probably the most extreme and controversial subgenre and subculture of the musical universe. Ever since its beginning in the early 1980s with bands such as Venom, Mercyful Fate, Bathory, Hellhammer or Celtic Frost – and especially after its rebirth in the early nineties, with the Scandinavians Mayhem, Burzum, Darkthrone, Immortal, Gorgoroth, Marduk or Dark Funeral – Black Metal has proven itself to be the most consistently though-provoking, aggressive, depressive, misanthropic, obscure and essentially misunderstood of all the many offshoots of heavy metal. This happens due to its differential high-pitched guitar tones with heavy distortion and fast picking, fast drum tempos and blast-beats, shrieking vocal styles – which turn into pure agony and suffering cries namely through the so-called Depressive-Suicidal Black Metal, such as Werther or Nocturnal Depression –, raw recording and production (with many musicians preferring to use the cheapest materials they find and their homes or basements as studios – as is the case of the epics "Transilvanian Hunger" by Darkthrone or Burzum's "Filosofem"), unconventional song structures (with highly repetitive instrumental sections) and where the artists often appear with corpsepaint, dressing black-leather jackets and steel boots, adopting pseudonyms inspired in Jew-Christian demonology or Tolkien's *Legendarium* and generally supporting anti-Christian ideologies.

Satanism, Nazism and crime: some iconic cases

Due to all of these non-mainstream musical and aesthetic aspects they are usually called Satanists or devil worshippers – as well as their fans. This denomination is, however, partially correct although many times exaggerated. It is partially correct because some of the performers – especially those of the second wave from the nineties, belonging to the "True Norwegian Black Metal" scene – were associated to crimes, murders, church burning and proclaimed themselves as Satanists, pagans or neo-Nazis.

There was the iconic case of Varg Vikernes (or Count Grishnackt, named after an evil orc from "The Lord of the Rings"), the mastermind of the one-man project Burzum (which means "darkness" in the black speech of Mordor), who was convicted from murdering Øystein Aarseth (or Euronymous) – one of Mayhem's founder and lead guitarist – in 1993. Besides this episode, and thanks to a combination of artistic innovation with personal misfortune, Mayhem achieved a truly legendary status within the genre: Per Yngve Ohlin (otherwise known as Dead), a Swedish

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vocalist and lyricist who moved to Norway in 1988 to join the group killed himself in 1991 by slitting his wrists and shooting in the head with a shotgun Euronymous owned. He was a very depressive person who was always cutting himself during the shows or smelling the rotten carcasses of dead animals, like a crow he found on tour.

Euronymous once said about him (Eide, 1987): "I honestly think Dead is mentally insane (…) Which other way can you describe a guy who does not eat, in order to get starving wound? Or have a T-shirt with funeral announcements on it?".

Another episode that has become part of Black Metal folklore consists in the fact that Euronymous (who discovered Dead's body in a Mayhem's forest house near Kråkstad) delayed contacting the police; instead he went back into town to purchase a disposable camera before returning to the scene to photograph the deceased and apparently rearranging the knife so that it lay on the top of the shotgun for dramatic effect, thus Aites & Ewell (2008) reported. This photography was then used as a cover for the 1995 Mayhem's bootleg "Dawn of the Black Hearts". It is worth to note that Dead was the first "black metaller" ever to use corpsepaint[3].

Backing to Varg Vikernes, he maintained he killed in self-defense and denied responsibility for the church arsons, though supported them (Aites & Ewell, 2008). He was sentenced to 21 years in prison and during that time he became affiliated with the Heathen Front, had several writings on German paganism published and recorded and released two electronic albums ("Dauði Baldrs" in 1997 and "Hliðskjálf" in 1999) using nothing but a synthesizer. Having served almost 15 years of his sentence he was released on parole in 2009. In his website he constantly writes articles defending Odalism ideology based on the idea that white Europeans should readopt native European values, namely those belonging to the traditional paganism. Preceding Mayhem's macabre bootleg choice, Vikenes had already used in 1993 a photo of a Christian burning church as a cover for his album "Aske" – literally meaning "ashes". That church was supposedly destroyed by him.

Nietzsche's philosophy absorbed

Undoubtedly the most influential philosopher to Black Metal (and, generally speaking, to Heavy Metal) was Friedrich Nietzsche, for he consistently theorized both the human being's duplicity (the Apollonian-Dionysian dichotomy) and the chance of an "Übermensch" (Superman/Beyond-Man), which constitute two main aesthetic vectors of this particular subgenre. According to Nietzsche, the tension generated between Apollo (the rational side of the human body) and Dionysus (the instinctive side) determines the field of the artistic creation and life in general. The Übermensch would be a product of evolutionism. In fact, Nietzsche accepted the "Development hypothesis" as an explanation of the origin of species but he did not halt where most naturalists have halted for he by no means regarded men as the highest possible being which evolution could arrive at; for though his physical development may have reached its limit, the same does not happen with his mental attributes. There is absolutely no limit for man's aspirations: "(…) I picked up from the path the word Superman, and that man is something that must be surpassed. That man is a bridge and not a goal" (Nietzsche, 1918, p. 220).

Nietzsche is against Socrates' philosophical revolution because that took men away from the Dionysian half, the creative half. He is also against monotheistic religions, especially the Jew-Christian tradition, for the reason that they stand in opposition to all intellectual well-being and men's freedom. He says:

> I condemn Christianity; I bring against the Christian church the most terrible of all the accusations than an accuser has ever had in his mouth. It is, to me, the greatest of all imaginable corruptions (…) The Christian church has left nothing untouched by its depravity; it has turned every value into worthlessness and every truth into a lie, and every integrity into baseness of soul (Nietzsche, 1924, p. 181).

It is worth to note this is very similar to something Vikernes once said on interview (Aites & Ewell, 2008):

> "Originally the place was an old pagan holy-site. It was up on the hill where our forefathers used to celebrate the sun. What the Christians did was to move this church from another place and put it not close to this holy place but on top of it, in the midst of the circle actually breaking up the circle, and on the pagan hulk they put

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[3] Of course before Dead some musicians and bands already painted their faces and bodies (like Celtic Frost, King Diamond, Alice Cooper or KISS); nevertheless, they just did it for aesthetic and marketing purposes (to look "cool" or "evil", ….). Dead was the first one that actually used paint to look like a corpse in decomposition.

a big stone cross. So, if they have no respect for the Norwegian culture, why on Earth should Norwegians respect their culture?".

Nature of Black Metal and the mainstream devil

Analysing these passages one can easily understand what Black Metal is essentially about: rebellion against those who don't respect one's own heritage and culture. There is a strong sense of parenthood, personhood and sometimes loneliness that turn Black Metal into non-mainstream or even anti-mainstream – and this is the basic transversal philosophical line. What is going to properly differentiate between bands will be the aesthetics adopted as well as the personal experiences, beliefs, emotional balance and eventually psychopathological issues of their musicians. Of course we cannot hide, depreciate neither dismiss the fact that its social view is generically awful (like many other genres and artistic movements were before, as Tango, Blues, Rock or Punk) due to the common headline-grabbing "Satanic terror" that takes place on press from time to time. The reasons for that may vary but sometimes they are completely intentional and commercial.

For instance, Gorgoroth (also a *Tolkienesque* inspiration) performed a show in Poland displaying sheep heads on stakes, a bloodbath using 80 litres of sheep's blood and four naked crucified models on stage (Black Mass Krakow, 2004). This particular band is a good example of what is going on within the industry of shock-entertainment, violence and gore. The key-point here is not if they transmitted their message or even if what they did was morally correct but the fact they became much more known by the mass media and they sold more albums. This happens because people usually fear or become curious when listening about those things once the biggest part of them have religious beliefs where Satan and the devil pacts are undisputable truths or simply because they just want to have fun with bizarre discoveries.

But this is not a creation of Black Metal. Actually, and remembering the legendary "27 Club" (with musicians as Robert Johnson, Jimmy Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Kurt Kobain or Amy Winehouse who died under off-pattern circumstances, as homicide, suicide, alcohol and drug abuse), we can perfectly measure the social reach of the supposed diabolical pacts. The internet is full of such theories. Or, concerning the above-mentioned shock-entertainment industry, we just need to look at Marilyn Manson, Lady Gaga or Miley Cyrus to understand the phenomenology that lies behind.

What Black Metal really does is a harsh exploration which destroys, recreates and takes into an extreme these very sensible topics. Gorgoroth's anti-Christian Nietzschean ideology becomes clear just by reading the titles of their albums: "Antichrist" (1996), "Destroyer" (1998) – inspired in Nietzsche's book "Destroyer, or About How to Philosophize With the Hammer" – or "Twilight of the Idols" (2003). Nevertheless, it is also worth to mention here a distinctive fact: the vocalist Kristian Espedal (or Gaahl, one of Gorgoroth's members and a notorious man in the scene) openly assumed his homosexuality, something that appears to reinforce the sense of personhood, self-thinking and – somehow in a strange way – tolerance of this subculture.

The main emotions of the scene

"Pride", "anguish" and "hate" seem to be the predominant emotions of Black Metal: "pride" of the ancient days; "anguish" for that long-gone past and "hate" for those who took it away. Gylve Nagel (also known as Fenriz), one of Darkthrone's founder, seems to agree with this view, as shown by Aites & Ewell (2008): "This is Black Metal, this is what Black Metal is supposed to sound like…all cold". In fact, and analysing one of Mayhem's main songs named "Freezing Moon" (with Dead on vocals), we reach the very same conclusion:

> "Everything here is so cold/Everything here is so dark/I remember it as from a dream/In the corner of this time/ Diabolical Shapes float by/Out from the dark/I remember it was here I died/By following the freezing moon (…) Darkness is growing, the eternity opens/The cemetery lights up again/As in ancient times/Fallen souls die behind my steps/By following the freezing moon" (Mayhem, 1994).

Thus, from the point of view of the listener, we can say the value of music is intrinsic and not merely instrumental; it results from a combination of things which are presented through the sound waves, the rhythm and the symphonies and his self-psychological experience, his inner world, his subjectivity. This happens not only in Black Metal but in all musical genres.

In fact, the philosopher Malcolm Budd (1992, p. 109) claims a similar opinion:

> "A musical work is therefore a presentational symbol. But if it is a symbol it must possess a structure analogous to the structure of the phenomenon it symbolises: it must share a common logical form with its object. And the way in which a musical work can resemble some segment of emotional life is by possessing the same temporal structure as that segment (…) Music is a presentational symbol of emotional life".

This means that in the case of Black Metal must be some continuous – even unconscious – segment between the musical structure and the bands' lyricism and aesthetics with the emotional life of the subject in a way that, for a certain period of time, they both coincide: we have a double "pride", a double "anguish" and a double "hate". We shall note that this does not turn Black Metal into an undesirable field once every musical genre has its own amount of "pride", "anguish", "hate" and many other uncountable emotions. The same happens with Black Metal, which has also "love", "envy", "remorse" or "fear". What really differentiates generic Black Metal from other musical genres is merely the fact that those three main emotions assume the role of traces of character – although some bands prefer to emphasize simply one of them (as the Depressive-Suicidal Black Metal bands which dig deep in anguish and melancholy or the National-Socialist Black Metal bands that overuse the ethnical hatred-factor).

Freudian traces of character

A trace of character to Freudian psychoanalysis is simply a mental formula in which character in its final shape is formed out of the constituent "drives" (*Triebe*) – "death drives" (*Todestriebe*) and "life drives" (*Lebenstriebe*). Freud (1924a, p. 267) says: "The permanent traces of character are either unchanged prolongations of the original drives, or sublimation of those drives, or reaction-formation against them". This means that they constitute products of what happened to the subject during his babyhood and puberty. They do not suddenly appear from nowhere; they have an ancient and primary origin.

Thus, according to Freudian perspective, it is quite probable that those self-harming Black Metal musicians like Dead have a psychopathological disorder. But Amy Winehouse and Kurt Cobain also harmed themselves with alcohol and drugs – and they were mainstreamed –, so we must not be hypocrite. There are people mentally insane everywhere, in every single musical spectrum.

What really makes a distinction in Black Metal is the exacerbated nihilism which frequently appears as a background structure for the melodies and the unbounded criticism engaged to sensible topics as religion, both supported by furious fast drumming, guitar picking and screaming voices. Burzum's song "Erblicket die Töchter des Firnaments" (translated as "Beholding the Daughters of the Firmament") perfectly shows this nihilistic overview:

> "I wonder how winter will be/With a spring that I shall never see/I wonder how night will be/With a day that I shall never see/I wonder how life will be/With a light I shall never see/I wonder how life will be/With a pain that lasts eternally/In every night there's a different black/In every night I wish that I was back/To the time when I rode/Through the forests of old/In every winter there's a different cold/In every winter I feel so old/So very old as the night/So very old as the dreadful cold/I wonder how life will be/With a death that I shall never see/I wonder why life must be/A life that lasts eternally(…)" (Burzum, 1996).

The quasi-omnipresent Nietzschean nihilism

In fact, and if we already talked about Nietzsche's importance to the scene (namely through the Dionysian appealing, the anti-Christianity ideology and the Übermensch concept), we shall not forget his nihilistic impression on mankind. Nietzsche (1924, p. 47) wrote:

> "Life itself appears to me as an instinct for growth, for survival, for the accumulation of forces, for power: whenever the will to power fails there is disaster. My contention is that all the highest values of humanity have been emptied of this will; that the values of decadence, of nihilism, now prevail under the holiest names".

One of those holiest names is precisely God, and that is why Black Metal sings against him. Proclaiming Satan it is proclaiming the restoration of a different and primordial phenomenology; it is a returning point to the beginning of the world, a world without God and a world full of creative possibilities. The nihilistic or homicidal/suicidal

summons are nothing but a factual assumption of world's void; certainly sometimes the musicians are deeply emerged in psychopathological issues so they really want to inspire people to commit those actions but, generally speaking, they are just painting reality with their dissonance.

Freudian prototypes and Jungian archetypes

Thus, Satan can be perfectly understood as Freud once analysed:

> "If the benevolent and righteous God is a substitute for his father, it is not to be wondered at that his hostile attitude to his father, too, which is one of hating and fearing him and of making complains against him, should have come to expression in the creation of Satan. Thus the father, it seems, is the individual prototype of God and the Devil. But we should expect religions to bear ineffaceable marks of the fact that the primitive father was a being of unlimited evil – a being less like God than the Devil" (Freud, 1924b, p. 424).

Nevertheless, and more than a "prototype", Satan works as a Jungian "archetype" (*Archetyp*), an "instinctive trend" (Jung, 1988, p. 69)[4] within Black Metal. He is a shadow of God, the good father – as Freud said – or, more remotely, a shadow of the primitive "Great Goddess" (or "Great Mother"), a symbol of fecundity for animals and farming whose cult preceded the monotheistic religions – something amazingly conceptualized by Erich Neumann (1974). As C. G. Jung (1969, p. 4) argues:

> "Although the attributes of Christ (…) undoubtedly mark him out as an embodiment of the self, looked at from the psychological angle he corresponds to only one half of the archetype. The other half appears in the Antichrist. The latter is just a manifestation of the self, except that he consists of its dark aspects".

Defining the nucleus of Black Metal

To conclude, we must say Satan is a Terrible Father that appears not to nurture and comfort but to challenge his own sons, kicking them out of docility and spiritual dependence and forcing them to face reality without any protection. This is why Black Metal is "cold" – as Fenriz assumed – and this is why "black metallers" need to build up their own armours, weapons and shelter. In the end, people just need to release their aggression from the mundane life: and this is what Black Metal does.

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[4] According to Jung (1988, p. 69): "What we properly call instincts are physiological urges, and are perceived by the senses. But at the same time, they also manifest themselves in fantasies and often reveal their presence only by symbolic images. These manifestations are what I call the archetypes. They are without origin; and they reproduce themselves in any time or in any part of the world – even where transmission by direct descent or "cross fertilization" through migration must be ruled out".

6.3. Avant-garde rock, or the defiance of traditional musical domains

Jacopo Costa [1]

Abstract

Since the late 1960s, several "avant-garde" or "experimental" rock acts have started integrating heterogeneous aesthetic features (coming from classical and contemporary music, jazz or even ethnic repertories). They did so to the point of challenging the traditional boundaries between musical styles and between socio-musical spheres. Representatives of this musical "no man's land" can be found among the bands of the European collective Rock In Opposition (active between late 1970s and early 1980s) and their contemporary successors. While being virtually suitable for rock festivals as well as for contemporary music seasons, they never reached anything wider than underground niche audiences. In fact, on top of having occasionally displayed a lack of organisational skills, these artists can hardly fit the functioning patterns of the "mainstream musical spheres" because of the very nature of their output: being poorly concerned about the rock way of life, they cannot accommodate "the rock talk" and the structuring role it plays both for the music business and for public cultural policies focused on rock music. Furthermore, they lack the contiguity with artistic institutions that is a necessary feature of classical and contemporary music careers. My aim is to point out that the existence of such "avant-garde rock" does not solely constitute a hybrid between different "orthodox" musical tendencies; on the contrary, it represents the conscious outcome of a multicultural society, a production in which the access to all kind of musical stimuli has been developed into a coherent artistic synthesis. This music stresses the limits of social schemes, institutions and policies grounded on an opposition between musical domains that is taken for granted.

Keywords: avant-garde rock, musical styles, socio-musical spheres, underground and mainstream scenes.

Musical genres: a problematic notion

Musical genres are entities involving several different features. When asked to define a musical genre, say funk, music is of course the first feature we are likely to look at as we try to answer the question "What does it sound like?". We try to explain what Allan Moore calls the `primary text` (Moore, 2001), namely the set of musical rules and conventions upon which every single style is organised. In the case of funk, we should talk about instrumental choices (for instance dry sounding and relatively high pitched drums, often slap bass...), principles for the organisation of rhythm (the importance of the downbeat, the frequent use of cross-rhythms, the notion of groove...), harmonic conventions (two or three chord 'shuttles', pedals...), melodic and formal conventions, and so on.

However, describing only the primary text would be insufficient to explain what funk — or any other musical genre — actually is. Music presupposes people making it and people listening to it: musicians and public. Sometimes the public of a specific genre shares the same social ground with the musicians producing it. In many other cases, while there are social differences between musicians and public, we can still trace a precise relation binding them to each other *in quite an exclusive way.*

Musical Genres as social representations

In his book *Les musiciens underground* (Séca, 2001), the french sociologist Jean-Marie Séca has defined musical genres (with regard to contemporary popular music) as `social representations`, with an effective explanation that I would like to quote in its entirety:

> Music is often conceived as addressed to an idealised crowd or a public identifying with it. This latter is supposed to share some elements of the code which is transmitted. The message comes out in the feeling, from a free style or a jam session, an improvisation between friends or acquaintances. It is built with regard to codes, models, by experimenting with melodic or rhythmic lines which are more or less admitted in the milieu or in the trend the musicians claim to. They draw on a ground, on a memory (records, sounds, rhythms, experiences,

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poetry). But this memory is not just a space of inspiration. It is, literally, a social representation or, in other words, a hierarchized system of beliefs, knowledges, attitudes, opinions, verbal and non verbal units of which sounds are the part out of the water and "palpable".

The emotional elements, along with the iconic, musical and para-verbal ones, create semantic entities which are parts of a social representation (= SR) and keep a strong link with its linguistic side (texts, beliefs, knowledges). A musical genre is a SR[2] (Séca, 2001, p. 97)

Séca points out clearly the connection between text and context which is at the core of what we call musical genres. Still, there are two important elements that I think should be emphasised further, namely the historical development through which these *social representations* evolve, and the influence wielded by the economy on the different activities involved around music.

Musical genres evolving through history in social awareness

One of the most important popular music scholars and experts in genre studies, Franco Fabbri, suggest that "in many cases some of the most relevant conventions defining a genre tend to operate before a name for the genre is agreed upon, but (...) the 'act' of naming makes other conventions more 'visible' and helps to create new ones." (Fabbri, 2014, p. 6). In the same paper, delivered in 2014 during a conference about progressive rock[3] and focused on Italian prog, Fabbri explains that the style we know *now* as progressive rock was seldom referred to with this expression in Italy until the mid 1970s (actually when the progressive rock trend started to decline): other names were used and "progressive" was an adjective made popular in the 1980s' "prog revival". For instance, the word 'pop' was far more widespread: it could describe what the British press, public and musicians were already calling 'progressive rock' but it could include other repertoires, such as American rock and Italian *canzone*.

These observations mean to point out that the referential approach by means of which musicians and public deal with different repertories is likely to change in time. Naming, labelling a group of artists or a series of musical productions as belonging to a specific genre allows us to consider those artists and those productions as a unit and to treat them as such in every respect. When a name is found to identify as an unified genre an artistic output which was heterogeneous and at least partially disjointed in the first place, a whole new *social representation* is likely to be born. This new social representation (and everything it conveys in terms of human relations, behaviours, practical solutions, etc.) does not necessarily need to have a direct bond with the *musical contents* of the genre: the name, the definition, the label provide a referent which can be used as an unit category without deeper analysis.

Musical genres and their relation with the economy

As for the relation between musical genres and the economy, french sociologist Bertrand Ricard argues that the proliferation of new labels to define (often rather preposterously) genres and sub-genres reflects the typical capitalistic strategy of atomising the market (and thus the community of the customers) in order to control it in a more efficient way (Ricard, 2006, *infra*).

Agreeing or not with Ricard's professedly anti-liberal analysis, this 'over-labelling' phenomenon is a fact. I recently consulted the on-line program of *La Laiterie*[4], the principal concert venue in Strasbourg for popular music. There are two levels of classifying scheduled concerts and artists: normally two or three artists or groups play each night and a general classification based on five macro-categories informs the audience about the "type" of night.

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[2] Original text (translated into english by the article's author): "La musique est souvent conçue comme s'adressant à une foule idéalisée ou à un public qui s'y entend. Celui-ci est censé partager certains éléments du code divulgué. Le *message* naît d'abord dans le *feeling*, au départ d'un *free style* ou d'un *bœuf*, d'une improvisation entre amis ou entre connaissances. Il se construit par rapport à des codes, à des modèles, par l'expérimentation de lignes mélodiques et rythmiques plus ou moins admises dans le milieu ou le courant dont on se réclame. On puise dans un terreau, dans une mémoire (les disques, les sons, les rythmes, le vécu, la poésie). Mais cette dernière n'est pas seulement un espace d'inspiration. Elle est, au sens propre, une *représentation sociale* ou, en d'autres termes, un système hiérarchisé de croyances, de connaissances, d'attitudes, d'opinions, d'unités linguistiques et non verbales dont les sons et les rythmes forment la partie émergente et « palpable ».
Les éléments *affectifs*, *iconiques*, *musicaux*, *para-verbaux*, forment des entités sémantiques figuratives qui font partie d'une *représentation sociale* (= RS) et demeurent en forte liaison avec sa *dimension linguistique* (textes, croyances, connaissances). Un genre musical est une *RS*."
[3] *Le Rock Progressif!* Première Conférence Internationale du Réseau ACADPROG. Dijon: Université de Bourgogne, Centre Georges Chevrier. 10-12 December 2014.
[4] http://www.artefact.org

Despite the fancy names (like *Furia* or *Vertigo*) we can easily identify these macro-categories as black music (rap, soul, r'n'b, etc.), rock, metal/punk/heavy music, electronic music, songwriters/*chanson*. A second classification defines the specific style of each group: here we can find definitions such as "rock jazz chanson trip hop", or "indietronica pop rock expérimentale"...

The *need* to provide a label, possibly a cool and trendy one, *before* the audience can have an idea of what the music *does sound like*, is palpable. Moreover, this need indicates that genre, considered as a keyword, can be used as a powerful advertising tool, even regardless of the musical content and of the musical value that stand 'behind' it. This assertion involves that if a band is recognised as belonging to a specific genre, its 'share of visibility' — according to the spaces of communication devoted to that genre — will be enhanced. It is a basic advertising strategy: when a product has a name (simple, non problematic, unequivocal or, even better, simply catchy) it is easier to trade. Furthermore, the musical market is organised according to such categories and musicians have to fit this "grid" in order to promote their music, to play it or just to make it survive. Of course, I use the notion of market in a broad sense, covering not only record companies and private music promoters, but also public institutions appointed to oversee musical activities: each in its own way and with its own rules, they follow the afore mentioned strategy.

Rock: a unitary category?

I already mentioned the possible shift between *text* and *context* which can take place in the articulation of a musical genre: this idea implies the possibility that for a given unitary musical code (the *text*) we would not be able to match its 'expected' *context*, considered as the coherent ensemble of audience, social responses, market, etc. The shift can occur as a result of different causes, for example time, as underlined by Fabbri, or marketing processes, as in the case of genres' names used as advertising tools "apart from the music". Moreover, the situation is often far more complicated, since there are musical genres that cannot be described as unitary, with regards to the *text*, nor coherent, with regards to the *context*. Rock is an excellent example of such genres.

Rock's aesthetic inclusiveness

Despite its unquestionable african-american roots, rock music, which is now more than sixty years old, can hardly be described as stylistically homogeneous. More than one authoritative scholar (for example Allan Moore, 2001, and Theodore Gracyk, 1996) have underlined that trying to define rock only as a musical style would be irremediably insufficient. Rock is a story, a genealogy, more than a style. Furthermore, rock showed, at least from the mid 1960s, a tendency to include musical elements that were extraneous to its origins (for instance rhythms, harmonies and instruments coming from traditional repertoires all over the world), with a pragmatic attitude that took care of aesthetic effectiveness far more than of theoretic coherence.

We could actually argue that this very attitude defines rock as a specific cultural entity more than any description about its style. In fact, the aforementioned inclusiveness can be found also in other musical scenes, such as classical music. However, whereas in classical music history the main tendency has been that of shedding its repertoire's legitimacy upon 'lower' musics by re-interpreting their codes, rock, which was always presented and perceived as a 'lower product', sought its own legitimacy (as well as its own appeal) by 'stealing' ideas piecemeal from everywhere.

In many cases, what we consider as rock music or rock artists *because of their belonging to the rock context* (in terms of origins, audience, market or just look), cannot be forced in a singular stylistic category. This statement is true for an important part of The Beatles' production, or Zappa's, for The Beach Boys' *Pet Sounds* (The Beach Boys, 1966), for The Soft Machine, for several progressive or psychedelic rock acts, and so on.

If rock *music* cannot be forced in only one category, why should its *context* be considered a unit?

Considering this account, one could wonder why this heedlessness of genre's boundaries, showed by rock musicians *in the stylistic field*, never found a proportionate reaction towards the genre's *contextual* boundaries. Why, for instance, rock musicians do not question systematically the fragmentation of the audience into niche groups unable to understand and to enjoy each other's music? A possible answer can be found in the pragmatic attitudes I outlined above as one of rock's main features. All the different actors involved in the *social representation*

known as 'rock' are historically not concerned by any kind of systematic theoretical reflection, which would be the starting point for a coherent approach to these issues. Rock musicians are interested first in producing and playing music, rock recording companies in selling it, rock audiences in enjoying it. In this case also, the comparison with the classical music scene and especially with contemporary music would be revealing.

The *Rock In Opposition* singularity

Although the tendency I just outlined is by far prevailing, it is possible to single out some cases of rock artists actively (not just ideologically) committed to change the context in which their music operates, regardless of social and economical rules as well as of stylistic rules. One of such cases is that of *Rock In Opposition*, a collective of european bands active between late 1970s and early 1980s. The founding members of the collective were Henry Cow (UK), Stormy Six (Italy), Univers Zero (Belgium), Etron Fou Leloublan (France) and Samla Mammas Manna (Sweden); they were joined later by Art Bears (UK), Aksak Maboul (Belgium) and Art Zoyd (France), while other bands and artists gravitated around these "official" members.

Rock In Opposition: an european self-managed collective

Before the collective was founded, most of these bands were poorly recognised in their homelands and were almost completely unknown in foreign countries. The reasons of this lack of visibility must be searched in their uncompromising and experimental repertoires (which often mixed rock instruments and sounds with contemporary music techniques, free improvisation or electro-acoustics, just to give some examples), as well as in the fact that they used their respective native tongue — which in most cases was not English — when not playing instrumental music. Establishing the *Rock In Opposition* collective, which was totally self-managed and based upon mutual support between the members, provided these bands the necessary organisation to tour and to be 'visible' outside their home countries. It also left them unconstrained by the promotional mechanisms of the majors and their restrictions. In order to achieve these goals, *Rock In Opposition* Festivals were organised across different european countries. In addition, the collective was the starting point for Recommended Records[5], an independent record label created the same year as Rough Trade (1978) and still run today by Chris Cutler, the drummer of Henry Cow (and Art Bears). Other than fairly "traditional" record production, the activity of this label puts into practice one of the basic objectives of the collective, namely the autonomous distribution of music that is not widely available, based on the principle of recommendation: in other words, via a mail order catalogue (later a newsletter), Cutler recommends to his network of contacts (which have already shown some interest in the the label's releases) other discs which in his opinion might interest them. These discs are not necessarily produced by Recommended Records but the label is responsible for distributing them.

It is important to point out the role played by one of *Rock In Opposition* bands, Henry Cow, to understand how the collective was put together and how it functioned in its peculiar way. As a British band, Henry Cow had the chance to tour through several european countries on the continent since the early 1970s; during these travels they got in touch with local bands that they felt an affinity with and decided to help them get known outside their respective national borders. From a certain point of view, the *Rock In Opposition* phenomenon could sound like a charity operation. It was not. Henry Cow had been under contract with Virgin Records until 1975, but the label did not meet the band's expectations in terms of promotion (the music was too 'radical' and the label did not want to take risks by overcommitting). Thus, Henry Cow's members started managing themselves to fill the promotional gaps left by Virgin: they built a democratic method inside the band which allowed them, when the contract with Virgin came to an end, to control all the aspects of their professional life, from touring to recording to nourishment. It was a case of D.I.Y. ahead of punk days[6].

This method was transferred to the *Rock In Opposition* collective which, during its brief existence, regulated its different activities by a series of meetings where every decision was discussed collectively by the ensemble of the members. Although some semantic confusions arose even during the first days of the organisation[7], it's important

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[5] http://www.rermegacorp.com
[6] For a detailed chronology of the activity of Henry Cow see: Cutler, C. (2008).
[7] See Fabbri (1982), p. 133.

to stress that this *method* is the main feature allowing us to discuss about *Rock In Opposition* as a unit: we are not dealing with a musical genre, since each *Rock In Opposition* band had its specific and often really idiosyncratic style.

The collective's self awareness

Another point worth to be outlined, is the fact that through the constant discussion punctuating the meetings first of Henry Cow, then of the entire collective, these artists developed a reflection and a degree of self-awareness, actually a whole theory about all the aspects of their artistic lives, which are very rare in the rock sphere. Among other goals, their activities had the explicit aim to demonstrate the possibility of a context where odd music, music that cannot be classified according to the usual genre categories, could be produced and spread.

According to this last statement, it could sound contradictory that the collective chose to name itself *Rock* In Opposition and not, for instance, *Music* in Opposition. Yet, it is important to understand that for these artists *rock* did not indicate a style of music but a way of producing music (which involved a peculiar approach to the recording studio and to the process of composition in general), as well as a music with a specific artistic status (*low*, in contrast with the *high* culture) and a history involving popular and oppressed classes and social groups.

Rock In Opposition then and now: born as a collective, survived as a musical genre

Today the expression *Rock In Opposition* survives as a genre label for some avant-garde progressive rock bands claiming to be carrying on the artistic legacy of the original collective. These present day bands lack the principles and the method which were the essential features of *Rock In Opposition* as a collective, and represent a niche inside the niche of progressive rock which, as a context, does not function differently from others pigeonholed genres, just on a very smaller scale.

Rock In Opposition as an underground music scene

I would like to examine now the reasons that kept this music underground over the years, considering the semantic change that the expression *R.I.O.* underwent; I will use the notion of "underground" with reference to these bands' poor visibility and to their marginality in comparison with the "mainstream". Of course, organisational problems and a lack of resources did not allow the original collective to be recognised by an audience of significant proportions. As for the present day so called *R.I.O.* bands, we should add to these difficulties the aforementioned lack of an overall project which could free them from the closed circle of progressive rock.

Moreover, because of its very nature, this avant-garde rock music cannot fit the unspoken rules and criteria regulating both the mainstream rock context and that of "legitimate" avant-garde music.

Rock In Opposition's difficulties to fit "the rock talk"

In an interesting thesis about policies towards rock in France (Teillet, 1992), Philippe Teillet underlined the important role played by what he calls *le discours sur le rock*, an expression we could translate as "the rock talk", namely the ensemble of what is said or written about rock, which helps creating a socially shared idea of what rock is or should be. Teillet points out that a constant of the rock talk is the double opposition both to mass culture and to high, legitimate culture: though claiming its independence from these two domains, rock always leans on one of them (Teillet, 1992, p. 136-143). If, especially until the late 1970s, the rock talk favoured the aspects of rock culture which could assimilate it to high culture (profundity, experimentation, aesthetic openness), later on the rock talk gave priority to the assumed true 'core' of rock, that is directness, thoughtlessness, even frivolity (features that actually deal more with attitude than with music). When *Rock In Opposition* was founded and active as an organisation, the rock talk had already turned its back to the kind of reflection, engagement and overall 'seriousness' which distinguished *Rock In Opposition*'s bands and which their music demanded to the the audience.

Rock In Opposition's difficulties to integrate in the contemporary music milieu

With few exceptions, *Rock In Opposition*'s musicians never integrated either in the contemporary music milieu and generally in the institutionalised avant-garde music scene, despite the interest many of them showed towards the artistic outputs of this scene and the musical ideas they borrowed from it. The institutional nature of this sphere is precisely the reason why a reality such as *Rock In Opposition* can hardly fit it. In fact, if we put aside the romantic

idea of the "serious classical composer" creating in total artistic freedom (while the rock musician is bound to "commercial compromise") we could easily realise that this "freedom" is the result of a strong connection with institutions such as conservatoires, music academies, theatres. This connection is organised in the form of a career with a precise schedule and several off-the-record rules concerning both the legitimate aesthetic approach and the appropriateness of social contexts to present this music. *Rock In Opposition*'s musicians (in the 1980s like today) are hardly the offspring of institutions such as those mentioned above, and in any case they hardly would renounce their independence (in terms of aesthetics as well as of organisation and overall control on their work) to be part of this "system". Moreover, they still *are* rock artists since they show the inclusive, omnivorous, unprejudiced attitude towards all kind of music materials that I already listed as one of rock's peculiar features.

To summarise, *Rock In Opposition*'s music could be played during contemporary music seasons as well as during the most open-minded rock festival because of its content, of its *text*; it is actually excluded from both types of event because of the way it is conceived, because of its *contextual* features.

Conclusion

In conclusion, if we observe the case of *Rock In Opposition* we are confronted to the problem of the visibility of a music - which I decided (in fact rather arbitrarily) to call *avant-garde rock* - that is *structurally* indifferent towards genre's boundaries. If such music can hardly get known by the public and find its space inside the musical market, we could wonder wether it is because of its inability to fit the pigeonholes provided by the genres (in the sense of social and economical contexts), or, on the contrary, wether these pigeonholes are too stiff to contain a musical reality which transcends them. In other words, *avant-garde rock* proves that the shift between musical *text* and *context* is sometimes a fact we cannot evade. As remarked by Fabbri, musical genres (and, I add, all they imply as *social representation*) are likely to evolve in social awareness: *avant-garde rock* actually rises the challenge for a rediscussion of the traditional musical boundaries and domains, an evolution that will help all kind of repertoires to be recognised by a larger and undifferentiated public.

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6.4. "We're from Switzerland, that's a chocolate island in Sweden": understanding the situation of Swiss bands with regard to the *indie rock rhizome*

Loïc Riom[1]

Abstract

Globalization through individualization together with an increase of translocal relations has opened up new ways of identification. Music as a set of symbolic elements enables this identification process. Indie rock as a globalized musical genre is a fruitful field that gives insight into understanding how individuals adopt and adapt a musical style. The aim of this research is to describe how indie rock bands are situated in Switzerland within the indie rock genre, and how they get in contact and identify with it. This research is based on 15 individual interviews conducted with members of six different Swiss indie bands. The results show that these bands uphold translocal identification with the international musical genre through, among others, the generalized use of English as the language of indie rock. However, since only few of them have connections abroad, this translocal identification is mainly mediated through the consumption of both live and recorded music from international artists. Due to this peripheral position, these bands are unable to play a significant role within the indie rock scene. Their music is, so to say, internationally inspired but locally produced. In this context, they are still very dependent on their geographical environment considered as a space of experience and resource. Yet, local identity does not seem to be claimed neither is the feeling of belonging to a local scene. This research shows that indie rock has to be understood through the lense of a rhizomic phenomenon, which is being constantly adapted by individuals through a variety of mediators. Moreover it challenges the idea of a local scene by showing how it is socially constructed.

Keywords: indie rock, identification, circulation, Switzerland, globalisation

Introduction

Individuals are engaged into processes of individuation and try to establish their own singularity (Simmel 1979; Martuccelli 2006). With globalization and the increase of dependences and relations throughout the different parts of the world (Khan 1998; Ritzer 2009), individuals are confronted to a larger diversity and have new possibilities to construct their own singularity (Scholte 1996; Kong 1997). These new circumstances challenge the relationship between places and identity and allow the emergence of *translocal* identification processes (Scholte 1996). Paradoxically if individuals seek to establish their singularity, they also need to create a sense of belonging with others, at least imaginarily (Cattacin and Leontsini 2014). When it comes to music known as a complex entity characterized by sounds, lyrics, visual cues, social relations and physical acts there seems to be an important resource for individuals to construct their singularity and to connect with each other (Bryson 1996; Kong 1997). Moreover the industrialization and *global* diffusion of musical genres gives support to the formation of such *translocal* movement (Harris 2000). I try to understand and describe these dynamics by looking at how six bands are situated in *indie rock* allowing me to tackle the question of the circulation of music and social practices that are associated with it. The aim of this paper is to describe how bands are situated within a *global musical genre* – in this case *indie rock* – and how they get into contact and identify with it. In order to achieve this I avoid considering *local* contexts as something that is given and in which globalized objects such as musical genres are adapted. Instead, following Müller (2011), I try to put forward the opposition between the *global* and the *local* by considering that they are two mutually constructed notions. In other words the purpose here is not to take them for granted. Rather I emphasize the way the actors construct and mobilize the latter items namely *local* or *global*.

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After presenting my method and contextualizing my research I shall present what I mean when I refer to *indie rock* and further present how the six interviewed bands are situated within this musical genre. Three different levels will be considered: objective, relational and subjective.

Method

This paper is based on a research I undertook for my Master's thesis in Sociology at the University of Geneva (Riom 2015). For this research I conducted fifteen individual interviews with members of six bands. I completed the interviews with both Internet research and direct observations at shows. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in order to pursue with a thematic analysis using TAMSAnalyser. All the data has been anonymized. The interviews with the bands had been chosen based on my personal subjectivity. Nevertheless, I made sure to select bands that present themselves – on their website, Bancamp, Facebook, etc. – as an *indie* band. In order to guarantee the diversity in my data, I tried to vary the profiles considering criteria such as the members' ages, the band's location, its renown or the diffusion of its music outside Switzerland.

Indie rock: a short introduction

I refer to *indie rock* throughout the research because it is the term I used with the people I interviewed. However other words or expressions can be used to describe the latter term, namely *alternative rock*, *indie*[2], *college rock* or *rock indé*[3] in French. In fact, *indie rock* is hard to define. In the end it seems everyone has his/her own vision of what it is, or what it should be. Defining it would imply limiting its multiplicity of meanings. In my view instead of coming up with a definition, it seems more interesting and relevant to keep this multiplicity and to compare the different stances on *indie rock* and to then put them into perspective. I have therefore managed to identify three main sets of *ambitions* into which I may now organize the definitions given to *indie rock* by the musicians themselves. I use the term *ambition* to emphasize that it is an ideal, which confronted to reality, is not completely applicable. In other words it would be an idea one aims to constantly while producing and composing music.

First, through its standard musical format (e.g. chorus and verses or melody based songs) and its privileged means of diffusion (albums, shows, radios, etc.), *indie rock* has the *ambition* to aim to what pop is in the sense of "popular music", namely music oriented to the mass. Secondly, I observed in the interviewees' answers an *artistic ambition*, which pushes musicians to seek for and to claim the uniqueness of their music. For instance, the constant wish of singularity is illustrated in the long and precise description of their music (Hodgkinson 2004). Third, *indie rock* has a *countercultural ambition* characterized by a will to produce music outside of the musical industry (Gilmore et al. 2012). Thus, bands claim to use the *do it yourself* ethic[4]. Moreover, they perceive their music as being the carrier of a "bigger cause" which should have the objective to change the world. These *ambitions* defined in the *indie rock* culture are in many ways in opposition of music considered as "commercial" (Kruse 1993; Bannister 2006; Brown 2012).

These three *ambitions* take different forms in the interviews. Each musician gives more or less importance to each of them and mobilizes them differently to justify what s/he considers to be *indie rock or not*. This positioning can be different depending on the contexts. Furthermore, these *ambitions* are not entirely compatible and individuals must negotiate the tensions between all three. For instance, it is difficult to claim the inaccessibly of the music because of its complexity from an artistic point of view and at same time expect and want the music to be accessible to the greatest number and on top of that be largely diffused. This negotiation process undoubtedly has an impact on an individual's engagement in her/his musical career with respect to other aspects of life (e.g. professional or personal). Consequently, the definition that someone gives to *indie rock* must be understood in relation to his/her own experiences and sets of beliefs and priorities. This short introduction is twofold. First the fragmentation of *indie rock* needs to be understood as such. Boundaries are not given. They need to be created to

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[2] Abbreviation of the word independent.
[3] Abbreviation of French word indépendant, meaning independent.
[4] Here I use DIY in the sense of an ethic with allows band to produce their music outside the musical industry. Of course as underlined by Hein (2012), the DIY is at the same time a principle and a necessity for those who do have only means to produce music by themselves.

justify the limit of categories (Bauman 2001). Regarding this, it is possible to be an *indie rock* band and have a record deal with a *major*. Boundaries are negotiated and moved. As Müller (2011) underlined it for the *hardcore* musical genre, *indie rock* definition is constantly in tension. The second fold has to do with my approach. Indeed I tried to construct my analysis based on the interviewee's discourses rather than to reason with a pre-existing concept.

At the periphery

On a objective level, I tried to draw the networks the bands use to produce their own music by trying to describe their art world (Becker 1982). When we look at the ways the six bands produce and diffuse their music, most of the work is done mainly by people based in Switzerland. We notice that often times these people are even based in the same city where the members of the band live. Most of the bands produce music by themselves in their own studio. When some of the work is outsourced abroad, it is generally very professionalized (e.g. mastering of an album). Only one band showed a Swiss label (the Zeta band). It works closely with Swiss labels and sometimes even created its own. The same can be said about the diffusion of its music. In general the bands rarely play shows abroad and insist on the difficulties they face when diffusing their music outside of Switzerland (e.g. find people to help them, a label, distribution, shows, etc.). Indeed, more generally, social ties and relationships are rare with foreign actors and in particularly with foreign touring bands. While the interviewees build relationships with other Swiss bands by playing shows together, this is unlikely to happen when they support bands from aboard during their tour in Switzerland:

> I mean those that you saw that were just support concerts and it's difficult sometimes with the bands to – I mean they are on tour. They play every night with others support bands. Sometimes they just want to have their freedom and not hang out with you. But it's mostly like friendly "hi" and that kind of thing. And yeah doesn't get above that level. (Stefan, guitarist band Gamma)

If they have the opportunity to meet foreign bands, as Stefan explains, it is rare that a strong relationship starts and further expands. Interviewees explain this situation being a result of the format of these tours: the bands play each day with a different bands and since their tour is organized by a European booker they do not need to build relationships in order to be able to come back to Switzerland. In the same way, interviewed bands lack relations to be able to organize tours outside Switzerland. Thus, they need the help of professionals (bookers, agents, etc.), which costs money they do not have. Consequently, they rarely play shows abroad and as Damien notices for his band, their reputation stays mainly *local*: "It's difficult for us to play somewhere else than in Switzerland I think. Sometimes I believe that if we left the fifty kilometres radius nobody would be interested in us. Nobody would come to our shows" (Damien, bassist band Gamma). The band Zeta is an exception in this context. After having met two members of a band from abroad during a show and then becoming friends, the band managed to play in their respective countries and meet different people abroad. This way, they could sign with a label outside Switzerland and tour on their own in those countries. Thus, first we can say that from an objective point of view there are strong rigidities in the production system. Second, we notice that the bands I interviewed seem to be at the periphery of this system to the extent that on a geographical level, we can state that their music is largely *locally* produced.

Yet very connected

However, it is very different when we look at the relational level. If they only have few direct connections with musicians outside Switzerland, they are totally connected to the rest of the world mainly through music. They use internationalized conventions in their music such as singing in English. Five of the six bands sing in English. The main reason that justifies this choice is that English is considered as the most appropriate language for *indie rock* as explained by Bastien (singer and guitarist band Epsilon): "Singing in French on rock music in most cases sounds

a bit like an adaptation, like when you watch a dubbed movie"[5]. The band Beta chose to sing in Swiss German[6] after having started with English lyrics just like the others bands. What is interesting is that Peter (singer of the Beta band) did not justify his choice according to the way they wanted to appear namely a Swiss band nor was it to include *local* traditions in their music. Indeed, he explained that he wants to be certain his audience understands the lyrics, because he believes that music needs to have an impact on people – an argument that we can relate to the *countercultural ambition*. Thus, we can say that this choice is motivated by the appropriation a globalized convention.

Furthermore, interviewees mainly listen to, get inspired and take as example bands coming from Anglo-Saxon countries, which is not a surprise for people who are familiar with *indie rock* since all of the most well-known and recognized *indie rock* bands come from these countries. Like Karen, some of them explain this by the lack of "good" Swiss *indie rock* bands:

> This guitar oriented pop-rock indie noise sound we do is not based in Switzerland and we are totally influenced by American guitar music. Something Swiss? Perhaps the ways we function as people. This band is Swiss, but not in its music, I don't know. Perhaps if we worked with guitars and keyboards then perhaps Young Gods[7] would be an influence but I wouldn't know who in Switzerland would influence us or have music like we do. I mean I very much respect a lot of Swiss music, like I love Swiss bands very much but it's not how we play or it's not what I wanna achieve. (Karen, guitarist band Zeta)

Karen emphasizes that her inspiration essentially comes from the American music. Indeed, Switzerland is an importer of music (Rutten 1996; Moon, Barnett, and Lim 2010). Moreover, the consumption of domestic music is weak (Feusi and Küttel 2011). When I asked the interviewees about the bands that were important to them, they mostly cited bands from the US and the UK. Of course, the Internet and international media have a central role in this strong orientation towards international bands. Many interviewees stay informed of new music through blogs, webzine, radios, etc. and many of them are based abroad and focus on bands from Anglo-Saxons countries as well as on some Nordic countries such as Sweden or Iceland[8]. Nevertheless, in local records stores, blogs, venues or festivals international bands take the top line too. For that reason we can say that if the music of the interviewed bands is *locally* produced, it is largely *internationally* inspired.

A re-territorialisation?

Now comes the question as to how bands position themselves in this paradoxical situation? They do not affirm a *local* identification. For instance, none of the bands said that they were part of something they call a "scene". If there sometimes is a feeling of togetherness, it is never extended to an esthetical level. In fact, there is more of an idea of recognition that Anthias (2013) calls a sameness with other bands than a question of a common identity clearly defined and collectively claimed. Indeed, the feeling of belonging changes over time, as Peter emphasized:

> I'm not sure how strong the community feeling is. It also depends on the time and what is happening. If there is a series of shows or record release parties and the people meet often then it's a strong feeling of community but then there is a time where no one is really releasing anything nor playing. Then everybody does its own thing somewhere. Yeah. But it's also always changing like sometimes you have more contact with other people I mean that's just how it is in life in general. (Peter, singer band Beta)

Peter underlined that those events such as shows allow people to feel they belong to a "community". Taking part in these events establishes a shared experience (Brubaker 2001). However, places that focus only on *indie rock* shows are rare and can be precarious. These places, which are often non-profitable and based on voluntary work, encounter different problems such as gentrification, real estate pressure or repressive policy when they are squatted or illegal. For example, the band Gamma used to regularly play and organize shows in a specific bar. Recently it has

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[5] "Chanter en français sur du rock dans la plupart des cas ça sonne un petit peu comme une adaptation, comme quand tu regardes un film doublé quoi." Translation mine.

[6] Swiss German is a Swiss dialect. Someone who simply speaks German cannot understand it. Each region of the Swiss German part has its own version of this dialect.

[7] The Young Gods is sample and synthesisers based Swiss band, which achieved a certain success in the late eighties early nineties.

[8] These countries have developed in the recent years a strong musical industry due to a strong-willed government policy (Burnett and Wikström 2006; Baym 2011; Prior 2014).

had to stop because of noise complaints of neighbours. *Indie rock* shows may take place in more commercial or established venues too, but these places can have a completely different show the next day. Thus, part of interviewee reported that they go to a lot of different places. This can be seen as negative to build a community around a place. Moreover, as Müller (2010) noticed it for *hardcore*, venues tend to move to the periphery of cities. As a result the interviewees develop no strong feeling of togetherness.

Furthermore, interviewees do not recognize the link between their music and the place where they live and as Stefan emphasizes they feel out of sink with respect to others bands:

> I think it's not. Our music, it's a bit alien here this kind of music. There aren't a lot of bands doing that or it's not, I don't know. There're few bands doing more of that garage blues, I don't know, whatever I would call that sort of thing, or in a more like hipster kind of thing, but that kind of music it's like all in between. I don't know it's just not from here. I don't feel like it's music from here really. (Stefan, guitarist band Gamma)

Stefan believes his band is like an "alien" in his city's *musical landscape*. Moreover, some of the interviewees preferably seek to distance themselves from what they consider to be "Swiss music", which is for them negatively connoted. Raffaele (guitarist band Zeta) claimed: "If there is a Swiss sound, then it's a bad sound". The same happened with the term *indie*, which is for some of them connected to bands they do not want to be identified with. For instance, they use expressions such as: "this is not my indie" or "indie-pop" to underline that these bands are "too pop" according to the *countercultural* or the *artistic ambitions*. The analysis of the way in which categories are used in different contexts allows us to emphasize how individuals define it, the competition between different acceptations of the term and the distinction game (Barna 2014).

The categorization efforts do not come from external actors such as the media either. The absence of media related to the bands, which could create a discussion space defining what *Swiss indie rock* is, contributes to this lack of recognition. Swiss media seems to give a greater attention to international bands. Several authors (e.g. Hodgkinson 2004; Ball 2010) have noticed the importance of media actors, in particularly those sharing a certain proximity with the bands, in order to establish a space of discussion, which allows individuals to establish a common and shared definition. The emergence of a *mediascape* provides a basis for the creation of an imagined world, which reunites different actors and amateurs of a *musical genre* (Bennett 2002). Finally, the medias can also be seen as tastemakers that increase the visibility of those bands and keep the musical industry informed (Van Rees and Vermunt 1996; McLeod 2001). Interviewees have only rarely spoken about such kind of media in Switzerland. This lack of media attention has been already underlined by Hänecke (1991).

If Swiss media does not consider *Swiss indie rock* as such, international media does not have specific expectations of bands coming from Switzerland either. For instance, in the case of world music, certain actors and in particularly media build representations of music of certain countries (Connell and Gibson 2004; Guilbault 2006). Bands that have been in contact with international media do not report such expectations. Often people mix them up with Swedish[9] bands as suggests the title of my presentation. Karen (guitarist band Zeta) explained that they started to joke about this during a tour in the US and they used this mix-up to present themselves. This can be explained by the relative few bands, which have reached success abroad[10] and more generally that Switzerland exports only little music (Moon, Barnett, and Lim 2010). Consequently, people are not used to listen to Swiss band. We can say that *indie rock* stays un-territorialized in Switzerland. Thus, these six bands are in a paradoxical situation where their music production is very *local*, while at the same time being totally part of something they consider as *global*, also very well explained by Damien:

> I think we're very local, but we have international standards considering the music we make. I think we're all very realistic about it. We don't think that any of us is going to make money with this, because that's also not the goal. We just like to play music. (Damien, bassist band Gamma)

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[9] Sweden is a impetrative country concerning music and some bands such José Gonzales, The Knife or The Tallest Man on Earth are well-established.

[10] However we can cite some bands: Yello, The Young Gods, DJ Bobo, Stephan Eicher, Sophie Hunger or metal bands such Celtic Frost or Eluveitie.

Concluding thoughts

To conclude, I would like to emphasize two ideas that emerged from my results, which can help us better understand *indie rock* and more generally, such a highly decentralized diffusion phenomena.

The first idea concerns the flows. As we saw, circulation processes do not only include direct relations between individuals, but *indie rock* is also transmitted through non-human interactions and in particular through the music itself. The flows seem to be ever shifting and multiple. This perspective allows us to understand music and practices not as something declined in different *local* contexts, but as *translocal* networks composed of different flows (Müller 2011). These flows allow individuals to tie links with the music (Ma 2002). Indeed, music itself is the mediator of its diffusion (Hennion 1994). Each song and more generally each piece of art embodies the conventions that have been used in its production (Becker 1982). Consequently, individuals learn these artistic conventions while being in contact with the music. As Fabien Hein (2012) said: music constantly evolves through individuals who adapt it by adopting it. Moreover, listening plays a central role in the way individuals create an attachment to music (Hennion 2004). Thus we can understand the multiplicity of meaning that individuals can give to a musical etiquette. We face diffusion phenomena that can be identified as decentralized, namely that none of the involved actors has the capacity to control the processes nor to impose a definition (Mayer and Timberlake 2014). Consequently, these phenomena are highly heterogeneous. In order to be able to picture these phenomena and their a-logical, hybrid, a-central, multiple setting in which each node can connect and instantly disconnect with any other node, I think the metaphor of the rhizome can be very useful (Deleuze et Guattari 1980; Müller 2011; Daskalaki and Mould 2013).

The second idea refers to the *re-territorialisation* process of a musical genre. We need to understand the definition of a *local* identification as the result of an action. The literature on *indie rock* – and for instance authors such Kruse (1993) or Straw (1991) – insisted on the importance of the "local scenes" in the diffusion of this musical genre. However, these *local* identifications do not and cannot exist outside of a social activity. They need to be defined, claimed and performed to exist (Müller 2011; Lussier 2009). Such processes required infrastructures (zines, venues, record stores, etc.) (O'Connor 2002). In my fieldwork these efforts seem too weak or too ephemeral to establish a strong feeling of togetherness. Consequently, it would be a mistake to presuppose the form these social groups take as well as defining them in the way they function. This is what I can reproach to concepts such as *musical genre*, *subculture* or *scene* (Bennett 2012; Tarassi 2012; Hesmondhalgh 2007). In my opinion, we can learn from Howard Becker's book *Art World* (1982). Indeed, according to Becker *art worlds* are defined by the network of cooperation between the actors and do not exist outside these relationships: "The world exists in the cooperative activity of those people, not as a structure or organization, and we use words like those only as shorthand for the notion of networks of people cooperating" (Becker 1982, p. 35). If we apply this idea to the understanding of the *territorialisation* of music, we can understand it as existing only by the actors' effort to establish it. This would allow us to avoid the definition problems I underlined by using terms and categories produced by the actors themselves. In fact instead of taking homogeneity of identities for granted, we should consider heterogeneity as an ontological state and focus our investigations on what constitutes a social group - we observed holds together- considering that any social group needs a social activity to exist and persist.

Finally, the link between place and music also needs to be understood as a social construction (Stokes 2004). Consequently, the *local* and the *global* cannot be understood one without the other, since these two notions are mutually constructed (Martuccelli 2007; Khondker 2004; Pieterse 1996). The real question would rather be to understand how these two notions are used by the actors and in our case how bands differently mobilize such categories in their effort of individualization (good examples are provided by researchers such Harris 2000; Luvaas 2009; Müller 2011; Brain 2011). Nevertheless, we need not to loose sight that such construction depends on the individual's available resources (Andreotti et al. 2013). Actors need to appear legitimate to be able to claim to be part as much of a *global* musical genre as of a *local scene*. However, actors have their own agency and work to create these resources. Applying these two ideas will help us better understand the circulation of music and practices associated with it. I believe this would allow us to understand the multiple, ever shifting even *rhizomic* form taken by highly decentralized and fragmented circulations of these phenomena.

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6.5. Mapping sounds in Porto Alegre: initial notes on the independent authorial music scene

Belisa Zoehler Giorgis [1]

Abstract

Porto Alegre has seen a significant number of shows featuring bands and independent artists with authorial work, including collective projects that mix different music genres. Given the concept that the music scene exhibits differences founded "on a cultural consumption ethic (which music to consume and where?)" (Straw, 2006, p. 256), it could be considered that a music scene is based on questions of cultural affinity related to a geographic space, and not necessarily linked to the notion of music genre, which gives rise to an independent authorial music scene. In this respect, and considering that music is part of the creative industry, the following question emerges: how, possibly being part of the creative industry, does the independent authorial music scene in Porto Alegre occur and how is it configured? The primary aim was to produce initial observations that could lead to an understanding of how the independent authorial music scene in Porto Alegre occurs and how it is configured. The methodology used was based on a bibliographic review of the creative industry, music scenes, mapping and ethnography, in addition to face-to-face interviews with those involved in the scene, and the collection of information on the venues and shows using the Internet. It is important to highlight that this study was centered on live music and the venues where it takes place. It was concluded that Porto Alegre could be described as a creative city, with development potential, albeit at its own pace and with specific difficulties, which would lead to the creation of a space in which independent authorial music can occur.

Keywords: creative industries, music scene, authorial independent music, mapping, Porto Alegre.

Introduction

The city of Porto Alegre, mainly since the 1980s, has enjoyed a thriving rock scene. This has occurred primarily as a result of shows held in the Bom Fim district. There were also artists involved with MPB (Popular Brazilian Music).

Considering the reconfiguration of the recording industry, primarily due to the Internet, in the 2000s the logic of this market changed. As a result, more possibilities arose for artists, and independent authorial bands promoted their work, making them available for download on their own website or on other sites such as YouTube and SoundCloud.

This also allows artists and bands to get closer to their fans by using tools such as Facebook and Twitter. By making their work visible, they broaden the possibilities of having engagements booked at different venues, even when presenting independent authorial work, because there will be a certain number of people interested in attending. It is also important to consider that at these shows bands normally sell their products, such as CDs and t-shirts, as occurs on their websites and social network pages.

Many independent authorial shows have been held in Porto Alegre, as well as a number of collective projects, encompassing different musical genres. In this respect, it is relevant to map and understand this music scene, determining how it occurs and develops, and which items can be considered the main determinants of its growth. It is important to underscore that this study will focus on live music and the venues it is played in. It is also important to determine how this scene can be defined as part of the creative industry and as a force that may make Porto Alegre a creative scene.

For this study, we will focus more on the Porto Alegre venues where independent authorial artists and bands perform than on the fact that these individuals are from the city. Thus, we will seek to demonstrate that Porto Alegre is a city where independent authorial music, as a broad concept, can attract a following and venues to hold performances.

Hence, the research question is the following: how, as possibly part of the creative industry, does the independent authorial music scene occur and how is it configured? The main objective was to produce initial

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observations that could contribute to understanding how the independent authorial music scene in Porto Alegre occurs and how it is configured. To that end, the following specific objectives were defined: describe the theories related to the creative industry and music scenes; identify the venues where artists and bands perform their shows, and collect details on them, using mapping methodology; use ethnographic methodology to obtain more information about the music scene, through interviews and surveys; and relate the theories put forth to the information collected, in order to understand how this music scene develops, observing whether Porto Alegre can be described as a creative city where independent authorial music is able to attract a following and thrive. A bibliographic review of the creative industry, music scenes, mapping and ethnography were used, in addition to face-to-face interviews with the people involved and information collected on venues and performance using the Internet.

Outlining the scene: mapping

Hesmondhalgh (2012) defines work produced by cultural industries, as being generic, that is, "texts", whether programs, films, records, books, comics, images, magazines or newspapers. A cultural industry setting involves the production and circulation of texts, and according to the author, can help understand how these texts are formed and how they play an important role in contemporary society. The author prefers the term "cultural industries" rather than "cultural industry", coined by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer in 1940, since, in addition to referring to a type of industrial activity, "it invokes a certain traditional way of thinking about this activity, and about the relationship between culture and the economy, texts and industry, meaning and function" (Hesmondhalgh, 2012, p. 14).

Mobilization for the use of the term "creative industry" was led by Garnham (2001, apud Hesmondhalgh, 2008), who considered it a crucial item for renewed economic growth, a use considered by Hesmondhalgh (2008), as mercantilization in the cultural domain, using "creative" for this reason, a more subjective word than "cultural". Hartley and Cunningham (2001, apud Hesmondhalgh, 2008, p. 561), defend the use of creative industries because "it fits with the political, cultural and technological environment of globalization, the new economy and the society of information". Along these same lines, Florida (2002, apud Hesmondhalgh, 2008) refers to the ascension of a creative class, related to social changes caused by the rise of human creativity as a crucial factor for economic growth, this "creative class" exhibiting a distinctive characteristic, namely that its members "are engaged in work whose function is to create new forms full of meaning'" (Florida, 2001). According to Hesmondhalgh (2012), whether using the term "cultural" or "creative" for these industries, its power of social and economic transformation is maintained. Thus, for this paper, the term "creative industries" will be used.

Given that music is part of creative industries, and in an attempt at determining if Porto Alegre qualifies as a city where it occurs as a manifestation of its creative potential, we sought to understand how the independent authorial music scene has established itself, for which we undertook the following challenges: map the venues where independent authorial bands perform and seek to know how the scene operates. To that end, it is crucial to understand the conceptualization adopted for the independent authorial music scene.

According to Straw (1991, apud Straw 2006, p. 249), scenes are "specific geographic spaces that unite multiple musical practices" a concept that can be complemented by Bennet and Peterson (2004, apud Sá, 2013, p. 5), who understand the notion of scene as being "aspects of sociability and informality linked to groupings surrounding the music". According to Straw (1991, apud Sá, 2013, p.3), scene is "a cultural space where there is a diversity of musical practices interacting with each other within a variety of processes, using varying trajectories of exchange and cross-fertilization". According to the author (2006), considering a set of phenomena as a scene implies seeing it in terms of its own logic and participation in the constant realignment of social energies, and based on a cartography of the city's social regions and their interconnections, scene becomes a resource in preparing a grammar of cultural ordering. Within these notions, we will also consider the concept put forward by the same author, which states that music scenes exhibit differences founded "in an ethic of cultural consumption (which music to consume and where?)" (Straw, 2006, p. 256). Thus, it can be considered that a music scene is based on questions of cultural affinity related to a geographic space, and not necessarily linked to the notion of music genre – rock scene, MPB scene etc. This conceptualization is quite productive for what we are seeking to establish in this paper, considering that what is characterized as an independent authorial scene in Porto Alegre does not rely

necessarily on genres, occurring within a same collective authorial project, there being no distinction, for example, between rock samba, MPB, choro (popular urban music), etc.

This investigation will also define independent authorial music. Artists and bands will be considered independent if they do not have a recording contract, or if they do, it is not with a major multinational company. Authorial will be considered as artists or bands whose repertoire is largely original, that is, does not consist mainly of covers of other artists or bands in their live performances.

According to Bennet and Peterson (2004, apud Sá, 2013), local scenes (within the division they propose, of local, translocal and virtual scenes) can be defined as those that result from an occurrence within a determinate territorial space and period of time, considered social activities. For this study, the geographical space will be Porto Alegre, without, however, overly concerning ourselves with the origin of the artists or bands. This is mainly due to the fact that Porto Alegre, as state capital, is part of the Metropolitan Region, that is, surrounded by small towns among which there is a constant wide range of socioeconomic and cultural exchanges. Thus, we decided to determine how live independent authorial music occurs in Porto Alegre, without restricting artists and bands from other cities that are in constantly interacting.

According to Brennan-Horley, Luckman, Gibson and Willoughby-Smith (2010), mapping is considerably productive for researching creative industries in terms of documenting their presence and characteristics, as a form of qualifying ethnographic methodology, more specifically interviews. Linked to this, it is important to mention the notion of ethnographic research, as proposed by Braga (2006, p. 5, apud Polivanov, 2013), who states that "all and any type of observation is participatory, and that such an approach is central to the ethnographic method", within the condition of effective immersion and experience. Considering the Internet as a cultural artifact, as put forth by Polivanov (2013), we have the perspective that "favors the participation of the web as a cultural element and not as an entity apart, which differentiates it from the previous (...) by integrating online and offline environments (Fragoso, Recuero and Amaral, 2011, p. 42, apud Polivanov, 2013). Thus, we start from the proposal of Fragoso, Amaral and Recuero (2011, apud Polivanov, 2013) that the term ethnography be widely used, with the understanding that there should not be "a dichotomy between the studies of social practices and values constructed within and outside the realm of the Internet (Polivanov, 2013).

Thus, after this conceptualization, the next step in the study was mapping. This was conducted using the map of Porto Alegre and Google's Maps Engine Lite. The first action was to highlight the venues in the city where live music is played. This list was compiled based on an Internet search, consulting the cultural schedule of the online version of the Zero Hora newspaper, specifically the ZH entertainment section, and also from the authors personal recollection of such venues. Indeed, Augé (2002 apud Cohen, 2012, p. 600) describes maps as "memory machines", while Ingold (2002, apud Cohen, 2012, p. 600) states that "memories are generated along the paths of movement".

To find the exact location, the study also extended to social networking sites, mainly Facebook, where most of the venues have profiles or pages. Cartography, according to Sanmartin and Herschmann (2014), is "a kind of travel guide", within the researcher's task of "following the actors, tracking and describing associations, weaving the network itself", considering that 'the network is not what is being described", but rather "the method itself" (Latour, 2012, apud Sanmartin e Herschmann, 2014, p. 12).

Owing to the facility of using Facebook, its functionalities and far-reaching impact, venues often advertise on it, even those that do not have their own website. This is an important fact, since the next step was to obtain more details on the venues, focusing on their events calendar. The aim was to determine which of them held shows involving independent authorial bands and artists and at what frequency. During this process we were faced with different difficulties. The first was when the venue did not provide an updated events calendar or Facebook profile/page. It is often the bands/artists themselves or show promoters who make postings on their pages/profiles of events, or even on their sites. Thus, different paths were followed, characterizing "a nonlinear approach that allows understanding (...) multiple phenomena for sociocultural identification", but non-random, since "it corresponds to consciously adopted methodological strategy" (Sanmartin and Herschmann, 2014, p. 9), assuming trajectories within intentionality, using "systems that, despite exhibiting organization and structure, need to deal with the interferences and uncertainties of chance" (Jacobs, 2009, apud Sanmartin e Herschmann, 2014, p. 10).

Thus, as the venue Facebook pages were accessed, upon detecting data on upcoming shows, a search was conducted of the bands and artists mentioned, which sometimes led to the corresponding Facebook page or event. After accessing the search items, new venues, bands, artists and Facebook events were detected. Based on the

information regarding each type of result, we sought to determine if the bands and artists were independent, within the spectrum defined in the present study, and whether their work was authorial.

Another way to obtain data is from the author herself, who frequently attends shows in Porto Alegre, and when she finds events on Facebook that interest her, she clicks on "Participate", indicating that she will attend, "I don't know", signaling she might attend, or "Save", to include the event among those that interest her. This type of record provides the user with alerts, serving as a tool for mapping interests. The set of these mass data, acquired by these tools, and known as big data, is used for different purposes, and one of these is to present information detected by users in the available areas.

Thus, based on users' actions and their contacts in the tool related to events, venue pages and bands, information about the venues in question, also detected by the designated venues, for example, from posted photos – an action frequently performed by the author – systematically led to suggestions for venues and bands/artists to follow as well as events. This process ended up collaborating with the construction and consolidation of the final list, based on venues in Porto Alegre where events involving independent bands and artists are held.

Venues playing electronic music, with occasional shows or live music consisting mainly of cover bands, were removed from the initial list. The events calendar of the venues on the initial list for July to October 2014 was examined, resulting in a total of 28 venues where independent authorial shows are regularly held.

The venues, along with some of the independent authorial bands and artists are listed below:

- Auditório da Livraria Cultura (The Jalmas, Vulgar, Lítera, The First Limbo, Rock de Galpão)
- Beco (Cartolas, The Jalmas, Frida, The Tape Disaster, Fantomáticos, Quarto Sensorial, The First Limbo)
- Café Fon Fon (Canjerana, Marcelo Lehmann, Chicão Dorneles, Cláudio Sander)
- Café Bertoldo (Thiago Ramil, Edgar Parobé and Lico Silveira)
- Carmelita (Reverba Trio, Pesto Bizzarro)
- Casa de Cultura Mario Quintana (Leo Sosa, Alexandre Móica)
- Centro Histórico-Cultural da Santa Casa (Marcelo Delacroix, Quartchêto)
- Clube Silêncio (Vaness, Phantom Powers, Identidade, Erick Endres, El Negro, Tiago Rubens)
- Divina Comédia (Cuscobayo, Triathlon, Bombo Larai, La Digna Rabia, Afoxetal, Villena e Banda, Pense, Lapso de Insanidade)
- Eclipse (Mar de Marte, Julio Igrejas, Suerte, Campbell Trio, Os Torto, Os Carniça, Sex Oil)
- Espaço Cultural 512 (Santiago Neto Y Los Misionerotrónicos, Naddo Pontes, Frank Jorge, Leo Sosa e Joaquín Plada)
- Frankenhaus (Calibre Belmont, Yesomar, Pétalas Insanas, Marittimus, Ed Lannes, Bibiana Morena, Isidoro Pilsen, Garçonetes Dançantes)
- La Estación Pub (Similares, Saulo Fietz, Trabalhos Espaciais Manuais, Os Horácios, Gustavo Kaly and Os Hóspedes do Chelsea)
- Malvadeza Pub (General Bonimores, Oly Jr. & Os Tocaios, Phantom Powers)
- MEME Santo de Casa Estação Cultural (Ramiro Macedo, Mário Falcão)
- Ocidente (Funkalister, Wannabe Jalva, Walverdes e The Good People of Planet Earth, Fabão, Quarto Sensorial, Urso)
- Opinião (Cachorro Grande, Tópaz, Ponto de Equilíbrio, Gross, Victorino, Mustache e os Apaches, Clarissa Mombelli, Érika Martins, O Teatro Mágico)
- Paraphernália (Som Central, Ramiro Macedo, Lasca Russa, Comendador Coruja)
- Parque da Redenção (Marcos Lamy e Os Mingongos, Vinil do Avesso, Cattarse, Emerson Dent, Leo Sosa, Joaquín Plada)
- Parque Moinhos de Vento (Lítera, The Jalmas e Santiago Neto Y Los Misionerotrónicos, Rafael Allmark)
- Salão de Atos da UFRGS (Gustavo Telles e os Escolhidos, Quiçá, se Fosse, Apocalypse)
- Signospub (Yesomar, Neander & Tal, Bomb Shelves, Suburban Stereotype, Lapso de Insanidade, One More Trick, Swansea Music)
- Solar Coruja (Pesto Bizzarro, Jimi Joe, Gustavo Kaly, Solon Fishbone)
- Solar dos Câmara (Marcelo Delacroix, Cristiano Sonntag)
- Teatro Renascença (Jimi Joe, The Jalmas, Walverdes, Luciano Granja Grupo, Lítera, Nenung e Projeto Dragão, Frida, Bibiana Petek, Bianca Obino)
- Theatro São Pedro (Canto Livre, Bidê ou Balde)

- Tuyuty Pub Café (Leo Aprato, Bhia Tabert, Carlos Zanettini, Johnlee, Lico Silveira, Vitor Amoretti, Jahn Berwig, Joao Ortacio, Pablo R. Dias, Xana Gallo)
- Usina do Gasômetro (Os Últimos, João Guarani, Rachadores, Front LR - AnarcoRap Viamão)

Figure 1 – Map of venues holding live independent authorial shows in Porto Alegre.
Source: http://bit.ly/mapacenaautoralpoa01

Accordoing to Cohen (2012), live music is connected to urban environments, and mapping shows that it is a process, incorporated into the "spatial, temporal and social rhythms of urban life, and patterns of repetition, familiarity and change" (Cohen 2012, p. 598), and not restricted, therefore, to individual performances. How live music occurs in a determinate geographic space is part of the urban experience and, at the same time, translates and consolidates it.

It is important to underscore that this is not a definitive list of all the venues, or independent bands and artists in Porto Alegre. However, most of the mapped venues are in the Cidade Baixa district, the remainder lying in neighboring areas, such as Centro and Bom Fim. These are traditional entertainment areas and creativity centers in the city. According to Conforme Faria (2012), at the turn of the 20th century the so-called Colônia Africana, located at the current site of the Bom Fim and Rio Branco districts, was the bohemia area of Porto Alegre, along with Cidade Baixa, which was known as Reduto dos Seresteiros and which once again became the center of alternative culture and nightlife for young people nearly 100 years later.

Thus, given the dynamism of the city and all the result possibilities found using the data collection methodology selected, the list represents a sufficient cross-section to be able to consider the existence of an independent authorial music scene in Porto Alegre. An indication of this is also the existence of collective independent authorial music projects, which occur periodically. Among these are the Autoria Social Club and Vossa Autoria, thanks to the initiative of artists such as Tiago Rubens and Poty Burch; the Sons da Cidade and the República do Rock, projects sponsored by the Music Coordination of the Municipal Secretary of Culture of Porto Alegre, aimed at MPB and rock, respectively; and others such as the Quarta Forte at the Beco bar, which have been holding authorial shows since before the advent of electronic music parties, the Ocidente Acústico, at Bar Ocidente, the Segunda Maluca, at Bar Opinião, the Quinta Bastarda, at Signos Pub, the Projeto Rock das 18, at La Estación Pub, the Noite Autoral at Paraphernália, among others.

To begin to understand how the scene occurs and how it is configured, we turn to the interviews conducted.

: the interviews

According to Brennan-Horley, Luckman, Gibson and Willoughby-Smith (2010), the microprocesses that govern the nature of work in creative industries and their spatial manifestation can only be determined by detailed ethnographic research, in this case, interviews with people involved in these industries. Thus, after preliminary mapping of the venues that hold independent authorial shows in Porto Alegre, interviews were conducted with professionals actively involved in the scene. Bases on the author's previous contact with some of these individuals,

in her capacity as photographer, it was decided to do two interviews with agents of the scene that act in more than one manner in this setting, in order to give a wide perspective from comprehensive responses. Amaral (2009, apud Polivanov, 2013) proposes the concept of autoethnography, that is, the close proximity of researchers to the object by way of previous contact with the study, making them more than just mere observers. According to the author, this is not a new method, but rather allows discussing the multiple roles of researchers and how their proximation, subjectivities and sensitivities can interfere in the results and the object, considering the possibility that this promotes "immersion, internalization, awareness of alterity and engagement [of the researcher] in communities" (Amaral, 2009, p.19, apud Polivanov, 2013).

Thus, face-to-face interviews were conducted in Porto Alegre on October 11 and 12, 2014. These involved Luís Bissigo, a journalist that wrote for the cultural section of the Zero Hora newspaper, reporting primarily on music, and currently employed by the Music Coordination of the Municipal Secretary of Culture in Porto Alegre, as a journalist, and currently in charge of República do Rock and Sons da Cidade projects, in addition to being the drummer of the Isidoro Pilsen independent authorial band; Josué Orsolin, vocalist, guitarist and one of the composers of the same band, with a diploma in publicity and acting in the area as a freelancer, and André Neto, vocalist, guitarist and one of the song writers of the band Lítera, also independent and authorial, and the designer of the band's website.

Both rock bands emerged between the late 2000s and early 2010s, a time in which the record industry was consolidating and reconfiguring itself, mainly due to the Internet, as well as the maturing of social networks as a place to promote new music and gain public exposure, from the different content strategies. Both Isidoro Pilsen and Lítera were formed from the desire of their members to produce music that corresponded to their artistic goals. The aim from the very start was to develop and consolidate authorial work, compose music and search for venues to perform it. In addition to their exposure in different Internet vehicles – website, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, SoundCloud and their distinct content, consisting of texts, images, videos and audio, not to mention the different forms of interactivity that each tool provides, bands seek to establish themselves by recording their music. Producing material that can be presented at shows and to producers was one of the first steps taken by both bands, who recorded an EP or CD, took promotional photos and recorded a video, in addition to providing content for their websites and social networking sites.

The two bands experienced what was reported by Hesmondhalgh (2008) in relation to the instability of creative work, causing the musicians to have multiple jobs. The members of the bands interviewed illustrate the reality of independent authorial artists in Porto Alegre, that is, they are employed in other areas, often also creative, such as publicity, journalism, and web design, since they cannot support themselves solely through their music. It is with this second income that artists make initial investments to promote their music. All state that they would like to be able to live exclusively by their music, but are aware of the artistic freedom that the current situation affords, given that since their music is not their main source of income, but rather a parallel activity, they can produce according to what they deem to be pertinent to their artistic desires and goals, without the constant search to meet the demands of a recording contract, for example, or other mainstream entities.

Also in relation to the way in which work develops, the question of technology was mentioned, in addition to the means of current communication, using the Internet to advertise their music and establish a relationship with the public, also in the manner described by Hesmondhalgh (2008, p. 565), regarding the revolution in working practices caused by new technology, primarily related to communication and information, resulting in more autonomy. He focuses the discussion on the detriments and uncertainties caused by these changes, owing to precarious and irregular employment. However, it is important to highlight, based on the interviews, the importance of technological development in terms of allowing artists to produce quality work of a homemade nature, record their music and videos as well as their publicity photos. The artists emphasized how much the current technological possibilities and the easy access to equipment and software, as well as knowing how to use them, were important for them to be able to pursue their band work, something unthinkable even in the not-to-distant past, for example, the 1990s. Access to night clubs, producers and the general public was much more difficult in earlier times.

Interaction with other bands and artists in the music scene, by way of the Internet and personal contact, regarding their shows, or attending each other's performances, is vital for continued band development. Cohen (2012) reports that social and musical meetings and interactions, when venues promote a mixture of styles and musical tastes, the sharing of skills, knowledge, information and musical ideas, as well as the collective formation

of identities and cultures, is extremely important. According to the author, interactions between people produce sounds, ideas and emotions, in addition to the musical memory of a determinate geographic space.

These contacts gave rise to more opportunities for shows and a contract with the Marquise 51 record company, which both bands are affiliated with. The company has a number of bands and artists, promotes shows and serves as a press agent.

To develop a following, the interviewed subjects described the current transition from a moment in which the authorial scene promotes itself, such that initiatives originate with the artists themselves and the consumption of this type of music remains local, but on the strength of the interaction of the artists, to a stage in which the scene is consolidated. Thus, there is the perspective of a larger following, beyond that composed of loyal fans.

When asked about the importance of the Internet in this process, the subjects considered the medium an essential component of the process of consolidating their work and the different connections required to do so, such as relationships with the venues, producers and the public. However, they also mentioned the widely dispersed public, which is distributed in different geographic regions, sometimes concentrated in small groups, which, at least for now, hinders the performance of shows in these areas. They also cited the fact that even when the Facebook posting of a show has many likes, or confirmations of attending, this does not guarantee a significant presence at the shows. A number of hypotheses have been raised to explain this, such as the fact that users can listen to songs and videos, including of shows, may dampen the desire of part of the public to attend live performances, despite appreciating a band's or artist's work. Other possibilities are related to the Porto Alegre public, as follows: people normally prefer to go to shows of bands they already know or whose repertoire contains songs that they like, which hampers the acceptance of authorial work; related to this is the custom of attending shows only when accompanied by other people, which causes some to opt for other forms of entertainment to please their friends, despite their preference for attending a given show; this need for group acceptance leads some to promote and even share, in person or on social networks, information on entertainment preferred by other people. Ingold (2000, apud Cohen, 2012) states that complexities are illustrated by culture interaction studies, which can be confirmed by observing music as a useful metaphor for describing the complexities of social and urban life.

A factor observed was the time that shows are held in Porto Alegre. When they take place in theaters, they start between 6 and 9 pm. However, in nightclubs, they are commonly advertised as beginning between 9 and 10 pm, but in fact do not start until between 11 pm and 1 am. Therefore, the public, already immersed in this culture, arrive later, aware that the show will not start at the stated time. Likewise, this may be a factor in the decision to go or not to a show, due to other commitments, such as studying or having to work the next day. This may be quite important when observing the choice of the public to go to shows performed by bands they admire and whose repertoire is well known to them, an opportunity to enjoy themselves with a circle of friends, despite compromising other activities, such as being tired the next day, or even because they feel that seeing that band or artist is worth any subsequent inconvenience.

According to Cohen (2012), characterizing the cities as having different styles and dynamics is a possible contribution of mapping live music. Determining, therefore, how this art form manifests itself within a determinate urban space helps understand this space within its socioculture aspects and how these interact. Thus, despite the different issues involved, the interviewees consider that the city has a very interesting, diversified and growing artistic production. It is believed that spaces are still scarce, but that there is a perspective for growth. Finally, they consider Porto Alegre, with its very particular characteristics, a city with significant creative potential.

Final considerations

This study proposed, using delineation methodology, to determine whether there is an independent authorial music scene in Porto Alegre. At the same time, it sought to observe this scene as part of a creative industry, in order to understand how it is configured and how it interacts.

Within the creative industries, terminology related to the production of cultural items ("the texts") that were used in this study include those referring to music, whether producing records, composing songs or performing shows. In this respect, determinate musical scenes have emerged in cities, based on cultural affinities and a set of their own characteristics that distinguish them, mainly related to the type of music and where it is consumed. Thus, the mapping of Porto Alegre venues that offer their customers authorial live music performed by independent bands

and artists, which, by the periodicity and constant occurrence of these shows, as well as the number of venues and diversity of the bands and artists, confirms an independent authorial music scene in the city.

The mapping, which was carried out using the author's memory and Internet searches on sites and social networks, applying cartography and ethnography that, because of the non-linearity of information flows, along with information obtained through interviews, contributed to establishing a good notion of how the scene interacts and how its different actors relate with one another. The comprehensive characteristic of performances in the scene and the interviews collected were essential, and led to a reflective conversation about the different aspects of the scene and the situation of independent authorial music as a whole, as well as how bands and artists emerge, establish themselves and develop. The ample viewpoint and criticisms that the interviewees displayed regarding the city, the scene and how culture interacts in these spaces was very important. Even though there were only three individuals interviewed, it was possible to establish a series of relevant associations to better understand the music scene.

It is important to underscore that this is a study involving expansion and continuity, since its topic is wide ranging with a series of possible outcomes, from both a more ample mapping to interviews with different actors in the music scene, in addition to listing publicity materials used, photos of the venues and shows, among others. The author's intention was to give continuity, with different possible ramifications.

Finally, in addition to containing initial observations regarding the independent authorial music scene in Porto Alegre, this study met its outline objectives and responded to the research problem, clearly demonstrating that this scene is part of a creative industry and how it occurs and is configured. Given the growth of the scene, Porto Alegre could be described as a creative city, with potential for development in the cultural domain, making it a space in which independent authorial music, developing at its own rate and depending on a series of factors, has a following and exhibits a tendency to becoming increasingly established.

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THEME TUNE 7 | Music and pleasures, mediation and audiences

7.1. Street musicians: the strategies of mastering the social space of St. Petersburg

Aleksandra Kozyr[1]

Abstract

The key question of this article is how street musicians choose places for playing music and master the urban space, adapt it for their needs, how they interact with police and other actors in urban public spaces. One of the tasks of this study is to find out whether buskers form a community with a common identity, social bonds, mutual assistance and exchange of experience.

Keywords: street musicians, urban public spaces, social space, professional community, community of practice, spatial strategies.

Introduction

In contemporary sociology the topic of street performance as a social practice is not sufficiently developed. Today, in the Russian science there is no much research directly related to the sociological analysis of the street musicians' activities, as well as their ways of mastering and adaptation of urban space for their needs. The study of this issue is very promising, because the street music performance is an integral part of the street culture, transformation and development of urban space.

Today, the big cities are perspective platforms for self-expression and self- realization of street musicians, and also for their informal economic activities. However, the Russian street musicians have to face serious problems related to the fact that in our country the activities of street musicians are prohibited and are defined as illegal business and the existing street performers are still marginalized in the eyes of the society and the state. Nevertheless, the number of street musicians is not reduced, and new generations of buskers choose this type of the activity.

Despite the legal and social barriers, street musicians today are spread around almost all the districts of St. Petersburg. They carry out their street musical performances in the underground crossings, subway trains, at subway stations and around them. They play in gardens and parks, squares, and especially in various tourist areas.

The key question of this research is how street musicians choose their places for playing music and master the urban space, adapting it for their needs, how they interact with police and other actors in urban public spaces. One of the tasks of this study is to find out whether buskers form a community with a common identity, social bonds, mutual assistance and exchange of experience (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Research objectives

The focus of my research is in the street musicians' strategies of mastering the urban social space. In order to identify and analyze these strategies, I decided:

- to create a social portrait of the modern street musician in St. Petersburg;
- to study the strategy and tactics of buskers;
- to trace the connection of communicative and creative practices of street musicians in St.Petersburg;
- to define the geography of the places for street musicians' performances;
- to describe the ways of using, mastering and adaptation the urban social space by street musicians.

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Theoretical framework

In the theoretical analysis I did the brief retrospective overview of the main approaches to the study of the categories of space. It showed that the interpretation of this phenomenon in the scientific discourse has undergone some serious transformations. In earlier concepts of determination of the space the importance of geographical location was underlined (Simmel, 1996), physicality and a close physical presence of people in the space (Lefebvre, 1991), but now due to the development of communication technologies, this localization of socio-spatial relations receded into the background. The later concepts of space can detect spaciousness in its sociality, and the human interaction becomes the key aspect of the analysis. The space is considered a dynamic structure that is located in the formation of social practices, and at the same time serves as the context and resource creation and institutionalization of these practices.

One of the main tasks of my research was to determine the processes of mastering and adaptation of the city's physical space by street musicians according to their needs. Processes of musicians' interaction between each other in the aforementioned space. In the course of theoretical analysis, I also appealed to categories "strategy" and "tactics" (Certeau, 1984) and showed that the spatial strategy of the actors can be both instrumental and (only partially) reflexive, deeply immersed into the fabric of everyday life, but the tactics are always situational, flexible, changeable and often serve to overcome the pressure and control of "strong" groups with considerable political and economic capital (city administration, police force, etc.) (Bourdieu, 2007).

Methods

The main research methods are:

- Unstructured observation, in order to secure the social relations and creative practices of street musicians as well as their ways of mastering the urban social space
- Semi-structured interviews with the musicians, needed to gain a better understanding of their work and commit their personal perception of street playing practices.

Sample

I didn't know where I'll search for the informants, and I joined the community "Buskers" in the social network "VKontakte" and was looking for informants there. Also I posted an announcement about my research on my "wall" and my friends reposted it. It gave good results musicians started to write me and to offer assistance. They also could give me phone numbers or links for their friends, other musicians. Because of the limited access to the field, I tried to interview all the musicians who agreed to cooperate. In the group of informants observed a strongly marked gender disbalance: most of my informants are men. But I wanted to know what is "female point of view" about the practice of street playing music. So then I specifically focused on the searching for female musicians, and conducted interviews with four female informants. I focused on the maximum variation sampling strategy, tried to reflect the variety of combinations of age, gender, educational level, history of the coming to the street playing music.

Social portrait of street musician

This particular empirical study represents the effort to design the social portrait of the modern street musician in St. Petersburg. It has been shown that street musicians are generally young people, predominantly male and almost all buskers are the migrants from other smaller towns of Russia. All the musicians have an elementary or general education, but the majority of it is not connected to music. At the same time, all the respondents did not work according to their specialization, as the different stages of the biographical trajectory they have opted for music lessons, including the street playing music, as the main areas of activity. For most of them it is the main source of income.

Some buskers have elementary music education - music school, or secondary – Secondary music school. Several informants have finished higher music education. Some of buskers learn to play musical instruments from more

experienced buskers. It is the reason of appearing of smaller communities of practice (Wenger, 1998), where there is a constant mutual learning through communication and joint work.

Community entry and the first performance experience

At the beginning of the study I formulated the hypothesis that in order to become a street musician, people need to overcome certain entry barriers. I assumed that the street musicians are a rather closed community with a strong hierarchy, rigid control over the "spots", possibly even with criminal protection. This hypothesis is not supported by the collected material. In contrast, among buskers community described as a fairly open and flexible, it does not interfere with the informants constructed rigid assessment criteria "true professionals", contrasting them with untrained newcomers stigmatizing the profession in the eyes of the urban public.

Motives of joining the profession of my informants were different: some of them began to busk because of the economic insolvency; someone - to overcome the fear of the public, considering performances in open urban areas an extreme workout, as a kind of rehearsal under stressful conditions; others began working on the street playing music from gambling interests, trying to empirically determine whether these performances are able to bring at least some money.

Collected narratives are full of informants' memories about the first experience of playing in urban public spaces in general and in St.-Petersburg - in particular. For the first time coming out to play on the street, most of the informants did not know what to do and how to behave. Most often, they chose a place where they previously observed a performance of other street musicians and bands. Informants, who have already had experience of the street playing music in their home towns, after moving to St. Petersburg, were not sure that the whole process is arranged here in the same manner as at their places of origin. Therefore, preparing for the first performance, they consulted with their friends, street musicians, who have already lived in St. Petersburg for a while and have the necessary experience. They usually tell newcomers what to fear and what to do in a particular situation, where to find profitable place for playing, and also explain the rules that they need to know for using playing spots. Informants, who have nobody to ask for advice, just go outside, stand in some place and start playing. Later, gradually joining in the buskers" environment, they "acquired" useful connections. During communication with their colleagues they learn the rules of street musicians behavior or acquired "field" experience while being in the need to spontaneously react on unusual, sometimes critical situations.

Informants also note that the first experience of street playing music was connected to considerable difficulties and acute emotional experiences, "I was standing, I noticed that my knees were already shaking. Then I started to sing by my own, I have such a jim-jam, like I am dancing" (*Misha, 29 yo*). Experience of the first performance as the first entry into the environment in general, can be described as a kind of initiation ritual, as long as it is accompanied by specific tests: overcoming anxiety, presentation tactics, reflection of the public and its requests. Subsequently, the practice of street playing is unusual and at first causing difficulties for fitting in as musicians, being included into street musicians environment, following the routine of the street musician lifestyle.

My informants told that their first experience playing outside was in the period when they weren't enough professional in music: "In my first time I earned exactly one ruble. Really. One ruble. The stranger approached me, put the ruble and said, "You play as long as you stand until you play good." put the ruble and said: "That is enough for you." And I knew maybe three tunes, so ... " (*Ivan, 29 yo*). Gradually, however, they increase the claims to their own professionalism. Therefore, the informants are very concerned about the abundance of half-taught musicians on the streets: they believe that these people damage the image of the profession of a street musician, create a false impression of the street musicians as stupid slackers "First of all, you should learn how to play the instrument you chose. After that, you should play about a year, or year and half. Because today we have a big fashion for African drums, djembe. And the people think that it's so easy and after two weeks of play they try to earn some money with it . They don't keep pace, they have beat deafness and play something monotonous"(*Mark, 21 yo*).

Community image-building

Informants told me stories about the musicians who use alcohol or drugs while they play music on the street. It also creates a negative opinion about street musicians in general. My informants make a clear "us and them" distinction between themselves and musicians who are usually being drunk at work. They are subject to condemnation,

negative stereotyping and exclusion from the community: "... I do not like these, in fact, very much because they are very spoiled view of street musicians, because I consider unacceptable playing drunk, etc. The musician should look beautiful, good, and that causes approval from the others. That such people do not cause approval. No, sometimes in the subway people like this tried to follow me for play with me, but I let them know that I don't want them go with me" (*Artyom, 22 yo*). "Listening to Russian rock performed by a drunken boy on the street, believe me –it's below average" (*Ivan, 29 yo*).

The behavior of musicians depends on the space in which they are located. Based on the specific space, street performers produce a variety of strategies and tactics of self and vary his repertoire, focusing on the opportunities and constraints dictated by the material performances scenery, and the type of audience, quantitatively predominant in these decorations. Relative importance and recognition, received from the public, depend on the needs and demands of the street musicians.

The mastering of space

The particular study determined the geography of the street musicians' places of performance. The most popular of them are located in the center of the Saint-Petersburg (Nevsky Prospekt, the space near the metro station "Ploshchad Vosstania" (near the shopping mall "Nevsky Center"), the area near the shopping mall "Galleria", the arch of the General Staff Building, the colonnade of the Kazan Cathedral, Malaya Sadovaya Street). These places are attractive for tourists and ordinary citizens due to its "centrality". Not as popular, however no less cash place is a square in front of various metro stations, both close to the city center and located on the outskirts. In the subway there are attractive places for playing music: Green Line stations -"Mayakovskaya" and "Gostinyi Dvor", the crossing – "Nevsky Prospect – Gostinyi Dvor" and the train between the stations "Mayakovskaya" and "Gostinyi Dvor".

When street musicians choose the spot for musical performance, they take into account factors that contribute to the success of their activities. Thus, the proposed spot must be filled by potential listeners (high-footfall areas): "The ideal is when people do not particularly stand but go somewhere. That's perfect. They all came to your spot, listen and go further. And when the people assemble the crowd, they do not give money. They listen, stand for a while – and that's all" (*Arina, 25 yo*); have good acoustics, "When you play in good conditions, in places with good acoustics, you immediately feel different, and you realize that you really hear everything - it sounds very cool" (*Egor, 22 yo*); possibility to avoid extraneous noises, "preferably away from the road and some repairs, because it can be affected by noise, uproar" (*Misha, 28 yo*).

Lack of elements stigmatizing the space: "Of course, yes, the presence of all sorts of dirty homeless people, it's not pleasant. This naturally scares people" (*Sergey, 19 yo*); and the remoteness of the site from the concentrations of law enforcement are also important factors for space selection: "And now, we can't play on the Griboedova Channel, almost no one plays: since last year, in my opinion, there lived the assistant prosecutor" (*Ivan, 29 yo*).

Relationship between buskers and audience

Tactics that street musicians use to communicate with the public, are formed gradually, as their experience playing in the streets or in the subway. Musician, first coming to play in the city space, still does not know how the audience will react to his performing activities; he can figure it out by trial and error. Over time, it develops a set of sustainable patterns, to which musicians regularly resort.

Getting ready to go out to the streets or in the subway, the informant chooses clothes that fit to play on a particular spot. Shoes should be comfortable, as you have to walk a lot, as is the case with musicians who play in the subway trains, or standing for a long time, if a musician playing in subway stations or on the street. The clothes, too, the musicians prefer convenience. The appearance of street musician must be neat and presentable, as the musicians position themselves as artists. In the collected narratives informants emphasize that musicians do not have to look like a beggar "... I try all kind of show that I'm good at, and I don't beg. I'm good" (*Arina, 25 yo*). At the same time, if musician has expensive electronic gadgets, he tries not to show them, as this may cause an undesirable impression among the public and limit the earnings.

Female musicians can afford to wear high-heels for performances in the streets: they explain that it is encouraged by the public - attracts more attention and is approved. Girls try to emphasize their femininity, use a

lot of make-up, wear jewelry: ".... Preferably more light clothes, all kinds of bijouterie, carefully made up, … and then, yes, if you look great, it is also affects a lot. Various skirts. We figuratively call it the "woman suit". It plays the huge role" (*Arina, 25 yo*).

Informants speak disapprovingly about the musicians who are going to the public, dressed in dirty and messy clothes. According to them, these performers create the negative perception of street musicians from the public.

In the course of their business musicians try to avoid any conflict situations as often as possible. They are aware that their activity is not completely legal, and participation in conflicts can only exacerbate the sanctions that are already directed against them. In order to avoid contacts with proper authorities (such as police), street musicians realize particular special tactics prior to their performance. In the subway, they usually give the priority to beggars and small traders. Musicians are usually trying to avoid the problematic situations of any kind, in order to integrate in the profitable structure of opportunities, that metropolitan may offer. At the same time they can be very creative: jump from one train to another, know how to avoid an encounter with proper authorities (e.g. police, metropolitan services), choose a specific time for the performance to achieve the most valuable public, and leave just before the police patrol appears. Their spatial tactics are often guided by local knowledge gained from their long experience of street playing.

Musicians also refer to some facts of threats and violence that come from different individuals. Sometimes it happens with the use of cold weapon and firearms. It usually happens when those individuals claim that they don't like how musicians play. Informants characterize these people as mentally instable, drunk or on drugs. In such cases, fearing for their life and property that these people are threatening to break, musicians try to resolve the conflict peacefully, by finishing playing and leaving to another place: "we were playing, some dude comes around and gets his huge knife out (shows the size of the knife): "Right now, I pierce your f****** drums." I say, "Oh, it seems to be a cold weapon that you have there… I don't really want to play anymore" (*Vanya, 22 yo*) "Once I had a gun pointed at my face, when I played… Probably he didn't like something". (*Ivan, 29 yo*).

However, these situations with acute aggressive reaction of the citizens is quite atypical for the big cities: the musicians got used to the indifference due to the anonymity and social norms of non-interference. Generally, people are rarely included in the situation that is taking place in public spaces. However, the stories that informants told me, show that every rule has the exception.

As in the street and in the subway, people who like street music, express their appreciation with applause and generously reward the labor of musicians: "A couple of people even clapped, and one woman shouted "Bravo!" (*protocol of observation, 23 February 2014*). "A woman ran up, thanked the guys for the playing music and gave them 100 rubles ... The crowd clapped, shouted "Bravo!" and started throwing all the money in the bag" (*Protocol of observation, 12 April 2014*).

Street musicians, who constantly play in the same place at the same time, note that they are able to recognize familiar people in the crowd that regularly pass by this place during working hours of the musician: "Olga pointed me at two young girls, she explained that they go to ballroom dancing classes. I asked how she knew it. Olga said that they always go there at this time, and once they talked about going to ballroom dancing" (*Protocol of observation 05 May 2014*). Thus, the anonymity of urban public spaces is partly broken to the extent that the musicians and their audience become "familiar strangers" (Milgram, 1972). Recognizing a visual introduction, some musicians and members of the audience nod to each other, and even say "Hello!", "a middle-aged woman came and said," Hello, oh, it sounds good today,"- she threw 50 rubles in the package, and walked further, Olga played and couldn't answer her, but smiled. Later I asked Olga who was this woman. She said that she didn't know, but she sees her often and greets" (*Protocol of observation, 16 May 2014*).

Some street musicians have their regular listeners: they are recognized on the streets and ask when will be the next "live" performance: "... they saw me with drums somewhere and asked:" Are you going to play this evening on the square near Galeria-mall? I want to come with my wife" (*Vanya, 22 yo*). "... Strangers come to me and say:" And… I'm sorry, but are you going to play music tonight?" (*Ivan, 29 yo*).

The object where people throw money is usually a hat, or musical instrument case, or simple plastic bag. People throw not only money, but also all that the public want to share with street musicians: food (in harvest season it can be suburban fruits and vegetables), cigarettes, alcohol, even drugs. Some girls, especially if they like a street musician and they want to have a romantic acquaintance, throw in the hat with money notes with compliments, or their phone numbers: "The girl who was listening to the musicians thanked them and gave Sergey the note:

"You are very cool! Thank you for making my evening *drawn heart*". 50 roubles were wrapped into the note. Timofey said: "It is a pity that she didn't leave her phone number" (*Protocol of observation, 12 April 2014*).

Men give flowers to female musicians and even kiss the hand as the sign of acknowledgment. Some members of the public try to make their acquaintance and / or insist on tactile contact that is not always welcomed by actresses: "They kneel down, kiss hands, well done to them! .. If they actively start to molest, they are also can be aggressive, I try to be polite, but I can be really rude too" (*Olga, 48 yo*). "I'm usually not a timid girl, but I do not know how to fight, but with my 48 kilograms difficult for me to prove my point. But usually it ends up that I'm just looking. Teacher education makes me an advantage, and they shut up. If they do not, then I start to "treat" (*Arina, 25 yo*). However, such collisions are an integral part of the public spaces of the city, with their open, public, social and cultural diversity.

Often people offer cooperation to the street musicians in other urban areas, for example, musicians are sometimes invited to perform at the office corporate parties, in restaurants, at weddings, birthdays, "Well, just got caught in the subway, on the street: somebody liked, how we play, and the next day I give my phone number to someone, if you would be interested - call" (*Vanya, 22 yo*). Sometimes, citizens are asked to help in solving their personal problems: "The man in the subway came to us and said:" Guys, could you help me to save love? "We:" What's the price? "He had two denominations: 500 rubles and 5000, he gave 5000. And we went to play under the windows, it was autumn, cold, but we played" (*Roman, 27 yo*). Some people offer professional cooperation to buskers: for example, one of the informants was invited to play at the «Theater of Musical Comedy» and on television. Therefore, many street musicians carry business cards in such cases: "We are giving a business card. I have the card of my own, our project, here's what we have with Roma, the group is done, we regularly receive cards" (*Ivan, 29 yo*). Thus, the street playing music may in some cases serve a starting point for cooptation into the professional music community of the city.

Many listeners asked the musicians to sing or play something on their order, while offering an additional fee, but they do not always agree. It sometimes occurs that the listener is asked to play a piece that the informant does not know or cannot go to pick up a tune by ear. But most of the citizens ordered the works that informants do not like and do not match their musical styles. However, an urgent need for money can sometimes outweigh the private disagreement of musician and make him go against his principles. Among the most popular orders there are different songs from Russian rock and famous thieves' song - "Murka".

Rules of community

In an environment of street musicians there are unwritten rules of cooperation to avoid unpleasant situations related to the competition for the space of performance. Among these are:

- the regulation of the use of each priority area: "Sergey (My informant) came to Masha and asked her when she will finish her performance. Masha said that at 10 pm" (Protocol of observation 16 May 2014);
- the need to prevent other buskers about premature change of location "Musicians were angry with Masha because she had not called him and gave place to accordion player. They began to call her. Masha said that she was taken to the police, and it was not possible to call" (Protocol of observation 16 April 2014);
- avoidance of competition by choosing a place to play out of earshot of other street musicians: "We go out of the train, guys looked is there cops on the platform and is there anybody played at the station, stood against the wall and started to remove the instruments and tune" (Protocol of observation 12 May 2014).

Despite the competition, widespread manifestations of mutual aid and support takes place among buskers. In this environment, the prevailing model of flexible connections, allowing buskers to navigate the changing conditions of performance quickly and successfully adapt to them. The complex structure of strong and weak ties arising between the musicians, along with general social practices, similar interests, expertise and methods of preparation and transfer of new knowledge, the construction of asymmetric relation "professional - client" (the musician - the public) and a clear self-identification It lets talk about the street musicians of St. Petersburg as a specific professional community, "tied" to the urban physical space, and included in the urban social space.

Conclusion

In the course of research, I realized the overall stated goals and objectives. I described the basic aspects of street musicians practices and their everyday life, analyzed the relationship between musicians, public and other actors of social space in St. Petersburg, for example, with other street musicians, beggars, small traders, police. I found and analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of communication of street musicians' community members. I also found and described the system of the unwritten rules that street musicians usually follow in order to use their performative places. Compliance with these rules help to avoid competition and determines the peaceful existance of buskers as the community.

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7.2. DIY in Morocco from the mid 90's to 2015: back to the roots?

Dominique Caubet [1]

Abstract

This article shows how an artistic underground movement was born in the 90's, mostly in Casablanca, Morocco's "Economic Capital", starting with isolated groups in several neighbourhoods, some dedicated to hip hop (dancing, DJ-ing and later rapping), others to hard rock and metal. After gathering around a Festival for alternative music called L'Boulevard founded in 1999, a cultural movement called "Nayda" emerged and the media coverage grew with the development of private radios from 2006. A (very limited) number of artists became famous, asking for very high fees, and adopted a more mainstream style that served as a model for the next generation. In 2011, with the 'Arab spring', the #Feb.20 movement emerged as a kind of DIY in politics, making the best use of the new media (mostly facebook and youtube), although novices in the domain. At that time, artists were trying to live from their art and to become professional, but, due to the setback that followed the Arab spring, a number of recently created festivals disappeared, and with them, the only chance to earn enough money to live throughout the year. The access to the new media helped mediatize emerging artists and they started using the new techniques, computers, cameras and cell phones, to produce music and to shoot and edit clips, immediately published on the social networks. In 2015, DIY– "Debber Rasek"(manage on your own) in 'Darija' (Moroccan Arabic) - is back at every level, from kids with no money at all who manage to buy and arrange clothes from the flea market to produce flamboyant punk looks, to groups who own their instruments and try to find spots to rehearse and create, to directors who produce clips with hardly any means and a lot of creativity, and to Feb.20 youths who have invested in new forms of solidarity in culture, like Summerlab and Open Culture. The alternative art scene showed how 'fragile' (see Miller & Caubet 2013 and Barone 2015) it was, even at its height in 2006-2007. They are back to DIY, but with the means of 2015 - with a desire for independence and with no other choice, for most artists- in order to be able to create and to express themselves.

Keywords: underground, diy, music scene, fragile scenes, metal, punk, hip hop, Morocco, Arab Spring.

Introduction

A lot has been written after the "Arab Spring" and the development of new cultural practices, but in the case of some Arab countries like Morocco, the emergence of an underground scene dates back to over twenty years ago in the early 90's. Under the reign of the previous king, Hassan II (he died in July 1999), only a real DIY spirit could set it going, because it was imposed by the circumstances, when nothing was easy and you had to fight for it. With the help of satellite TV at the beginning of the 90's, the travelling back and forth of the children of migrants in Europe, and a slight loosening of the political grip of "les années de plomb", from 1996, and the kids stepped into the breach that was opening up.

The beginnings of an Urban Counterculture in the streets: the1990'setshe 1990's

They started as isolated groups of music or dance lovers, in some neighbourhoods of the metropole, Bourgogne and Hay Mohammadi for Hip Hop, Hajajma, CIL for metal; they did not meet and developed in their own small circles.

Isolated groups, each with their own skills: Hip hop, metal

In the 90's in Casablanca, very young urban artists, around the age of 14-16, started training in the street. They had to do everything by themselves, teaching each other how to dance or play the guitar, duplicating audio and video cassettes and photocopying old music magazines that reached the country, printing fanzines. They bought their T-shirts and clothes from the flea markets and avidly watched recently introduced satellite televisions, on the

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[1] La NAD - INALCO, France.

French channels TF1 ("Hip Hop" with Sidney) and M6 ("Rapline") or on MTV ("Headbangers' Ball"). Followed by their group of fans, they also organized their first concerts in schools, via friends who were students there, or renting wedding halls for the occasion, sharing the expense among three or four groups. They even took part in festivals of more traditional music (like "Le Printemps de Bouskoura"), where they had problem fitting in[2]!

Hip Hop and rap

Hip hop started in the early 90's with dancers who would form a circle in the street, when the shops or the cafés were closed, or at night in the storefront of the Autohall. They only needed a sound-machine - bought from the flea market and endlessly repaired - or even human beatmakers. They tought each other smurf, popping or breakdance. When DJ-ing started, disco's like "La Cage" or "Club 84" opened in the afternoons, when teenagers boys and girls could attend safely and when no alcohol was served[3]. In the summer the migrant workers' children would join in and exchange steps or techniques.

Rappers came in much later, and they would use side B of the cassettes to practice their cover of famous American or French groups. They only started rapping in *Darija* (Moroccan Arabic) later, with pioneer *Double A* from Salé around 1996. Groups also appeared in Casablanca, *Amine Snoop, Koman, Barry, Masta Flow* (who started as a dancer but converted to rap after an injury) and his first group *Vampire's Killer Squad* (VKS) in 1997, or *Thug Gang, Afia* or *Hell Laouef* in Sbata in 2000, or *Mafia C* with *Caprice* and *Bigg* in 2001; at the same time *Zanqa Flow* started in Tangiers (with *Muslim*) and *H-Kayne* (formerly, *The Dogs*) in Meknes.

Metal

But, if the dancers and the rappers were satisfied with portable cassette players, the rockers had to find spaces where they could plug-in their amplifiers and play drums; on the street, you could only listen to cassettes, learn a few chords and rehearse covers on an acoustic guitar. In the absence of any official space dedicated to youth culture[4], practice, rehearsal and creation, all had to take place in "*Debber Rasek*" or "*Système D*"[5] places: the garage of a friend's family, borrowed recording studios normally used for traditional music, or in the bedroom of one of the members when the parents were out, provided the neighbours did not complain.

They learnt the titles by heart on their Walkman, and trained to play back some guitar solos. Metal groups nearly all sang –or mumbled! - in English, with a few exceptions that decided to write in *Darija*. Much later, Punk groups adopted darija from the start, from 2004.

Back in the mid 90's; when the pioneer group *Immortal Spirit* (*I.S.*) felt the urge for public concerts, they asked the private schools attended by friends, like "El Jaber", the Spanish school in Casablanca who also had a metal group, *KDB*, or the French Lycée Lyautey. They used all their family contacts and managed to rent *Bab el-Bahr*, the medina wedding hall, which became the legendary venue of the first rock-metal concerts in Casablanca although of course, it was not intended for rock concerts!

Amine Hamma, one of the founders of *I.S.*, also testifies about the importance of satellite TV:

> À partir de 1993, l'influence de MTV a été déterminante pour découvrir le deathmetal. Je pense en particulier aux chocs éprouvés face à des groupes tels que Orbituary, Carcass, Entombed, Morbid Angel, Death ou Cannibal Corpse.[6]

The role of graphics

Just as they were very concerned to reproduce the jackets of the original cassettes, to find the original T-shirts or posters, the groups also paid much attention to graphics. For example the logo of *I.S.* was designed long before, when Amine Hamma was practicing and drawing on his notebooks at school; when the friends decided to put up

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[2] They were booed when they first came on stage.

[3] Special thanks to "The Twins", Taha and Yassine, who were star dancers of the 90's, for their testimony.

[4] There are some buildings, called "Maison des Jeunes", but they have no budget to run them and the directors have aged with the structure and are often well over 60.

[5] Debber Rasek means "manage by yourself" in Darija; the French equivalent "Système D" is also used in Morocco: both close equivalents to DIY.

[6] *"From 1993 onwards, the influence of MTV was crucial and allowed us to discover deathmetal. I'm thinking of the shock I felt when I saw groups like Orbituary, Carcass, Entombed, Morbid Angel, Death ou Cannibal Corpse."*

a group, they immediately adopted that name (e.g. Figure 1). Later they drew flyers which they photocopied to advertise their concerts. Music and graphics were linked from the start, and still are.

The link with skating and surfing

All these musicians also had another passion, skating and surfing which they practiced together with music: they skated to "Pepsi Beach", where they had found an old reservoir which became their spot where they would play for hours, on their skateboards. Most were also fans of surfing and some of them are now professional surf instructors.

To sum up the period of the end of the century, there was no money involved, there were no festivals, no venues and the artists were all playing, singing or dancing for the pleasure of it. The music industry was completely absent from their preoccupations.

Le "Boulevard des Jeunes Musiciens" 1999

From 1999, most of these artists who had each evolved in their own local spheres, came together around what was at first a theatre that held four hundred people in central Casablanca, la F.O.L. Soon rehearsal could take place there, and a competition was set up in 1999, known as "Le Tremplin" (the springboard), where the groups could confront the others. In 2000, it became "Le Boulevard des Jeunes Musiciens", a DIY Festival for urban alternative music driven by its founders, Momo (Mohamed Merhari) and Hicham (Bahou).

L'Boulevard gathered all the underground styles, and thus created an original community of open-minded underground artists who rehearsed, played and made progress together, where rappers, metalheads and fusion could mix.

In July 1999 the former king died and his son Mohammed VI took over, bringing hopes of change. From 2000, the Festival grew together with a group of volunteers who came to help, some of them students at the Beaux-Arts, others who were to become journalists or work in communication; it remained underground and self-organized, in the old DIY spirit with very little means obtained from a series of small private sponsors (rather than a big one who could take control), in order to keep its independence.

Graphics were important from the start and the black and white (because it was cheaper) posters became the trademark of *L'Boulevard*.

But in 2003, when the festival had decided to play in a rugby stadium because la F.O.L. had really become dangerously small (the glass doors had been broken by angry fans who could not get in), an event contributed to give the festival much bigger – unwanted - media attention.

Figure 1 – The original stage canvas used by Immortal Spirit during their concertes © D. Caubet 2011

Figure 2 – L'Boulevard posters at la F.O.L.

14 metalheads arrested and tried in Feb. 2003

In 2003 *L'Boulevard* was growing and starting to get public attention when an event shook their world: 14 young metalheads were arrested on 16 February, interrogated and charged with very serious accusations: "shaking the faith of Muslims" and "detaining and spreading immoral music". They were tried and sentenced to up to one year of prison.

Unexpectedly, this trial triggered a reaction from various social groups, associations and journalists, who came together in their defence, organized sit-ins; publicized the case internationally and launched a petition that collected over 15.000 signatures. Most people had not taken part in a mobilization for decades, after Hassan II's "années de plomb" and the 5000 people who gathered in front of Casablanca's wilaya, asking to "free our musicians now", came as a huge surprise.

2003 a key year in Morocco

These arrests and the trial (Feb.-April 2003), was followed on 16 May by the attack of 14 suicide bombers. All this came as a shock for the Moroccan society, and people started to speak up, to debate publicly, making 2003 a key year for the country and for what was to be called the alternative music scene: a takeover by **a new civil society**. Subjects aspiring to become citizens, and the growing development of the media coverage, were to lead to a wider visibility in the public sphere (Caubet, 2008).

Growing media coverage leads to "Nayda" 2006-2007

2004-2005 were years when the Moroccan society became aware of this existence of these kids with tastes different from their parents, in terms of music, clothing and looks. A certain press, and magazines like *Telquel* and *Le Journal Hebdomadaire*, opened public debates on sensitive questions, like the real Moroccan identity and its plurality[7], the place and role of the language shared by nearly all Moroccans, *darija* (Moroccan Arabic), as an important element of that identity, although it had (and still has) no official existence nor recognition.

Morocco seemed to be outspoken and flourishing in 2006-2007, creativity was at his peak, and there was hope that a "movida" was taking place in Morocco.

Private radios and festivals in lieu of a perennial cultural policy

The real media craze started with the opening of new private radios in the second half of 2006, among which some were designed for young audiences. Suddenly, groups that had no media coverage and only relied on small concerts, groups of local fans or internet, became well-known, and a few of them even grew to be stars. This was accompanied by the development of numerous free-entry festivals[8] from 2007, officially sponsored by local authorities, or private firms dealing with sodas and mobile phones. Founding yearly festivals became the trademark of the Moroccan cultural policy, with no development envisaged along the year.

From 2006 onwards, the groups who got to be very well-known and, for some of them, well-paid, left behind the old DIY spirit and revised their music, which tended to be more consensual and mainstream; both in its form and its content.

Fees went up fast, from 3000€ to 15.000€ for some, and they ended up being more paid than the artists coming from abroad. The quality of the technical equipment for concerts grew rapidly; it even developed as an industry in Morocco because of the demand from all the newly created festivals, each town or region wanting their own festival where the new Moroccan stars performed on stage. The artists had the ambition to live from their art, although the situation is very precarious in Morocco, with no payment of copyrights[9] when the songs are broadcasted or played in public places (bars, hotels, supermarkets and malls), and the only solution for them is to be paid for performing on stage.

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[7] Stressing the importance of the African and Berber components and the plurality of religions with the Jewish elements.

[8] This has become a Moroccan habit, which is very damageable on the long term, giving the impression that culture is for free.

[9] The "Bureau Marocain des Droits d'auteur" (BMDA) exists but does not pay the copyrights to the authors; a long fight has been going on since 2007, but no solution has yet been found.

Some styles are not present on the radio

Being broadcasted on the radio does not bring money in Morocco, but it can bring fame, together with TV programmes. From the start, some styles were nearly completely excluded, except from the programmes dedicated to rock. The metal scene never gained recognition and neither did punk, because of their music and of their looks (Mohawk, long hair, earrings, black T-shirts and plaid pants were never accepted). On the contrary, rap and world music appeared to be much more consensual and to get widely broadcasted.

Prejudices die hard, because, after all these years, after all these festival editions, *L'Boulevard* was still described a "défouloir" (an outlet) for metal fans, in a TV programme on September 2014[10]. It is still very much underground in its spirit, although the metal concerts attract the greatest audiences.

Nayda[11], a Moroccan *movida*?

There was so much enthusiasm and hope and so much creativity, compared to the Morocco of the 1970's to the 1990's, that a parallel was made, in the press and in public debates, with the post Franco era of Spain in the 1980's. There was hope that a movement was actually taking place and it was called the "Moroccan Movida" (2005-2006), before finding its own label at the beginning of 2007: "*Nayda*".

Nayda was then presented as a phenomenon "in development", but when nothing really emerged after three or four years (2009-2010), the movement started to die out, presenting no outcome, no professionalization, no possibility to earn money on a year-long basis for the artists. Many also realized that *Nayda* had been used by the ruling class to present a positive image of Morocco on the international level, and was being overused by advertising agencies; in 2007-2009, everything was "nayda"! Suddenly the Moroccan youth, and especially this youth in movement, changed status in the society: long considered only as mouths to feed, they were becoming the core target of advertisers.

Disappointment followed this momentum of hope[12], and Nayda failed to materialize.

The "Arab spring" in 2011: *DIY in politics*

The so-called "Arab Spring" took the form of the 20 February, #Feb20 movement, which emerged late in January 2011. I analyse the Moroccan experience as a manifestation of DIY in politics: with no training, no experience and no political culture, a group of young novices launched a page on facebook - that then counted 2.65 million Moroccan profiles (Caubet, 2013). It was a dream of democracy, dignity and freedom, calling for pacific sit-ins or demonstrations in all the country on 20 February 2011, and it never questioned the monarchy. Still, the regime felt threatened in the context of revolution in the Arab world, and became very nervous, deploying disproportionate means to fight these "cheeky" newcomers. The immediate response, took the form of violent cyber-attacks (even personal ones) on facebook aiming at destabilizing the #Feb20 and scaring the country.

The first demonstrations took place on 20 February in fifty three towns, gathering over 200.000 people, peacefully in most places and with a few incidents whose responsibility is not clear, in the North of Morocco. After this first success, they held peaceful demonstrations every Sunday and The King made a very long speech as early as 9 March, saying he had heard what as being said and set up a commission to revise the constitution which worked for three months. The number of demonstrators went down for a while but never ceased, with a revival on 24 April, where a hundred towns were concerned and 10.000 people gathered in Casablanca.

After the cyber-attacks on facebook, they repressed the demonstrations, very suddenly, choosing the time when they left the city centres to go to popular neighbourhoods, like in Sbata for Casablanca (29 May 2011). The constitution project was presented on 17 June, and rapidly voted via a referendum on 1 July 2011 with 98.5 % of the votes. It contains some openings, but they are slow in being implemented, four years later.

Carles Feixa in his keynote address at the KISMIF 2015 conference also made a link between "Los indignados", a movement that started in Spain on 15 May 2011 - inspired both by the Arab streets and the book by Stéphane

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[10] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yI7iWgvxEPs&feature=youtu.be, retrieved on 31 July 2015.
[11] Nayda is originally a feminine participle meaning "It is getting up, It is raising"; it was used at the beginning of the years 2000 by the underground music scene to mean: "We're feeling good" and "it's rocking!", before becoming a noun and the name of this movement, in 2007, "nayda", Caubet (2010)
[12] Also see the documentary film, Casanayda!, Caubet (2007).

Hessel, *Indignez-vous!* (2010) - and DIY. He referred to both as an awakening of networks and of public squares and called them the "New new social movements" (see his paper in the proceedings).

Soon the political class – who remained silent and motionless for six months during the events – regained consciousness and deployed their skills to fight the "cheeky ones" and take back their places. A number of very young militants were jailed under false accusations and spent months in prison; some are still there in 2015. The motives used to arrest them went from "aggression", public drunkenness, participation to unauthorized demonstration during an authorized demonstration (by trade unions), etc.

Post #Feb20, back to the DIY spirit?

Everything is now back to normal in the world of Moroccan politics with a Prime Minister from the PJD, a fundamentalist conservative party. Repressed, jailed in a rather impressive indifference and deceived by the politicians, the #Feb20 militants have often chosen to invest in alternative cultural projects where they feel they may have a direct influence on the people. Sensing this, the regime has decided to fight them tooth and nail, banning events in different ways: cutting off electricity in the building, shutting the gates, or sending the police forces to intimidate the audience.

Back to the roots? DIY

The #Feb20 militants had no financial means, but good national and international networks, a good sense of organization learned over the months of self-governance in 2011. They started off on the cultural level in May 2011, by holding a stall at the "Souk Associatif" held by *L'Boulevard* during their festival; for the 2011 demos, they had invented very efficient slogans in *Darija* which were chanted, and spread via videos posted on youtube. They also trained in the framework of the "Theatre of the Oppressed" (in link with the international organisation), where they learned to improvise on social topics close to the people's interests; they passed on the techniques, students becoming tutors, all this in a DIY spirit.

They also connected with other international networks, like *Summerlab or Open Culture* in 2013 and organized the Casablanca version of it, in order to "share knowledge, teach each other", just like in the spirit of the beginnings in the mid 90's (see above). *Open Ta9afa* (Culture) aims at mastering more technical aspects, like recording sound, web radio, DJ-ing, etc.

Other groups created clubs where they met and exchanged regularly, among which "The Students' Awareness Club", and later started organizing small public events, involving reading and sharing books or playing music on the street, like "ConcerTrottoir"[13] organized on Saturdays at the *Parc de la Ligue Arabe* in Casablanca, just like they used to do, nearly twenty years ago, but with the communication of 2015, internet, mobile phones that helped widen the circle.

New forms of art, new collaborations

In that same spirit, new exchanges emerged in Morocco, when artists decided to do things together, as well as new forms of art, like "slam" or "spoken word poetry". The artists are mostly of working class origin and have very little, or no means.

Spoken Word in Darija, and also Standard Arabic and French

Simultaneously Slam artists appeared on facebook, coming from very different paths: a former rapper belonging to the pioneer generation and known then as Steph Raggaman, changed his name to Mustapha Slameur, producing monthly videos called "Le slam de Mustapha". He was the first to fill this niche, slamming mostly in *Darija*, but also in French and Standard Arabic and is now connected to an international network and travelling abroad. A much younger artist, coming from the #Feb20 movement, began to produce videos in *Darija* from 2014, under the name "Mssati" (Crazy), and in February 2015, he created a regular event every other Saturday, called "Café Slam", taking place in *L'Uzine* (see below), where everyone can share poetry and slam in the language of their choice.

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[13]   See   http://diapazone.net/2015/08/09/lconcertrottoir-quand-les-casablancais-jouent-de-la-musique-dans-la-rue/   and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2eNKaf9uiq8; retrieved 14 August 2015.

New collaborations born in places destined to creation, or taken up

Places destined to creation appeared, such as the former slaughterhouse, "Les Abattoirs" (opened in 2009 as a "Fabrique culturelle"), or le "Boul'tek", *L'Boulevard's* centre for alternative music (opened in 2009), or the last one, "l'Uzine", founded by the "Touria and Abdelaziz Tazi Foundation" in the autumn 2014, which offers free rooms, halls and studios for rehearsals, practice and creation in the urban arts (music, theatre, dance, graffiti, comic strips, etc.) . Although it is quite far, the infrastructure and the freedom which can be found there, make it a popular place[14].

Figure 3 – Summerlab 2014, DIY workhop

Figure 4 – The poster for Café Slam n. 4, April 2015: "Bring a book and read"
Source: retrieved from facebook

Artistic encounters have taken place in these places, and a cartoonist, Rebel Spirit, working with rapper/singer, Khalid Hoummas, produced a clip in the form of a cartoon based on his lyrics and on drawings from Rebel Spirit's comic strip album "Le Casablancais", *Darbida* (Casablanca)[15].

Musicians meet at L'Uzine and decide to mix styles, like they did at la F.O.L. in the early 2000's: rappers play with punk vocalists and guitarists, slammers need musicians for their performances; they all help each other and enjoy each other's productions.

Graffiti artists like ED Oner or Rebel Spirit graff a wall at l'Uzine during a residence with international artists. Cartoonists decide to launch a comic strip magazine called *Skefkef*, with around twenty artists coming together and they are presently working on issue n. 4.

But everything is not running as it could and a lot of energy has to be spent fighting for basic rights.

Ban and repression in the cultural field

When rapper Mouad L'Haqed was arrested in September 2011, there was a taste of "déjà vu", and everyone remembered the fourteen metal musicians in 2003, the last time artists had been jailed. L'Haqed, who was a member of the Creation Committee of #Feb20, was tried and spent foru months in jail, then arrested again two months later in March 2012, spending a full year, and finally in June 2014 when he spent another four months in jail. Each time the charges were made up (violence, insulting the police in a video posted on youtube (not by him) and which later mysteriously disappeared, illegally selling tickets for a football match).

In February 2014, the organizers of the Festival "Resistance et alternatives", found the gates of the Abattoirs shut. They were refused access and had to find a last minute shelter at the *Boul'tek*, which only holds 150. The official excuse was the lack of an authorisation, but the intent behind this decision was to signify the #Feb20 that,

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[14] L'Uzine's facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/uzine7?fref=ts
[15] See the video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p7G9MYkp06w; retrieved 14 August 2015.

as the magazine *Telquel* wrote at the time: "Mais récemment, une tendance de fond se dessine: on cherche à bâillonner les artistes qui se déclarent proches du mouvement."[16] This followed the banning of L'Haqed's press conference in a bookshop to present his album *Waloo* (Nothing)[17], again for lack of an authorisation on 13 February. To keep up appearances, the banning is never direct and the excuse is always administrative.

Mouad L'Haqed is free for the moment, but not free to express himself in public, apart from what he publishes on youtube and facebook. On 19 June 2015, he was supposed to appear with a group of artists close to him, *Okacha Family*, in his first concert in his hometown, Casablanca, at *L'Uzine*. Two hours before the concert, police forces surrounded the place, and the electricity was cut off. When the director, Karim Tazi, asked for an official banning there was none and the police kept asking for an authorisation, when the place is a cultural foundation and does not require one. *L'Uzine* was closed down for two months.

The message is clear: people linked to #Feb20, even four years later, will never be forgiven for what they have done; thus reaching a situation where Mouad, for example, can only go on stage when he is not announced in advance, which he has done a few times under the protection of rapper L'Moutcho or at Café Slam.

Conclusion

The alternative art scene has shown how *fragile* (see Miller & Caubet, 2013 and Barone, 2015) it was, even at its height in 2006-2007, when everyone thought Nayda was going to prevail. Coming from the underground in the Hassan II era, after a presence on the public square, most artists are now back to "*Debber rasek*" (Manage for yourself), but a different type of DIY. The artists use new technical means, with a new scope in communication and exchanges via facebook and youtube, computers and mobile phones, so that they are not isolated anymore like the pioneers. They have also acquired, year after year, a form of social, if not political, consciousness, claiming to be citizens and actors, and not just subjects anymore.

They are still in a very fragile situation where the regime can decide to stop them (with indirect means), at any time if they cross the "red lines"[18] in politics; they are still full of hope, energy, inventiveness and creativity. They have acquired a form of technical competence where groups of friends are now able to record a track, shoot and produce a clip, and post it on facebook, where you can get the largest audience. Going on stage is another matter, not mentioning living from your art, which is now clearly not possible any more. In that sense also, they are back to the ages of amateurism, of the love of art, but with a message.

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[16] See Telquel, 1 March 2014: http://telquel.ma/2014/03/01/lart-de-la-censure_11535 "But recently, a trend is emerging: they're trying to muzzle the artists who declare themselves close to the movement".

[17] See the album online https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLyBPywAxXuuKE4lfTtAImoQHkuY2I6NZq - retrieved 14 August 2015

[18] The red lines being the Moroccan Sahara, the person of the King and religion.

7.3. Deciphering the "alternative": some preliminary contributions from the analysis of the audiences of a performing arts venue

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Abstract

This paper draws on empirical results of an audience study of a specific performing arts venue, Maria Matos Municipal theatre (MMTM), in Lisbon. The survey data collected from MMTM allowed us to compare audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" ones. Previously conceived by the programming team of MMTM, both events classifications include all performing arts artistic expressions. This approach allows us to analyse if there are any significant differences within the audiences of these different kinds of events, concerning the diverse topics under scrutiny. These include: (i) socio-demographic characteristics; (ii) reasons and motivations for visiting; (iii) visit and cultural habits; (iv) visit experience and quality. Considering the confrontation between the audiences of the more "experimental" and more "mainstream" programmes, conclusions are drawn regarding the relevance of each of those aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, providing us with some insights to contribute to decipher the "alternative" conceptual black box.

Keywords: cultural audiences, alternative, performing arts, underground.

Introduction

This paper aims to analyse the audience of a particular performing arts venue in Lisbon, Portugal (Maria Matos Teatro Municipal), basing on the data of a recent survey, comparing the audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" events. The idea is to assess the importance of several potentially discriminant aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, providing us with some elements to challenge and contribute for the discussion on the "alternative" concept.

This work draws on empirical results of a broader research project conducted by DINAMIA'CET-IUL, which aimed to study audiences of Lisbon's City Council Cultural Corporation (EGEAC). Within the scope of this project, an extensive one-year survey was applied to nearly 6000 visitors of 9 cultural venues and 4 main festivals/events under EGEAC's management, which provided extensive data and therefore, a better overview and understanding of these audiences.

In this paper, we pursue a more detailed and focused approach, considering just one theatre, and just some topics: specifically we are analyzing the relation between alternative / mainstream audiences, seizing the opportunity provided by this venue's own categorization of their activities as more or less "alternative".

Thus, the analysis is made on a particular venue, the Maria Matos Municipal Theatre (MMTM), which is itself regarded as the venue with a more "avant-garde" and "alternative" programming strategy within the studied universe on that broader study (Costa et al, 2014). MMTM hosts a diversity of events in the field of performing arts, which include music, dance and theatre performances.

The survey data collected from MMTM allowed us to compare the audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" ones. Both events classifications, previously conceived by the programming team of MMTM, include all performing arts artistic expressions.

This approach allows us to analyse if any significant differences within the audiences of these different kinds of events can be identified, concerning the diverse topics under scrutiny. These include: (i) socio-demographic characteristics; (ii) reasons and motivations for visiting; (iii) visit and cultural habits; (iv) visit experience and quality.

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Considering this confrontation between the audiences of the more "experimental" and more "mainstream" programmes, some conclusions can be drawn regarding the relevance of each of those aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, thus providing us with some insights to decipher the "alternative" conceptual black box.

After this introductory section, we will briefly present the research problem and shed some light on our conceptual framing, in the next section. A third section of his text deals with the presentation of the methodological issues. Afterwards, in the fourth section the main results of the analysis are presented, structured around the study of four distinct analytical dimensions: (i) the socio-demographic characteristics of the audiences; (ii) the reasons and motivations for visiting; (iii) the relation with visit and cultural habits; and (iv) the assessment of the visit experience and its quality. Finally, a brief concluding note allows us to systematize some ideas which can be a useful contribute for deciphering the "alternative" conceptual nebulous.

Research problem and conceptual framing

This is essentially an empirical paper, and it is assumed as such by us, so it not our intention to be describing here the conceptual framework which is underneath the analysis conducted, but just to state what is our research problem and how it is positioned face to the ongoing academic debates in this field.

In effect, the (virtually endless) discussion on the notion of "alternative" is far from pacific and conclusive (Guerra, 2010, 2013). Regardless of the diversity of conceptual focuses, disciplinary approaches or theoretical affiliations, a diversity of terms and concepts have been used to state a reality which we can classify as the "the alternative / mainstream" black box in the analysis of the cultural fields (cf. Figure 1), which have been recurrently marked by the opposition between notions such as "alternative", "independent", "indie", "experimental", "underground" activities (but also vanguards, avant-garde, or other variants which are not exactly the same and have more important specificities) and other notions such as "mainstream", "generalist", "mass-related" activities (or activities driven by "majors" agents, or other parallel but not exactly coincident concepts) – see on this traditional debates on economics and sociology of culture (e.g., Becker, 1982; DiMaggio, 1987; Crane, 1992; Bourdieu, 1994; Caves, 2002; Benhamou, 2011; Throsby, 2001; Towse, 2003; Guerra, 2010; 2013; Gomes, 2013; Costa, 2007, 2015; Borges e Costa, 2012).

We do not intend to discuss the specificities and merits of each of these categorizations here, or to enter in those debates. We just want to assume this divide, which seems to be important and outstanding (as demonstrated by the profusion of discussion and conceptual apparatus around it) to debate the differences between the audiences of these two broad "types" of cultural activities, inquiring if effectively we can notice or not any difference among them, seizing the opportunity given by our empirical work to contribute to that discussion grounding on empirical data.

In effect, we understand that we are facing heterogeneous and also quite flexible (in some cases) categorizations, when we start disentangling that "black box". Most of these classifications are essentially relative and confront-based, that is based on the establishment of an opposition or contrast between almost conceptual ideal-types. Regardless of the accuracy of each of those specific concepts, for us, the important is exactly the contrasting character of the nature of these oppositions, and the way they are perceived by cultural audiences and cultural providers and programmers. More than discussing which are the essential characteristics that can be found around the more "alternative" or the more "mainstream" activities or audiences (or even the debate whether if are the activities themselves, or the audiences that personify this divide), for us, the important is to test if the perception programmers have of this distinction between alternative and mainstream are confirmed in practice by distinct types, particularities or specificities in the behaviors of their audiences.

In that sense, and assuming thus completely the fluidity of these categories, our analysis in this paper wants to confront these two archetypical categories of audiences (simplistically assumed as more "alternative" and "mainstream") using the categorization operationalized by TMMM programmers to self"-classify their own events as more "experimental" or more "generalist". That is based on this classification that our analysis of the results is made, assuming the "pragmatic" (but often fluid) developed by the venue's team of cultural programmers.

Methodological issues

The Maria Matos Municipal Theatre is the venue with a more "avant-garde" and "alternative" programming strategy within the studied universe of venues and art festivals which were analyzed in this study. That is not just coincident with the conclusions of the comparative audiences development study conducted, which identify the most expected characteristics of the audiences of this kind of cultural activities in this venue's audiences (e.g – higher degree of academic qualifications, greater user loyalty, larger crossed cultural consumptions with other venues - Costa et al, 2014), but it is also consistent with the intentions openly assumed by their directors, at artistic and executive levels. However, within its own programming, several activities can be identified as pre-defined to reach broader and mostly generalist audiences and other activities are more oriented to more specific alternative and independent niche-markets.

MMTM hosts a diversity of events in the field of performing arts, which include music, dance and theatre performances, and this divide can be observed in all of these activities. Having all this in mind, the survey data collected from MMTM allowed us to compare the audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" events, drawing upon categories which were previously conceived by the programming team of MMTM: they indicate us which of their shows and events were included in each category, and this for all the kinds of performing arts artistic expressions.

In methodological terms, survey implementation was held in the scope of the broader study referred above (see Costa et al, 2014, 2014a for details), taking place between July 2012 and June 2013, through the application of a face to face questionnaire. The survey was applied by a team of interviewers and was held in several languages (Portuguese, English, Spanish, French; depending on the language spoken by the respondent) and in a diversity of situations (when entering the event, during, or when leaving it), covering a variety of days and times of the week, selected from the allocation of pre-programming indicated by the venue's technical team.

The sample for this specific venue was the one presented on Figure 2 (N = 623), defined by a proportional quota sampling, not probabilistic, based on the events' categories defined by the MMTM by th (for details on this and on the definition of subcategories, cf. Costa et al 2014a). Six categories of programs were defined:

a) Theatre/dance shows considered more "experimental";
b) Theatre/dance shows considered more "mainstream";
c) Music events considered more "experimental";
d) Music events considered more "mainstream";
e) Special events and presentations (e.g., debates, book presentations, etc.);
f) Children and youth-oriented programs.

For the purposes of this paper we will be essentially comparing the 1st with the 3rd category, and the 2nd one with the 4th, as expressed in the analysis below.

Main results

Having in mind the previous aspects, the analysis was developed using the following criteria. Three sets of hypothetic relevant discriminant features were considered:

i)   the socio-demographic characteristics of the audience (e.g, age, gender, education level, place of residence, artistic practices)
ii) the reasons and motivations for visiting (main motivations expressed);
iii) the visiting and cultural habits (social nature of visits, visits to other cultural venues and events);

In this section we make reference to the main aspects we can take out from each of these analytical dimensions.

A first set of statistical crossings was made with a number of socio-demographic characteristics, which are usually taken in account when studying cultural audiences: (i) Gender; (ii) Age; (iii) Education level; (iv) Occupation; (v) Previous Artistic Practices; and (vi) Local of Permanent Residency. The main results are presented on Figures 3 to 9.

Generally, the results are not quite different from what is generally expected in most audience studies, but they are not too clear in evidencing particular differences between the "mainstream" events audiences and the "alternative "events" ones. In terms of gender (Figure 3), the divide seems to be more between the kind of

performing art (theatre and dance vs music) than between the mainstream/alternative dichotomy. In what concerns to age distribution (cf. Figure 3 and 4), while in experimental events the differences between the arts do not seem to be evident, in the case of more mainstream events they tend to differentiate, although in opposite directions: with an enlargement and ageing of the audiences in case of theatre/dance and with a deeper concentration around younger segments in the case of music. Regarding educational level (used as possible proxy of cultural capital), the "mainstream" events' audiences reveal an unlike configuration when comparing to the global pattern registered on the venue, but that occurs particularly in the case of music. A similar situation, with a special comportment of the "mainstream" music segment of events occurs for the case of the variable existence of previous artistic practices. In what concerns to the variable occupation (or professional status) of the audience, the difference are more marked between the music events and the other ones, but again with a more contrasted pattern between the "alternative" music and the "mainstream" one. Finally, regarding the local of residency, the pattern is essentially just diverse in the case of the "alternative" segment, although again with a contrasting situation between theatre/dance (geographically more concentrated) and music (more disperse).

Overall, we cannot identify from this first set of variables a clear tendency, as the differences are not so conclusive at all at the end. The differences which we could expect in the socio-demographic composition between the "alternative" and "mainstream" segments of MMTM audiences seem not to overcome in general other distinctions caused by type of performative art/genre (e.g, specificity of music activities face to the rest), or at least the bigger apparent contrast between, on one hand, more mainstream music, and on the hand, more alternative music events and all the dance and theatre activities.
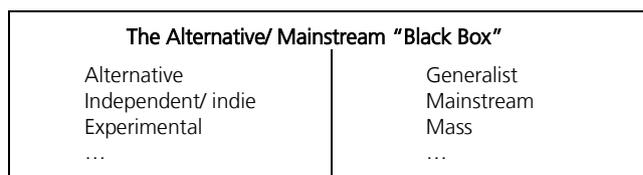
The Alternative/ Mainstream "Black Box"	
Alternative Independent/ indie Experimental …	Generalist Mainstream Mass …

Figure 1 – The Alternative / Mainstream "Black Box"
Source: own elaboration

	Proportional quota sampling method based on the events' categories	Visitors - population	Weight of each stratum (%)	Sample Design	Validated	Fill Quotes (%)
Categories	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)	6 732	30	192	195	101,7
	Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)	4 296	19	122	140	114,4
	Music (+ experimental)	2 771	12	79	81	102,6
	Music (+ mainstream)	3 379	15	96	24	24,9
	Events and Presentations	3 916	17	112	136	121,9
	Children and Youth	1 589	7	45	47	103,8
	Total	22 683	100	646	623	96,4

Figure 2 – Sample of the survey in MMTM
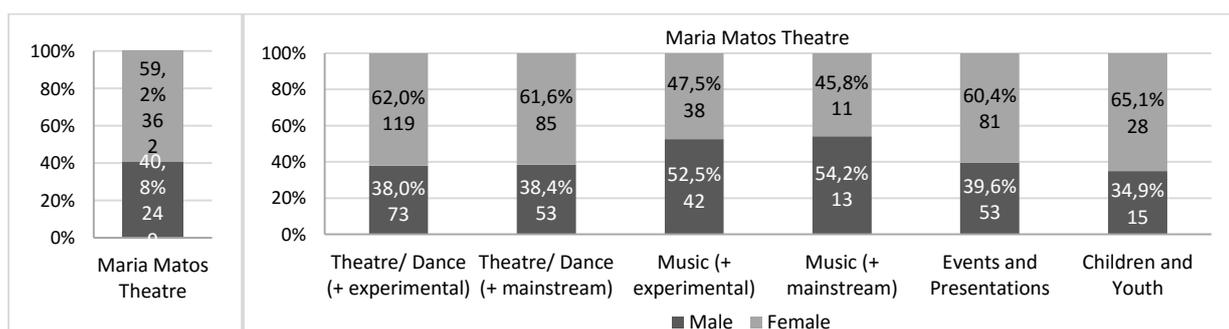Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Figure 3 – Gender distribution
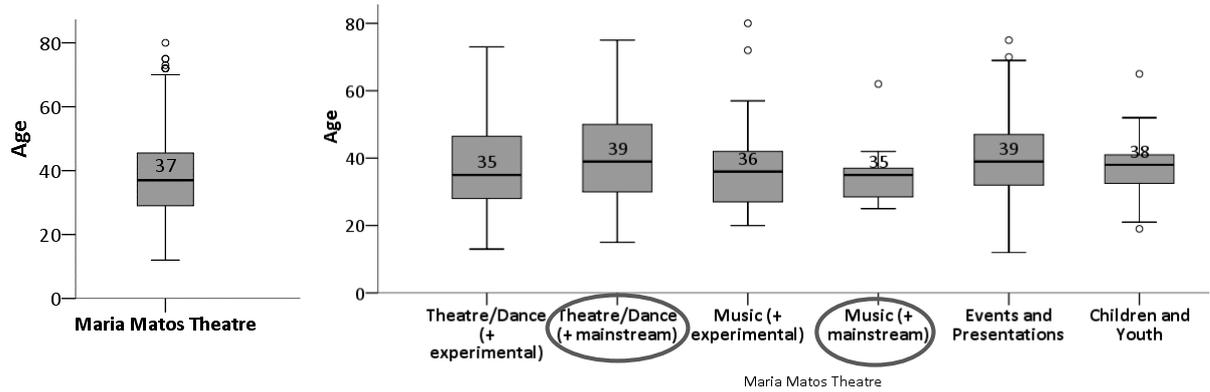Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Figure 4 – Age distribution
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

	Age									
	N.º	Mean	Median	Mode	Minimun	Maximum	Std-Dev	P25	P75	AIQ
Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)	192	38,7	35	28	13	73	14,0	28	47	19
Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)	137	40,0	39	35	15	75	13,2	30	50	20
Music (+ experimental)	80	35,9	36	39	20	80	11,4	27	42	15
Music (+ mainstream)	24	34,0	35	35	25	62	7,8	28	37	9
Events and Presentations	135	40,1	39	40	12	75	12,8	32	47	15
Children and Youth	43	37,1	38	38	19	65	8,3	32	41	9
Total	611	38,6	37	35	12	80	12,8	29	45	17

Figure 5 – Age distribution (main statistics)
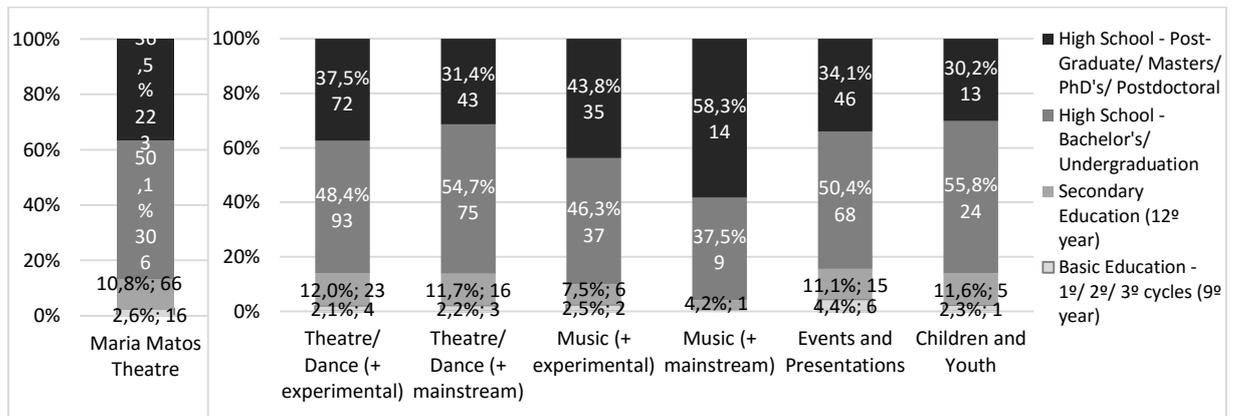Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Figure 6 – Education levels
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

A second potential discriminant feature which was considered in the analysis was the reasons and motivations expressed by the audience for visiting the venue in the specific event in which they were surveyed. The results achieved on the variable "main motivations expressed for the visit" are expressed on the table presented on Figure 10.

Again in this case we can notice that the main divide (apart some particularities in the case of more generalist theatre/dance events) is essentially between music and theatre/dance shows, rather than between "alternative" and "mainstream" segments.
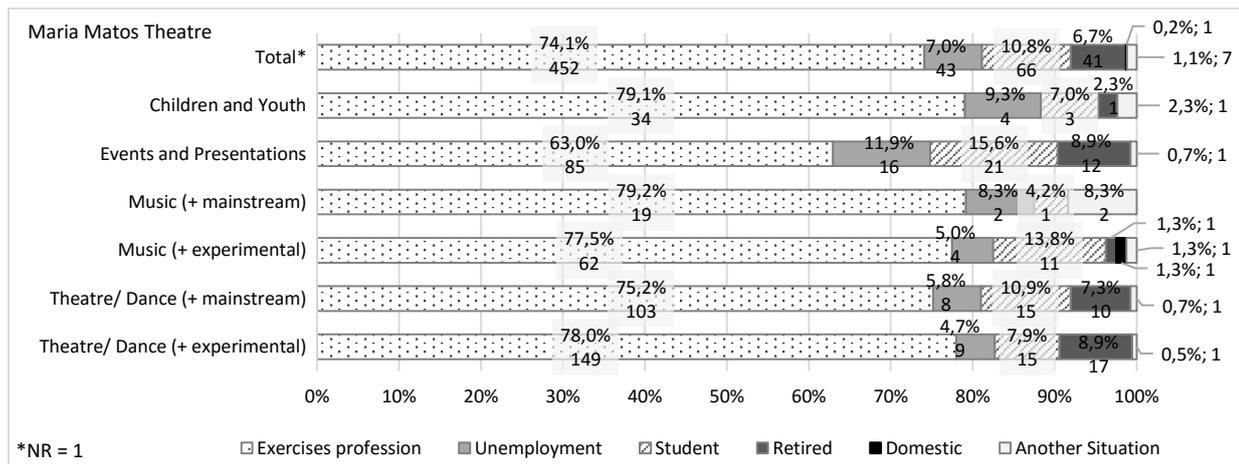
Figure 7 – Occupation / professional status
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.
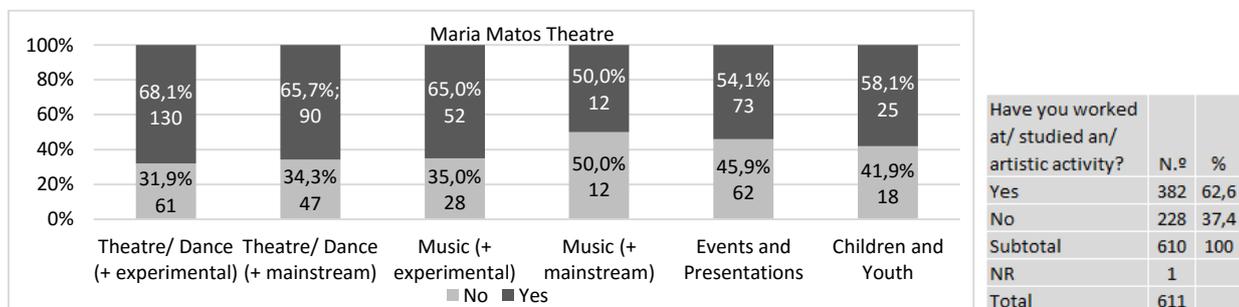

Figure 8 – Previous link to artistic activity / artistic practice
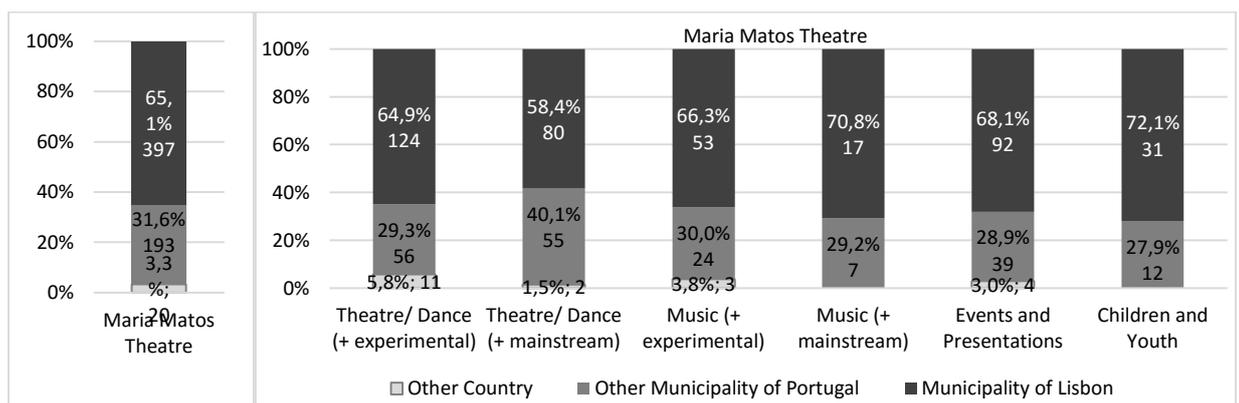Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Figure 9 – Place of residence
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Even considering the great importance of "other" motivations (expressed transversally to all categories of events), that provided no particular distinctions between more generalist and experimental segments. Amongst this "others", and notwithstanding the great dispersion of these (non pre-tipyfied) answers, the most cited aspects were curiosity (>50), and expressions such as "liking theatre", "liking music", "concerts", etc., crossing both those categories.

A third potential discriminant set of variables explored related with the visit and cultural habits expressed by the audiences of this venue. In terms of this analytical dimension, considering the results of the survey, a set of 4 different sub-dimensions was used in this analysis: (i) the recurrence of the visit to the venue; (ii) the social nature

of the visit (that is, if it is made accompanied or not, and with whom); (iii) the visits to other cultural venues and events (using the proxy most referenced venues); and (iv) the image and representations expressed by the audience of MMTM.

Considering recurrence (measured through the data about first time visits), as shown by the main results expressed on Figure 11, it is again in the case of the music activities that the results differ most, and again in contrasting patterns, with the average results of Maria Matos Municipal Theatre: with more newcomers in the case of more mainstream music, and less first time visitors in the case of alternative music.

In what concerns to the social nature of the visit (doing it accompanied or not), as I can be seen on Figure 12, the results are not particularly conclusive as the pattern is very similar among all categories. However, if we look to whom are these accompanying persons (Figure 13) we can clearly identify a different pattern in the case of mainstream music (with greater importance of the partner to the detriment of friends) comparing to alternative music and all theater/dance activities.

Regarding the aspect visits to other cultural venues and events (which was perceived by the proxy variable corresponding to the most cited equipment as the most important cultural offer in Lisbon, presented at Figure 14), some interesting evidence of specificity of the "alternative" audiences can be noticed, in both kind of activities, and particularly in the case of music, with higher scores of venues and institutions with less conventional programs.

Which reasons encouraged you to come to Maria Matos Theatre today?	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)		Music (+ experimental)		Music (+ mainstream)	
	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%
Place reputation	9	4,7	5	3,6				
Event reputation	13	6,7	22	15,8	7	8,6		
Performers reputation	54	**28,0**	37	**26,6**	32	**39,5**	8	**33,3**
Work reputation	10	5,2	16	11,5	6	7,4	3	12,5
Programme quality	6	3,1	11	7,9	4	4,9	2	8,3
Subject/ topic	35	**18,1**	30	**21,6**	6	7,4	2	8,3
Word of mouth recommendation	9	4,7	10	7,2	4	4,9		
Read a review	6	3,1	6	4,3				
Be with friends/ family	11	5,7	5	3,6	4	4,9		
Networking	8	4,1	1	0,7				
Being friends/ family	1	0,5	6	4,3				
Performers friends/ family	38	**19,7**	10	7,2	10	**12,3**	4	**16,7**
Free/ cheap	1	0,5	5	3,6	2	2,5		
Already here/ passing by	6	3,1	1	0,7	1	1,2		
Other	69	35,8	46	33,1	27	33,3	8	33,3

Figure 10 – Reasons and motivations for visiting
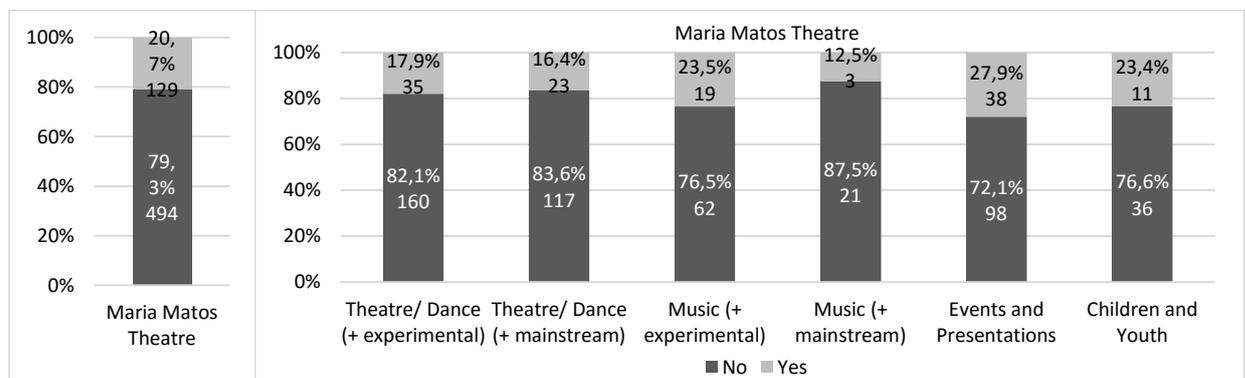Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Figure 11 – Recurrence of the visit (first time visit?)
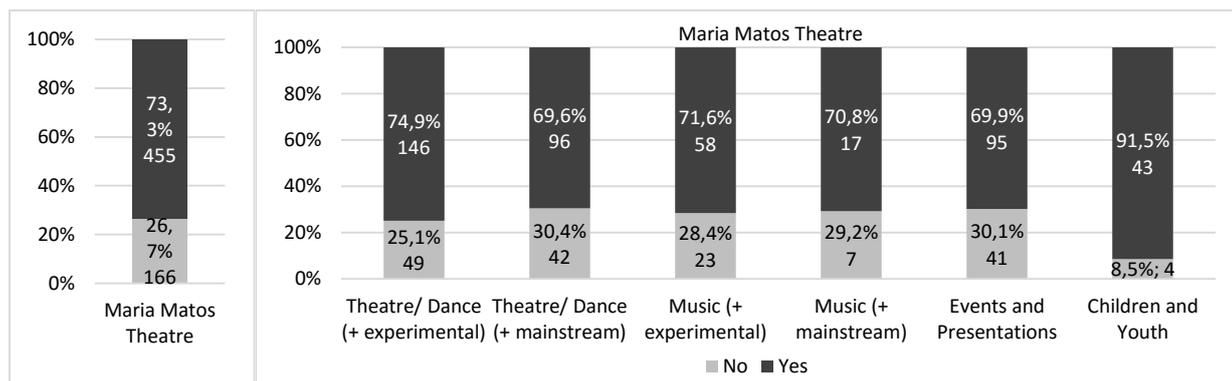Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Figure 12 – Social nature of the visit (accompanied or not)
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

With whom did you come with?	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)		Music (+ experimental)		Music (+ mainstream)		Events and Presentations		Children and Youth	
	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%
With partner	45	30,8	30	31,3	21	36,2	10	**58,8**	17	18,1	7	16,3
With family	31	21,2	20	20,8	4	6,9	2	11,8	39	41,5	33	76,7
With friends	91	62,3	53	55,2	37	63,8	7	41,2	43	45,7	7	16,3
Part of a group	2	1,4	1	1,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	2,1	0	0,0

Figure 13 – Social nature of the visit (who accompanied)
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Equipment cited	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)		Music (+ experimental)		Music (+ mainstream)	
	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%	N.º	%
Centro Cultural de Belém	**84**	**46,9**	**54**	**40,6**	**23**	**29,9**	**11**	**45,8**
Culturgest	**58**	**32,4**	**33**	**24,9**	**27**	**35,1**	**6**	**25,0**
Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian	**57**	**31,8**	**32**	**24,1**	**28**	**36,4**	**7**	**29,2**
Teatro Nacional D. Maria II	**37**	**20,7**	**31**	**23,3**	5	6,5	4	16,7
Teatro Maria Matos	28	15,6	24	18,0	13	16,9	**7**	**29,2**
São Luíz Teatro Municipal	20	11,2	14	10,5	4	5,2		
Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos	19	10,6	9	6,8	1	1,3		
Cinema S. Jorge	12	6,7	11	8,3	8	10,4	3	12,5
Galeria Zé dos Bois (ZDB)	12	6,7	6	4,5	**16**	**20,8**	5	20,8
Teatro do Bairro Alto (Cornucópia)	11	6,1	13	9,8	3	3,9	1	4,2
Teatro da Comuna	10	5,6	2	1,5			2	8,3
Cinema King	9	5,0	6	4,5	5	6,5	3	12,5
Cinemateca	7	3,9	5	3,8	8	10,4	3	12,5
Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea (Museu do Chiado)	7	3,9	3	2,3	2	2,6	1	4,2
Casa Conveniente	6	3,4	1	0,8	1	1,3		
Espaço Alkantara	6	3,4	1	0,8	1	1,3		
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga	6	3,4	7	5,3	3	3,9	1	4,2
Museu Berardo	2	1,1	1	0,8	6	7,8		

Figure 14 – Most cited equipment as the most important cultural offer of Lisbon
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Lastly, among this third set of variables, in what concerns to image and representations, the data collected, presented on Figure 15 (Image - not induced, asking for 3 free words) and Figure 16 (based on 6 pre-typified comparative values), give us a more complex picture, where the differences between music and theatre/dance

events seem to be important in many of the aspects cited, but where some other aspects seem to be also relevant, particularly distinguishing the "alternative" segment (where ideas such as contemporaneity, diversity ar alternative seem relatively more important), from the more "mainstream" one (where values such as quality or cosy gain importance, relatively). In the case of pre-typified values, the alternative segment of theatre/dance seems to have stronger particularities (e.g., increasing the value of sociability and decreasing the importance of public service, in the face of all other categories.

Expression cited	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)		Music (+ experimental)		Music (+ mainstream)	
	N.° (n28)	%	N.° (n28)	%	N.° (n28)	%	N.° (n28)	%
Diversity/ diverse/ diversified	23	13,1	17	13,0	13	17,8	2	8,7
Available/ accessibility	23	13,1	14	10,7	7	9,6	3	13,0
Contemporary/ contemporaneous	21	12,0	3	2,3	8	11,0	1	4,3
Culture/ cultural/ intercultural/ multicultural/ multiculturalismo	17	9,7	13	9,9	10	13,7	4	17,4
Innovative/ innovation	16	9,1	15	11,5	7	9,6	2	8,7
Modern	15	8,6	11	8,4	11	15,1	1	4,3
Program	14	8,0	12	9,2	6	8,2	1	4,3
Pleasurable	12	6,9	8	6,1	4	5,5	4	17,4
Experimental/ experimentation	12	6,9	8	6,1	3	4,1	2	8,7
Comfortable/ comfort/ clean	11	6,3	5	3,8	5	6,8	1	4,3
Quality	9	5,1	17	13,0	9	12,3	5	21,7
Alternative	9	5,1	5	3,8	6	8,2	1	4,3
Vanguard/ avant-garde	9	5,1	5	3,8	5	6,8	1	4,3
Cozy	8	4,6	10	7,6	4	5,5	2	8,7
Interesting/ interest	8	4,6	5	3,8	6	8,2		
Creative/ creativity/ creation/ create	8	4,6	4	3,1			1	4,3

Figure 15 – Image (not induced)
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

The 3 values reasons encouraged you to come to Maria Matos Theatre today	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)		Music (+ experimental)		Music (+ mainstream)	
	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%
Public service	105	58,0	91	70,0	61	78,2	18	78,3
Quality	136	75,1	94	72,3	60	76,9	18	78,3
Trust	55	30,4	38	29,2	18	23,1	6	26,1
Experimental	132	72,9	92	70,8	60	76,9	15	65,2
History	40	22,1	36	27,7	14	17,9	7	30,4
Sociability	54	29,8	25	19,2	14	17,9	3	13,0

Figure 16 – Image (pre-typified values)
Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Concluding note: deciphering the "alternative"?

From the analysis of these outcomes, we can conclude that the differences found in the visitors answers between the "alternative" and the "mainstream" segments are quite less visible than we could expect, considering the literature. The differences between alternative and mainstream events are not as big or clear as expected, and specially, are not transversally consistent for the categories analysed , being just slightly more important, in some variables, for the music case, where the difference between the more "experimental" or "generalist" segments seem to be more relevant than in the theatre/dance case. Anyway, in many cases, the differences between artistic disciplines (dance/theatre vs music) seem to be quite more discriminant than the alternative/mainstream divide.

However, we can identify some aspects that can be relevant for our debate and for further analysis. The socio-demographic characteristics and the main reasons and motivations expressed for visiting the venue seem to be, on

the whole, less important and less determinant than the visit and cultural habits (the social nature of visits, the declared visits to other cultural venues), or even than the visit experience and quality aspects, as determinant factors for distinguishing the answers of the audiences of the events classified by the programmers as more "mainstream" and the ones classified as "more" alternative. This may indicate that some issues more associated with the symbolic, and the creation of cultural legitimacy and reputation may be more relevant in this differentiation.

A set of other issues, related with the particularities of this study, may be relevant for a plain understanding of these results, and should be therefore made clear. Firstly Maria Matos Municipal Theatre is a special case, within the universe of the broader study in which this analysis was conducted, as all its activity can be, to a certain extent, consider as "alternative", being the "experimental" an assumed positioning of their board of directors for the whole of their activities. This may naturally affect the reading of the results, which should be contextualized to the "relative" level of "alternativeness" in which our discussion is framed. Secondly, and by the same token, we should not forget the importance of the "self-labeling" of each event as alternative or mainstream by the venue's programming team. The categorization is naturally a construction which is not less neutral or fallible just because it is created by the stakeholders instead of the researchers. Finally, some particular problems with the ascription of the sample and the filling of the quote of generalist music (due essentially to changes in the philosophy of venue's offer during this period) could eventually be thought as potentially explicative for some of the discrepancies between the results of this category and the others, in several variables, and further inquire may be developed to confirm this hypothesis.

Anyway, our aim with this text was just to test the importance of several potentially discriminant aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, providing us with some elements to challenge and to contribute to the discussion about the "alternative" concept. Further work must and will be developed on this, both in this venue and in other empirical contexts, enabling us to confirm and to put to prove some of the results achieved here and to contribute to a more robust and consistent conceptual reflection which can empower the scientific community to decipher this "alternative" black-box.

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THEME TUNE 8 | Mediation, artifacts and independent music and artistic productions

8.1. Freak encounters in the *free* press: sharing spaces in 1960s Los Angeles

Andre Mount [1]

Abstract

On 23 July 1966, the Great Underground Arts Masked Ball & Orgy attracted one of the largest assemblies of countercultural radicals Los Angeles had ever seen. Extravagantly costumed attendees—"Freaks," to use their self-imposed nomenclature—watched action paintings bathed in psychedelic light, provided corporeal canvases for marker-wielding tattoo artists, and danced with abandon to a performance by Frank Zappa's Mothers of Invention. One month earlier, a tribute concert put on by a group calling themselves the Los Angeles Hippodrome provided a comparatively conservative experience: a performance of Arnold Schoenberg's complete piano works, a slideshow of his expressionist paintings, and a recorded lecture. Despite these contrasts, the promotional materials for both events were virtually indistinguishable in approach and aesthetics. In both cases, the event organizers co-opted the pages of the Los Angeles Free Press—a seminal American underground newspaper—for their own promotional goals, printing ads and public manifestos that incorporated a distinctive DIY collage aesthetic reminiscent of John Heartfield's photomontages. These two groups co-occupied more than just the pages of the Free Press. Their meetings in virtual space mirrored their interactions in apartment buildings, coffee shops, street protests, and performance venues like Aerospace Hall, where both of the above events were scheduled to take place. This paper will argue that the unique landscape of mid-century Los Angeles, situated as it was at the epicenter of the popular mainstream, engendered an interconnectivity of social networks in which competing movements of cultural resistance enjoyed a mutually-beneficial cross-pollination of strategies and ideas.

Keywords: counterculture, Los Angeles, underground press, Frank Zappa.

Introduction

On a Friday in June 1966, just around the corner from CBS Television city, a small audience assembled for an evening billed as an "Homage to Arnold Schoenberg." [2] The event was hosted by the Los Angeles Hippodrome, a small consortium of avant-garde musicians and performance artists led by Michael Agnello and Joseph Byrd, a pair of experimentalist composers who were very loosely affiliated with the music department at UCLA. The concert—which included a slideshow and recorded lecture in addition to musical performances—consisted exclusively of works by the famed Viennese composer. Given the typically conservative programming that characterized most mid-century art-music concerts in Los Angeles, an all-Schoenberg event might have seemed somewhat out of the ordinary. A subsequent review in the *Los Angeles Free Press*, however, describes the evening's refined poise and restrained Romantic emotion, an atmosphere familiar to anyone that has attended a typical performance of Western art music. "The earliest work on the program," the reviewer writes,

> was the Four Songs, written in 1899, at a time when the composer was still very much under the spell of the Wagnerians.
> Accompanied by [Leonard] Stein, Spanish soprano Brenda Ferencz became a sensitive fraulein as she performed works written by an almost gushingly sentimental Schoenberg.
> In "Erwartung" (Expectation) she was lyric and sentimental then beseeching as she sung "Give me Thy Golden Comb."
> The third song, "Exaltation," found her crying out in triumph, and in the finale, "Waldsonne" (Forest Sun), Miss Ferencz, splendidly attired in a blue gown, ranged the spectrum of female emotion as she was by turns seductive and appealing, then angry, and finally warm and forgiving. (Moss, 1966)

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[1] Crane School of Music, State University of New York at Potsdam, United States of America.
[2] For a more thorough discussion of the topics discussed here, see "Grasp the Weapon of Culture! Radical Avant-Gardes and the *Los Angeles Free Press*" (Mount, 2015).

Less than a month later, on 23 July 1966, a very different event took place. The Great Underground Arts Masked Ball and Orgy— or GUAMBO, as the event came to be acronymized—attracted one of the largest assemblies of countercultural radicals that the city of Los Angeles had ever seen. A recap of the evening, taken from the same newspaper, describes the frenzy:

> Films were shown including Teague's footage of the Canter bust and Gary Taylor with his beautiful Pleasure Faire film. A combo played ... there were light shows ... Del Close did the Mad Doctor ... That crazy leopard girl danced and a conga drummer ad-libbed ... Somebody did action paintings ... and others did whatever they felt. Hundreds of people listened quietly to a sitar and tabla.
> Upstairs again. The crowd is larger. The Sound Machine completes their set and a group called The Factory moves in. More people start to dance and the costumes are getting groovier and noisier. Vito and his acolytes are here.
> Elaborate, sometimes nearly psychedelic masks. Bare feet painted with flowers. Colorful clothing (or nearly none at all – but no nudes; the nearest thing was a girl in a G-String and a plastic raincoat). Masks made of flowers glued to faces, glasses covered with butterflies, a hexagonal box collaged with contrasting images of humanism and Vietnam slaughter, faces painted half black and half white, tiaras of feathers, jewels shimmering in the dim light, sequined faces ... leather, foil, paper, leaves and thousands of beautiful and bizarre substances. The Factory finishes its set and The Mothers of Invention go on. This is one of the truly wild scenes of the evening. Frank Zappa in his suit of flowers. His sidemen are garbed similarly and, behind them are five other musicians augmenting the group. Five short haired American Federation of Musician types in black suits, white shirts and black ties. Just sitting there, reading charts, blowing with the Mothers the Mother sound. And the Mother's Auxiliary dancing, dancing, dancing.
>
> Carl, of "Hungry Freaks, Daddy" fame, is one of the featured dancers now. He is wearing what looks like zebra-skinned long johns with a pop art All-American Superman bib. Two nice ladies are dancing with him, alternating with some of Vito's group ... and from the dance floor comes a man in a mummy suit to join in. (Hopkins, 1966)

These two reviews, taken from the same newspaper, paint a pair of remarkably different scenes: in the one case a typically conservative performance of European art music, in the other a countercultural Bacchanalia of the highest order. Given this incongruity, one might assume that the individuals comprising the Los Angeles Hippodrome and the Freak movement—to use the self-imposed nomenclature—came from mutually isolated communities. In reality, however, these two events are better understood as outwardly different expressions of a larger socio-cultural complex—a situation that was very much a product of its geographical setting. By the time these individuals began to make their voices heard, the city of Los Angeles was well on its way to becoming what the social theorist Michael Dear has since described as a "polycentric, polycultural, polyglot metropolis" (2000, p. 3).[3] Continuously large population growth and a maelstrom of wildly fluctuating industrial, political, and economic influences have, not unexpectedly, fueled numerous conflicts but have also engendered complex and cooperative social networks on a variety of scales.

The community surrounding the Los Angeles Hippodrome and the Freak counterculture was both crowded and socially variegated. It would have been hardly uncommon to find avant-garde composers and freak rockers living in the same apartment buildings, occupying tables in the same coffee shops, and chanting in the same street protests.[4] In the case of GUAMBO and the "Homage," both events were scheduled to take place at the same venue: Aerospace Hall in the Fairfax neighborhood of Central Los Angeles.[5] This sharing of physical space may be seen reflected in a sharing of conceptual space when one considers how both events were touted as multimedia experiences, more closely aligned with happenings than with traditional concerts. The remainder of this paper will explore a third type of co-inhabitation: a sharing of virtual space in the underground press.

Sharing virtual space in the *Free* Press

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[3] Dear goes on to provide a brief encapsulation of the contributing historical processes later in the book (101-111).

[4] For further discussion of the social context, the reader is directed to McBride, 2003

[5] "Aerospace Hall" was the common name used to refer to the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics Hall at 7660 Beverly Blvd. in Los Angeles. Although the event organizers had booked the venue for GUAMBO, issues with overcrowding and insurance coverage led to event's last minute relocation to the Danish Center at 607 South Western Ave.

Both of these events, GUAMBO and the "Homage to Schoenberg," were sponsored and promoted by the *Los Angeles Free Press*, one of the first and most widely influential of the mid-century American alternative newspapers. The first mention of the Los Angeles Hippodrome's "Homage to Schoenberg" (Figure 1) appeared in an issue from 17 June. Surrounded by scattered text in a variety of typefaces, a collage of photographs dominates the full-page ad. A tiling of three-quarter view portraits of the composer[6] in varying degrees of overexposure forms a canvas for several other photographs—one of a pianist and one of a cello case and keyboard[7]—which have been cut out and superimposed on top. A second advertisement in the same aesthetic vein appeared in the following issue (Figure 2), although here multiple photographic focal points are spread out across the page.

This was not the first time the group had incorporated this visual style. Their "Concert Happening" event had been promoted in a similar manner several months earlier. Here again, a collage of photo clippings (Figure 3)—in this case of a man and woman conversing, a "NO LEFT TURN" sign, a man in a military beret reading a pamphlet on Vietnamese[8]—draws the eye from one snippet of irregularly sized text to the next. The cut-out letters forming the main header are reminiscent of a ransom note.

Comparing these images to the promotional materials leading up to GUAMBO, one cannot help but notice the aesthetic similarities. Although line drawings are the predominant type of graphic in the initial announcement for the event, an advertisement in the July 15 issue of the *Free Press* incorporates photographic elements as well. The masked revelers of the first ad are here seen spilling out of the windows of a 1938 Dodge sedan (Figure 4). The car itself is superimposed on top of an unidentified person's face, acting as a mask with eyes peering out just above the bumper. Wavy text flows out of the collage and although the composition is both busier and more freely arranged, the visual connection to the "Homage" and "Happening" ads is clear. Several smaller advertisements for GUAMBO (Figure 5), appearing above the paper's classified section, incorporate the same quirky frenetic collage style. The success of this model—pairing psychedelic multimedia concert dances with busy collage-style advertisements in the *Free Press*—was later used to promote a pair of post-GUAMBO concerts: the so-called "Freak Outs," which also featured the Mothers of Invention (see Figure 6).[9]

Aesthetic precedents

This kind of visual art was not without precedent, particularly in a publication like the *Free Press*. By 1966 the photo-collage—or "photomontage" as it is sometimes labeled—had already had a rich and varied history. The Berlin Dadaists of the 1920s and 1930s are generally credited with being the first to assemble cut-up photographs in a collage-style composition. See, for example, Hannah Höch's *Cut with the Kitchen Knife through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch in Germany* (1920). Raoul Hausmann, whose photomontage *Tatlin at Home* (1920) remains an important representative of this era and style, described the impetus in a 1931 lecture:

> The first photomonteurs, the Dadaists, started from the point of view, to them incontestable, that war-time painting, post-futurist expressionism, had failed because of its non-objectivity and its absence of convictions; and that not only painting, but all the arts and their techniques needed a fundamental revolutionary change, in order to remain in touch with the life of their epoch. The members of the Club Dada were naturally not interested in elaborating new aesthetic rules . . . . But the idea of photomontage was as revolutionary as its content, its form as subversive as the application of the photograph and printed texts which, together, are transformed into a static film. (Hausmann in Kaes, Jay, & Dimenberg, 1994, p. 651)

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[6] The original photograph may be viewed in the digital archives of the Arnold Schönberg Center (Florence, 1946).

[7] The pianist appears to be Leonard Stein, one of Schoenberg's pupils and the featured performer for this event. The keyboard, along with the cello case standing next to the chair, appear to be personal items belonging to Schoenberg while he was working in his Brentwood studio. The keyboard, chair, and cello case are all visible in photographs of Schoenberg's studio from this period. (See Fish, 1948, and 1952)

[8] The pamphlet is entitled Vietnamese; language familiarization manual. Prepared by Educational Services for the Dept. of Defense.

[9] Additional ads appeared on p. 6 of the 12 August 1966 issue and on p. 12 of the 9 September 1966 issue.
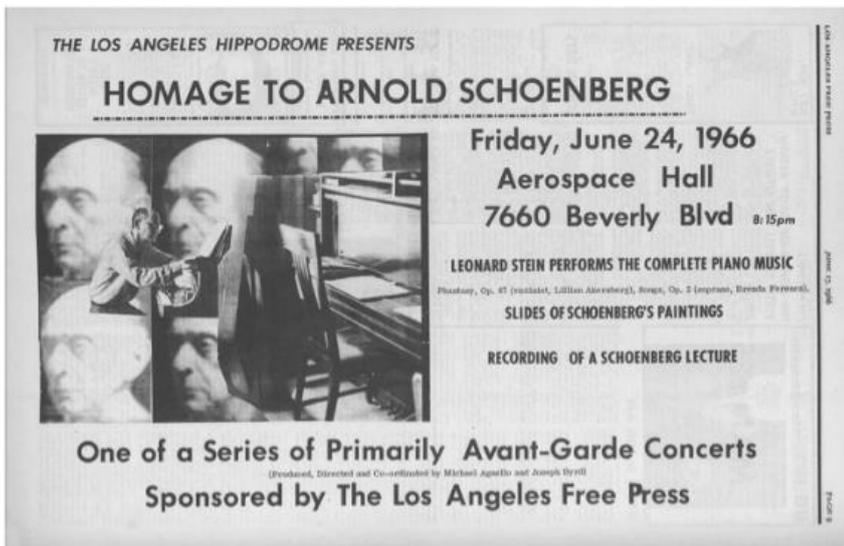
Figure 1 – "Homage to Arnold Schoenberg" advertisement, *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.24 (17 June 1966): 9 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com)
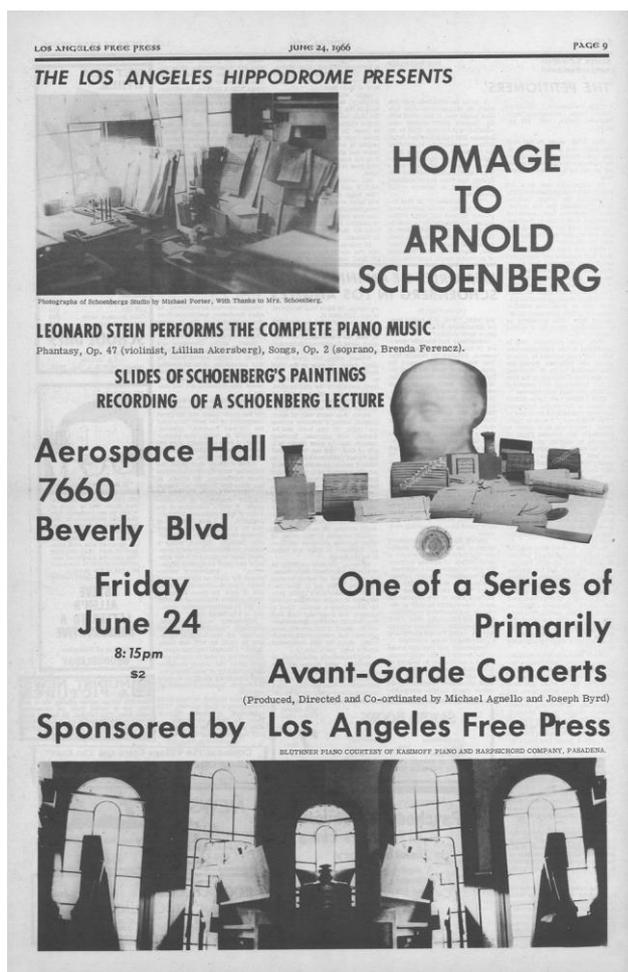

Figure 2 – "Homage to Arnold Schoenberg" advertisement, *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.25 (24 June 1966): 9 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com).
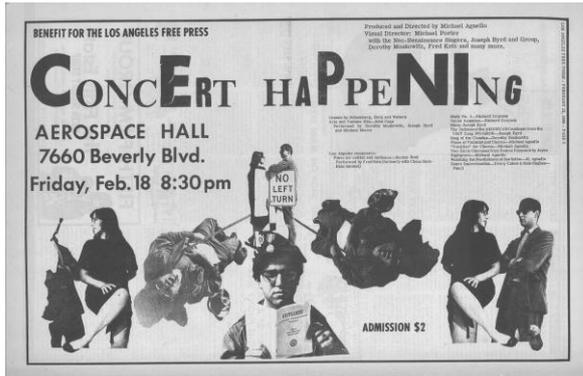
Figure 3 – "Concert Happening" advertisement *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.7 (18 February 1966): 5 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com).

Figure 4 –"GUAMBO" advertisement *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.28 (15 July 1966): 9 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com).

Figure 5 – "GUAMBO" advertisement *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.29 (22 July 1966): 15 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com).
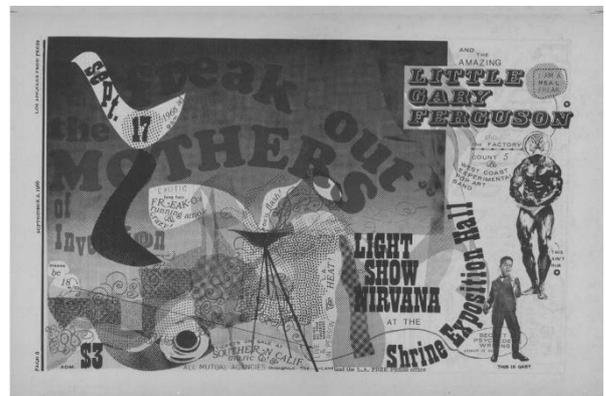

Figure 6 – "Freak Out" advertisement *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.35 (2 September 1966): 6 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com).

The artist most directly responsible for the type of collage discussed here was John Heartfield.[10] Originally an active member of the Berlin Dada scene, the politics of Heartfield's work quickly became focused less on criticizing perceptions and institutions of fine art and more on anti-Nazi propaganda and criticism of social policy (Evans & Gohl, 1986).[11] In the 1920s and 30s, Heartfield contributed over 200 photomontages to *AIZ* (*The Worker's Pictorial Newspaper*)[12] a left-wing German magazine known for its use of amateur photography as a type of political weapon. Advances in camera and publishing technology made magazines like *AIZ* an ideal venue for disseminating ideas to a mass audience; photography made propaganda immediately accessible, even for an uneducated reader.

The *Los Angeles Free Press*, though temporally and geographically removed, may be seen as part of a lineage descending from magazines like *AIZ*. Art Kunkin, the newspaper's founder had previously been employed as business manager for *The Militant*, the official platform publication of the American Socialist Worker's Party. The politically charged nature of the *Free Press* was a direct outgrowth of Kunkin's socialist background. But like many of the other underground papers that would follow, the *Free Press* had an equally influential cultural voice. Strong ties to the community meant that the intermingling of cultural and political elements in radical Los Angeles society would easily find its way into the paper. The advertisements discussed here are representative of this intersection.

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[10] Born Helmut Herzfeld 19 June 1891, died 26 April 1968.

[11] See, for example, his *After Ten Years: Fathers and Sons* (1924).

[12] Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung, or, AIZ.

Their primary purpose is to advertise cultural events and they do so in the politically charged context of the *Free Press*.

There remains, however, a disconnection between photomontage in the *Free Press* and its European agit-prop precedents. In works like Heartfield's *Adolf The Superman: Swallows Gold and spits Junk* (Heartfield, 1932a) or *The meaning of the Hitler salute: little man asks for big gifts* (1932) (Heartfield, 1932b) the viewer is made keenly aware of an overt political message. The subjects of the individual photographs are usually identifiable and the artist's or editor's viewpoint is made obvious. In the *Los Angeles Free Press*, however, collage-style advertisements routinely use anonymous subjects and vague juxtapositions. Consider the long-haired youths in the 22 July GUAMBO advertisement (Figure 5) or the Janus-headed bodybuilder in 2 September advertisement for Zappa's second Freak Out concert (Figure 6). Unable to identify the photographic subjects with any degree of certainty, a viewer is likely to be left with only a vague sense of irreverence.

This lack of clarity should not, however, be seen as a watering down of the photomontage technique. Rather, it seems that the mid-1960s Los Angeles photomonteurs are operating on an abstracted level. Instead of using collage as a medium of communication, they are taking advantage of an identifiable visual aesthetic to project a carefully shaped ideological appearance. The medium, in the over-quoted words of Marshall McLuhan, is the message.[13] And, like the *Free Press* itself, this appearance was both political and cultural. On the one hand, the continuation of a tradition starting with Heartfield's vehement anti-Nazi propaganda broadcasts an obvious anti-establishment dissidence. On the other hand, their use of the collage technique is a means of establishing cultural cachet. By 1966, the photomontage aesthetic had spread to the English-speaking world by way of such early pop-art works as Richard Hamilton's *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?* (1956) and Andy Warhol's *Marilyn Diptych* (1962). Closer to home the artist Will Connell had produced a book entitled *In Pictures: A Hollywood Satire* (1937) containing a series of satirical photomontages lampooning various aspects of the entertainment industry, which by the middle of the 20th century had come to dominate the Los Angeles landscape. This visual aesthetic imbued the advertisements discussed here with a favorably irreverent image and an in-the-loop association with cutting-edge art.

Conclusion

But perhaps the most striking similarity between the seemingly disparate musical communities represented by the Los Angeles Hippodrome on the one side and Frank Zappa on the other is that both groups seem to have co-opted the pages of the *Free Press* not only for advertising their musical performances but as a platform for disseminating their beliefs. For the page preceding the very first "Homage to Schoenberg" advertisement, each of the members of the Los Angeles Hippodrome submitted a manifesto (Figure 7). The composer Michael Agnello begins his with the statement:

> Art is dead. Let us bury it along next to god; and in doing so, let us harken back to a more fundamental state of consciousness where the only worthy successor of art is culture and the only worthy successor of god is the creative spirit of man. (Agnello, 1966)

His colleague Joseph Byrd, a one-time assistant to John Cage and an experimental composer himself, prefaces his manifesto by proclaiming "the necessity of art is to oppose illusion: to bring all possible forces to bear on reality and the things implied by it." The manifesto itself is a cartoon of a dog-like creature brandishing a knife poised to cut off the head of a snake; below this is written, "GRASP THE WEAPON of culture!" (Byrd, 1966). A later issue of the *Free Press* featured two full pages of advertising space paid for by Frank Zappa. Following an advertisement for one of the two Freak Out concerts, the second page is left blank except for a small block of text broken into four paragraphs (Figure 8). The text is signed "Suzy Creamcheese," a fictional character who appears in several of Zappa's works as a personification of youthful naiveté in the world of cultural exploitation—and in this case serving as a pseudonym for Zappa himself. Zappa comes to his main point in the second paragraph:

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[13] The programming of the "Homage to Schoenberg" concert may be seen the same way. Although it might seem odd that a group of experimentalist avant-garde composers and performance artists would put on a fairly conservative performance of music that had become more or less part of the Western canon, the event makes sense when one sees it as a gesture of alignment with a figure whose historical reputation remained that of revolutionist.

A freak is not a freak if all are freaks. "Freaking Out" should presuppose an active freedom, freedom meaning a liberation from the control of some other person or persons. (...) If we could channel the energy expended in "Freaking Out" physically into "Freaking Out" intellectually, we might possibly be able to create something concrete out of the ideological twilight of bizarre costumes and being seen being bizarre.

In both of these cases, the manifestos appear in close proximity to one of the collage-style advertisements already discussed.

With heavy-handed tone and heady proselytizing, these texts reveal a deep bond connecting the Los Angeles Hippodrome and Zappa's freaks: a shared ideological space defined by a broader social mission. Both of these groups shared a common crusade: alarmed and overwhelmed by the pervasiveness of the mass-entertainment industry in their home city, they rallied against commercial superficiality and celebrated intellectual artistic freedom. Although certain individuals did not always see eye to eye—and although certain groups occasionally sparred for visibility—the sharing of physical, conceptual, virtual, and ideological spaces discussed here reveals a revolutionary mindset that unified a complicated and tempestuous social network.
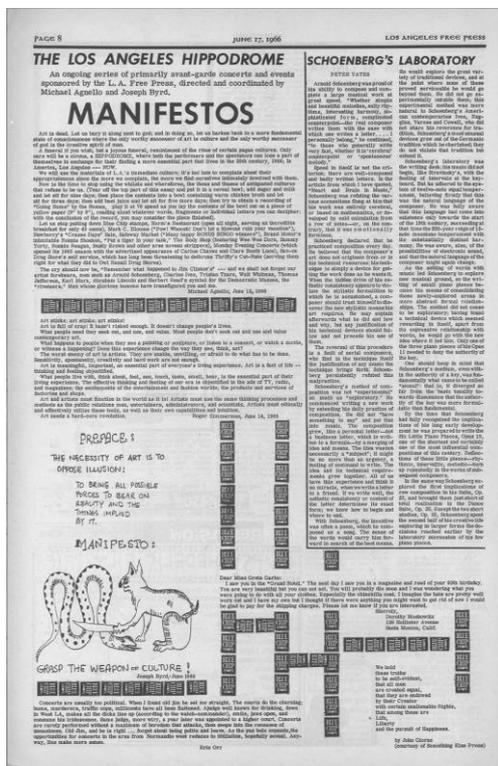

Figure 7 – Manifestos of the Los Angeles Hippodrome, *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.24 (17 June 1966): 8 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com).
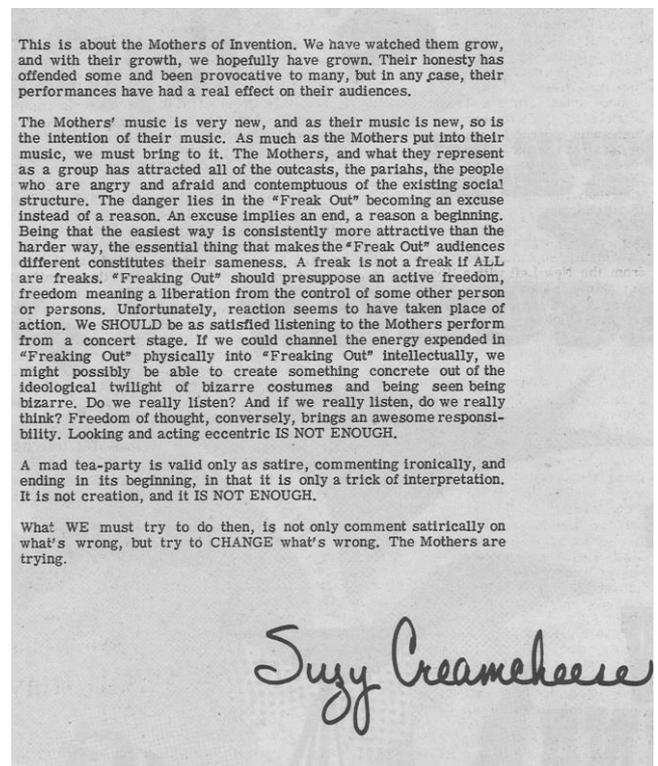

Figure 8 – Manifesto of Frank Zappa (alias "Suzy Creamcheese") *Los Angeles Free Press* 3.37, (September 16, 1966): 10 (image courtesy of the LAFreePress.com).

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8.2. Nakedness, gender and print culture: bodies in the magazine "La Luna de Madrid"

Fernando García Naharro [1]

Abstract

In this brief essay I intend to analyze the issue of the naked bodies in print culture, working with images and texts of the magazine "La Luna de Madrid". Analyzing the Summer Special number of the magazine -through the pictures and narratives as well as the body debate developed in the conversation interview entitled "el triunfo del cuerpo"- I intend to reconstruct the discourses about men/women bodies, nakedness and health/illness discussion developed in the magazine. Doing a textual analysis study I intend to suggest plausible interpretations of texts offering a semiotic approach to address this issue and to demonstrate that, behind those images and texts, there are compelling discursive mechanisms that prefigure and constrain the meaning and the uses of bodies in a given society.

Keywords: nakedness, bodies, magazine, postmodern body, body beautiful.

"The physical body is a microcosm of society, facing the centre of power, contracting and expanding its claims in direct accordance with the increase and relaxation of social pressures"
Mary Douglas

Introduction

In the next pages I intend to analyze the body as the ground of the social structuration following some epistemological approaches from the sociology of the body that will help me to think about what is and which is the role displayed by the bodies in the contemporary western culture. Situated bodies, naked bodies in print culture, images and texts in the magazine "La Luna de Madrid", the special number entitled "En Pelotas" (Nº 20 (1985)). Why this magazine? I have chosen La Luna de Madrid because it was one of the most popular magazines during the eighties. It was founded on December 1982 as an avant-gard project that opened its pages to different art expressions of the moment: painting, photograph, fashion, popular music, literature, comic, etc. Moreover, "La Luna de Madrid" gave voice to some issues developed by the cultural phenomenon of "la Movida" [2] as, for instance, the hedonism, the banalization of politics or the intense relations between night and drugs, sex and pleasure in the city of Madrid during those days (FOUCE, 2002) (VILARÓS, 1998) (GARCÍA NAHARRO, Diálogo de discursos en el periodo de la Transición a la Democracia, 2011)

For this paper I´ve selected the Summer Special number, July-August 1985 because it was focused on the body and therefore it should be a vivid and explicit review of issues as bodies and nakedness. So, working with this special number of the magazine -through the pictures and narratives as well as the body debate developed in the conversation interview entitled "el triunfo del cuerpo"- I intend to reconstruct the discourses about men/women bodies, nakedness and health/illness discussion developed in the magazine in order to understand the complex set of elements that contribute to create a specific textual image of bodies in a printed object.

Bodies as textual ornaments

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[2] The headless "cultural phenomenon" that refers to an experiential culture full of symbols and values that shaped some of the Spanish youth and the popular culture of the post-Franco era in Spain.

Since the early days bodies where closely related to this magazine: for example, the Zero number of the magazine was celebrated with a striptease contest to get money to print and publish the first number of the magazine, finally published on November 1983. In this case, the title of this special number is revealing: "En Pelotas" a popular expression for being completely naked (both socially and physically). Naked bodies as the one that we can see in its front page[3]: a white, young and thin woman in topless, with make up on her face, acting as mime artist. Short hair, closed eyes and red lips, with her mouth and her hands on a provocative posture that turns the woman into a claim for recruiting readers.

A woman´s naked body will also appear on the first page, the summary, customizing and decorating the distribution of pages and topics built on a naked woman´s body in profile (arms, legs, tits and her pubic hair. Not her head). In two pages, two naked woman´s bodies. On the next page, another woman, but now she´s not made of flesh and bone: Ciuco Gutiérrez[4] took a picture of a frontwards puppet woman´s silhouette –with her nipples and her pubic hair coloured in green- dressed up just with a collar. On her hand, this fake woman holds a picture of a flesh and bone woman on backward: the sublimation of the objectification, where the body is the referent and the real woman is subjected by the fake one. Yet, the woman´s body will become a metaphor of the hegemonic discourse where real women disappear under their own representation; a representation of the body that becomes an autonomous object shaped by her sex attributes and the fashion elements. Sex attributes as the pubic hair regarded as an erotic element under who grow flowers in "Lirios 85"[5]; bra, panties and garters of Violeta Cela[6] or the portrait of Cyra[7], the little girl that plays with the fruits of a tree as they were her own sex attributes: her breast.

Another type of objectification could be the fragmentation of the body displayed in "*caleidoscopio de piernas, una espalda maravillosa y un cuerpo en equilibrio*" of Alejandro Cabrera[8]: the woman, as a subject, becomes a broken object into pieces in a *body-object, object-fetish* practice (IMBERT, 1986) shaped by the masculine-heteronormative gaze.(GARCÍA NAHARRO, La construcción de la imagen de la mujer en el discurso de la "movida". Movida y cambio social (1975-1985), 2013) (GARCÍA NAHARRO, Mujeres de papel. La imagen de la mujer en la revista "La Luna de Madrid , 2013). Curiously, women´s bodies will be in shape contrast to men bodies: most of them will not appear naked or, as Julio Bullón, just covering the crotch in a sitting position, a western male practice(GOFFMAN, 1987, pág. 21) that gives us some clues for understanding the social routines and behavioral patterns displayed by men and women, choreographing their bodies and employing some postures -and no others- in the photographic frame.

To support this argument we should analyze these images in the material context of the scenes in terms of time, place or dramatis personae: as *public pictures,* arty pictured scenes printed in a magazine, the pictures portrayed scenic cues to provide the viewer some clues for understanding the message. In all these situations the models are presenting some standards (categories of persons) or recognizable situations that give the reader the possibility of arranging a scene, with a specific conception of what constitutes the appropriate pose for the "representation" of what they want to show. Nonetheless, we cannot take for granted that this magazine is a cultural product intended to a specific audience, for an ideal reader that fits with the values and lifestyles of middle class. Although, I argue that these pictures can illustrate behavioral practices and gender codes that, probably, go beyond the boundaries of the class: I´m not putting into question the crucial role of the *habitus* in the process of the conformation-perception of the body I´m just telling, as Mary Douglas said, that "all the cultural categories in which (the body) is perceived, must correlate closely with the categories in which society is seen in so far as these also draw upon the same culturally processed idea of the body"(DOUGLAS, pág. 72).

That's why images, gestures and silences can give us some clues in order to analyze what type of body is prohibited, tolerated or allowed in the magazine: what kind of body should be showed or not or how it should be showed. Images that would be shaped by power relations demarcating legitimated bodies and their *constitutive outside* despite –as we will see- the editors said, in their own words, that the power issue was not relevant for the body issue.

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[3] Picture from Alejandro Cabrera. *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985)

[4] *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 4.

[5] YUSTE, J. R.: "Lirios. 1985", *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 93.

[6] BERLANGA, J.: "Violeta Cela, carne y seda", *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) pp.22-23.

[7] BAYLON, L.: "Retrato de CYRA", *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 39.

[8] CABRERA, A.: "Caleidoscopio" *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 29-32

A Dual Body

Through these pictures we can illustrate behavioral practices and cultural codes that the poses portrayed. Images and gestures that we are going to complete with the words inscribed in the magazine. For example, close to the paper-woman of Ciuco Gutiérrez we can find the article of Javier Utray entitled "En Pelotas"; here, the author will tell us what this expression means: "*En pelotas es locución castiza y sumamente ambigua y polisémica (…) ponerse/estar/dejar en pelotas puede ser cosa mental (diría Leonardo) o tema muy abstracto o financiero o pornográfico y poco fino*"[9]. This expression is about actions made by someone over someone's body, where the body is understood as a biological ground: "*superficie de equilibrio resultante entre la presión interna de carnosos fluidos y la tensión de las encantadoras membranas dérmicas que lo circundan, es descaradamente apelotada.*"[10].

So the author shapes this concept on the classical body/mind dualism that allows him to sell or "pornificate" the body without staining the mind, reducing the body to an object. Another body -once again a naked woman's body- holds in her hands the text of the interview "*El triunfo del cuerpo*"[11], the transcription of a dialogue about the body. Hands, as well as her pubic hair and her breast, conforms the body that the reader can see while is reading the interview: the parts instead of the whole. Moreover the text is followed by the pictures of the participants in the dialogue (Leopoldo Panero (writer); Juanjo Rocafort (fashion designer); Julio Bullón (graphic designer), María Eugenia Fernández de Castro (publisher) Maraba Dominguez y Jorge Berlanga). The dialogue between them will guide our analysis. The editor of the magazine starts this dialogue interview talking about the nakedness as the ultimate refuge, the "last and inalienable property of each other":

> "Hemos querido mostrar, en este número veraniego, tan placentera coyuntura en dos vertientes excepcionalmente reales y complementarias: por un lado, profundizar en la desnudez patética de nuestro empobrecido entorno y, por otro, celebrar gráficamente la victoria del cuerpo, última e inalienable propiedad de cada cual el suyo, con variados e interesantes resultados, como al correr de las páginas se podrá observar"[12].

This metaphor is used in a polysemic way: for showing us the shames of the *social body* (the difficult reality of the unemployment in Spain during the last decade (1975-1985)) as well as the last and inalienable property of the human being, the body. This idea is closely related with the classical passive vision of the body that is, actually, the one that most of the participants in the conversation will support. Let's take a look: starting with the idea of the changing conception of the body –from the modernist cult of the hidden body, mysterious and desirable, to the hypotetical current situation: the final victory of the naked body and the emergence of specialized centers in bodybuilding- the editor of the magazine talks about the naked body as a sexual body on sell in the consumer society[13]. From this generative and reflective conversation we can analyze the image of the body managed by the participants.

In the first place, everyone believe in the existence of a specific kind of body – for example, as a landscape[14]- Most of them agree in thinking the body as a dualism between mind and body -trying to put this idea far from the dominant catholic view of the body as a jail or a place of sin-[15]supporting some kind of "biological view of the soul" closely related with the body (just for a while, similar to the *Carnal* self –*awareness* of Merleau-Ponty (MERLEAU-PONTY, 1984) but, in the end, just understood as the power that turns on the body- machine)

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[9] UTRAY, J.: "En Pelotas", La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 5
[10] UTRAY, J.: "En Pelotas", La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 5
[11] *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) pp. 7-13
[12] *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 7
[13] " Redacción: Limitándonos un poco a la historia reciente observamos, que desde el final del siglo pasado, la época modernista, decadente y lánguida, donde existía un culto al cuerpo escondido o mínimamente mostrado, al cuerpo vestido, misterioso y deseable más por imaginado que por conocido, hasta la situación actual donde se produce la definitiva victoria del cuerpo desnudo y cultivado hasta con sus más mínimos detalles, con la aparición de centros especializados en su perfeccionamiento por medio de la gimnasia, la medicina, la psicología e incluso la cirugía; la forma de mostrar, cuidar o castigar el cuerpo ha sufrido una evolución tan radical que se puede decir que hoy día el cuerpo es ya en sí mismo una enfermedad" (La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 8)
[14] Leopoldo: "Yo preguntaría ante todo si existe el cuerpo (…) quiero decir si lo que queda del cuerpo no es más que una noción de paisaje, la misma relación que tiene el paisaje con respecto a la naturaleza" (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 8)
[15] María Eugenia: "El gran error humano de que el cuerpo es la cárcel del alma nos ha matado, en realidad es el alma la cárcel del cuerpo" (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 8)

"Claro, habría que hablar de la dicotomía cuerpo-espíritu que funda esta dialéctica. Roberto Nava Santos habla de una noción biológica del alma, de la radical fusión de cuerpo y espíritu" (Leopoldo, p. 8)

"La única forma de acción del espíritu es a través del cuerpo (…) la acción está en el cuerpo y en la vida, la contemplación y la meditación están en el otro lado" (María Eugenia, p. 8)

"No hay que separarlo. Hay intensidades de conciencia que se manifiestan por ejemplo, con la droga, que son totalmente corporales. Todo es un mismo organismo. La comunicación humana se hace a través del cuerpo, lo que pasa que la palabra sirve para tapar un poco" (Leopoldo, p. 8)

"Es el medio mágico entre las dos partes" (María Eugenia, p. 8)

Keeping distance from the catholic tradition, they don´t break with the dualism conception of the body defended by René Descartes, which states the importance of the mind to control the body arguing that the mental cannot exist outside of the body. Nevertheless, we can see some contradictions, gaps that prevent closing speech on itself: for example when Julito argues that he has more conscience of his body than his soul[16] or when Leopoldo[17] talks about the sensations that one can feel through pain, showing how through the wounds one can feel a brutal sensation of existence; in other words, that we are no more than bodies. The pain would be the highest form of knowing yourself, as Francisco Carpio says, a few pages later in the magazine, in his article "the body as one of the fine arts" where he borrows some words of Alberto Pomés taken from his book "Sebastian" to illustrate their position:

"Mi única certeza es el cuerpo, que esa especie de asno presuntuoso que dan en llamar espíritu sea consecuencia de una serie de reacciones químicas en el cerebro o no, me importa poco; sólo al contemplarme desnudo ante las aguas del espejo sé que soy algo más que el borrador de un Dios ocioso (…) el dolor –esa religión de los exquisitos- resulta la más elevada forma de conocerse y Sebastián sabe que su martirio tiene como fin un único altar: él mismo"[18].

Delirium Body Worship

Another topic that rises from this conversation is the "body worship"[19]. Through comments, articles and paratextual elements (captions, introductions) the magazine invite the reader to take note of the shift happened on the body conception during the last years: the postmodern body is old fashioned, the trendy is the body care. Nonetheless, a few years the body image promoted by the magazine was shaped by practices in relation with drugs and nightlife as well as the hedonism and all the identity/representational images of these youth who wanted to forget the past and to live the present exploring the dangerous relation between night and drugs, sex and pleasure in the city of Madrid (Spain).

Some elements can help us to understand the emergence of this "new values" in the post-dictatorship era in Spain: the emergence of the Welfare State, the crisis of the parental authority and the birth of the "*teenage market*" and the consumer society which message will circulate through the emergent mass media.(FEIXA, 1998, págs. 43-45).

But, curiously, during the interview we can see a shift in this corporal image: there is a break with the postmodern intensities displayed by "*la Movida*", with *all those obsessions with the sexuality, the drugs and the nightlif*e (MAINER & JULIÁ, 2000, pág. 94) transmitted as a collective imaginaries by the music and its sensorial experience of the body as "a fusion of the imaginative fantasy and the corporal practice" (FIRTH, 1996, pág. 212).

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[16] Julito: "Se tiene mucha más conciencia del cuerpo que del alma. Lo primero que preocupa es cómo cuidar el cuerpo, no pasar frío ni calor, evitar el dolor…Cuando esto está resuelto es cuando puede aparecer el problema del alma" (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 8)

[17] Leopoldo: "(…) Son unas vivencias las alucinaciones, incluso se da el caso de que las visiones se consiguen por medio de mutilaciones. Nunca está separada una vivencia de tipo alucinógeno de la de tipo corporal" (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 8)

[18] CARPIO, F.: <<Del cuerpo como una de las bellas artes>> La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 75

[19] Maraba: "Ahora a la gente le aburre cada vez más la moral y le interesa más el cuerpo que es mucho más divertido" (La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 9)

Now that passion is fading away and the body image is changing: a requiem for the postmodern body[20] and the values and lifestyles associated with it.

> "Me acuerdo que hace unos años todo el mundo tenía que ir hecho polvo y cuanto más polvo mejor. Todos pálidos, todos con el mismo corte de pelo, todos delgados y vestidos de negro…y resulta que llega un día un tío cachas que está muy macizo y se las lleva de calle" (Julito, p. 8)

> "(…) Hasta para pasarte tienes que cuidarte, hay que hacer economías corporales" (María Eugenia, p. 8)

How to display, maintain or punish the body has been changing over the time. The different corporal economics have been shaping the legitimated body in a given society under a naturalized order that we should not take for granted (BOURDIEU, La creencia y el cuerpo, 1991). From an aesthetic point of view, the body becomes a passive container dominated by the market laws and the fashion. But, as Roland Barthes argues "the relations between vestimentary signifier and signified can never be determined in a simple and linear fashion"(BARTHES, 2013, pág. 6) As he argues, we should analyze how the fashion organizes itself into a formal and normative system that is recognized by society: if dressing should be described in terms of institution, the body could be understood in terms of which type of body is prohibited, tolerated or allowed; what kind of body should be showed or not:

> "la vestimenta la eliges tú y el cuerpo no. Si una niña de dieciocho años está muy rica, pues lo que hace es enseñar; una señora fondona lo que hace es tapar, pero con el cuerpo no se puede hacer nada" (Julito, p. 10)

From this point of view, the body would be subjected by social norms that shape and limit the body; these norms restrict but enable the body: this is the paradox of the holding that Judith Butler says: "the subject that would object to such standards has been enabled, if not already produced, by the same rules" (BUTLER, 2002, pág. 38) These repeated regulatory schemes produce the relative stabilization of a framework for action as well as power relations that demarcate legitimated bodies and their constitutive outside:

> "Lo que sí es verdad es que cuando alguien hace ejercicio y cuida su cuerpo se le nota (…) se le nota por la luz que tiene. Quizá por querer abolir la enfermedad de alguna forma y producir una mayor oxigenación" (Juanjo, p. 8)

> "Tal vez haya empezado la historia porque la gente se han preocupado por estar saludable, estar menos hecho polvo, fumar menos" (Julito, p. 8)

> "Purificar el cuerpo no es ni más ni menos que eso. Abolir la enfermedad" (Juanjo, p. 10)

Reading these words we can see clearly a shift from a neglected body to a system of body care punishing the illness as a stigma: in the conversation they focus on the *postmodern body* shaped by the enjoyment culture and the excesses, this lifestyle sang by Alaska: "*tengo el cuerpo muy mal, pero una gran vida social*"[21]. Excesses, the dangerous relation between night and drugs, sex and pleasure (VILARÓS, 1998, pág. 183), the addictions that were part of the song lyrics during the post-dictatorship years: heroin, blood and semen became the dark side of the moon from the last decade (FOUCE, 2002, págs. 237-243) the "heroin epidemy" during the eighties(COMAS ARNAU, 1994, pág. 33) where Madrid was the heroin white stripe threating the youth of the suburbs.[22] So, we *have*, we *are* but we *make* body too, just living our lives: in the pages number 75 and 76 of the magazine, reading the article "*Usar el cuerpo*"[23] they give us some bibliography about practices *to make body*: references to body-building o physical culture readings will appear with other readings about eroticism and pornography. Here we got another conception: the *body-building* practice understood as a physical transformation of the body that can open the way for other corporal economies as the surgery practices with the same purpose: body modification to legitimize it to others as well as to ourselves:

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[20] "La falta de pasión ha asesinado Madrid. Gestos torvos, miradas adustas, ademanes de ejecutivo sajón deforman actitudes hasta hace poco ávidas y móviles (…) La mirada de mi amigo J.B. denota ese aire de desamparo en que ha quedado Madrid. Como alguien después de una fiesta, que comienza a valorar sus excesos, o como a un niño a quien se robó el juguete favorito" (DE LA IGLESIA, J. C.: "Madrid: empelotado y alicaído" en La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 63)

[21] Alaska y los Pegamoides: *Bailando* (1982)

[22] CASANI, B.; DE LA IGLESIA, J.C.: Entrevista a Santiago Auserón en "*La Luna de Madrid*" Nº 4 Madrid, 1984.

[23] "Usar el cuerpo" en *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) pp. 75-76.

"(…) De ahí todo el "boom" de la cirugía plástica, de la gimnasia. Se ha descubierto que cambiando muy pocas cosas puedes transformarte mucho" (María Eugenia, p. 10).

Indeed, during the conversation, the body still appears as something to see: for example, in Jorge´s words, these corporal transformations matter because they are visual transformations:

"De todas formas el objetivo de "body building" y todo eso es visual, no táctil. Porque para el tacto, al fin y al cabo, cualquier cosa vale, pero cuando lo que se busca es la imagen, es otro nivel de relación. Esto es estrictamente visual" (Jorge, p. 10)

As Appiah says in "*In My Father's House*": "The problem of who I really am is raised by the facts of what I appear to be (…) what I appear to be is fundamentally how I appear to others and only derivatively how I appear to myself"(FIRTH, 1996, pág. 213). Body modification process that acquire sense in other´s eyes: the body as its image, the subjective representation that would consist essentially in the representation of the body accepted by the other (BOURDIEU, La creencia y el cuerpo, 1991, pág. 123). From this point of view, the body becomes a visual and passive device, an object to be consumed, that finds its metaphor in the mannequin: the mannequins that share space in the magazine with boys and girls that use their bodies as statues ("*anónimos pedestales de estatuas famosas*") in "*Colectiva de verano*" [24] a photo exhibition of t-shirts designed by well known artists like Ceesepe, Ouka Lele, Txomin Salazar, José Luis Tirado, Rodrigo, Maldonado o Pablo Perez-Minguez.

The Body Beautiful

"*Lo que vuelve es el cuerpo, y no el hombre o la mujer de verdad*" "*Lo de moda será lo de fuera, el body beautiful*"[25]. As Carlos García Calvo points out in his article, the image of the intellectual man (a man with long hair and stained fingers because of the cigarrettes) or the feminine ideal of the "*esqueleto de un chic loco*", they are old fashioned. What is in fashion is the body care and the sexy body subjected to the canon of beauty and the market law: as Foucault said, "*Get undressed--but be slim, good-looking, tanned!*"(FOUCAULT, 1992, pág. 113). In Carlos García Calvo´s words:

"Ahora se acabó, Como el porro, que abre los poros de la cara. El tabaco, que hace lo mismo y ensucia los pulmones. El alcohol, que envejece y engorda, te deja manchas en la piel y te explota los capilares del cutis. También las grasas animales que producen colesterol. Todo out! Lo IN serán los discos y los libros de cómo cuidarse, comer, respirar y hacer gimnasia, desde los antiguos de Jane Fonda y Raquel Welch, hasta los más recientes de Arnold Schwartzenneger, el doctor Prettykin y el que nos anuncia la propia Alaska. La gente estará mucho más al día sobre todo esto si desea triunfar, ya que el destape parcial y la ropa ceñida serán el último grito"[26].

The body as the subjugation place, occupied by the power through the corporal economies that implicate each individual in their own oppression through their desire to gain a legitimated body. A body shaped by daily bodily practices, understanding the body as a thing to be shaped, a body to be seen by others, a passive container socially driven and constrained. From this point of view, as Pierre Bourdieu argues, "the social world constructs the body as a sexually defined reality and as the depository of sexually defining principles of vision and division" (BOURDIEU, Masculine domination, 2001, pág. 11) As a result of this *somatization of the social relations of domination* some bodies –specially the feminine body- appears as overwhelmed by its image, an object of the gaze of another and "physically inhibited, confined, positioned and objectified"(YOUNG, 1990, pág. 269) (little by little some masculine bodies are turning to work this way too[27]): the feminine bodily existence as an object of desire made for the joy and fascination of the heterosexual man and shaped by disciplinary technologies of the body: practices such as dieting, applying cosmetics or shaving to acquire the "female appropriate" style:

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[24] MORALES, P.: "Colectiva de verano" en *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) pp. 18-21.

[25] GARCÍA CALVO, C.: "Vuelve el cuerpo" en La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 40.

[26] GARCÍA CALVO, C.: "Vuelve el cuerpo" en La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 40.

[27] Julito: "(…) la obsesión que hay ahora mismo por la imagen del desnudo del hombre es increíble. Coges una revista ahora y ves más hombres en pelotas que tías, lo ves en los carteles de conciertos como el caso de Alaska abrazada a una espalda. Esta obsesión no creo que sea una cuestión de salud, sino que es una imagen que vende" (La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 8)

"Lo malo no son los pelos en el pecho de los hombres, sino la obligación de carencia de pelo en la mujer que la obliga a depilarse a todas horas como una tortura" (María Eugenia)

"Si esa frase que decían nuestras abuelas: "Para presumir, hay que sufrir" (Maraba)

"Es un estigma que seguimos teniendo las mujeres a pesar de la modernidad" (María Eugenia) [28]

How is this *stigma* inculcated as a body standard in girls and women? As we have said, it is only possible after a collective labor of socialization, a process to embodied this way of perceiving the world(BUTLER, 2002, págs. 17-38); that´s why Foucault said that we must understand that power is not only located in the State apparatus, the mechanisms of power are more daily(FOUCAULT, 1992, pág. 112). Nevertheless Jorge will focus his critics on the mass media:

"Por eso el esfuerzo y la influencia del poder y de la publicidad para mantener a la gente joven; los cigarrillos "light", las bebidas "sin". El poder obliga a los ciudadanos a mantenerse jóvenes por medio de la publicidad sobre las tendencias del consumo (Se produce una fuerte discusión sobre el poder, que obviamos ya que estamos con el cuerpo"(Jorge)[29]

Curiously, the editor of the magazine avoids the power issue from the problem of the body, but, as we have seen, it is impossible to dissociate. Power operates in the "materialization" of the body, forming and regulating the "subject"; not only from the outside but from the inside too. All the claims about the body –as well as the patterns in which the images are used in the magazine- are fully sedimented with discourses on what a body is or should be that prefigure and constrain the meaning and the uses of this term. So, these are the elements that shape the body image inscribed in the magazine: just representations, but not only, because the body matters. As Margaret Carlisle Duncan argues, "The body is a particular useful instrument for concealing public motives as private ones because the body seems irreducibly private and individuated"(CARLISLE DUNCAN, 1994, pág. 62). Private individuals that are encouraged to conform to public standards and, as we have seen, the magazine features particular image of the body through images and texts that should be interpreted in cultural spaces, in other words, positioning the social and the cultural in the center of our analysis. Images and texts inscribed in cultural products that can give us light, helping us to tune in to that "collective sensibility" (BURKE, 2001, págs. 38-40) of a past period.

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8.3. Online dimensions of Russian subcultural scene: Padonki Community.

Elena Bulatova[1]

Abstract

The paper deals with the specialties of the online slang-centered subculture of padonki, appeared in the Russian Internet in the beginning of the twenty-first century. In the first part of the paper, we focus on the origin and evolution of padonki subculture, which started as a few in number community of the first Runet users and then exceedingly expanded, which resulted in the appropriation of its communicative strategies and slang by the mainstream culture. In the second part, we analyze communicative practices of padonki and peculiarities of their slang, so called "Olbanian language", which is based on the organizational principle "write as you speak", and includes erratic spelling/mistakes made on purpose. We also demonstrate how the slang and the corpus of pictures and texts (commentaries, posts, poems, jokes, tales and other pieces of online literature, as well as memes), created by members of the subculture are assigned to perform a challenge to the symbolic order of the dominant and mainstream culture. We show how padonki deconstruct cultural codes of grander culture, using in their narratives methods of irony, self-irony, parody and intertextuality; violating the politically correct and tolerant discourse of formal language. In the third part, we discuss the most popular memes and kreatiffs (creative works) and state that online carnivalesque activities of padonki and their language games can be analyzed as postmodern cultural phenomena. In the last part of the article, we consider social portraits of padonki, identity construction strategies, used by the members of the community, and examine their set of values and ideology.

Keywords: online community, padonki subculture, identity, slang, internet literature, post-folklore.

Padonki: the origin of the community

Russian online subcultural scene is many-sided and diversified. Since the Runet (a term that refers to Russian-language community on the Internet and websites) appeared, offline subcultural members, who wanted to extend their presence in digital form, ran the major part of blogs and clubs. The situation changed in the very beginning of the twenty-first century when alongside with online communities of goths and emo, hippies and punks, cosplayers and many other traditional subcultures that were popular in Russia in that period of time, a radically new type of online subculture appeared. Its self-name is *padonki* and its essential distinctions from all mentioned subcultures are as follows:

- it did not have any off-line predecessor;
- it is a literature-centered and language-centered community;
- its special language ("Olbanian" or "padonkaffsky" slang) is an important self-identification tool and the main marker of belonging to the group.

   The name of the subculture "padonki" is a misspelled alteration of the word "podonki" (plural) from "podonok" (singular), which in Russian language has an offensive meaning, literally a "worthless man", a "bastard", or a "scumbag". As long as "padonki" is a self-name of the subculture, its members use it ironically. To describe the slang rules briefly, we shall now mention that it is based on phonetic spelling of the Russian language, it includes misspellings, mistakes, made intentionally and on purpose, as well as the use of low style and obscene words. Although padonkaffsky slang reached the peak of its popularity in 2006, its origins can be traced back to 1995-1997 when Runet had just started its extensive developing. Some parts of the slang vocabulary and its rules appeared among first Russian Internet users, who were developing and using open-source software Live Journal and Russian FidoNet. They were IT-specialists, journalists and those, whose hobby was writing different kinds of texts. Thus, the slang emerged as a language of the first, and on this reason, advanced computer users, Russian Internet "elites", who were making fun of the slowly joining Runet dummies and their incorrect use of computer

terms. Later this slang was enriched, developed and popularized by the padonki subculture and its second birth happened on websites Fuck.ru created by Egor Lavrov and Konstantin Rykov, and Udaff.com. Olga Goriunova in her research shows an extraordinary popularity of the Udaff.com in 2005 and compares its success with one of the main Russian informational agencies, specializing in the field of business information (Goriunova, 2006). Udaff.com became the main platform for padonki and their online activities. It is a wide resource with numerous sections and fora, where users discuss different topics, starting with political issues, computer games, personal matters, new books and music and ending with sports and everyday life; the site includes facilities for displaying pictures and photos, usually graphically edited and transformed. All the texts, posted on Udaff.com are recognizable due to the provocative and non-normative style of padonkaffsky slang, violating the politically correct and tolerant discourse of formal language.

The language of padonki received the name "Olbanian". The term "Olbanian" is an alteration of "Albanian", although not a single word from Albanian language was used to create the subcultural vocabulary. The name "Albanian" was taken from the discussion in American Life Journal, when one of the American users saw a post in Russian; trying to read the comments, he did not understand anything, so he wondered what language it was. He could not identify it as Russian and he was given an unexpected answer: one of the Russian users jokingly said it was Albanian, and suggested that this American needed to go and learn this language. Many of the commentators supported the Russian user and there was a flash mob of jokes, mocks, comments and messages addressed to the unlucky American. The phrase "Learn Albanian!" became a popular meme, and a bit later, the word "Albanian" was transformed into "Olbanian" according to the grammar rules of padonkaffsky slang.

Padonkaffsky slang soon left the boundaries of Udaff.com and spread in Runet with a high speed, having become an extremely fashionable online and off-line practice. It penetrated into epistolary genre of e-mail and social network messages, Internet-media, everyday speech, and finally its elements entered traditional media, firstly informal ones, and later formal media-sources as well.

Padonkaffsky slang and artworks (kreatiffs)

Padonkaffsky language has certain rules, which were collectively created and spontaneously transformed and enlarged by the users of Udaff.com while they were posting their texts and comments on the site. The slang is based on the wrong orthography, which can be described in four words: "write as you hear", as well as on the erratic spelling, made on purpose, when a word can display all possible mistakes. This quickly made the slang very popular not only among padonki themselves (who actually have quite a certain ideology behind the language games) but among regular internet users and especially younger generation of schoolchildren, who are not good at Russian grammar. Padonkaffsky slang helped them to hide their lack of knowledge in online dialogs and mailing. Berdicevskis and Zvereva in their research of the rise and fall of Olbanian call the language a "convenient" one:

> Many users regarded Padonki slang as an adaptation of the Russian language to the possibilities and demands of new media communication. Those who used to spend a great deal of time online were attracted by the convenient spelling of Olbanian, which made it possible for virtual interlocutors to avoid the constraints of formal rules. Padonki slang was praised for the sense of intimacy and immediacy it lent to communication. (Berdicevskis A. and Zvereva V., 2014)

Texts in Olbanian also contain many abbreviations, acronyms, neologisms, vulgarisms, Anglicisms, Slavisms, distorted words, and foul words, which are softened by the misspelling and because of that become less non-normative. The usage of foul language according to padonki must be well placed, performed in the delicately chosen word combinations, in some new form, displayed exclusively in a friendly conversation, in an anecdote or a joke (Goriunova, 2006). Every member of the community (padonok) should be as creative as possible when posting a text; he/she can use already existing forms of slang words, but at the same time, should try to misspell the words in some unheard and funny way. Padonki are excellent at free language games: they parody clichés, laugh at bureaucracy language, play with different slangs (southern pronunciation that sounds village-like for citizens of the capital), use a postmodern method of intertextuality, making visible and invisible quotations; irony and self-irony are the main features of their posts and texts. Freedom of self-expression and creativity seem to be the main in padonki set of values, while other values are not important at all or their importance depends on the personality and world outlook of the community member.

To give an example of padonkaffsky slang we shall cite a line from "Feersum Endjinn", a science fiction novel by Iain M. Banks. No need to say, that it is not exactly what Olbanian like, but if gives an idea of the language specifics for non-Russian speakers. A quarter of the Banks's book is told by Bascule the Teller and is written phonetically (the same way as texts in Olbanian) in the first person:

> Woak up. Got dresd. Had brekfast. Spoke wif Ergates thi ant who sed itz juss been wurk wurk wurk 4 u lately master Bascule, Y dont u ½ a holiday? & I agreed & that woz how we decided we otter go 2 c Mr Zoliparia in thi I-ball ov thi gargoyle Rosbrith. (Banks, 1994)

The following table shows the examples of Olbanian spelling with the most common Russian words and praises and words essential for padonki memes:

In English	Written Russian	Spoken Russian	Olbanian (padonkaffsky slang)
a girl	девочка (devochka)	девачка (devachka)	деффачка (deffachka)
Hello!	привет! (privet)	привет! (privet)	превед! (preved)
How are you?	как дела? (kak dela?)	как дела? (kak dela?)	кагдила? (kagdila?)
author	автор (avtor)	афтор (aftor)	аффтар (afftar)
a shrimp	креветка (krevetka)	криветка (krivetka)	креведко (krevedko)
a bear	медведь (medved')	медведь (medved')	медвед (medved)

Table 1- Olbanian vs Russian

Olbanian language successfully "legalized" using of profanity; due to misspelling, obscene words are softened in Olbanian; nevertheless, they remain expressive and emotional. Thus social groups, whose speech is conventionally more or less normative, such as schoolchildren, teens, and females, got a chance to use filthy vocabulary "legally" in their everyday communicative practices. The "convenience" of the slang, the manifold of "cool" expressions it offered and foul words, softened by misspelling, made the language very attractive for the crowds. The main Russian search engine Yandex.ru "learned" to correct wrong spelling of the main words in Olbanian according to the slang rules, for instance, it corrects the word "aftar" ("author"/"avtor") to a more authentic "afftar". Padonkaffsky slang started to spread in Ukrainian digital space, with Ukrainian analogs of Olbanian (see http://muhom.org/2006/08/21/vocabulary/; http://shoki.ru/?p=931). For those who had some difficulties in writing in Olbanian "correctly" were created special translating engines, where one could insert a text in normal Russian and get it automatically translated into padonkaffsky slang (http://www.russki-mat.net/e/krivetizator.htm). Padonkaffsly slang was used in TV advertisements, exploited in modern literature, was popularized by one of the most famous contemporary Russian writers Viktor Pelevin in a bestseller "Empire V", published in 2006.

At the same time, rapid spreading of Padonkaffsky slang stirred up a great discontent among supporters of "Pure Russian". They subjected Olbanian to destructive criticism and started a struggle for the purge of Russian. For example, they encouraged users to write in correct Russian and to promote normal spelling with placing special banners into their blogs with the text "I speak clear Russian. Padonki are not welcome here!" (http://www.tyv.name/cy.htm). Accused of illiteracy, spoiling and destructing Russian language, padonki, in their turn, blame their critics for "absence of creativity and flexibility", "stiffness", and "excessive purism". Padonki say that their illiteracy is actually an imitation of illiteracy, a parody on the "correct" writing of a regular internet user, who is helpless without a computer spell-checker. They underline the importance of self-identification freedom and creativity, their dislike to self-limitations and all kind of standards and "boring rules", and their ability to speak normal and correct Russian:

"We really know proper Russian, we use Olbanian not because of lack of education, we can write literary if necessary, and we can explain why we use certain words in certain situation, we are free to choose the form of expression, and believe that both purists and low-educated persons use limited language". (From the interview with padonki community member).

Creativity is the main and strong requirement to the subculture members, whose participation in the life of the group consists of active posting on Udaff.com and other platforms (fuck.ru, padonki.org). Every post or comment, made by a user on these sites is called a kreatiff (a kreatiff), which means "a creative piece of work or artwork". Kreatiffs can be made in all possible genres: different forms: short stories, poems, essays, articles, news, visitors' notes, reports, letters, film and book reviews, photos, pictures, comments, verbal and non-verbal memes. They can be presented as parts of diaries, letters, autobiographies, memoirs and instructions. So, padonki subculture should be identified as a literature-centered, as long as texts have become the only available form for padonki to express themselves and to deconstruct cultural codes of grander culture.

## Padonki subculture and internet post-folklore

Padonki subculture has been extremely creative in enriching Runet-lore by means of producing numerous post-folkloric narratives. New memes based on padonkaffsky slang have become very popular among internet users. One of the most important memes in Runet culture is so called "Preved Medved" ("Hello Bear") meme, which entered Russian Internet in 2006. A Russian internet blogger, Roman Yatsenko, who was firstly known only by his nickname Lobzz, and who revealed his real name much later, reposted a transformed watercolor by the American artist John Lurie called "Bear Surprise". The original picture is featuring a man and a woman making love in the clearing of a forest, being distorted by a bear calling "Surprise!" with its paws raised. In Lobzz's version of the picture, the bear shouts a greeting word "Preved!" ("Hi!"), which is misspelled according to the rules of Olbanian slang and in normal Russian spelled "Privet!". The picture got its new name "Preved Medved" and gained vast popularity with the speed of an avalanche. From then on, the bear has been inserted into many other pictures where its appearance adds new dimensions to the jokes. The "Hello Bear" meme was spread through different online channels as life journal community, Russian social networks as Vkontakte and Odnoklassniki, multiple fora and blogs and so on. Some web users formed an online community devoted solely to variations on the theme (see for example http://ru_preved.livejournal.com). The words "Preved Medved" and the bear image have also found their way into the mainstream mass media, the picture and the phrase were even used for government PR and as a poster for the Russian edition of Newsweek.

The famous bear has been introduced into the number of literary kreatiffs (kreatifs), starting with jokes, political anecdotes, tales, classical fairy-tales and ending with foreign literature, for instance, a well-known "Raven" by Edgar A. Poe. The following piece of transformed poem serves as an excellent example of padonkaffsky sense of humor, kreatiff author's self-irony and postmodern genre and language games:

> Once upon a sunny morning, while I fucked, so hot and horny,
> Beautiful Lenore, my girlfriend — on the forest grass — our bed,
> As I thrust her from the rear, suddenly there came a bear
> And my heart was filled with fear of the furious Medved!
> His enormous paws he lifted as his way to us he led -
> And produced a roar: «Preved!»
> And still stands he on the painting, next to myself, nearly fainting,
> On that evil, ghastly image people of the net adore.
> And in offices and classes they keep laughing off their asses
> As the wild «Preved!» trespasses in the heart of my Lenore…
> And my dick — thanks to the bear and to his so fearsome roar —
> Shall be lifted — Nevermore!
> (http://lurkmore.com)

This kreatiff was posted on the Lurkmore (Lurkomorye), which firstly served as an informal Russian-language online encyclopedia focusing on Internet subcultures, folklore, and memes. The amount of information on the site was rapidly expanding, and with the laps of time, Lurkmore turned into an informal encyclopedia about everything, containing a wide range of articles, although a very considerable number of them was still about the Internet culture. Lurkmore articles had a unique style: the combination of informality, semi-seriousness, sarcasm, the free

use of obscene language, and impudence. Lurkmore authors also performed a sharp criticism of the shortcomings of the considered phenomena. The site does not exist anymore since June 2015, when Dmitry Homak, the Lurkmore co-founder, declared on his Facebook page that the project would be frozen and become a "culture memorial" due to increasing pressure of Roskomnadzor (Federal Service for Supervision in the Sphere of Telecom, Information Technologies and Mass Communications).
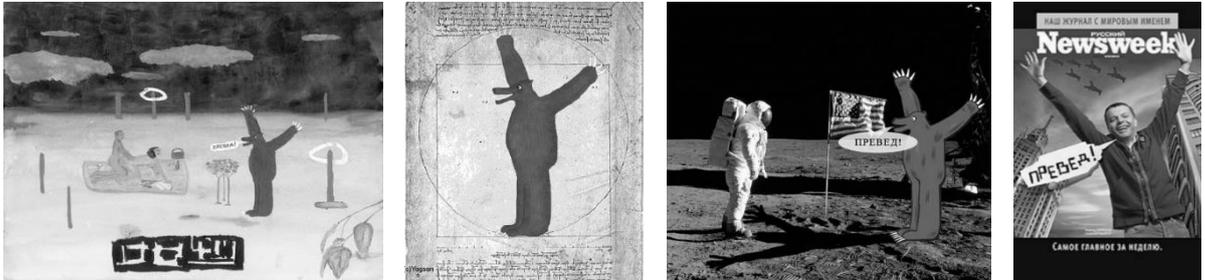
Another example of the Medved meme inserted into classical texts is a tale "Masha and the Bear", transformed by Krokokot into "Masha and Medved". Krokokot's tale describes Masha's adventures in the woods, her meeting with the bear, that wants to make her stay in his house, but fails, and Masha's safe escape. The plot reminds the original one, except the classical bear here is replaced by Medved, who has obvious sexual intentions, eroticized speech and behavior. This combination of canonic and non-normative textual practice of the Krokokot's text allows H. Schmidt to trace this kreatiff back to the tradition of Secret tales (Zavetnye skazki), collected and published by Russian folklorist and philologist A. Afanasyev in the end of the nineteenth century, and which haven't been republished since then until post-soviet times (Schmidt, 2014). These tales differ much from texts read by parents to their children in the evening; original, uncensored texts are characterized by sexuality of main protagonists, expressive foul language and scabrous plots.

Memes based on padonkaffsky slang and kreatiffs quickly gained popularity and have been successfully commercialized as it happened, for example, with the "Ja – krevedko!" ("I'm a shrimp!") narrative. The evolution of the "Ja krevedko!" meme started from the site http://www.bash.org.ru, which is a grand collection of programmers' jokes, anecdotes and funny situations happened to users. It is said that an unknown student of one Moscow University wrote phrase "Ja – krevedko!" on the desk during a boring lecture. Somebody posted it on bash.org.ru and the glorious story of the meme started. "Ja - krevedko!" became of the most popular comment in blogs, due to its polysemy:

- the phrase means that its author is a bit disorientated (doesn't know much about the subject of discussion and doesn't want to get deep into it) but at the same time he/she is in a perfect mood and harmony with the world;
- the author doesn't want to do anything, he/she is procrastinating (just as a shrimp does through its life);
- the author admits he/she doesn't understand anything in this life (and is quite pleased with this fact).

Internet neo-mythology associates the "shrimp"-meme with Cthulhu, probably because creatures being water elements; this connection allows creating narratives that are more complex and polysemantic. "Ja krevedko" and Cthulhu compound meme is used for deconstructing popular propagandist Soviet poster "Have you registered as a volunteer?" Spreading of the meme stimulated emergence of many identical phrases with suffix "ko" on the end of the word: "Ja mashinko" ("I'm a car"), "Ja futbolko' ("I'm a T-shirt"), "Ja devochko" ("I'm a girl"). The meme started being printed on T-shirts, bags, phone-covers, expanding the boarders of subcultural symbolic reality and becoming a part of mass consumption.

Padonki: social portraits and counter-cultural ideology of "post-punk".

According to a thorough analysis of Udaff.com and Padonki.org visiting audience, made by Goriunova in 2006, the youngest users (and the most unfrequently met) are teens aged 14-16; basically they are college or university students, while an average visitor of Udaff.com is an adult or a young adult under 35 years old. If visitors are employed, they are most likely office managers, so called "white collars". More than 80% of users, who answered questions concerning education, (a questionnaire was placed on Udaff.com by its founders) claimed to have had higher education, or even to have been doing a postgraduate course, all the rest were studying at gymnasiums and secondary schools. (Goriunova, 2006). Male visitors prevail, although the number of females is quite sizable. Koroed, one of the members of padonki community and a TV producer, claims:

> Padonki are serious and intelligent people, who reached all the goals they had. We have everything, but we have remained the guys who still want to have fun. Visitors of Padonki.org are people of different age, belonging to different social groups, nationalities, etc., but most of them are adults, successful ones, some are into politics, some are entrepreneurs. (http://www.akzia.ru/politics/24-05-2006/1528.html).

As it is stated in padonki Constitution: "padonok is a person who is able to abstract himself from the social norms and rules, ideological, political, cultural or moral ones". (http://padonki.org/creo.do?topicId=8&creoId=3908). Thus, padonki declare their freedom from stereotypes, conventionalities, and standardized worldview, they are proud of their ability for critical thinking and analysis, they stress their capacity for opposing themselves to mainstream and mass culture. As Radchenko formulated it, padonki subculture emerged due to the "job age riot", when people were expected to reach some professional self-actualization and at the same time wanted to stay careless and young. (Radchenko, 2009). This was not a traditional teenage riot against parents' culture and their values; but a riot of office managers against slavery of corporate culture, values of consuming society, and against people's fixation on material needs and material culture. Padonki wanted to be independent, at least in their free time and at least on the level of thinking, they wanted to be able to distance themselves from the reality by means of irony and language games. Members of the community identify themselves as nonconformists and contemporary punks, those ones who wear suits in the offices while doing "serious business" and perform themselves as clowns and tricksters during their carnivalesque activities on the named websites:

> TV imposes upon us stereotyped ideas of success: to prosper you need to listen to certain music, to wear certain clothes, to be homosexual or look like gays. So called tolerance, which came to our country from the west, from Europe, is a very aggressive ideology, we do not accept it, we fight with it. In our kreatiffs, we protest against the accepted by the mass men life-style. We hate an average person / citizen in the streets; philistine, we hate hypocrisy. We can afford intolerance in our speech, and we never express ourselves in politically correct way. We are nonconformists, contemporary punks. (http://www.akzia.ru/politics/24-05-2006/1528.html)

Olbanian language is not just a language game for game's sake; it is a linguistic manifestation of their counter-cultural ideology. In their kreatiffs, padonki demonstrate their inner freedom from the society. Olbanian is filled with politically incorrect words, for example, a true padonok will never use a term "Afro-American" or "Afro-Russian", he/she will say "a nigger", the word unacceptable in official discourse. A true padonok will also never use a term "homosexual"; this word will be replaced with the German word "Achtung" which in padonkaffsky

slang is used to speak about homosexual people, in order to demonstrate disagreement with the policy of tolerance. In their kreatiffs, padonki do not simply fight with official literacy and correct Russian, they believe correct and clear language to be an example of normativity of such social institutions as school, university, family, and offices.

It is important to underline the fact that counter-cultural intentions of padonki are limited only with their statement; padonki are not willing to change anything in economical of political spheres, their riot is *not a revolutionary* one. They have started only one revolution, a revolution in language; by means of the slang, they show their intolerance to the existing cultural order. Therefore, Olbanian is a way to perform a protest rhetoric and not punk, but rather a post-punk protest ideology of padonki. Their literature-centered riot shows the flexibility of the subculture, its ability to adapt and adjust to the disciplinary character of society and at the same time, to deconstruct the symbolical order of the grander culture, to parody it and to mock at it.

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http://www.akzia.ru/politics/24-05-2006/1528.html

http://www.russki-mat.net/e/krivetizator.html, an engine that translates a normal text into Olbanian.

http://www.russki-mat.net/padonkoff.php?l=RuEn, a resource offering translation of the most popular expressions and verbal memes from Olbanian into English.

http://www.tyv.name/cy.html, a resource offering banners "I can speak clear Russian".

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This book aims to give an account of the debate made last July 2015 around underground music and its creative possibilities for resistance and DIY, considering also the intersection and debate between music scenes and other cultural, artistic and creative fields - film and video, graffiti and street art; theater and performing arts; literature and poetry; radio; graphic design, illustration, cartoon and comics; etc. Thus, exploiting the potential of theoretical and analytical development of the intersection of musical scenes with other arts, we have enriched its analysis through the theory of social development, but also through the interpretation of its role in the late modernity at a time of contemporary societal crisis. The publication of these texts aims to be a form of homage to the authors as well as a dedication to their efforts for participation and dissemination of these investigations areas. This book has its own thematic organization that takes you beyond mere meeting minutes: it is an actual book about the complex dynamics of underground music scenes in contemporaneity.

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