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:
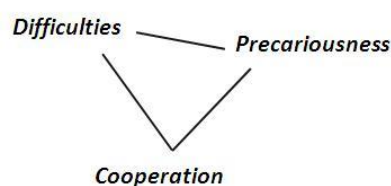

Figure 1 – Visual representation of the meaning structure that supports the *collective memory* about the rock underground scene from Pelotas in the 1990s.

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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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