KEEP IT SIMPLE MAKE IT FAST!

AN APPROACH TO UNDERGROUND MUSIC SCENES

VOLUME 1

PAULA GUERRA AND TÂNIA MOREIRA

(EDITORS)

Keep it Simple, Make it Fast! An approach to underground music scenes

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Introduction

Underground music scenes and DIY cultures

Paula Guerra[1]
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The underground music scenes were, for a long time, associated with strong DIY (do-it-yourself) cultural practices. Consequently, in this book we intend to discuss the importance of underground artistic and musical practices in contemporary society, both for its volatility and for its undeniable importance in youth urban cultures, keeping a record of sociological reflection, although open to all other social sciences. Underground urban musical cultures were and still are considered by many as illegitimate objects of analysis within the framing of contemporary social theory. However, these cultures play a central role in the functioning of music (post) industry and in the outlook of emerging digital media. We also intend to clarify the musical scenes that run through contemporary cities, giving them rhythms but also specific forms of cultural identity, as well as a new historical, social and artistic heritage. In sum, this book aims to explore the contemporary landscapes of underground urban music scenes and DIY cultures in a context of globalized modernity. The book is organized according to the following seven thematic areas: Music and DIY cultures: DIY or Die!; Porto calling: meanings, dynamics, artifacts and identities in today's punk scenes; Music scenes, politics and ideology: social-historical memories and contemporary practices; Contemporary underground cultures' aesthetics: between the digital, the retro and the nostalgia; Musical production, mediation, consumption and fruition in the contemporaneity; Underground music scenes; and, last, Local scenes, communities, identities and urban cultures.

The thematic area "Music and DIY cultures: DIY or Die!" examines how young people involved in underground music scenes are actively forging DIY careers though applying skills, for example in production, promotion, composition and performance, acquired through long-term immersion in these scenes. This panel features papers from a diverse range of local contexts and core to each one of this papers, and is an illustration of how youth culture can no longer be regarded purely as a leisure-based and age-demarcated phenomenon but must also be seen as a platform through which young people acquire practical skills and competencies in an era of risk, uncertainty and precarious living. The thematic "Porto calling: meanings, dynamics, artifacts and identities in today's punk scenes" features a set of papers whose objective is the description, analysis and discussion of several punks throughout the world. One of the subjects of these papers is the analysis of the relationship between punk, youth cultures and DIY. Thus, the importance of punk in the youth culture structuration plays a major role in the analysis, serving as an ignition to the discussion of actual subcultural or countercultural filiations. The DIY and authenticity are clearly associated with punk, so it is fundamental to understand how they materialize in daily strategies and practices, giving birth

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to particular identities and lifestyles. Another subject are the punk scenes related to the political activism, resistance practices and the rise of contemporary social movements – where punk is present and playing some kind of role, depending on the context. The presented papers discuss political visions (left-right), ideological inclinations (anarcho-punk), press, graphic design, pussy riots… The subcultural belonging has an inevitable connection with genre and ageing. The orientations and the aesthetic bindings of punk and their inscription in the body, as well as the affections towards certain bands deserve special attention in this thematic section.

The relationship between art, culture, ideology and politics has raised, since long time ago, a great interest from the social sciences. Particularly, since the cultural studies advent it emerged a great interest in the study of countercultures and urban subcultures, especially in what concerns their dimension of protest and resistance, through different ways and languages, to cultural, political and ideological hegemonic manifestations. This thematic section of the KISMIF International Conference "Music scenes, politics and ideology: social-historical memories and contemporary practices" aims to contribute to review and update this discussion, examining different (sub)cultural underground manifestations, speeches and practices, located both in the past and in the present, situating them historically, culturally and politically, and trying to debate them in their different dimensions and perspectives.

The relationship between society and contemporary culture with its past is certainly a theme that has occupied social sciences in the last decades. In this context, concepts like memory, heritage or tradition are very relevant and studied in these fields. Recently, new discourses related with luxury, "retromania" and nostalgia invaded contemporary cultural and artistic production and consumption. What is the influence of retro/nostalgic approaches in contemporary artistic production? How does it influence the work processes and management of artistic careers? And how about the consumption? What techniques and modes of production have been recovered? Another relevant topic in this thematic section of the conference is the growing importance of digital media and culture in contemporary underground cultures, at different levels. How does it influence the authors' creativity and modes of production, allowing the emergence of new aesthetic languages or even new tools and musical instruments? Moreover, is it changing their role, making relevant the links between authorship and production? What is the relevance of digital networks? What kind of relationships are been established between new and "old" medium in contemporary artistic production? How musicians taking advantage of the digital media to structure their careers? What has changed in gatekeeping processes? These are some of the main topics covered in the thematic section "Contemporary underground cultures' aesthetics: between the digital, the retro and the nostalgia".

The musical consumption has been an important subject in sociology during the last three decades. Crossed by quantitative (Bourdieu, 1984, 2004, 2007) and qualitative (DiMaggio, 1987; DeNora, 2000) methods, the classical researches in this area highlighted the role of music as a way of social distinction and status. Recently, the usefulness of the links between musical taste and status has been shown more complex. It's worth to mention the work produced by the Cultural Studies of Birmingham and its contemporary re-updates, especially in their contributions to the construction of social identities and to all the processes by which meanings were attributed to musical works and public engagement (Hebdige, 2004; Feixa, 1999; Hall, 2003; Bennett & Peterson, 2004). Thus, in the thematic area of "Musical

production, mediation, consumption and fruition in the contemporaneity" we intend to present a range of discussions on this issue.

Sarah Cohen recognized an effective relationship between music and local identity (Cohen, 1991, 1993; Corral, 2008), supplanting the classical approach of cultural studies and engaging a demarche based on the spatialization of group dynamics of music consumption. This approach has been extremely useful to sociology because it is based on the concept of scene (Bennett & Peterson, 2004:6-7; Bennett, 2004) as a social construction buoyed by the networks and patterns of interactions that occur in a given space-time. Thus, a scene refers to a cluster of social and cultural activities without rigid boundaries, but with an attachment to a space of interactions. Scenes can be distinguished from each other by their geographical location, the type of cultural production which identifies them or by the social activities which animate them. The great virtue of the concept is based on the fact that it makes us an invitation to the mapping of urban territory, to the new forms and new uses, to the new semiotics, to the new relationships (Straw, 2005: 412). And the papers presented in this book are rooted in it. Like Barry Shank (1994) said, a scene can be defined as a significant community of sounds, images, lifestyles, aesthetics... The concept of scene is a way of expressing the theatricality of the city or the city's ability to generate images of the interactions. So, it captures the sense of the bustling city, the everyday sociability. Will Straw believes that the most frequent and repeatedly identified scenes are those related to music (Straw, 2005: 412). The production and consumption of music are, in effect, sociability multipliers. The music, more than any other artistic field, is part of the bodies, groups and interactions (Hennion, 1993). The last two parts of this book condense two thematic areas of discussion about the contemporary cultural and musical scenes: "Underground music scenes" and "Local scenes, communities, identities and urban cultures".

This object of analysis and inspiring motto of this book falls within the development of the scientific research project Keep it simple, make it fast! (KISMIF): Prolegomenons and punk scenes, a road to Portuguese contemporaneity (1977-2012) (PTDC/CS-SOC/118830/2010), whose goal is the analysis of the punk manifestations in Portugal since its origins until nowadays (1977-2012). KISMIF is supported by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and is being developed in the Sociology Institute of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto (IS|UP) in a partnership with the Griffith Centre for Cultural Research (GCCR), the Universitat of Lleida (UdL), the Faculty of Economics of the University of Porto (FEP), the Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC), the Faculty of Psychology of the University of Porto (FPCE) and the Lisbon Municipal Libraries (BLX). KISMIF's approach is trans-disciplinary (Anthropology, History, Psychology, Communication, Journalism and Sociology) and deals with different time and space frames, in both synchronic and diachronic manners, in order to unveil the curtains that hide this barely visible and complex research object. It privileges a dialogue between punk's production and reception, within the Portuguese urban culture framework, but it also intends to conceptualize the music phenomenon both as one the most ancient, universal and important ways of communicating and as an important tool to build identity and community identity definition.

Here is an invitation to reading the various texts and approaches about contemporary music scenes, in the lookout for an open and deep debate about the cultural and symbolic changes which have been operating at fast pace in this late modernity.

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PART 1 | Music and DIY cultures: DIY or Die!

1.1. Circuit-bending and DIY culture

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Abstract

This article analyses Circuit-Bending and its relation to the Do-it-yourself (DIY) culture. Circuit-bending is an experimental music practice which consists of opening up low voltage (battery powered) electronic devices (musical toys, radio devices, cd players, etc. – mostly technological waste) and of changing (bend) the way electricity flows through their circuits in order to achieve an 'interesting' result. After presenting the work of some artists who make use of this methodology we introduce the concept of proletarianisation by philosopher Bernard Stiegler and how such methodologies can act as de-proletarianisation tactics. Then, we present the Do-it-together (DIT) or Do-it-with-others (DIWO) discussion to bring into scene the notion of Relational Aesthetics.

Keywords: Circuit-Bending; De-proletarianisation; DIY Culture; Relational Aesthetic

Introduction

This article relates Circuit-Bending to DIY culture focusing on the anti-consumerist, rebellious and creative aspects of this experimental practice. Generally speaking, circuit-bending consists of opening up battery powered electronic devices and of changing (bend) the way electricity flows through their circuits in order to achieve an 'interesting' result. One typically practices circuit-bending by removing and/or adding electronic components, connecting different circuits, or even adding organic elements to the circuit (bender's body or even fruits and vegetables). The next step usually calls for soldering the components into the circuit or marking specific places to be touched. Finally, sometimes a case is designed for accommodating this newly created instrument.

The technique was named in 1992 by Qubais Reed Ghazala, in a series of articles he wrote for *Experimental Music Instrument* magazine. He discovered this method in 1967 when he accidentally let a screwdriver get into contact with the circuitry of a battery-powered amplifier, producing a short circuit that sounded rather 'interesting', as he puts it:

> If this can happen to an amp, not supposed to make a sound on its own, what might happen if one were to short out circuits that already make a sound, such as keyboards and radios and toys? (Ghazala, 2004, p.97)

Another key player in the scene is Nicolas Collins, who developed the concept of Hardware Hacking, a very similar approach to building experimental instruments. In some sense circuit-bending has more randomness in its procedures, as the "rules of hardware hacking" (Collins, 2006, p. 7-8) are somehow more "conservative" than circuit-bending. In practice it is very

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difficult to differentiate them and it is very acceptable to say that circuit-bending is inscribed in hardware hacking.

As part of the experimental music tradition, circuit-bending follows the paths of such innovators as Alvin Lucier, David Tudor, Gordon Mumma, and John Cage, who pushed music frontiers forward, and also of Free Jazz, Punk and Industrial Music movements, pioneers in the DIY approach in music. These movements focus on improvisation; they value the immediacy and liveness, as well as the present time, in opposition to the "perfection" and cleanliness of the recording.

As Ghazala puts it, over the last several years, experimentalism has dropped out of academic environments and we can see that circuit-bending "has taken flight and can be heard within many popular genres."[2] Ghazala argues that "circuit-benders are at the very forefront of this experience of new experimentalism, constantly pushing music forward with original discoveries." (Ghazala, 2005, p.23)

The possibility of oscillating from inside and outside the institutional framework is certainly one of the remarkable characteristics of circuit-bending. Many of its practitioners recognize the feature of combining high and low culture, game and art. Being a circuit-bender and a trained musician himself, north-american *Casper Electronics*[3] notes that even though the practice is relatively simple, its appeal is far reaching. The novelty of producing sounds without the aid of sophisticated apparatuses and by using regular devices modified by the bender brings a creative perspective to bender activity: "From the viewpoint of the bender one enjoys the liberation found in modifying mass produced electronics and making them one´s own."

Casper is also an academic; he states that bending, as an academic research field, "can be appreciated for its inventive approach to electrical engineering, the encouragement it gives to question the concept of obsolescence, the recycling of discarded technologies." For him, the most profound issue brought to surface by bending circuits comes from granting the bender sight into the world that exists below our familiar world, "for circuit-bending most often targets children's toys as creative fodder." He keeps on arguing that the toys benders use are usually the one's they have grown with, having a deep connection with them. This brings benders a "perceptual shift" regarding the world around them and encourages people to explore things more closely and "to question what is shown versus what is possible." He finishes his statement calling circuit-bending "a creative approach rather than a technical process" and saying that it "may not be too dramatic to call it a philosophy." A kind of philosophy that is able to encourage a "deeper consideration and personal reclamation of a world which is fast losing its uniqueness and finding in its place faceless products and manufactured identity."[4]

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[2] For more on that matter, see the posts "Who uses circuitbenders?", "Circuit bent devices used by popular musicians/bands?)" at http://circuitbenders.co.uk, the entry http://www.getlofi.com/?p=453, and also (Tadgh, 2010, p.20).

[3] http://casperelectronics.com

[4] http://casperelectronics.com/circuit-bending/

Examples of methodology

Besides the examples of the fathers of the methodology Reed Ghazala and Nicolas Collins, and the above-mentioned Casper Electronics, there are some other projects worth pointing out.

The french duo **10Konekt**[5] (which, in french, sounds like Disconnect), for example, is a free improvisation group formed in 2007 by Jean Christophe Cochard and Cyril Alexandre which has the following motto: "The first recorded sound is always good!" With more than 18 releases available in the internet by different labels, they have a very noisy sounding, with a pinch of punk attitude.

The work of the Dirty Electronics Ensemble[6], an artistic group created by British John Richards, based on the creation of performances that results from workshops. Richards calls circuit-bending methodology *Dirty Electronics* or *Punktronics,* making clear the connection to the Noise and Punk scenes. His ensemble has already played with key artists and bands such as Merzbow and Throbbing Gristle.

Dutch artist Gijs Gieskes[7] shares the same line of work, but also including an audiovisual approach. In Gieskes' website, it is possible to see a lot of his DIY instruments and observe the aesthetic result of his creations. A nice example is the audiovisual installation ReFunct Media #5[8] (done in collaboration with the benders Benjamim Gaulon, Karl Klomp e Tom Verbruggen) exposed at the Transmidiale 2013, when the artists connected a series of discarded audiovisual apparatuses to create a really interesting noisy composition.

frgmnt.org is a Barcelona based collective of artists. Their work relates directly to the Japanese noise music scene and lo-fi aesthetics. Their website presents a series of texts discussing subjects like *Devices* and *Control*, and quoting authors such as Deleuze and Guattari. They conduct workshops, artistic presentations and talks. Most of their work is freely available through the Internet.

Kokeellisen elektroniikan seura[9] (Association of Experimental Electronics) is an important collective of *bricoleurs* with a really strong actuation in the Nordic bending scene. In the documentary Koelse[10], it is possible to get in touch with a lot of their ideas and their way of working.

In Brazil a rich scene related to Circuit Bending practices has developed over the past decades. Among the most active groups it is noteworthy the work of the collective Gambiologia[11], that establishes really strong connections with open source and DIY cultures, besides its strong relation to hacker culture.

All of the artists mentioned above exhibit a connection with punk, noise and industrial music scenes, with a more informal approach to the creative process, evidencing a noisier aesthetic that is closer to free improvisation than to electronic music.

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[5] http://10konekt.blogspot.fr

[6] http://dirtyelectronics.org

[7] http://gieskes.nl/

[8] http://www.recyclism.com/refunctmedia v5.php

[9] http://kokeellisenelektroniikanseura.blogspot.com.br

[10] http://koelsedoc.wordpress.com/eng/

[11] http://www.gambiologia.net - the name Gambiologia makes reference to a brazilian slang: Gambiarra, which is used to refer to things done without proper tools or materials, usually due to lack of these.

Another approach is embraced by such artists as the Spanish Olaf Ladousse[12], the North-American Tim Kaiser[13] and the Brazilian Panetone[14]. All of them have a more careful work in designing the instruments and a more controlled aesthetic, closer to electronic music, even, in some cases, approaching electronic dance music scene[15].

Circuit-bending and DIY culture

By opening their electronic devices and changing the flow of electricity, benders create new uses and possibilities for the devices in their hands, thus establishing a strong connection between circuit-bending and the DIY culture. Ghazala explicitly states this relationship in the following quotation:

> My aim, more than a decade ago when I began to write about the DIY of circuit-bending, was to launch new, unique instruments by means of explaining only the general discovery process of circuit-bending instead of using the more standard "this wire goes here" dialogue — a dialogue that usually results in exact duplications of a target instrument. (Ghazala, 2005, p.xiii)

DIY phenomenon is clearly nothing new. Eric Paulos and Stacey Kuznetsov, in *Rise of the Expert Amateur: DIY Projects, Communities, and Cultures*, pose a concise and pertinent definition for DIY:

> (...) any creation, modification or repair of objects without the aid of paid professionals. We use the term "amateur" not as a reflection on a hobbyists' skills, which are often quite advanced, but rather, to emphasize that most of DIY culture is not motivated by commercial purposes. (Kuznetsov and Paulos, 2010, p.01)

DIY is a practice directly related to the rise of Industrial Revolution, generally taken as a reaction to its massive mode of production. It is noteworthy how this movement manifests itself during the modern era. The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth (with its flourishing appeal of science and technology) presented a first glimpse of rebellion against the mass production appeal and led to a boom of inventors and hobbyist activities (together with the *avant-garde* movements, like *futurism, cubism, dadaism,* and so on).

Model building, photography, high-fidelity audio, all created a vast multitude of technical hobbyists who gathered around specific interests. The fragmentation of the production chain and the alienation of the individual brought about by mass production sparked new interest in manual and craft activities. Hobbyists' activities played an important social role as they allowed laymen to tackle complex science and technological topics which were shaping the very idea of modernity.

Such activities were organized through magazines, books, clubs, and suppliers. They also entailed connecting hobbyists to a specific social network that helped define their identification with an increasingly homogenized, massive social condition. A remarkable case

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[12] http://www.olafladousse.com

[13] http://tim-kaiser.org/

[14] http://panetone.net

[15] This list could carry on enormously, but it is not the intention of this article, for a longer and more complete list see (Fernandez, 2013)

in which audio technology attracted the attention of hobbyists was the radio that was sold in kits for home assembly in the 1920s and 30s.

However, the Second World War and the globalized consumerist model, weakened this hobbyist and amateurist movement for a period of time, imposing a mass consumption mentality throughout most of the western world. This gradual valorization and establishment of mass-production led to the consumerist, hyper-industrial society in which we currently find ourselves. In hyper-industrial society, professionals and specialists can be hired to build, create, decorate, or repair anything, according to market demand. Its logic implies that any product or service might be available at a nearby mega-store, leaving us time to work on our specialized, professional careers and earn money to buy any kind of goods or solutions to our demands.

In music, an initial reaction to such standardizing appears in the Free Jazz movement of the 1960s, with its focus on unrestrained improvisation and the production of records outside the industrial chain, by such associations as AACM (Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians) and Candid Records. In the 1970s, the Punk movement also emerged as a rebellion against this hegemonic order, bringing DIY to the scene. For these punk artists, ineptitude was seen as virtue: "the creativity that comes from a lack of preconceptions and willingness to try out anything, even if badly" (Hegarty, 2008, p.89). Similar to Free Jazz, punk artists such as Crass, for example, also joined forces to release their records, bypassing the record industry, and criticizing the musical marketplace from a DIY perspective.

In the 1990s, the DIY movement became stronger due to the rave culture and the beginning of the *netlabel* movement, both focusing on independent production (of venues and records). And, in the twenty-first century, with the Internet becoming a vast network of information exchange, the DIY movement expanded, increasing the amount of adherents in several fields: from growing herbs indoors, to producing textiles, knitting and crocheting, to working on different kinds of electronic projects.

Juan Ignácio Gallego Perez, in the article *DO IT YOURSELF: Cultura y Tecnologia,* argues that this form of production allows "any person to create, distribute, and promote a product, encroaching upon the basic rules of capitalist society." (Perez, 2009, p.279) He shows that the DIY culture implies three states: an ideological/political one, rebelling against the hegemonic marketing order; an industrial one, searching for new ways of production, outside of mass culture; and an aesthetic one, pursuing singular forms of expression. According to Perez, one of DIY's main goals is to abolish specialization, and one of its characteristics is the breakdown of the lines that separated worker and creator, "along with the possibility that anyone could be a creator, regardless of origin or background." A thinking based on the subversion of the age-old idea of "look before you leap," rather than an attitude based on action -- "first act, then think" --, which he compares to movements like Situationism[16]. He follows by arguing that the DIY movement "changes social relations, creating a community feeling, independent from industry, which seeks to change ordinary mercantile relationships" (Perez, 2009, p.280). Hence, the social order we have just pointed out merits further inquiry.

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[16] Situationism, or Situationist International, refers to an internationalist group of revolutionaries, based mostly in Europe. Their most prominent theoretical work is Guy Debord's The Society of the Spectacle.

General proletarianisation

One key aspect of this social context is what French philosopher Bernard Stiegler calls **General Proletarianisation**, where "human knowledge is short-circuited as a result of its technological reproduction and implementation." Such movement is amplified by the globalization of the consumerist model, in which not only the know-how (*savoir-faire*) of workers becomes obsolete, but mainly their knowledge of how to live (*savoir-vivre*). That way, citizens "become as such mere consumers: a good consumer is both utterly passive and irresponsible." (Stiegler, 2010a, p.11)

Stiegler uses the word proletariat in its original meaning, referring to the loss of knowledge of some kind, such as that suffered by factory workers in Marx's time as a result of their highly specialized functions (condition satirized by Charlie Chaplin in his masterpiece *Modern Times*).

The question of proletariat, though, has very old roots. According to Stiegler, this process did not start with the Industrial Revolution, but at the beginning of mankind and it was already noted, for example, by greek philosopher Plato:

> (...) the process of proletarianization marks the beginning of humankind. (...) It is first of all the exteriorization of knowledge in technics. It begins with technics. Now the problem is, what is the gain of the process of exteriorization for humanity? Is it creating heteronomy or autonomy? (Stiegler, 2011, p.37)

Evoking Kant, Stiegler does the following reflection:

> (...) if you are reading my books in order to avoid thinking for yourself, out of laziness for instance, you are proletarianizing yourself. (...) Reading books without reflecting upon them and critically engaging with them leads to minority, not maturity. (Stiegler, 2011, p.37)

He argues that the question of proletarianisation is at the origin of philosophy, being, essentially, a question of autonomy versus heteronomy. It is important to clarify that, for Stiegler, pure autonomy does not exist: there is no autonomy without some level of heteronomy.

Besides the remote origins of the concept, the process of proletarianisation is gestated in the midst of the nineteenth century with the creation of modern advertisements and becomes endemic and global after the beginning of the hyper-industrial society. Another key factor in this process occurs in the beginning of the twentieth century when Freud's nephew, Edward Bernays, invented the basics of marketing by organizing "the captivation of the consumers' attention, and thus of the libidinal energy that marketing must seek to redirect from the consumers' primordial objects towards the commodities." (Stiegler, 2007, p.33-37).

The consumerist model, he says, appears as ways of solving an efficiency crisis in the capitalist order, and was an important step towards hyper-industrial age. The problem is that this model leads to another crisis, that of *libidinal energy*[17]. To captivate this energy source, people are enticed, by marketing strategies, to consume - in order to create a chain of production and consumption. The side effect is that these marketing strategies end up

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[17] "industrial life tends to channel individuals' libidinal potential, that is, their desires, because in order for people to consume objects, it is mandatory that they first want them. But this captivation is destructive, it is a destructive control, as also said in mechanical geniality, meaning that what is submitted to control ends up being destroyed by what it controls. And if we believe, like I do, that we live in the era of the capitalist order that exploits libidinal energy (as it previously exploited fossil fuels, natural resources, etc.) then, hyper-industrial capitalism is on the verge of a serious crisis." (Stiegler, 2007, p.26)

prevailing, thereby destroying singularity - together with the will to live (the libido). This context obstructs the process of individuation[18], resulting in a process he calls *disindividuation:* "a process that destroys the collective and destroys culture. And this disindividuation is also a kind of proletarianisation." (Stiegler, 2010a, p.17)

DIY as de-proletarianisation tactics

Bernard Stiegler sees the processes of de-professionalization of the contemporary era as a possible means of escape from this situation. For him, the revalorization of the *amateur* made possible by digital technology and strengthened by the Internet can create a new *avant-garde* and form new audiences. Nevertheless, he argues that in order for this process of subverting the consumerist mindset to happen, users have to become creators themselves, cease to be simply passive consumers, produce knowledge, and shake the grounds of the capitalist structure.

Circuit-bending (as most DIY culture strategies) encourages *amateurs* to leave the status of passive consumers, and so it can be seen as a de-proletarianisation tactics, as it calls for a "far-reaching process of de-proletarianisation, that is, the recovery of knowledge of all kinds" (Stiegler, 2010a, p.11).

Seen by this prism, circuit-bending (where one can learn how to solder, explore the different electronic components, experiment with electromagnetism, etc.) can appear as a crackle in the consumerist society, since the methodology is based on an experimental approach, a trial-and-error attitude that rebels against buying new hi-tech tools. The goal is the unexpected, neither the perfection nor the efficacy that hyper-industrial society demands from its processes. Benders seek, within this unexpectedness, a genuine learning experience: creation and discovery. When practicing circuit-bending, the primordial aim is not to play the latest hi-tech tool, working only with inputs and outputs in a simplistic way, but rather to experiment, to create something unique.

Circuit-bending, then, is an interdisciplinary artistic methodology, a mixture of electric engineering and music, but also some amount of design, sound art, and performance. Emphasis lies in its procedural character and its focus on the concept. As John Cage says: "the utility of the useless is good news for the artists. For art does not have a material objective. Has to do with changing of minds and spirits." (as cited in Campos, 1998, p.130) The tonic note of circuit-bending is transforming the useless and the expendable into raw material for creation and production, creating singular and unique musical instruments, out of the standardization process of the hyper-industrial society.

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[18] "To individuate oneself is to learn, to experiment, to become what one is by making the passage to the act of a potential that lies within every noetic soul." (Stiegler, 2010a, p.16) and also: "Simondon says that if you want to understand the individual, you need to inscribe the individual in a process of which he is only a phase. As such, the individual has no interests. The individual is only an aspect, or phase of a process, but the process is what is important. So what is this process? It is the process of individuation, that is of transformation, and for Simondon, everything is caught up in and brought into a process of individuation. For example, the passages of life are a process of individuation, but 'technics' are also processes of individuations." (Stiegler, 2010b, p.3)

Scattering, distraction, diversion

Another key aspect of the social context we believe to be worth discussing here is that of scattering.

According to Vilém Flusser,

> Technical images are at the center of society. But because they are so penetrating, people don't crowd around them; rather they draw back, each into his corner. A technical image radiates, and at the tip of each ray sits a receiver, on his own. In this way, technical images disperse society into corners. (...) Media form bundles that radiate from the centers, the senders. Bundles in Latin is fasces. The structure of a society governed by technical images is therefore fascist, not for any ideological reason but for technical reasons. As technical images presently function, they lead on their own to a fascistic society.(Flusser, 2011, p. 61)

An important issue to the Czech-Brazilian philosopher relating the social scatter provoked by the supremacy of the apparatus is the dissolution of the family. As he puts it: children "who sit in isolation at their computer terminals with their backs to one another have no social awareness. They belong to no family and identify with neither nationality nor class.". (Flusser, 2011, p.63) Such tendency is even more evident in our age of smartphones and tablets, with even friendlier interfaces, easily mastered by children. Children's attention, in that context, is no longer in the exterior world, place for real (as opposed to virtual) social interactions, resulting in the lost of their abilities to play with one another, an essential process in acquiring social skills, leading to a great level of scattering.

Flusser does not see this process as a vertical imposition (top to bottom), but as a spontaneous process in modern societies. He states that "people want to be scattered by the images so that they don't have to collect and assemble themselves, as they would if there were in fact a dialogue." (Flusser, 2011, p. 65)

Drawing from Hegel, he argues that communal groups like family and communities possess a clear distinction between the private (in-group) and the public (out-group). Such groups suffer what Hegel called "unhappy consciousness", as they are always aware of losing something depending on their choices ("if I go out into the world, I lose myself in it, and if I go into myself to collect myself, then I am lost to the world"). That is why people choose to be scattered, diverted, in search for a generalized "happiness", a search that overcomes an unhappy consciousness. By breaking the notions of public and private, the scattered individual believes to soothe his consciousness, therefore the will to be entertained and the refuse to concentrate and focus. "Every dialogue is dangerous because it could awaken the unhappy consciousness from its sleep." (2011, p. 65) Flusser, then, describes the consumerist society we live in:

> Psychoanalysis describes this happiness as the oral–anal phase; cultural analysis calls this happiness "mass culture." It is happiness at the level of the nursery, intellectually as well as morally and aesthetically. The present dispersal of society can be seen as a move toward this happy twilight condition. (Flusser, 2011, p.66)

We argue that methodologies such as circuit bending (as most of the experimental tendencies in the arts of the late twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries) can act as alternatives to this scattering, zombie-state tendency. For that to happen, it is mandatory for the bender to be conscious that his actuation in the apparatus world always occurs in the form of a game, but that this game can be played according to the intentions and rules of the hegemonic metaprogramming or that these rules can be broken and a new set of rules can rise, seeking to overcome that hegemony. Without such a consciousness, benders tend to

loose the experimental attitude, associating themselves with commerce and capital, losing a great deal of autonomy, in a process of proletarianization and desindividuation, as discussed earlier. That risk is not only present in circuit-bending methodology, but also in all DIY scenes happening in the last 20 years or so.

DIT - relational aesthetics

The scattering process is probably the main reason why, in recent years, we can observe a tendency in DIY movements: from Do-It-Yourself to Do-It-Together (DIT) or Do-It-With-Others (DIWO).

The issue is that there can be no individuation in the realm of the individual. A process of transindividuation (a wider and more profound process that occurs between distinct individuals) is always necessary for real individuation to happen. As French art curator and critic Nicolas Bourriaud puts it: "the essence of humankind is purely trans-individual, made up of bonds that link individuals together in social forms which are invariably historical (Marx: the human essence is the set of social relations)." (Bourriaud, 2009, p.25)

Stiegler says that the process of transindividuation depends on the creation of circuits which starts as simple processes of co-individuation (a simple conversation, for instance, where both interlocutors are really interested in the subject and produce a sincere exchange of ideas, where both their repertoires are augmented by the dialogue).

He argues that what forges a great artist, a great philosopher, a great person is the fact that such a person is "somebody really specific, singular—somebody who is recognized as a singularity who has created a new type of circuit on which other people can come and continue the circuits." (Stiegler, 2010b, p.4)

That is the importance of this new tendency, where artists begin to work in a more interdisciplinary way, with the collaboration of other individuals, mainly through network technologies. In such collaborative projects, there is an intense exchange of information, building platforms for the creation of new ways of doing stuff. According to John Dimatos, "collaborative projects require a level of humility and understanding of the ultimate mission. Only then do they have the ability to be truly transformative."[19]

Vilém Flusser seems to be describing the tendency towards DIT and DIWO movements when he makes the following statement:

> This, I believe, is the project of the new revolutionaries. It is an opposition to the present society, controlled as it is by discursively ordered images. But it is not an attempt to reconstruct any social configuration from the past. Contemporary dispersal cannot be reversed. On the contrary, it requires a new form of assembly. It is high time that our received, consecrated groups fell apart. They were pernicious, ideologically grounded, misery-making groups. Now that they are about to disintegrate completely, new groups can be formed. They can be "informed." The task is to reintegrate a society that has disintegrated into the infinitesimal. Such formulations of contemporary activism are intended to show how firmly contemporary revolutionaries are rooted in the dimensionless universe, on the grounds of hallucinatory, image-producing abstractions. (Flusser, 2011, p.68)

Such a tendency of "doing it together" appears in the circuit-bending scene in two ways: first at concerts, usually performed as a collective free improvisation; and second through

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[19]http://www.psfk.com/2010/04/diwo-as-the-new-diy-psfk-conference-good-ideas-on-changemaking.html#!Jvl7o

workshops, which are very important to most bending groups (both Ghazala and Collins, for instance, are very active instructors).

About the first aspect, the concerts, it is revealing to hear Nicolas Collins´ point of view, captured in an interview recorded in São Paulo, just before a presentation of one of his latest performances: *Salvage.* When questioned about his main interests as a composer, he gave the following answer:

> I'm interested in those types of chaotic situations and I'm very interested in collective music making. I really like the idea of having twenty or thirty people making music together. But i'm not particularly interested in listening to them play notes on their instruments. (...). So I'm interested in merging this semi-chaotic electronic world with groups of players to create a kind of an improvised electronic ensemble, that has this high degree of chaos and unpredictability in it. And then figuring out ways to sort of shape the performance to give it some kind of form. And that's what this little piece does. (Fernandez & Lima, in press)

In this quotation, it is possible to note his interest in the collective aspect we've been discussing: seeking to get away from the individualistic tendency, electronic music has gotten into (especially when we deal with laptop music or DJing) working in a collective environment of musical production, making it possible for transindividuation circuits to rise.

Another noteworthy example of DIT can be found in the Dirty Electronics Ensemble. According to Richards, "in Dirty Electronics the ethos is not only DIY, but also DIT." His main goal is to "get away from the idea of the solo electronic musician and work in a more fluid and collective way." That way he became less bothered by his own system, and began to think "how a large group could perform a new electronic music repertoire." (Richards, 2011, p.23)

In the documentary Charge/Discharge[20], directed by Andrew Hill, this DIT attitude is made visible. Another key aspect, for Richards, is that the performance not only occurs in the moment of the public presentation of the work, but is already happening during the workshop, when the devices are being constructed by the participants. He avoids talking about the workshop and the performance as two separate moments, since building something in a workshop and playing in a concert are not necessarily separate activities. According to him, in the logic of Dirty Electronics (his way of calling his bent or hacked devices), performance and workshop are part of a "holistic event".

Relational aesthetics

That aspect calls for our final topic: the discussion of Relational Aesthetics. The term appeared in art criticism in the last years of the 1990s and, as Jacques Rancière suggests, is characterized as "an art creating no more works or objects, but ephemeral situations prompting new forms of relationships."[21] For Nicolas Bourriaud, relational aesthetics takes "as its theoretical horizon the realm of human interactions and its social context, rather than the assertion of an independent and private symbolic space." (Bourriaud, 2009, p.19)

Artists involved in relational aesthetics constitute a "group of artists who, for the first time since the emergence of conceptual art in the mid-1960s, simply do not take as their starting point some aesthetic movement from the past." (Bourriaud, 2009, p.61)

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[20] http://vimeo.com/47413553
[21] http://roundtable.kein.org/node/463

It is important to notice that for Bourriaud art has always been, in one way or another, relational. The singularity of relational aesthetics consists of putting the relational question in first place and seeking relationships between art and extra-artistic universes. This kind of strategy has been around since the 1960s, and has been resumed by artists in the late 1990s,

> (...) but the definition of art, which was central to the 1960s and 1970s, was no longer an issue. The problem was no longer the expansion of the limits of art, but testing art's capacity for resistance within the social field as a whole. (Bourriaud, 2009, p.43)

These artists do not consider intersubjectivity and interpersonal interactions only as "fashionable theoretical gadgets", nor as technical pretexts to an art practice. They consider these elements that allude to the interpersonal relationship "at once a starting point and a point of arrival, or in short the main themes that inform their work." What is produced by them are "relational space-times" which seek to accomplish "interhuman experiences that try to shake off the constraints of the ideology of mass communications", where "alternative forms of sociability, critical models and moments of constructed conviviality" are developed. (Bourriaud, 2009, p.62)

This kind of artistic practice represents a transformation in collective sensibility: from the 1990s on, "the group is thrown against the mass, neighbourhood against advertising, low-tech against high-tech, the tactile against the visual." (Bourriaud, 2009, p.65) But the main change occurred with the end of the modern distinctions between "popular culture" and "high culture".

That been said, we believe it is possible to inscribe some circuit-bending and hardware hacking concerts and workshops as examples of this "relational space-times". After a collaborative and passionate contact with different devices and their programmations (and all the learning that is possible to obtain through them), there is the potential creation of circuits of transindividuation among the participants, as most of these concerts and workshops happen in a really loose manner, inciting people to collaborate and play together and not only to do their own device in an isolated way.

As Ghazala puts it: "that's the beauty of circuit-bending; anyone can do it. You don't need to be an electronics guru or a shop genius. All you need is the ability to solder and to think outside the box. (...) That's pretty immediate!" (Ghazala, 2005, p.3-4)

French philosopher Jacques Rancière argues that "the ordinary becomes beautiful as a trace of the true if it is torn from its obviousness in order to become a hieroglyph, a mythological or phantasmagoric figure." (Rancière, 2009, p.34) We argue that circuit-benders do exactly that: transform an ordinary electronic device into a singular musical instrument, "a truly alien instrument.(...) After all, now in hand is an instrument that exists nowhere else in the universe and that presents sounds no one else has yet heard." (Ghazala, 2004, p.99)

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1.2. DIY culture and youth struggles for autonomy in Switzerland: distortion of the punk scene

Pierre Raboud[1]

Abstract

If the 'do-it-yourself' ethic (DIY) is a major legacy of the punk movement, the case of Switzerland provides an interesting development. The most specific facet of the Swiss punk scene lay in its encounter with broad youth movements. Both shared the will to fight to obtain spaces for young people inside the urban landscape so they could express their own culture and more. It first began with a riot occurring after a protest against the new budget allocated to the Opera of Zürich in May 1980, which lead to a year of protest called *Züri Brännt* ("Zürich is burning"). This kind of movement has not disappeared. In the present day, they may be found in the collective *Tanz dich frei* ("Dance yourself free"). Through these two examples, this paper aims to question the ability of DIY cultural practices to dissent from Swiss strong consensual conservatism through autonomy.

Keywords: autonomy, dissent, anti-hegemony, youth, scene

Today, DIY seems to embody the most important legacy of the punk movement, its strongest persistence. This can be seen in the fact that cultural movements are often described as "punks" even if they do not have much to do with pogo, leather jackets, or rudely played rock music. To give only one example, the collective SPF 420 was often described as "Internet punks" (Martin, 2014). SPF 420 gathers a crew of youth who organize live-stream clubbing with underground DJs. The link between them and punk is the will to produce and consume their own specific culture. This persistence was already stressed by George McKay (2009), who identified DIY as one of the dimensions of the "punk" inside the "cyberpunk." Johan Kugelberg (2012, p. 46) was even more affirmative. For him, the heritage from punk is quite simple: it is the DIY revolution inside youth cultures, letting the popular culture become immediate. Even if this kind of approach to the punk movement is far too simplistic, dodging many elements of the punk movement to resume it to its aesthetical dimension, the DIY process nevertheless embodies one of the main values of punk. It is punk's aspect that remains strongly alive today. In this paper, we would like to question the meaning of DIY and its actuality. We will analyse it through one national case: Switzerland.

From an international perspective, this choice might appear a bit odd, but its interest lies in the fact that this national case possesses one main specific facet: Swiss punk has encountered the new social movements (Schulz, 2011) and became integrated within what is often referred to by the expression *Züri Brännt* ("Zürich is burning") (Raboud, 2014). The Swiss DIY cultural actors met the political struggles for autonomy in the early eighties. Both shared the will to fight to obtain spaces for young people inside the urban landscape so they could

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express their own culture and values. This kind of movement, bringing altogether politics, music, and parties, still exists in Switzerland with the late example of *Tanz dich frei*, which means "Dance yourself free", and gathers thousands of people each year to protest against the cultural policy of the city of Bern. The case of Switzerland also constitutes a representative example because its national structure is marked by a strong and consensual conservatism, related to the strong hegemony that has ruled global societies since the eighties. We will discuss these topics later.

Through these two examples, we aim in this paper to question the ability of DIY cultural practices to express and perform dissent. These examples will allow us to question the different dimensions of DIY practises as to the claim of autonomy. We will define the emancipatory processes bound to that autonomy. We will examine what autonomy really mean, the scale at which it spreads itself, and how we can relate it to the notion of cultural scene. We will also look for the limits of DIY regarding the potentially individualist dimension of the "yourself" in "do-it-yourself". Through the concrete example of Switzerland, we hope to draw some analytical perspectives both about the DIY process and its ability to develop anti-hegemonic practices in contemporary struggles.

Swiss cultural scenes

Before focussing on the topics of DIY and its meaning within urban life, we must first present briefly these two scenes from Swiss culture. *Züri Brännt* began on 30 May 1980 when the city government of Zürich decided to allot a budget of 60 million francs to renovate the Zürich Opera House. Many young people, who were attempting to obtain one concert venue for youth cultures, decided to protest against this decision and gathered in front of the Opera House. The police repressed this meeting harshly, leading to struggles between police and the young people the whole night. What was then called the "Opera Riot" lasted more than one year, through many demonstrations gathering thousands of people (Braendle, 2010).

This scene had a strong cultural effect. Its name referred to the punk credo "London is burning". *Züri Brännt* was initially a song by the punk band 'TNT' from Zürich. Many punk bands, such as Kleenex, participated to the demonstrations. The strength of its cultural dimension can be seen in the fact that one of its leading associations was named *Rock als Revolte* (Rock as Revolt) (N/A, 2001).

Tanz dich frei is a one-day event supported the whole year only through social networks and a website (the website is now shut down and the social media sites are inactive). It has existed since 2011 and consists of a walk through the city of Bern, acting as something between a demonstration and a street party. In 2012, 10,000 people participated (Gerny, 2013), which made it the largest demonstration in Switzerland in years. The whole organization is anonymous and calls on participants to bring sound systems and drinks. This event has been initiated to protest against the repressive policy of the city in terms of cultural offerings and nightlife (http: www.tanzdichfrei.net).

We will approach the two examples cited above, *Züri Brännt* and *Tanz dich frei*, by applying the notion of "cultural scenes". Straw (2005) defined cultural scenes as

> particular clusters of social and cultural activity without specifying the nature of the boundaries which circumscribe them. Scenes may be distinguished according to their location (…), the genre of cultural production which give them coherence (…) or the loosely defined social activity around which they take shape. (p. 412).

In both of our cases, we face scenes whose unity can be found through broad elements. Firstly, they are located in one particular city and structure themselves at this scale. *Züri Brännt* has stressed this point through its name, which means "Zurich is burning". *Tanz dich frei* was initially an event taking place in Bern. Secondly, they gather mainly young people. In Zürich, 24% of the participants were less than 18 years old, 21% between 18 and 19, 32% between 20 and 25, and only 23% older than 25 (Kriesi, 1981, p. 213). We do not have such statistics for *Tanz dich frei* but in all pictures from the press or within the movement's documentation, most of the people who have participated are young (see for example Habegger, 2013). Thirdly, their cultural tastes are not specifically bound to one exclusive style. They gather productions from broad youth cultures, such as punk, rock, and reggae in the eighties and all kinds of electronic music today. Fourthly, they both add a political agenda with anti-capitalist watchwords to the cultural dimension of the scene, as we will see.

DIY and autonomy

One of the main shared values of these two scenes is DIY. *Züri Brännt* was born next to punk and remains strongly bound to its spirit. *Tanz dich frei* has taken over its legacy. Hein (2012) defined DIY as an ideology that affirms that people should create their own culture without following the mainstream or the dominant discourse. Everyone should escape the passive attitude of consumption to take initiative and choose for themselves.

The DIY process has two main meanings. Firstly, it refuses any hierarchy in terms of legitimacy to create. One does not have to learn to play guitar for years to start a rock band. One does not need to care about what the establishment will think about one's works. Secondly, it also means that cultural production should search for autonomy. It must escape the cultural industry by creating its own labels, magazines, venues, and more.

This radical statement of DIY may explain why cultural practises and political struggles have joined together in Switzerland. The young generation fought to obtain free spaces where they could express their own culture. It stands to reason that if a group tries to obtain autonomous spaces, it will use those spaces to produce and access its own culture.

During *Züri Brännt*, every demonstration or squat constitutes opportunities for punk, reggae, or experimental bands to perform (Grand, 2006, p. 228). The close ties between punk and DIY may explain why this musical genre has played the leading role and why so many punk musicians became spokesmen for the whole movement. Punk bands needed the broad movement to conquer spaces. At the same time, the broad movement wished to express a culture strongly identified with youth and the refusal of the dominant values. Astrid Spirig, the singer of Kleenex, asserts: "Die Punks brachten durch ihr Outfit klar zum Ausdruck, wie sie die Gesellschaft sahen: als heuchlerisch und verlogen." (N/A, 2001, p. 49) ("The punks brought the outfit to show clearly how they see the society: hypocritical and lying.")

This situation allows us to understand why the punk panoply has spread beyond individual punk bands or audiences in *Züri Brännt*. This can be seen in the fact that the main punk fanzine in Zürich, *Eisbrecher*, changed its name to *Brächise* shortly after the Opera riot, its articles talking more and more about political struggles in the city, and less and less about gigs and records (Sozial Archiv).

In the *Tanz dich frei*'s demonstrations, the music played is less easily associated with one specific musical genre. The music blaring through crude sound systems is mainly electronic music in a street parade style: techno, drum 'n' bass, and so on, not the kinds of electronica

one would hear in mainstream clubs or on the radio. The most important issue is again that everyone brings their own music and sound systems in a DIY process.

The translation of DIY in a more literally political meaning may be the notion of autonomy. This notion does not only designate the wish to enjoy the kind of entertainment one prefers. As Tari (2011) emphasized when speaking about *Autonomia Operaia*, an Italian autonomist movement active in the 1970s, autonomy means the explosion of the subversive potentiality of the individual and social behaviours. Struggle for autonomy means fighting to obtain spaces freed from the capital and the state. This notion enlightens the radical side of DIY, and "autonomy" was the precise term used in most of the discourse produced inside *Züri Brännt* and *Tanz dich frei*.

Young protesters in Zürich did not ask for a "youth centre"; they demanded an "autonomous centre". Their fanzines not only discussed bands, records, or gigs, as was the case in most punk fanzines at that time. They developed the need for autonomy, to self-organize the space they had conquered in all of its dimensions: culture, food, entrance, places to sleep, and more. This protest went beyond the space for the autonomous centre. The different fanzines and tracts consulted in the archives expressed broad protests to change urban life in terms of housing, public space, labour, and the like. For example, one tract stated, "*Wir wollen die ganze Stadt. Eine autonomes Haus, das PAJZ, genügt uns nicht*" (Sozial Archiv) ("We want the whole city. An autonomy is not enough for us"). Here, the autonomy was not understood solely as an individual space to obtain and to protect. It represented a first trench in the way to change the whole urban way of life.

We cannot find such an evident discourse inside *Tanz dich frei*. The main reason for this absence may lay in the fact that here we do not face leading associations that provide watchwords and edit fanzines. The event's Facebook has some links to files with criticisms against the policies of Bern, in terms of nightlife but also of housing and public spaces. One is called "*Wem gehört die Stadt*" ("To whom belongs the city"). That link contains the same kinds of watchwords as in *Züri Brännt*, but it remains hard to certify if this page was representative for the whole movement or if a minority with a more politically defined discourse ruled it.

We faced the same interpretative problems with the movement's website (http://www.tanzdichfrei.net). It also had affirmations that the goals of this demonstration were not only about having more clubs or about being able to go to venues where the music would be in sync with youth cultural tastes:

> This movement entails more than turning up the volume and making music. It is about raising our words, not just the sound. (…) It is not just about dancing freely once a year. It is about speaking freely, thinking freely, exchanging freely. (http://www.tanzdichfrei.net/about)

Here, the discourse emphasized the claim for freedom already encountered through the notion of autonomy. But again, this may be only relevant to the small more-politicized groups who take part in the movement, such as young communists or the collective based in the Reitschule, a famous squat in Bern.

Breaking the ice

After having observed how the DIY process has brought together cultural practices (playing punk music, editing fanzines, bringing one's own sound system) and struggles for autonomy

in scenes where protest and culture are bound together, we must now address why we can find such specificities in Switzerland. *Züri Brännt* occurred at a time when protests were becoming scarce in Europe (Judt, 2012). The Swiss punk scene joined a political movement, whereas in West Germany (Teipel, 2010) or France (Rude Boy, 2007), punks and political movements rejected each other in most cases at that time. For its part, *Tanz dich frei* has gathered thousands of people, which may be related to the "Occupy" or "*Indignados*" movements but with the difference that in Switzerland the cultural issues occupy the front row.

One possible reason could be found through the dissonance between these two cases and the usual application of the notion of "scene". Straw (2005) linked this notion to an expression of energy formed within urban life. But both *Züri Brännt* and *Tanz dich frei* have faced what we can call an absence of urban life. The specificity of the Swiss context lay in its strong cultural conservatism.

On the eve of the Second World War, the Swiss government had set up a policy called "*Schweizerische Landesverteidigund*" ("Swiss national cultural defence"), whose goals were to avoid any influence from other countries by assuring control of the society through censure and repression. This control was so severe that some historians have even discussed, in a provocative way, a "Swiss totalitarianism" (Jost, 1998). During the Cold War, this cultural policy survived by reinforcing its anti-communist dimension (Caillat, 2009).

When Züri Brännt erupted, even if the Swiss national cultural defence was not as close to the government as in the 1950s and 1960s, its values of order and calm remained strong. The Swiss elite had not yet experienced a shift comparable to those in other European countries. The elected politicians were still marked by the importance of their national and military status (Mach, 2011). Pro Helvetia, the main Swiss cultural foundation, which was founded within the Swiss national cultural defence's process, despite its emancipation from it, remained very conservative and considered only bourgeois culture as legitimate (Milani, 2010).

The young people of Zürich were living in a city without any cultural life apart from the traditional and elitist. There were simply no places to organize concerts for bands they liked, no places to hear the music they liked. The only youth centres were ruled and controlled by the government. The co-founder of the associtaion *Rock als Revolte*, Markus Kenner explains it: "Es gibt so wenig Orte für uns Junge. Wir müssen raus auf die Gasse. Deshalb dieser Name Rock als Revolte, RAR. Es ging um Musik, aber es ging auch um den Kampf für Freiraüme" (N/A, 2001, 21) ("There are so few spaces for youth. We are thrown into the street. This is the reason for the name Rock as Revolt, RAR. It's about music, but it is also about fighting for free spaces").

One of the main recurring elements of the discourse inside the *Züri Brännt* movement was criticism of this cultural conservatism. To denounce it, they used the metaphor of "pack ice". Michael Lütscher, an important member of the punk scene, described the situation in this way: "*Zurich – et toute la Suisse – était recouverte d'une banquise*" (Lütscher, 2012, p. 228) ("Zürich – and all of Switzerland – was covered by pack ice"). The manifesto-movie *Zürich Brännt* (1980), a documentary directed during the events, began with long shots showing a cold city without any movement. In a fanzine called *Werkbund Material*, Peter Erni (1981) criticized the "pack ice city" where order ruled. This element was part of some of the slogans used in the demonstrations, like "*Freiheit Grönland – Nieder mit dem Packeis*" ("Freedom for Greenland – Down with the pack ice") (Erni, 1981, 8). This metaphor showed again that *Züri Brännt* not only asked for more musical venues. They were fighting against a whole situation

in which order and consent were dominating and killing every opportunity to bring energy to urban life.

The beginning of *Tanz dich frei* revealed a similar situation. After a more open era in the 1980s and 1990s, with many venues opening thanks to the youth struggles of the early 1980s (N/A, 2010), the late 1990s and 2000s had been years of backlash: the government shut down squats and instituted a more restrictive policy towards nightlife. Bern, the fifth-largest city of Switzerland, had only few clubs left, and most of the places—clubs and pubs—closed early. Again, the demonstrators wanted to challenge this organization of the urban life in which "order" and "silence" were the key words. The video "Tanz dich frei. Wem Gehört die Stadt (Offiziell)" (available on the facebook page) shows the city of Bern without any human or social life, just police cars.

Both *Züri Brännt* and *Tanz dich frei* have showed how DIY cultural practises could mean empowerment for groups trying to conquer autonomous spaces within urban life. Whether in 1980 or todays, Swiss young people have fought against a conservative cultural framework to find ways to express their own culture. We have already stressed the political dimensions of such a protest. We see it as anti-hegemonic.

More precisely, these DIY practices and struggles for autonomy represented emergent processes. As Williams pointed out, they were "significant both in themselves and in what they reveal of the characteristics of the dominant" (Williams, 1977, p.122). They expressed the need for autonomy and disclosed the continuing strength of conservatism at the same time.

We can understand the primacy of this cultural issue in recent Swiss movements because of the economic stability of this country and its lack of tradition in terms of unionist struggle. If the Switzerland has also been affected by economic recessions, their impacts have remained low, especially compared to other European countries. In 1982, its GDP had fallen only by 1.1% (Rein, 1987, 22). In 1984, the unemployment rate did not exceed 1.2%, whereas it stood up at 9.7% in France and at 13% in Great Britain (*Idem*, 51). Switzerland has also succeeded in remaining safely apart from the 2008 crisis and its consequences (Buss, 2013).

Here, DIY seems to embody a political process able to conquer the public space. Even better, it suits perfectly the Swiss context: in a very consensual society, DIY would represent a battlefield where emancipation becomes possible. Against a strong hegemony, it allows anti-hegemonic practices to be heard.

But we must not forget that this cultural dimension can also turn to a disadvantage. DIY may impact only on marginal or individual spaces of society. We can ask if autonomy, despite its radicalism, lock these practices up in the margin. To win an autonomous centre and be happy with it do not change the structure of the society.

This limit of DIY can be seen also in the fact that the government always tries to respond to these kinds of protests by reducing them to their cultural dimensions. The City of Zürich allowed a youth centre to be built (the *Rote Fabrik*) in 1980. The city's mayor, Sigmund Widmer, reportedly shouted once at rioters, saying, "Make some music instead" (as cited in Lütscher, 2012, p. 230). The City of Bern has responded to *Tanz dich frei* by setting up a new nightlife policy with more liberal closing times and new places to organize special events. In both cases, the responses of the government have succeeded in normalizing the protests by splitting them.

This kind of recuperation or normalization represents a real danger for any cultural protest. To aim to change the whole urban landscape, a DIY movement needs to add broad political

discourse and agendas to its cultural practices. We must recognize that both *Tanz dich frei* and especially *Züri Brännt* did this. They have affirmed loudly that the autonomous centre was not enough. They did not want to be locked up in a "cultural ghetto", as a tract from *Züri Brännt* expressed it clearly (Sozial Archiv). They wanted the whole city.

One last and brief observation can be made through the comparison of the two analysed cases, showing how social movements have changed and how the ways to express dissent have shifted. In 1980, despite the punk outfits, the *Züri Brännt* scene was organized in a very countercultural as it possessed a lot of elements listed by Hebdige (2008, p. 53) in his definition of counterculture: it was represented through associations. It published information and had a clear political discourse. Its mobilisations lasted months. By contrast, *Tanz dich frei* does not have any real representative institution. It has no clear discourses and its temporality is limited to a one-day event. Actual movements of protest seem more heterogeneous. If they still express the will to change urban life, they do not have the same ability to build long-term militant actions and a defined political discourse (Cannone, 2012), at least for now.

Both cases, bringing together political struggle and DIY cultural practices, have turned the notion of cultural scene upside down. Here some may think that this notion should not be used to describe *Züri Brännt* and *Tanz dich frei*. But we have showed how the cultural agenda drove the political movement to act like a scene: editing fanzines, gathering through particular venues, and the like. The political dimensions tore the borders of the scenes apart.

The differences between the situations lead to two opposite cases. *Züri Brännt* constituted perhaps more than a scene: its values (DIY) and practises (fanzines, gigs, and music) spread beyond the dimension of the scene to become appropriated by a broad youth movement. *Tanz dich frei* is instead less than a scene: a ghost of a scene, becoming alive only once a year and crying for life the rest of the time.

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1.3. The street as canvas: street art and the construction of artistic careers

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Abstract

This communication aims to discuss the relations between art, urban space and the city, which is the aim of the ongoing PhD thesis project. Specifically, the purpose is to understand how an urban public space can be configured through the ways in which it connects with the city and the artistic field – namely the realms of art in the public space, considering in particular street art, as artistic manifestation of an intrinsic ephemeral nature.

Therefore this paper will have its focus on the processes of production of street art in the metropolitan context of Lisbon, with a reflection based on a field work research that includes a series of interviews to several artists to whom the street is the main recipient of their artistic interventions, as well as other influent actors in urban creativity, a detailed photographic recollection of images of such artistic displays and further documental analysis.

Particularly, a reflection on the constitution of artistic singularity, both in what concerns the artistic career, the diversity of artistic profiles in street art and the very plasticity of the artistic work, can be made. What motivates the artists to use the street as their canvas, and from it to build an artistic career, and what very particular mechanisms of legitimization exist within the promotion and production of urban art in Lisbon, are some of the interrogations that are to be explored here.

Keywords: Public Space, Cities, Street Art, Artistic Career, Urban Sociology.

The changing world of street art

In this paper I aim to approach some of the reflections that have been resulting from a research project about the transformative potential of art in the public space, in what concerns its potential of change in the populations, the institutions and the people who create.

Recently, one has been observing a rapidly growing phenomenon in the streets of Lisbon. Following a global urban tendency, street art has been gaining more and more attention, as an increasingly larger number or artists finds the opportunity (or is given that opportunity) of leaving their unique mark in the city's walls.

Therefore, as recent as this is – while street art differentiates itself from the graffiti languages, all the actors at play are trying to figure out what exactly is street art and what potential rests upon it. The population, the artists and creatives behind the works, the contemporary art world, the academia, media, private entities and public institutions – are all constructing their own views and positioning about this subject, making it an exciting field for the attention of social sciences, as it is still in the process of establishing itself as a consolidated art form within the creative specificities and potentials of urban public space.

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The ephemeral character of the street art pieces allows them to reveal what is probably a more immediate potential for transforming the public space, which can also be read from the time frame in which the several moments of the creative process happen: the planning process of the piece (from a single individual's decisions about what place to choose and techniques to use, to a myriad of contacts between several agents such as the collective of artists, street art producers, public institutions and private stakeholders or owners of buildings); the making of the piece, that allows a specific moment between the artists and the passer-bys, set somewhere between the performative and the interactive; the media and online reactions are also very immediate once the pieces are finished, in an intensity of images and comments that is also very transversal in terms of who produces this discourses, in a way that may be unique for a form of contemporary artistic creation.

Right now, and particularly in the last 6 years, Lisbon has been the stage of a diverse set of manifestations of street art, that imply a set of changes happening in the streets, at several levels. One of them is lies within the plasticity of the pieces: from the very expressive basic act of painting a wall in the street using spray cans, techniques the urban dweller is long familiarized with through the presence of graffiti, to acts such as placing a stencil, sticker or poster, or even making three-dimensional objects to be 'released' in the streets. The plastic possibilities are immense. On the other hand, the motivations to artistically intervene on the streets are as diverse as the individuals are: to make a message pass, sometimes a subversive one and with strong social critique; or to experiment with a new form of 'canvas' (the city walls), while at the same time creating the opportunity to turn this act of in an opportunity to build a career in the creative and artistic field.

The interpretations of what it means to make street art are also very diverse, but what seems transversal is the notion that street art, although having its roots in the political mural art and the graffiti aspect of hip hop culture, no longer confines itself to the meanings and ways of making that these art forms usually implied, but actually at times seems to blend with other expressive forms – from non-artistic fields to even the field of contemporary art.

With aesthetic languages that are very current, street art has also been subject to incorporation (or sometimes appropriation) from companies, for marketing purposes. This might reveal a conflict, as some artists find in this an opportunity for paid work, while other artists feel street art should be free from all the constraints but their imagination and artistic intention.

The institutional approach to street art has also been subject to change. The possibility of the artists using walls for their works has been facing some regulating initiatives by the city hall. From these regulation a new paradigm is visible – street art not as an act of sheer illegality but as an opportunity to value the urban space, in terms of the possibilities it implies of showing Lisbon as a contemporary and modern tourist destination. At the same time, artists have been instrumentalizing the possibility of support by the city hall in terms of creating their own visibility and further work opportunities.

Power and communication in the public space

Two main aspects in this research are the ways in which not only relationships of power but also the communication aspect of public space are revealed through the art it exhibits.

In fact street art, being of ephemeral nature and such a direct form of interaction with the public space, strongly reflects a set of relationships of power within public space. It illustrates

(both figuratively and literally) the struggle for a space of communication, of visibility, among competitors such as advertising and institutional powers. If, as Lefebvre famously stated, public space is a stage of intense sociability and diverse meanings (Lefebvre, 2000), it is also a space of social contrasts that might be explicit in its very planning – hence the notion of the city as a bureaucratic and class map whose disparities are intended to be suppressed through culture and art (Zukin, 1993). On the other hand, the very use of culture and art can in the end reveal these same contrasts, constituting a way of control and domination, given its capacity to produce symbols and establish place. This research project argues that such effects of art in the public place are also visible in the current production of street art in the urban metropolitan context of Lisbon.

Since the public space is also a powerful mean of communication (Lofland, 1998; Campos, 2010), the art it features, as is the case with street art, can be read not only in terms of what the actors involved have to say through it, but also in terms of how the way it is produced and promoted can speak to us about the mechanisms behind making public space in an urban context: «(…) Space not only structures how communication will occur and who will communicate, it also has consequences for the content of that communication.» (Lofland, 1998:186). Therefore the study of street art can fuel a debate on what actually means 'public space', when the city might seem at times overpowered by huge advertising billboards, that might as well depend on a net of bureaucratic authorizations, or in a simple authorization from a private owner of an exterior façade. At what point private decisions make public space and what can the practice of street art show us in that matter is too big a question to give a definitive answer in this paper, but there are a lot of important aspects to be approach concerning this matter.

Therefore several questions can be made, namely on why the control of public space is not in fact responsibility of everyone but the entities that organize it, or advertise in it, or that build in it, or simply own it; the use of walls in the public space as the medium for several forms of street art, that appropriates itself of them, so many times illegally, others not, is evident symbolic expression of confrontation and dispute of urban space, reflecting relations of power and tensions that relate to the life in the city on a daily basis. The feeling of exclusion provoked by domination and public communication by media and advertising is on the root of that appropriation of the street walls as a mean of communication – also, undoubtedly, public. It can be argued that street art, in its most spontaneous and unprogrammed forms, being of ephemeral nature and in the global current contexts, has the potential to accomplish the promises of public art (Hayden, 1995) in a more direct way. Because it is more immediate and unexpected, it can also be very critical, posing by its mere existence questions about the legitimacy (or lack thereof) of the state, local institutions and the capital of occupying what is in fact called 'public' space. It origins a debate about these issues, fueled by situations where the competition for public visual space is sometimes blatantly aggressive.

Another aspect that is also an important part of this project is the assumption that street art can also be a strategic element in the construction of an individual creative path. As a specific communicational space (Campos, 2010), urban art is expression of identities, lifestyles and discourses from who produces it. As it uses public space as canvas for its artistic manifestations and also as a vehicle for communication, it seems to make a commentary on the visual and artistic forms that are more conventional and institutional, reclaiming for itself its very own space. This is also an undoubtedly political and ideological statement (Stahl, 2009). The fact that so many street art initiatives are being promoted – from the public

initiatives to the private ones – contributes to the fact that there are possibilities for the artists to have their work visible in a way that is possible today as maybe it never before was. Also, the necessary quickness inherent to making an illegal artwork in a wall is so many times not necessary through these initiatives or intermediaries, so there is more time to devote to the artwork and therefore more and more complex pieces appearing, that allow the creators and artists to develop their techniques and imagery in what might be a more fluid way. Visibility might come with compromise, and the discourses of the makers of street art are diverse. As important as thinking about street art as a form of building an individual path is the reflection about what is artistic work in this field and who are the agents around it, in a particular context where these considerations seem yet so diffuse.

The attempt of providing answers to these questions is indissociable of specific methodological approaches. So this research assumes a qualitative aspect to it, including a set of interviews to several stakeholders – from creators with really diverse profiles to associations, institutions and collectives – within the street art that takes place in the streets of Lisbon. Being this an essentially visual object of study, it is equally important the construction and analysis of a set of images resulting from the field work that document or attempt to illustrate the several aspects that will be subject to reflection. And a necessarily solid anchoring in a theoretical support resulting from a transversal bibliographical research is also fundamental for this project – as it is for any attempt of adding knowledge to a field of research.

In this paper in particular, I'll approach the ways in which making street art and developing a creative or artistic career are related, in a context where this inter-connection starts to be an actual possibility. Making street art right now assumes different forms, from the more independent initiatives to the ones that are part of institutional actions. The first being usually connected with a certain anonymity and/or peer-recognition of the artist, where the act of making an artistic mark in the public space assumes a political role of appropriation, the claiming of a place for communication that counterpoints the advertising and the institutional marks that dominate the communication in the public space. The second relating to the collaborations in artistic projects commissioned by institutions, where the artist is no longer semi-anonymous but a recognized creative, being the act of intervening artistically in the street not as much an individual political claim to a space for communication but almost an act of construction of an artistic persona that is recognizable in the broader field of the contemporary art scene, with all the opportunities that come as a result. While at the same time both of these forms of making street art are equally rich in terms of what they say politically about the powers that intervene in the public space and the several meanings that are imbued in these actions.

Figure 1 - Underdogs. Artwork by Interesni Kazki. Photo by the author.

Making street art in Lisbon

The designations of 'urban art' or 'street art' are not free of a certain degree of polemic, which will not be approached in this paper, for the sake of brevity. Instead, let us stick with the choice of using the term 'street art', as it is arguably a more specific form to designate such a current for of artistic creation.

One can trace the roots of street art back to an act ancient and primordial such as drawing on a wall. Or later, writing one's name in stony walls, making it therefore public. Fast-forward to the contemporary age, it is in the events of May 1968 in Paris and in the birth of graffiti within north-American hip hop culture that one can trace the origin of what is now widely recognized as street art. As for the Portuguese context, this origin is inseparable of the political mural paintings and writings on the walls as political statements and calls to action in the period immediately after the revolution of April 1974. What these contexts have in common is the inherent social agitation and political uncertainty, so the act of using a wall in the public space as canvas or platform to communicate might also be seen as a form of questioning the social and political status quo, while at the same time making essays on freedom in the very public space. One can't avoid thinking about the recent popularity of street art and the current social context of economical crisis, a connection that can seem particularly strong while analyzing the ways the artists and creatives of street art in Lisbon build their careers.

As for graffiti, it also has expression in Portugal, through the influence of American hip-hop culture, with several writers making their mark known in the city walls, trains, etc. The quickness of the act of painting that the spray cans allowed these writers, a certain aesthetic and even a specific ethos are still to be found within street art in a broader sense, as there is an intimate relation between street art and graffiti culture. Actually, several 'old school' graffiti writers have embraced the practice of street art, so the legal and illegal creative practices in urban public space are hand in hand.

It comes from a simple act of observation, to state that street art has grown in the last few years as a field of its own. Actually, and despite the obvious proximity, it has been detaching itself from graffiti, although it might include its techniques, as well as stencils, posters and other less formatted expressions under unexpected forms that show once more how rich in terms of plastic experimentation the creative field of street art can be. Also to be found are

elements of graphic design, contemporary painting, comic book universe, etc. These such diverse ways of making show an intimate relation to the actual diversity of profiles of the people who make it: some with a background in 'traditional' graffiti, others in several branches of design, illustrators, many contemporary plastic artists (that 'come from the gallery', so to say) that try the street as a new canvas for their work, self-taught creatives, among others.

The constitution of street art as an artistic field in its own right is central to this research, and intimately linked to the personal career paths the street artists chose.

In truth, it can be said that street art has been penetrating other universes, being the processes of artistic recognition (Heinich, 1993) beyond the world of street art a reality in several cases. Several street artists in fact seem to have a unique ability to enter other «social worlds of art» (Becker, 2010), in particular the contemporary art circuit, to which the relationship with specific stakeholders or agents within it is key and can launch a career that flourishes both within street art and the contemporary art world, while the boundaries between both are not completely dissolved in a transversal body of work. Simultaneously, other relationships are inevitable, as the process of making street art many times involves a relatively vast network of agents, public and private entities – which I will refer to in detail in the section that follows.

Projects and initiatives of street art in Lisbon

Lisbon, as other urban contexts and with a part on a global phenomenon, has been the stage of several manifestations of street art, with a specific set of diverse ways of promoting and producing it. These several initiatives include not only the individual will to intervene in the city's public space, in one end of the spectrum, but also the promotion of street art events from public and private entities in different molds. These distinct forms of production and making street art are eloquent in terms of what are the powers and the people involved, and what relationships between street art, its artists and the public space are being experimented in Lisbon at the present time.

A relatively rigid systematization of the different types of production of street art will prove not to be exact, because the inter-relations between all of the actors involved are a profuse reality, when it's not the case of an individual artist's initiative. However, despite this tendency for the interdependency of the several actors involved, there are in fact strong differences and motivations between them, which does allow for a simple systematization effort.

In this sense, in order to explain the characteristics of these different forms of production, it might be useful to arrange them according to their more or less institutionally planned character, in an ideal-type way. As consequence we have, on one side, the absolutely non-institutional initiatives, and, on the other side, the projects of institutional initiative, which in the case of Lisbon, are promoted by GAU (Galeria de Arte Urbana – Urban Art Gallery), an organism of the city's municipality. Among these two poles are other types of production of urban art that result from processes of mediation between the institutional entities and the artists, through agents, such as associations or collectives that assume the role of promoting street art. In the following paragraphs I will approach each of these types of processes of production of street art individually and in more detail.

As for the non-initiatives – let's refer to those as those *individual initiatives* - they essentially translate the will of an artist or a small collective or artists to intervene in the street, sometimes (though not necessarily) without any kind of mediation or concerns towards legality. In this

aspect it would be much like traditional graffiti, if not in the content or intention, but in the form or ways of making. These might be relatively spontaneous initiatives; with of course the amount of planning that is necessary to turn the initial idea to a physical realization. Most of the times, these are not authorized interventions, but the result of the initiative of the artists, who find in the walls of the city a canvas for their work and will to self-expression. These pieces can have a rawer and even subversive intention in them. It is totally 'untamed' street art, while meaning in a very clear way the willingness to reclaim their space within the city's public spaces. If on the one hand there might be a risk in the moment of making the piece in the street and not getting caught, on the other, there is a certain feeling of surprise or even serendipity for the alert users of the public space when discovering that a new piece of art just 'appeared' in a wall or tree or sign in the street they are passing by. This is certainly a stimulating effect of communication between artist and passer-by that contributes to a sense of communal belonging in relation to the city.

Figure 2 - Individual initiatives. Artwork by Pantónio. Photo by the author.

In relation to *public initiatives* of street art in the context of Lisbon, the work of GAU (Urban Art Gallery) is paramount. It is an organ of Lisbon Municipality that aims to promote several street art initiatives around the city, while claiming an important role in displaying the works of street artists in this city but also in mediating the obtaining of permits for the artists to intervene in privately own exterior spaces (such as a building's façade, or a surrounding wall, for instances).

The work of GAU started in 2008 with localized interventions in Largo da Oliveirinha and Calçada da Glória, with the intention of rehabilitating the Bairro Alto area by cleaning the profusion of tagging that could be seen there (and still can, despite the efforts against it), while at the same time creating a space for quality street art that could be on display. Of course the idea is polemic in several ways and raises a lot of tremendously interesting questions, but those will be approached in a different occasion.

GAU has been establishing itself has a very active institutional branch that promotes several distinct interventions and with them an opportunity for the artists to showcase their works in

legal walls with considerable dimension. This might not only mean no time constraints while painting and the budget for the materials for doing so, but also the visibility and further opportunities for paid work, mainly from companies who want to incorporate some of the aesthetic options these artists take, in their products or image.

One example of the work of GAU is 'Rostos do Muro Azul' (Faces of the Blue Wall), an initiative with several editions in which several artists were invited to send their projects for painting sections of the wall that surrounds a psychiatric hospital in Lisbon. Another GAU project is the one called 'Reciclar o olhar' (Recycle the look), where public glass containers for recycling bottles are painted by basically anyone who is willing to send a project – not only street artists, though many do too. Simultaneously, the place where the initiatives by GAU started (Largo da Oliveirinha / Calçada da Glória) is still, from time to time, subject to interventions, as well as many other sporadic projects that this entity promotes a bit all over the city.

Of increasing importance is the work being developed by the *mediation agents*, mainly in the form of collectives or associations of people who propose to promote street art events or initiatives. These might be collectives of artists (either former or in the active) or cultural associations, being, again, the profiles of the individuals within it, diverse. The work of these agents is important, as it's often them who bring the knowledge of the process of planning a street art initiative – from the idea of the artist to the bureaucratic net of authorizations that will be necessary to accomplish it. The mediation process can be between the several stakeholders involved, such as the artists or collectives of artists, the municipality (through GAU), associations of cultural intends, and the owners of private property where there is an interest (from either side or both) in making a street art intervention. There are several associations or collectives that play the role of mediation agents for the production of street art in the context of Lisbon. One of them is the project Wool, that in collaboration with Lx Factory, a privately own deactivated factory complex that now welcomes several cultural initiatives but also a lot of small companies and their offices, fashion and interior design stores, galleries, restaurants and bars.

Figure 3 - Wool on Tour, Lx Factory. Artwork by Mário Belém and Makarov. Photo by the author.

This location, from time to time, accommodates editions of Wool on Tour, that brings street artists to Lx Factory, to intervene in the former factory's walls. Another privately held former factory that also promotes street art initiatives for their inner walls is Fábrica Braço de Prata. This is a building of large dimensions that used to serve as a gun and ammunition factory, while now is the home of several cultural activities: it hosts theater and cinema sessions, dance lessons, concerts, a book store, art exhibitions, a restaurant and bar, among other facilities the deactivated factory rooms allow. From time to time street artists are invited to submit a project to paint sections of the walls that surround this building, forming an open air gallery of urban art. It might be because of the influence of this association in a specific area of Lisbon – bringing some animation and cultural life to a pretty depressed and de-industrialized zone – that other walls in other buildings around here became also the canvas of several street art manifestations. One can read in this juxtaposition between the derelict building and the brightly painted artwork a critique to the powers and circumstances that allowed that a once lively area of working factories became a forgotten and depressed district, between the rich Parque das Nações neighbourhood and the historical downtown.

Figure 4 - Fábrica Braço de Prata. Artwork by Vhils. Photo by the author.

Other examples - although not extensively listed - of associations that mediate urban art initiatives include APAURB (Portuguese Association for Urban Art) – with collaboration projects such as «40 anos, 40 murais», a celebration of the 40 years of the revolution of 25th of April 1974, or the interventions in the Alcântara tunnel; Ébano Collective, that proposed the recent series of pieces that took place in the Graça neighbourhood, «Passeio Literário da Graça»; also to be mentioned is Project Crono, which programmed several initiatives, including what may be one of the most recognizable urban art projects in Lisbon – the painting of the façades of a set of derelict buildings in the centre of Lisbon, under permit of the city hall. Finally, Underdogs, a platform for Portuguese and international street artists that, working in partnership with the city hall, allows the artists to be able to create street art in large scale in Lisbon, while also stimulating the exchange of ideas, graphic languages and artistic concepts for international street artists.

Figure 5 - 'Passeio Literário da Graça', by Ébano Colective. Artwork by Mariana Dias Coutinho. Photo by the author.

Career paths and strategies

Several interrogations have been stemming from this research, namely in what concerns the career aspect of the people that create street art in Lisbon.

One of them concerns the commercial effects that the growing popularity and visibility of street art has been stimulating. There is in fact an increasing amount of companies or brands that see in street art an opportunity to promote commercial products, and it's not uncommon for partnerships to happen between brands, associations and the public institution, in urban art events.

On the other hand, there are also appearing small companies that revolve around the current production of street art in Lisbon, mainly in what concerns tourism. Street art guided tours are already a reality, just as online street art city guides that pinpoint what pieces to look for, destined to a specific niche of tourism that seems to be growing. Actually, the global visibility of street art and the profusion of images from street art pieces that everyday can be found online, is becoming a powerful tool for the marketing of cities as a tourist destination. Lisbon is no exception, being often featured in quick (and very debatable) lists of 'the best street art cities' – as a simple google search can atest. While on the one hand this mediatic attention is by no means a reliable indicator of the comparative quality and quantity of pieces or street art in each city, on the other hand it shows how street art is currently being used as a powerful tool for marketing cities as tourist destinations, in a tough competition among urban destinies that aim to pass an image of trendiness that certain tourist segments might look for in their travel choices.

Another aspect that stems from all the current interest and visibility of the street that is being produced right now is the commercial appropriation of its visual languages for the purpose of selling products: artists are invited to decorate store windows, for instances, or to decorate cars or clothing items. This might for some artists consist of a valid opportunity for

paid work through an activity that is parallel to their body of work, while others might consider it an unthinkable activity, an unwanted detour from their work, or its misuse.

Figure 6 - Postalfree van. Artwork by Vanessa Teodoro. Photo by the author.

Which brings up a very interesting question: with the several events and street art initiatives that are being programmed and promoted by private and public entities, at what point the artistic and creative work that is implied in the painting of a considerably large wall, for example, can be consistently and fully be considered work in its self right, and therefore systematically paid accordingly? Maybe the fact that this aspect is so diffuse at the moment and in this context lies within the fact that this is a new field that is constituting itself, but while there starts to have a consistent response from the several stakeholders – public and private entities – and new agents start to emerge and have a fundamental role in the promotion and establishment of a systematic way of doing things, this specific artistic production, when inserted in this net of relations and influences, might just have to be paid for the work it represents and not a sort of highly elaborate and technically specific 'hobby'. While that isn't the case, street artists who make this activity their main focus, will continue to develop their own strategies of sustainability, such as working with brands when possible, for some, or making pieces in canvas that might be more immediately sellable. And, interestingly, to these different strategies might correspond even a different signature: it is common that a street artist signs the piece he/she made in the street with the name he/she uses, often one they created for that purpose. On the other hand, on their incursions in more sellable formats, such as serigraphies or objects, the signature might just be their real name, as a strategy to distinguish both streams of what is in fact a single – yet diverse – artistic career.

This brings another relevant aspect in terms of this duallity: globally, there is a certain movement of recognition of some street artists by the more conventional and 'gallery-oriented' contemporary artistic spheres. There are several examples of urban artists that have seen their work recognized in a broad scale, with their art pieces being exhibited in galleries (both indoor and outdoors), festivals, retrospectives, published in monographies and

catalogues, etc. Others might form collectives and organize street art events themselves, or even put together galleries – in the 'white cube' sense of the word – to showcase their works. So as some street artists move from the street walls towards the gallery space, other ones move from the gallery towards the street, since opportunities in that sense have appeared and this way they can experiment new plastic approaches to their work.

This reveals the different backgrounds of the diverse set of people that make street art. Some initiated their artistic path within traditional graffiti culture and eventually gained interest in experimenting with different graphic languages, or exploring other frames of artistic production. Others initiated their street art incursions as result of a will to further stretch the boundaries of the career they were already developing, be it in the context of design or in the field of contemporary art in a stricter sense.

Another relevant observation is the term these artists use when referring to themselves and their work. They're virtually as diverse as the creators interviewed, and the particular word they chose to refer to themselves ('artist'; 'designer'; 'grafiti', etc.) reveals just that – the makers of street art come from different backgrounds and have also different expectations and strategies, just as they have different artistic languages and bodies of work. And it might just be these diversity that makes street art such a rich field of change.

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1.4. "Do it yourself": Daniel Johnston's demon

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Abstract

This is an essay which describes and problematizes the homemade video for the song "Hard Time", by American musician and independent artist, Daniel Johnston. As a craftsman, Johnston have been, since the late 1970's, working on all instances to make his music known: recording, mixing, mastering, copying from tape-to-tape, drawing the art cover and walking around to give his tapes to passers. Although all this effort, he never made it to mainstream. His specific case justifies and provides foundation for a discussion on Do-it-yourself culture, primitivism, precariousness, and spontaneity in the range of pop music. As a result of the analysis of the mentioned video, a complex myriad of matters to be debated emerges (of sociological, aesthetic, communicational and historic character) proving to be a key subject to the understanding of DIY, for Johnston is, in a poetical way, an example of a musician doomed to keep doing everything by himself.

Keywords: Do-it-yourself culture; Daniel Johnston; primitivism; spontaneity.

1. As from the decade of 1970, especially from the behavioral outburst provoked by the punk movement, the motto Do it yourself reached unheard-of, even unexpected, proportions. That which was, in its embryonic stage, a kind of existential flag to teenage musicians, that also looked like an invitation to dilettante action and a prompt-defense argument against eventual criticism to technical precariousness and inaptitude (to the lack of skills in the playing of musical instruments, for instance), became little by little something much more serious and representative: it became an effective political program, a critical proposition, a declaration of principles, the ensign which was capable of summing up an in-the-making real ideology[3].

Nowadays, DIY can be understood as a conceptual formulation, in some occasions taken as a kind of synonym or equivalent to the very idea of *underground*. It is as if it were impossible to talk about alternative and independent music, aside from the big industry, without bumping into, at any time, such expression and the set of meanings and cultural practices it comprises and designates. In the extent of pop music, DIY is a powerful semantics-maker, a most strong rubric, which aids to the comprehension of a huge gamut of genres, expressive forms,

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[1] Vale do Rio dos Sinos University, Brazil.

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[3] Punk is the product of a bunch of causes (Hebdige, 2004). It is risky (even worse: it is false) to isolate one single igniting historic agent or seek to identify very "clean" or easily noticeable social processes amidst the effervescence of lived life, be it in London or in New York, in the second half of the 1970s. This said, it is good to admit that the anticipations, the dance of consequences, and the time deployments we suggested might not have happened in the exact order in which they appear here. It is then more indicated to think of a field of simultaneities (almost perfect ones), advancements and retreats, restraints and accelerations which are ongoing and/or alternating. Most important of all is retaining the idea that Do it yourself thrived, acquired forms and unthinkable translations.

production modes, affective and aesthetic displays, authorial and stylistic traces. From authors such as Eloy Fernández Porta (2008, 2013) and Simon Reynolds (2010, 2012, 2013), among others, we propose a brief discussion about DIY, looking to comprehend both some of its significant variations, and also the network of conceptual affinities in which the expression is inserted and acquires meanings.

The discussion shall not advance, however, without us having some level of factuality at hand, a set of empirical occurrences that may come to help, providing a bigger basis (and some additional sauce) to theoretical arrangements. In this fashion, the speculations of conceptual character, the very thematic angle, will be given some circumstantial anchors, defined according to the "quakes" that establish the igniting effect they exert on general argumentations. It is specifically the case of "Hard Time[4]", amateur video conceived and starred by the American artist and independent musician, Daniel Johnston. Being authorized by an essay, we are going to be moving freely around punk and its spinoffs, genres and sub-genres in the horizon of massive popular music. We will be going through them, looking for instances at times annoying, at times suspicious, but always rich and not well dealt with. This way we hope to indicate, even if briefly – through a small list of names –, the field of forces, the game of correlations in which the experience of Johnston will be inserted and taken as a protagonist.

2. In an inspired study on Batman (or, more precisely, about the "Biennial of Gotham"[5]), Eloy Fernández Porta concludes mentioning graphic artist and underground illustrator, Igor Hofbauer's work. For him, Hofbauer's work had a very interesting peculiarity: it is as if it had survived in there, in some way, an artist in an *adolescent state*, taking notes of the songs he likes, inscribing them in the middle of deregulated images he creates; these images, by the way, and their strong colors, their constructivist features[6], would be uncouth but filled with passion, usually embodying not only the names of his favorite bands, but also the profiles of his beloved comic heroes. It seems to be a rather intimate and introspective effort, made for himself (better: for himself above all). It is as if he was trying to preserve a kind of "primitive

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[4] The video can be found in http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zoY2gOix0 s . In July 23th, 2014, it had 26,719 views.

[5] "The Biennial of Gotham" investigates the way through which some contemporary artists (Nicolás Uribe, Carlos Pazos, Öyvind Fahlström, Isabel Samaras, Mark Chamberlain, Terry Richardson, Joyce Pensato, and Bill O'Neill make the list), in their personal creations, borrow from Batman's figure and mythology. The starting point is a scene from the movie Batman, directed by Tim Burton in 1989, in which the Joker, played by Jack Nicholson, invades Gotham City's art museum along with his evil gang, and starts to vandalize that "sacred environment", running over the exhibited works, scratching them out as he wished, knocking them down, in a typical anarcho-pop performance. It is a reflection on the tensions (and also the juxtapositions) between art and comic toons, institutionalized culture, and popular mass culture in current times. It is a reflection on what to do before cultural tradition and about how we should behave when going through the galleries of a museum (even if it is an imaginary museum).

[6] Constructivism was an artistic movement which appeared in pre-revolutionary Russia. Their palette of colors (strident red, black, and white, most of the time), their geometric forms, and the structural qualities they developed in their paintings, banners, and illustrations, became very well-known and later on influenced many designers and pop music groups. "Kraftwerk, German pioneers of electronic music, had wide usage of the constructivist aesthetics with their famous cover for the record The Man-Machine (1978)", highlights Will Gompertz (2013, p. 202). Scottish band, Franz Ferdinand also gave constructivist forms to the covers of their records and to the videos released in the beginning of the 2000s (Gompertz, 2013). [Translation of Gompertz's quotation was made by the authors. The original, in Portuguese: "O Kraftwerk, pioneiro alemão da música eletrônica, fez amplo uso da estética [...] construtivista com a famosa capa do álbum The Man-Machine (1978)"]

joy", derivative of the first and most tender contact with pop products (be them rock, comics – pop culture, in general). Thus an intermediate style is created, says Fernández Porta (2013, p. 101), characterized by "this synthetic and carefully dirty feature, *ingenuistic more than naïve*, halfway between the school notebook and the art zine, that was made popular in the last years by a whole kind of *good bad drawers*.[7]"

Hofbauer could be implying that pop imagery depends very little on any overproduction. Actually it would be about an endeavor of young daydreaming adolescents, and, to some extent, isolated and kept-to-themselves people, to their crises and their mental images. Their practice very naturally seems to belong essentially to them, not to big corporations or professional drawers. It could not be any further from the grown-up world. It could not be more unacquainted to the world of formal and institutionalized markets. Therefore, it is not by chance that the band Shellac is among one of the most frequent appearances in Hofbauer's illustrations. Since the mid-1980s, the guitarist and producer Steve Albini (currently in chief of the afore-mentioned American act) has been working on kinds of soundscapes and musical approaches which are as much as dirty as intentionally careless – *positive sloppiness*, we might call it – that have been providing support and input to the new generations of punk music (from Nirvana, in the beginning of the 1990s, to the band Metz, around 2010 – sticking to two cornerstones of Sub Pop releases[8]).

Dealing with this, at our times, is dealing with the *technical production of spontaneity*, as Fernández Porta says. Surely an artist such as Daniel Johnston – both a musician and an illustrator – can be seen and can be better understood as a typical case of this very generative process. A generative process, for that matter, whose valences – technique and spontaneity, as we have seen – are also strength lines, important common threads for the more extensive reflection on culture and pop music.

3. *The Devil and Daniel Johnston*, the biographical movie directed by Jeff Feuerzeig, in 2005, might be the best calling card, the most viable introduction to the weird and difficult world of the singer born in January of 1961, in Sacramento, California. Awarded at the Sundance Film Festival with Direction Award: Documentary, the movie emphasizes Johnston's mental problems, who was diagnosed with schizophrenia and severe bipolar disorder[9]. What emerges from it, to some extent, is a heroic narrative, about artistic overcoming and redemption. But there is another relevant aspect, recurrent throughout the plot, not dissociable to the previous

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[7] Translated by the authors from the original, in Spanish: "ese trazo sintético y cuidadosamente sucio, ingenuista más que ingenuo, a medio camino entre el cuaderno escolar y el artzine, popularizado, en los últimos años, por toda una estirpe de buenos malos dibujantes".

[8] Small record label held in Seattle, United States. A big portion of bands associated to the grunge scene of the 1990s belonged to Sub Pop's staff. It is possible to say that there is a "Sub Pop sound", it being very characteristic, forged with distorted guitars, and with references to punk and to the English heavy metal of the 1970s. For Simon Reynolds (2010, 2013), DIY ideology had, as one of its main consequences, the creation of an "anti-corporate micro capitalism", not necessarily identified with the left in the political-party spectrum, but disturbed by the sluggishness and lack of imagination of commercial bureaucracy. Sub Pop might have been described – in its initial moment, at least – as one label which assumed this model of catalyzing "productive unit", more agile, more attentive, and more organic.

[9] Given the proportions, all necessary safeguards taken, Johnston could be compared to Arthur Bispo do Rosário (1909[?]-1989), Brazilian visual artist, who also suffered from schizophrenia and produced all of his oeuvre while secluded at Colônia Juliano Moreira, a psychiatric hospital in Rio de Janeiro, in the first half of the 20th century (Silva, 2003). Both demand more accurate comprehension in regards to associations between madness and artistic creation.

sub-text, concerning the representation of a self-built genius (and, by extent, "self-healed") amidst the social adversities and psychic confusion he battles against.

Even though he is depicted as "a genius defeated by his own genius" – as said by Leandro Antunes, in a feature published in *Rolling Stone Brasil* magazine, which was made due to the coming of the singer to Brazil in April, 2013 –, Johnston makes the classic symbol of the American *self-made man* work. In a more complex and less glamorous register, it is quite the truth. The myth is now inverted, translated to an image of physical decay, incorrigible romantic love, and paternal dependence. Well, even in a market society, of ferocious competition, and vigorous pragmatic precepts, success must not be seen as an absolute category, monolithic or one-dimensional. On the contrary, it must be gauged in a more comprehensive calculation, in an *ad hoc* equation, involving risks, available resources, misfortunes, and always incidental pretensions.

The Devil and Daniel Johnston gives us the portrayal of someone who went to hell, faced his personal demons – the title of the movie is not a mere coincidence! – and came back, having fled the way he could, in a ragged mental health; someone whose oeuvre cannot be evaluated coherently without the component of, let us say, being "subjective" or "clinical". I. e.: the kind of do-it-yourself experience that he incarnates occurs both inside and *also outside* of stricter social demands and sociological reasons – some of it being diverse from those ones which ruled the DIY practices of standardized punk, for example (Hebdige, 2004; Reynolds, 2013, p. 49-68). Here, as a last resort (or as in a first resort, as we wish to observe), it is about finding a source of self-esteem, the gear to psychic stability.

The homemade forms of production, the studio as a workshop – the family's house garage as a symbolic premise, *primordial ground* –, the tactics of self-expression doubling over, oscillating between illustration (naïve!?) and music (*art brut*!?), the search for authorship as a search for stability in the world are very sensitive topics, and Johnston's case displays it as few others do. At the same time, the low-budget production[10], personal distribution – the demo tapes passing on from hand to hand, copied singularly ["– Holy patience, Batman!"] –, the nearly empty concerts, in poorly appropriate places, and mouth-to-mouth publicizing were also underlying the life story of that who is the great *beautiful loser*, the dearest *white trash* of American indie and college rock in the decades of 1980 and 1990.

It is not surprising at all that artists such as Beck, and Jad Fair, bands such as Sonic Youth, Nirvana, and Wilco – some were his actual partners, in varied adventures and varied musical projects – have him in the highest regard. After all, Daniel Johnston's sociologically-unmotivated DIY, in spite of his roots and emotional foundations, can still work for an ideological use, it can still be capitalized sub-culturally. Through it there is even another manifestation of the mythic substrate, another inescapable bias – would it be another "dead-end road"? – of aesthetical debate: the figure of the *authentic creator*, with the purity and innocence of a child, the artist connected to the "soul of the world". And what does he do? How does he produce? It is worth following it.

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[10] Due to scarcity of financial resources, Johnston ordered big batches of already-recorded audiotapes which contained sermons of Anglican and Evangelical pastors. Such tapes turned out to be cheaper than blank tapes. In them he recorded his compositions in a direct fashion, playing it all live, with no cuts. That was then the final product, a noisy product, permeated by hissing and very perceivable flaws between songs. Every now and then, at any given interval, excerpts of the religious sermons originally inscribed could be heard.

4. "Precariousness" and "amateurism" are not appropriate words to describe the video that was made for the song "Hard Time", in an imprecise moment between 1980 and 1990[11]. Apparently, in an inattentive glance, they are useful expressions to us and – it is imperative to admit! – hold good indicative power, they grasp with much precision that which is being sighted on screen. There is no denial: we are before an amateur and precarious register. It is almost embarrassing. Just open your eyes and see it. However, there is a driving dynamics over there, there is an "imaginary engagement" – projective delirium (!) – that perhaps constitute the more expected rocker component of any artist that intends to be recognized as such[12]. Here Daniel Johnston puts on a real show. It is at this level that assessments are insufficient and crippling.

Harmony structure and repetitive phrasing of the song are not serious matters. Very little is explained by the song's lyrics (one among many to be dedicated to his eternal inspirational muse, Laurie Allen[13]). But there is a rather suggestive *emotional ambiance*, seldom approached: intimate, spontaneous and self-complacent. All of that is above – in its phenomenological relevance sense, at least – its evident precariousness and amateurism, so easily discernible.

Everything leads us to believe Johnston is at home, possibly at his living room, with his closest friends only, no one but them. What do we see? We see the "artist" being introduced by an impromptu master of ceremonies – it is the band's own drummer, in a double role –, we see an Elvis Presley poster used as a curtain, through which Johnston comes to public, ceremonious and classy; we see musical instruments hanging on the wall – some others on the ground, leaning on furniture; we see diverse objects (pillows, vinyl records, beer bottles), loosed up, left alone to chance in the inside of the modest residence; we see the musicians as laid-back and everyday-like clothed as possible (shorts, sleeveless shirts, flip-flops).

The spectacle begins. Promptly what comes to surface is background, complete and sudden, which turns out to be explicit and gives us a funny feeling of proximity. Actually, everything became background. The living room is the stage. The stage is the living room. Is that a rehearsal? We do not know. It is quite tough and even unnecessary to tell it. Such distinction does not make the slightest sense anymore. After all, the video for "Hard Time" looks like a draft, an unfinished drawing. It is there – in this intimate sketch, made for oneself – that an emotional trigger essentially connected to rock survives, unadulterated and untouched, almost with no translation, leaving it to be synthesized on Daniel Johnston's

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[11] "Hard Time", the song, was recorded in 1986. It came out in an EP in 1991, released by Austrian label, Seminal Twang. The video must have been shot around this time.

[12] In the preface to the book Después del Rock. Psicodelia, postpunk, electronic y otras revoluciones inconclusas (Reynolds, 2010), Pablo Schanton says that two "popemes" guide Simon Reynolds' texts: the impetus to deconstruct the ideological discourse of pop, and the temptation to give in to their bewildering appeals (Schanton in Reynolds, 2010, p. 10). A "popeme", if we well understand it, can be equaled to that which Roland Barthes called photography's noeme, in the book A Câmara Clara (1984): the essential distinctive feature. Without the critic's weapons and detachment, Johnston lies completely subdued to the fatal hedonism of pop music.

[13] "The Devil and Daniel Johnston" would not be such a worthy and elucidative documentary without introducing us to Laurie Allen. And she is indeed there, with all the prominence she deserves. Allen is Johnston's first teenage crush, and by him has never been overcome, and never reciprocated. There is an enormous repertoire of love songs dedicated to her, among which "True love will find you in the end", re-recorded by Beck Hansen, among others. Out of curiosity and as a complement – as initial contribution to a future study on the experience of romantic love conditioned to the experience of pop music -, check on Heatley and Hopkinson, 2011.

automatic gesture, his arm up, setting the strong measures, the rhythmic stresses, in deep, trance-like concentration. It is the self-building of a fan as subject and rock star.

Suspended in a door-sized span, Elvis is the curtain-image through which one must go through.

Figure 1 - Suspended curtain
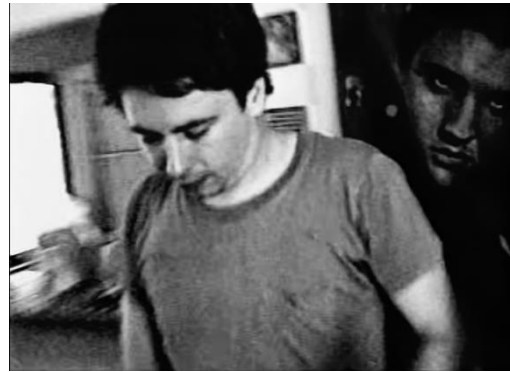
Figure 2 - Johnston entering the scene

Camera movements – travelings, irregular closes, absence of editing – give us the narrower sense of scenic scenario in which we are in. The performance of the band happens even in the puny limits of a living room – at the back, there seems to be a kitchen, a dining table. Johnston attracts our attention, as sole protagonist. He is literally at the center of the room – absolute ruler of our line of sight. Most of the time, the camera follows him. It is of use noticing the way he interprets the song, its highlights being, apart from the just-mentioned emphatic arm gesture, the reverence and liturgical seriousness he conveys. There is no sense of humor involved whatsoever. There is only respect. Deep respect.

The ghost of Elvis Presley has been clearly evoked: it is manifested in the way to hold the microphone, before a single pedestal for the display of lyrics or any other papers; it is manifested on the subtle way to bend his legs, to move his hips and lean on the ground in an attack position – as one who, at any given time, will need impulse or retraction. As someone who is receding in order to pray.

Figure 3 - Arm Gesture

Figure 4 - Receding in order to pray

In a private regime, of very restricted circulation and visibility, characteristic of the time it was registered – MTV and VHS days –, Johnston's performance is rather intimate, proving itself worthy, without any need of exterior rationale or justification to legitimize it *from the outside*, beyond the room – the living room – it occurs. It is nonchalant art. But what is the nature of this work? Can we see it in fact as a *work*? What kind of investment does it demand? What kind of investment does it dismiss? Little and much. It is hard to measure.

5. Labels and catalogs, tags and post-its. It is impossible to approach pop music without falling within the handling of classifying categories. Among them, the category of "music genre" is the most absorbing. Unmistakably it was the one which imposed itself in the course of history. Obviously such rubrics bring us more functionality, give us more practicality to operate (to guide our taste, to filter information) amidst heterogeneous and sloppiness production (Silveira, 2013, p. 07-41). We live in "Tagstonbury[14]", said Eloy Fernández Porta, a pun alluding to famous music festival Glastonbury, held in England. Highly frequently, debating pop music is debating "isms" (that is: genres and sub-genres) which inhabit it. Thereby, not even Johnston's exhibit in his private home can be separate from this recurrent analytical bias. So how do we classify it then?

"Primitivism" is a good word. It may be an alternative. It is a pertinent variable, in a network of similar conceptual variables. If we were to resort to aesthetic categories, we would say we have a naïve artist, that his art is *rough art*, not polished up, no knots, no final arrangements, no consciousness neither prepared concepts. It is pure nature and immaculate spontaneity. It is the ingenuism that Fernández Porta (2013) spoke of. In Tagstonbury, Johnston is the naïf made up into the primitive artist.

Some interesting complications arise then. The first one: Johnston is an *amateur in extremis*, but even so he is not out of the cataloguist game; on the contrary, it is one of his landmarks, it is perfectly antipodal to mainstream artists, overproduced and market-oriented[15]. Differently said: the ideological spectrum (where choices and aesthetic judgments are taken, where genres and their frontiers fossilize, be them more or less fluid) will never be complete without this demarcation. Therefore, Johnston is still an echo, a resonance chamber to what he seems to deny. He points eloquently to the space from which he absents himself.

Second one: among the available labels, *primitive* seems to be the most self-evident, it seems to be the least conceptual of all, it seems to be, weirdly enough, the most *natural*. "It is a tag which presents itself as if it was not a tag: the label that was given by Nature"[16], comments Fernández Porta (in Guimerà, 2013). It is a stealthy *ism*, which is not taken as such and, because of that, serves pretty well to the reaffirmation of old and strong stereotypes

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[14] For the Spanish author, Tagstonbury is "the experiencing of musical material in which the nomination and the capacity to classify sound convert into an in-person and even Dyonisian social experience, which is inseparable from the listening per se" (Fernández Porta as cited in Guimerà, 2013); [Translation made by the authors from the original, in Spanish: "una vivencia del material musical en que la nominación, la capacidad para clasificar el sonido se convierte en una experiencia social, presencial y incluso dionisíaca, que es inseparable de la escucha propiamente dicha."]

[15] The DIY culture does not presents itself only as a resistance culture to mainstream, but also as a system of propositions: it proposes to different genres of pop music – like folk, punk, and garage rock, most of all – how to record, advertise, and organize shows on one's own. At the same time, it models the system of specialized magazines, stimulating the appearance of fanzines. Thus DIY acts as an invariable code, shared by different cultural systems.

[16] Translation made by the authors from the original, in Spanish: "Es un tag que se presenta como sí no fuese un tag: la etiqueta que puso la Naturaleza".

associated to art and artistic creation, such as the *romantic artist*, the *misunderstood genius*, or the *born poet*. It is the idea of *art for art's sake* in one of its returns.

Third complication: is it possible to perfect the art of being naïve? Can I *gain* naïveté? Can I become voluntarily more puerile, throughout the years, getting closer and closer to the romantic, lo-fi spontaneity of Daniel Johnston – as John Frusciante, for instance, does (or tries to do) in his cult solo career? What implications does it have to do in relation to the very nature of this primitivism? After all, the acted primitive, lived as a deliberate choice, a conscious aesthetic option – let us face it! – does not seem to be the best primitive. The good primate is a real unconscious, whose motor is imitation, conditioned reflection, and untamed instinct. He does not opt. Does not wonder. Does not change. He does not know of himself. Therefore there is a considerable difference between choosing for precarious, on one side, and on another, extremely opposite, live it as real embarrassment, without even noticing it. Good precariousness escapes to the *stylistics of precariousness*.

As we can see, Daniel Johnston's demons are not few. There is yet a fourth complicating factor: the historical variable. In a career of more than thirty years, the Californian singer has seen the growth, the popularization, the breakdown, the contingent disappearance, and very likely, the re-functionalized re-apparition of different technological regimes (musical instruments, effect pedals, audio and video devices, sound gear and sound mixers,…), in successive swift generations, one after the other. When it comes to pop music – it is worth remembering –, spontaneity is also a matter of reach and technical intermediation[17].

Nowadays, spread in social networks, shown in flat-screen television sets or on crystal-liquid computer monitors, the images of "Hard Time" sound even more curious, dorky, and attractive. Before them, we feel nostalgic – taken by a "reflexive nostalgia[18]", as Reynolds puts it (2012, p. 30). We miss it all: that time, that haircut, the gauge of that camera – that lost adolescence. That single moment, that single take, now met again on YouTube, became a Monument of Culture (Reynolds, 2012) – perhaps a Monument of Barbarity (Benjamin, 1986).

6. However it may be, the homemade video we examined here, even if picturesque, is a great source of matters to be problematized in the multi-layered debate on profile, there being included the limitations and the power of pop music in our contemporaneity. As from it, or because of it, diverse discussions are opened: 1) of *sociological* character – the policies of

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[17] DIY culture, to a good extent, derives from the invention of two media devices: audiotape and PortaStudio. In mid-1960s, audiotape provided a bigger time of audio storage, allowing also new sound signals to be recorded on previous inscriptions. Quickly consumers started to pass their discs over to tapes, giving an exponential dimension to recorded music. Punk movement emerges at this process' peak, with the proposal of musicians recording their songs on their own. Later, in 1979, PortaStudio is made popular, a kind of portable audio recording studio which brought attached a 4-channel sound mixer, one or two audiotape decks, and controls for in-and-out-of-signal buttons, volume control, along with bass, mid, and treble. Adding four simple microphones, this device would give amateur musicians the possibility to record a complete rock band, live, controlling and equalizing each instrument's volume. It was a great equipment for the production of demonstration tapes which would serve to try and convince big record companies. Thus bands began producing their home tapes, with no need to worry about the high cost of studio hours, neither about phonographic industries' impositions. However, it consisted of much lower audio quality, caused by the use of tawdry, low-priced, poorly adjusted, out of tune, or even scrapped equipment.

[18] Reynolds (2012, p.30) resorts to Russian theorist, Svetlana Boym to establish a distinction between "restoring nostalgia" and "reflexive nostalgia". The former stands on folklore and romantic nationalism to feed collective ego, alluding to past glories. The latter is of personal tone, intimate, refraining from entering the political arena, complying in a melancholic acceptance that the past cannot be retrieved.

identification through music genres, the policies of cultural resistance, the marginal existence to the phonographic market; 2) of *aesthetic* character – such as the intrinsic estimation of performance, the lo-fi and unpretentious stylistic, the amateurism as the last haven of authenticity in rock; 3) of *communicational* character – about the systems of registration and the media circuits necessary to autonomous production; 4) of *historic* character – be it as the reinvigoration of a finished history, here revisited (in a retromania [Reynolds, 2012]), in a recollection, as one who looks at an old photo album, be it as the register of a utopian search, a *trans-historic* search, the rescue of a primordial drive, *the real thing*, which occurs out of time, and will not change nor will be reached by it.

Each one of these threads of discussion could be even more explored, sub-divided, and filled with many other topics, many other sub-items. Each one of them would end up meeting consistent correspondences and articulations with the others. They would be unfolding one into the others. And we have not even mentioned – in order not to insist in an even more delicate debate – the more *psychiatric*-related functions and biases of excessive drive, and the experience of self-publication of Daniel Johnston.

It is indeed incredible that such a simple and carefree video can be covered up with significant relevance and a plethora of meanings nowadays, which it might be so representative of our age, and brings up current questions. What we did here was no more than a first scrutiny, a first try of approximation. An essay, only that.

In any case, we hope we have evinced that the cultures of Do it yourself, of lo-fi, of sentimental protocols – the resistance through small rituals, such as friends in their revelry in a mess of a garage, as "Hard Time" is, in a nutshell – always find ways to perpetuate, securing the space they need, the symbolic power they produce before the majority pop, surviving and oozing through the cracks of media systems and hegemonic culture (with their dictates, their prerogatives, their expectations, and their ways of *doing well*). May Daniel Johnston and his demons be with us for a long time.

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1.5. Empowerment through design-doing experiences: workshops on nurturing creative makers for sustainability

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Abrstract

Transition towards sustainability entails dramatic changes in design and production. Accordingly, The term "prosumption" coined by Alvin Toffler (1984) refers to a shift in consuming society in which people become creators of their own products. As Anderson (2012) similarly argues that the new industrial revolution concerns "creating creative makers", empowering people through design learning process is of a paramount importance. This paper is a preliminary attempt to examine how people without design background can be empowered through design-doing experiences to create products. To serve this purpose, we conducted two design-doing workshops in Brazil and Finland in which designers played the role of facilitators throughout the learning, designing and making process. The results from both workshops indicate that the participants felt a remarkable sense of empowerment to design and make their own products, and achieved a new perspective on daily life.

Keywords: Design-doing experience, Empowerment, Design learning process, Design for sustainability

Sustainability has received widespread attention over the last two decades and has affected various aspects of human life such as design and consumption. Consequently, design is undergoing a revolution as a result of the recent concerns about sustainability. The transition of design towards sustainability suggests that within the next few years, design is destined to become inevitably sustainable (Shedroff, 2009). Recent developments in design for sustainability have led to a variety of new approaches to re-think the traditional processes of design and consumption. For instance, Walker (2006) underlines the importance of ingenuity and restraint by stressing the necessity of "finding new solutions that requires less". He concludes that the concepts of extemporized design as well as self-made products are directly connected sustainability. Walker's view is in line with the well-known Maslow's pyramid in which self-sufficiency is listed as one of the main needs of human being. Consequently, human tends to shift his role from purely passive consumer to an active producer in order to satisfy his own needs (Atkinson, 2006). Since 1980, as a result of increasing concerns about sustainability, the position of people has been changed from merely customers to co-creators in the design process (Fuad-Luke, 2009). The shift from consumers to creators is also reflected in the term "prosumption" stressed by Toffler (1984), indicating an approach to sustainability in which consumers create (produce) for their own consumption. Arguably, prosumption

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includes not only the process of production and consumption, but also remarkably meaningful layers such as value creation. For this reason, prosumption can be described as an "activity" initiated by the consumer in order to create values (Xie, Bagozzi and Troye, 2008).

DfS: DIY for sustainability

Prosumption activities include a wide range of approaches to self-sufficiency such as "Do It Yourself: DIY". DIY is recognized as being a type of prosumption (Wolf and McQuitty, 2011) in which prosumers creatively make products for their own needs and desires (Buechley,Rosner, Paulos and Williams, 2009). DIY is generating considerable interest in the field of consumer behavior studies as well as design researches. However, there is still a need for further studies in order to develop the concept theoretically and practically. An important area in DIY studies includes the relationship between DIY activities and sustainability and "how can DIY lead to the creation of sustainable societies?". This relationship can be studied from various perspectives. For example, DIY has been identified as being a process of value creation (Wolf and McQuitty, 2011). A product that is made through a DIY process seems to be more meaningful and valuable for the producer due to the use of his own creativity. For this reason, the producer tends to retain the self-made product. Transition towards sustainability entails new visions of value (Fuad-Luke, 2009). Thus, DIY activities as a source of value creation can help individuals as well as communities to reach sustainability (Walker, 2006). In addition to the concept of value creation, DIY activities are consistent with sustainability due to the use of existing resources and repurposing materials. Given that, this paper focuses on how to empower non-designers to participate in DIY activities through design-doing learning process and consequently have a role in creating a sustainable society.

From the design point of view, the focal point of DIY activities is creativity. As previously noted, DIY activities are consistent with value creation and making use of existing resources, both entails creativity as a vital factor. Walker (2006) illustrates that DIY products are more valuable for us due to the use of our own creativity in the making process. He also argues that limited resources and scarcity can provoke creativity. Following that, Walker draws our attention to the role of design in sustainability and underlines the necessity of creativity and concludes that traditional approaches to creativity cannot result in design for sustainability. Thereafter, he suggests that design is a process of creativity by "thinking and doing". Therefore, learning design through theory seems to be insufficient and practice should be embedded in design learning process (Aylward, 1973). Conclusively, efficient learning can be achieved through practice (Wenger, 1999). This reflects the old adage: "I hear and I forget, I see and I remember, I do and I understand".

Recent movements in design suggest a new industrial revolution in which everyone is considered to be a designer (Anderson, 2012). For this reason, people should learn to think as a designer (Lupton, 2006). This entails the development of design education and approaches to learning (Harahan, 1978; Fleming, 2013). To serve this purpose, people should be involved in the learning process through creative activities by Designing and Doing (Harahan, 1978; Kilicaslan and Ziyrek, 2012). Anderson (2012) demonstrates that the current situation of the world demands a new design culture by "creating creative makers". He describes the core criterion of the new industrial revolution as the age of "making of makers" that can be achieved through practical design education. The author highlights the need to place "making things" as a subject in the school programs to create designers for the new era.

While recent approaches to design tend to engage people in different phase of the design process, the concept of new industrial revolution encourages people to become "designers". As noted, the changing position of consumers to the maker of their own products requires a process of learning through design-doing practices. We believe that the concept of "creating creative makers" demands a learning process that empowers people to design and make products. The aim of our work is to empower non-designers to achieve a design-doing experience within the framework of DIY activities. To serve this purpose, we initiated a research by conducting two design-doing workshops, in which the participants were able to experience the sense of empowerment through a learning-making process. The present paper describes the design-doing practice as well as the learning approach provided through DIY workshops.

DIY to design-doing

DIY (Do-It-Yourself) activity is identified as a process of using, modifying and repurposing available resources to creatively produce an object (Buechley,Rosner, Paulos and Williams, 2009; Wolf and McQuitty, 2011). Regarding the relation between DIY activities and Sustainability, Shultz (2011) demonstrates that DIY is remarkably an eco-friendly approach to consumption due to the use of recycled and reused resources. In addition, DIY activities have been proved to be value-creation processes since they create a personal attachment between people and their own products (Hoftijzer, 2011). Consequently, people tend to care more about their own creatures, which in turn leads to more durability of the product (Verbeek, 2000).

In the field of DIY studies, the term "community" is attracting considerable attention. Wenger (1999) argues that one of the initiatives of community creation includes collecting people to tackle a problem or to create. Therefore, connection with the community of creators is known as the major benefit of DIY activities (Frauenfelder, 2011). Tapper, Zucker and Levine (2011) underline the role of community in the process of learning. They argue that learning can be achieved in the framework of social participation. Similarly, DIY is described as a learning process, which provides the participant with opportunity to share ideas with other members of the community (Wolf and McQuitty, 2011). Participating in community-based activities can also encourage people to create new experiences by the support from the community (Scott, Bakker and Quist, 2012). Frauenfelder (2011) illustrates further reasons for the empowerment through DIY activities. He reaches the conclusion that participation in DIY leads to more comprehensive understanding of the environment and consequently the sense of control over that.

Fuad-Luke (2009) stresses the importance of participation in design activities in the transition towards sustainability. We believe that the concept of participation in design includes not only the design activities, but also the learning process of design. According to Kimbell (1982) design learning process entails active engagement of participants, which results in the development of their understanding of the environment. Thus, he proposes that design learning requires a structured practical framework.

In the present research, we focus on a design learning process that aims at design for sustainability. In recent years there has been growing interest in the development of learning processes towards sustainability, suggesting that design learning should remarkably emphasize eco-design and approaches to design for sustainability (McCannon, 2010; Griffiths and O'Rafferty, 2010).

The main question we try to address in the present study is how to construct a design learning process, which can serve the desired purposes. Knott (2013) asserts that people must learn their own ways of designing and doing. This is in complete agreement with Wenger's (1999) statement that design learning should focus on providing new perspectives rather than offering a "recipe". Accordingly, we believe that the design learning process entails facilitation, as Wenger emphasizes facilitation in design learning process. Through facilitation of learning process, participants will be empowered to experience new possibilities and develop their creativity (Aylward, 1973).

Practice-based learning is recognized as being a markedly effective approach in design education. It encourages students to become involved in thinking and doing creatively (McCannon, 2010). Additionally, hands-on experiences are considered as reliable sources to gain knowledge due to the practical nature of experience (Shultz, 2011). However, studies on the efficacy of design-doing experiences in the context of design education seem to be insufficient (McCannon, 2010).

Design-doing experiences empower the participants to realize their capabilities and fulfill three goals within the process: (1) to design, (2) to make, and (3) to evaluate the work (Wolf and McQuitty, 2011). In order to validate the concept of "empowerment by design-doing experience", we conducted the following workshops. Regarding materials and tools, the project was based on using the existing random materials. This was in line with Walker's (2006) argument, emphasizing the effectiveness of making use of existing resources in design. He points out the influence of "scarcity" on "creativity" and concludes that the lack of resources results in more innovative outcomes since people try to "create something useful from very little".

Methodology: designing the framework of workshops

VOQ project (see: www.viraroque.blospot.com) was a practical research within the framework of DIY activities in order to empower non-designers to recognize their design abilities by thinking creatively and eventually making a product. The research project aimed to validate the fact that people can have a considerable influence on their surroundings and consequently on the transition towards sustainability.

The VOQ project sought to address how design-doing practices leads to the development of learning and consequently encouragement of people to think, design and create. We believe that the design-doing practices provided in VOQ project enable the participants to replicate the experience by themselves due to the achieved empowerment.

This section describes the methodology employed in our research project, that is divided into two subsections. Firstly, we give an overview of the theoretical foundations of our methodology and define how the learning process in VOQ project was based on the previous methodologies. Finally, the two design-doing workshops will be presented respectively, and their differences in terms of the process applied in each experience will be explained.

Basis of the design-doing methodology

The methodology in VOQ design-doing experiences is initially based on two learning processes: (1) the "Triangular methodology for art education" presented by Barbosa (1991), and (2) the "Steps of the creative process" proposed by Von Oech (1987).

The triangular methodology (Figure.1) explains the process of art education in three phases. The first phase includes the learning of the art history that initiates an understanding of the connection between arts and everyday life. The second phase consists of the practice of art critique. This practice enables students to understand and evaluate art works. In other words, the practice of art critique empowers students to provide opinions about works of art. The final phase is called "making art", which aims at engaging students in the practice creating an artwork. This creation is assuredly based on the knowledge and sense of evaluation gained through the previous phases (Barbosa, 1991).
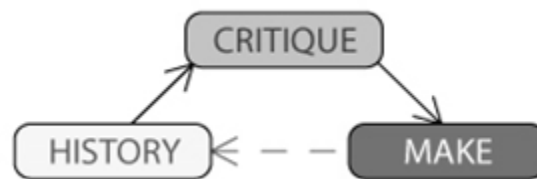
Figure 1 - Triangular methodology by Barbosa (1991)

In addition to the triangular methodology, we used the process of creativity proposed by Oech (1987). He illustrates that the creativity process consists of four steps (Figure ure.2): the explorer, the artist, the judge and the warrior. Each character represents a stage of creativity process. Explorer mirrors the process of collecting necessary information related to a specific topic. Artist represents the experimentation phase of the process in which the previously collected materials is used freely to create a number of possible solutions for the topic. The third character, judge, symbolizes the process of evaluation and critique in order to choose the most appropriate solution among the proposed ones in the previous phase. Finally, the warrior stands for the stage of applying the selected solution in a broader context.

Figure 2 - Creative process by Oech (1987)

Combining the triangular model and the creativity process, we developed the design-doing methodology in VOQ workshops. Figure.3 illustrates the four stages of learning process in VOQ project. Here we provide a brief explanation of each stage. However, due to the practical nature of the project, more comprehensive understanding can be achieved through examining how the methodology works in practice as applied in VOQ workshops.
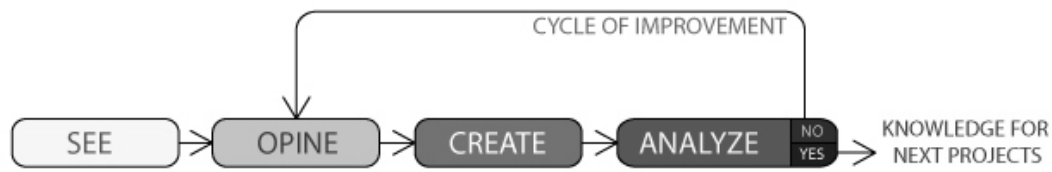
Figure 3 - VOQ design-doing methodology

The VOQ design-doing methodology demonstrates the interplay of thinking and doing and experiencing throughout the four stages, within a problem-solving framework. To inform this framework in proper way, the methodology supports on local issues. Therefore treating topics which are common to the participants.

The first stage, namely "see", consists of understanding the status quo of a proposed topic. The second phase, "opine", comprises critical analysis of information gained in the previous phase. This is where the participant filters information from the previous stage and develops a series of guidelines. The guidelines are prerequisites for the development of the design-doing experience in the next phases. The third stage, called "create", embraces practical experimentations as well as exploration through experiences. "Analyze" is the fourth stage, which aims at the evaluation of the practical work within the framework of the guidelines created in the second stage. At the end of this stage, according to the result of the analysis, the participants can enter the "cycle of improvement". This cycle consist of returning to previous stages in order to perfect the project until it matches the prerequisites.

We found that our methodology is practically in line with a variation of models proposed by other scholars. For instance, Aylward, (1973) and Kimbell (1982) emphasize the skills one should learn to accomplish a design task as: (1) enquiry/exploration skills, (2) communication skills, (3) manipulative/constructional skills, and, (3) evaluative/discriminatory skills. Similarly, Scott, Bakker and Quist (2012) stress the importance of doing and thinking articulation in practice-oriented design. Finally, Kimbell (1982) and Baynes (1969) point out the importance of facilitation in design learning process and argue that design-doing practices should be facilitated by designers.

Design-doing experiences

Workshop 1

Topics: Furniture and Objects
Date: September, 2009
Duration: 4 hrs/workshop
Organizer: Design Possível NGO and Projeto Arrastão NGO
Project name: Design de Perifa (see: www.designdeperifa.blogspot.com)
São Paulo, Brazil

The first sets of workshops consisted of four separate design-doing modules in terms of the theme: (1) to organize (2) to light (3) to sit, and (4) to support. Each workshop included 8 to 17 participants. Participants' age ranged from 14 to 17, studying Art and Environment complementary education programs, at the Arrastão NGO. The workshop was planned as a part their study course, thus no pre-registration was required. None of the participants had

previous knowledge or experience in design. Therefore, the workshops were facilitated by two industrial designers. Despite the difference of workshops' themes, the structures were similar (Figure. 4), varying only in the content. Each topic posed a problem to be solved during the given time (four hours). The participants were asked to tackle the problem using simple hand-tools (such as hand saw, hammer, drilling machine and screwdrivers) as well as scrap materials (such as wood pieces and broken objects, collected from surroundings).
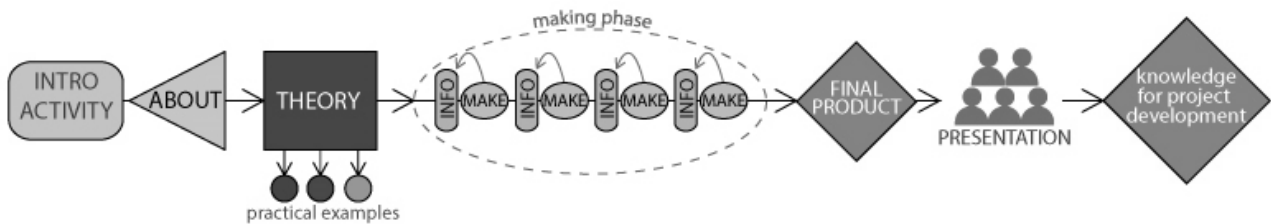
Figure 4 - Process of Workshop1

Figure.4 shows the process of the workshop. The introduction phase consisted of experiencing the actual problem (the main topic of the workshop). For example, to experience the need for "supportive objects", we collected the participants in an empty room in which some images were installed in the middle of the space. Handing papers and pens, we asked the participants to draw one of the images in five minutes while they were not allowed to use walls or floors as support. The aim of the introductory task was to lead the participants to work as a group in order to fulfill the task (Figure.5).

Figure 5 - Group performing the introduction task

Following that, we started a reflective conversation about their experiences. Expectedly, students pointed out the lack of supportive objects such as table that could ease the task. As the conclusion, we presented the main theme of the workshop: "to support" and asked them to make a table to solve the existing problem. To prepare the students for the making phase,

we designed the "theory" phase, which consisted of visual and verbal presentations. Presentations included examples of the topic (in this case, table). We divided the examples into three categories: (1) designers' objects (products designed by famous designers) (2) designed objects with sustainability features (in terms of materials and process of production), and (3) up-cycle vernacular design objects (DIY products). Students were asked to make notes, throughout the presentation, expressing their opinions about the images and explaining why they liked or disliked them. Eventually, each of the participants prepared a list of criteria to refer during the project (Figure 6).

Figure 6 - Presentation phase

In the making phase, participants were divided into groups and each group provided with materials and tools (Figure 7-9). Afterwards, facilitators asked the groups to explore available materials and experiment possible solutions. This stage consisted of the interplay between experimentation and reflective thinking. Throughout the making stage, facilitators were assisting the progress of the groups. In addition to helping the participants to use the tools, facilitators were playing the role of creativity trigger. For example, they were trying to encourage students to think and experience other possible solutions by asking "why not?" or "How many other ways can it be done?", as well as referring them to previous phases.

Figure 7, 8, 9 - The making phase

Simultaneously, each group was provided with media documentation devices such as camera and computer. The computer was connected to twitter and blogger, enabling the groups to document, publish and receive immediate feedback on the development of the project (Figure 10).

Figure 10 - Students documenting their progress

Once the group was satisfied with the result, they focused aesthetical factors such as painting, sanding, coating and drawing on the final object. Subsequently, each group presented their product to the other groups. During the presentations they explained three topics: (1) how they built the product, (2) how they worked to meet their prerequisites, and (3) what changes they would make to improve the product.

Finally, the products (total of 11) were transferred to the DDP exhibition at Arrastão NGO's premises in November 2009, for public visit (Figure 11-20).

Figure 11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20 - Final products of Workshop 1

Workshop 2

Topic: Trash and Creativity
Date: March, 2013
Duration: 2 hours
Organizer: Metropolia University of Applied Science, Environmental Engineering program
Course name: Environmental Arts
Vantaa, Finland

The second workshop was a part of Environmental Arts course in Environmental Engineering program (Bachelor Degree). The aim of the module was to engage students in a design and creativity process, and familiarize them with design for sustainability. A total of 15

students (17 to 20 years old) participated the workshop. They were divided into three groups, with no background in design. The Environmental Arts course aimed at the production of arts works by using trash, generated in the campus during a semester. The workshop consisted of two hours teaching and experiencing, facilitated by one industrial designer. The major difference between this workshop and the former one included the making phase, as for the latter took place after the workshop. For this reason, we re-designed the module (Figure.????), in which students were given two months to create their products.
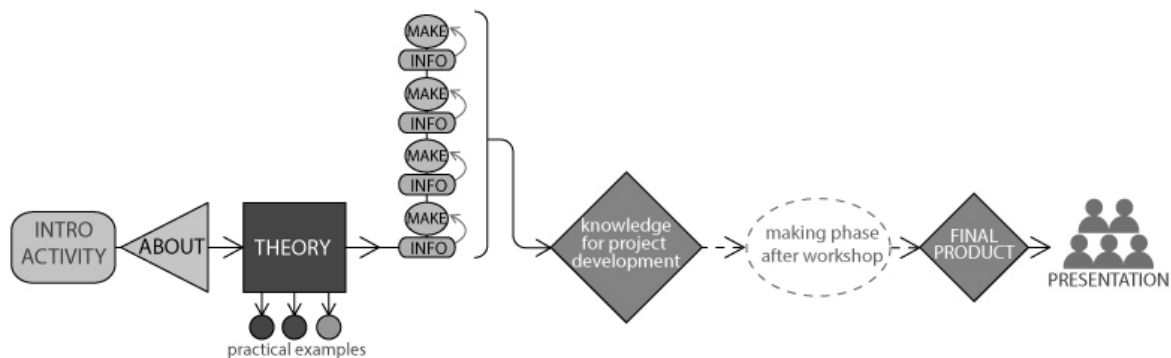
Figure 21 - Process of Workshop2

The introduction phase started with an activity to create an informal atmosphere and prepare the participants for creative thinking. For example, students had to throw an object (Angry bird doll) as "speaker stone" to each other, meaning that the one who receives the object should introduce himself (including name, one thing that he liked and did not like). Afterwards, we described the structure of the workshops that started with theoretical introduction to sustainability, up-cycling and recycling, trash re-use and DIY. Furthermore, we presented examples of products made from up-cycling process or DIY in the VOQ project.

As previously mentioned, the making phase could not take place during the workshop time. Therefore, we planned some exercise based on Oech's (1987) model to prepare the participants for creative activities. The first exercise, called "circle drawing", focused on the "explorer" perspective. We provided students with pen and paper and asked them to do the following tasks respectively: (1) draw a circle, (2) put a dot inside the circle, and (3) draw a line from one side to another side of the circle. After, the participants were asked to compare their drawings with other ones. Expectedly, they realized that the drawings were remarkably similar. Consequently, we explained the importance of exploring in creativity by pointing out alternative ways of doing the task.

The next exercise, sought to address the "explorer" as well as "the artist" according to Oech's model. We handed a paper to the participants, on which 12 empty rectangles were printed and asked the students to transform each of the rectangles into a new image (Figure 22). In other words, our main focus was to improve the explorer (examine what can be done) and the artist (transforming into a new shape).

Figure 22 - The "explorer" phase exercise

In the following exercise, we focused on three aspects of the creativity process: the explorer, the artist and the judge. We asked the participants to stand in a circle, hold each other's hands and remember who the neighbors were. Then they were asked to release their hands and freely walk around the classroom until they hear the "freeze" sound. At this stage, they were asked to find their neighbors and try to catch their hands again without making a circle. As a result, the participant created a sizeable knot. Thereafter, students were asked to re-create the initial circle, holding each other's hands. The purpose of this exercise was to enable the students to experience the "cycle of improvement" in the VOQ methodology. Consequently, the participants could experience the explorer (understand the situation), the artist (create the knot), and the judge (compare it with the initial circle) (Figure 23-25).

Figure 23, 24, 25 - Students performing the circle exercise

In addition to the workshop, the learning process was supported by complementary activities based on the VOQ methodology: (1) see: they visited art museums and investigated the waste issue in the campus, (2) opine: students evaluated the results of the previous stage, (3) create: students had the opportunity to experience the materials during the course, and (4) analyze and finalization: they evaluated and prepared the product for the final presentation.

Figure 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34,35 - Final products of Workshop 2

Workshops' results

The outcomes of design-doing workshops derived from the participants' feedback as well as the final presentations of projects. Feedback from Workshop 1 was collected through interviews with participants by a TV program called Usina de Valor (HSM management TV) in Brazil. In Workshop 2, feedback was taken by Metroplia University as a written form. Each team received a feedback form in which the participants shared their feelings and opinions about the following aspects of the workshop:
- Theoretical part
- Practical part
- Teamwork

- Cognitive outcomes
- Emotional Influence

Analysis of workshop 1

The final production of groups underlines the importance of community in design-doing learning process. Our observation from team works as well as feedbacks indicated that Groups with strong connection and communication experienced a more joyful activity and consequently more successful outcome. The presence of media also helped the groups' performance considerably. A team member who was not completely involved with the making phase, took the responsibility for the project documentation. Therefore, we were able to see the workshop through the lens of participants.

Interestingly, students showed significant emotional attachment to their productions, as they asked to take the objects home. However, they were not allowed to take the product because of the exhibition. Nevertheless, the participants were impressively taking care of their own creatures before and during the exhibition.

Stressing the role of empowerment by design-doing experiences, the last workshop (to support) included some participants who participated in the first workshop (to organize). These participants showed a better control over the process and were often leading their new groups through the stages of the workshop. Obviously, these groups showed a higher performance and accomplished the projects considerably faster. As a result, they had enough time to focus on aesthetical aspects of the product such as painting and finishing.

Figure 36, 37 - Finalizing the products

Analysis of workshop 2

In the final presentation, students presented their approach to the design-doing practice as well their achievements. They also presented their trial and errors and consequently focused on how they overcame the barriers. This indicated the importance of "doing" experiences in the learning process, which leads to empowerment. While two groups had a specific goal at the beginning of the workshop, the third followed an open approach to the process. The themes were as follow:

Group 1: Create a piece of art - increasing the awareness to preserve coral reefs

Group 2: Create a graphical piece - raising consciousness of the other students about the waste generated in the campus

Group 3: Create useful objects – using the waste in the campus

The first two groups were straightforward on reaching the goal. They went through the methodology with their strict aim in mind. Therefore, the outcome was not unexpected and the goal was fully achieved. On the other hand, the third group chose an open approach and based their work on experimenting materials in order to create any kind of useful objects. This group had a more diverse result. Their objects ranged from baskets to bags and art pieces (Figure 25 to 34).

Comparing the final products of each group, we did not identify any significant difference in terms of being more creative. All groups reported that they experienced extreme fun during the projects and interested in doing similar practices in their daily life.

Learning process outcomes – feedback on experiences

Participants' feedback after the workshops reinforced the validity of design-doing methodology in three categories:

1 – New perspective

According to feedback, most those participated in design-doing workshops commented that the experience created a new perspective to their daily life. For example, a participant from Workshop 1 strongly believed that the experience shifted her vision in life, "It is another way to see things. Completely different from how I used to see. It changed my way of life", she said. Similarly, a group from Workshop 2 concluded that "The reality of things depends on how you look at it, a complex thing may prove to be simple, when you change your point of view".

2 – Empowerment

The majority of respondents reported a sense of empowerment after the design-doing experiences. For instance, a student from Workshop 1 commented, "so, (we did) things that I could not even imagine that I had the power to do". One of the groups in workshop 2 stated, "First we did not know much about the topic and how to do, but the process was really understandable and inspiring".

3 – Practical experience

Interestingly, nearly all of the participants emphasized the importance of practical experiences to deal with everyday problems. For example, a student from Workshop 1 described the experience as: "It was like, like a shock! We didn't know… then you see that thing lying down on the floor… and thought it is useless. And then after a short time, this same thing, you take and transform in something different", and another participant from Workshop 2 stated that "It is extremely useful to see how your project relates to real life".

Conclusion

This paper has underlined the importance of design-doing practices as examples of DIY activities in the process of design learning. It has also portrayed the process of empowering the participants to experience hands-on activities. In addition, the study indicates the fundamental role of designers as facilitators in leading the learning process into desired outcomes. Furthermore, we believe that the strength of our work lies in the methodology

designed according to the framework of each workshop. Referring to the participants' feedback, results have been noticeably promising, thus we think that our method could be applied to similar design-doing practices with minor modifications.

Our work has led us to the conclusion that design-doing experiences result in creating the sense of empowerment despite the differences of learning process. According to the students' feedback, the sense of empowerment as well as achieving new perspective indicate the long-term effect of design-doing experiences on their daily life, which can eventually lead to a more sustainable way of living. This supports Anderson's (2012) idea about the new industrial revolution as "creating creative makers", in which people are encouraged to design and make their own products.

We hope that our work will be helpful for future studies on the transition towards sustainability on a wider level. Thus, to further our research about empowering people to choose sustainable life ways, we are currently investigating alternative ways of living in particular contexts such as Helsinki, Finland. The prospect of being able to empower general public to believe in their roles in sustainability, serves as a continuous incentive for future works.

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PART 2 | Porto calling: meanings, dynamics, artifacts and identities in today's punk scenes

2.1. *Punk comix*: a journey through the "flirting" of comics and punk in Portugal

Marcos Farrajota[1]

Abstract

The communication is focused on the way punk is depicted in the Portuguese comics and what the Portuguese comics tell us about punk in Portugal. It is an outcome of the work I have made with KISMIF's project both as activist of independent publishing and a worker in the Lisbon Bedeteca. The interest in this project is due to the fact that most of my work as author and publisher has been influenced by the aesthetics and political logics of punk or the underground - not considering myself punk because my crest only lasted a few weeks and if I've slept in an occupied house it wasn't on purpose - maybe the underground culture in general is more significant to me than punk, whose canons and dogmatism do not appeal to me.

Keywords: punk, Portuguese comics, underground culture

Questions and statements

This paper seeks to analyse the way in which Punk has been treated and portrayed in portuguese comic books, and what these may have to tell about Punk[2]. It is grounded on a basis of a personal testimony, empiric writing and an investigation on the public and personal records on the matter (especially those of the "Bedeteca" in Lisbon).

This article serves as a reference to those who wish to approach Punk, urban cultures, music, DIY culture, graphical and editorial arts from a comic book perspective. Comics (from the french *bande dessinée*) is subject to social and institutional recognition, related to as a mass produced object, and aimed at an infant-juvenile target age group. It is seen as "freak art", for using simultaneously texto and image, which usually annoys the well behaved and stationary things which could be placed on a literary or visual category. It is precisely this hybrid

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[1] Comics Library of Lisbon/ BLX, Municipality of Lisbon, Chili Com Carne Association, MMMNNNRRRG label, KISMIF Project, Portugal.

[2] It the the "Keep it simple, make it fast! Prolegomenons and punk scenes, a way into Portuguese contemporaneity (1977-2012)" (PTDC/CS-SOC/118830/2010) shortened to KISMIF. It is under scientific coordination of Paula Guerra. Besides the author of this text, other members of the project include: Ana Oliveira, Ana Raposo, Andy Bennett, Augusto Santos Silva, Carles Feixa, Hugo Ferro, João Queirós, Luís Fernandes, Manuel Loff, Paula Abreu, Pedro Quintela, Rui Telmo Gomes and Tânia Moreira. It is a project financed by the Sciente and Technology Foundation and FEDER (COMPETE operational program), developed in the Sociology Institute of the University of Porto (IS-UP), in partnership with the Centre for Cultural Research (GCCR) of the University of Griffith e a Universitat de Lleida (UdL). Other participant institutions include: Faculty of Economics of the University of Porto (FEP), Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Porto (FPCEUP), Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC), Centre of Social Studies of the University of Coimbra (CES) and Municipal Libraries of Lisbon (BLX).

state in which it lives that makes it interesting to those who need images or texts in an investigation on culture – such as that of KISMIF on punk.

Despite its bold and original begginnins, Portuguese comics has a lack of generalized production forms, due to the little funding given by publishers both to commercial and author books. Worse even is to note how few works tell us about Portugal and its people, even when masked as fictions and self-fictions. One could blame Fascism or even the peripheral geography of the country for the lack of content; but after the 25th of April, and until today, very few works have taken the form of "reports", "journalism", "chronicle", "journal" or "autobiography".

Furthermore, there is little observable regularity in the production of each author for a continous analysis of evoltuion on a specific theme to take place. The works and authors seem to skip through times – some authors make two comics albums separated by 17 years – and there seems to be incipient dialog between author and work. To have a more complete framework to think "Punk comics" it is necessary to access other sources, be them illustration or the independente publication world.

Given these general limitations it is to access "all" of the productions surrounding portuguese Punk comic books. Luckily, through the archives of the Bedeteca of Lisbon, it is possible to access almost all editions (even the more underground ones) to work on this theme – or any other for that matter.

Despite the Portuguese productive "misery", one can find several curious and valid works to study punk in Portugal.

Questions were raised as to who should investigate, study and answer on the importance of the construction of comic books in Punk culture. From the beginning one can find New Tork magazine *Punk Magazine* (1976/79) of John Holmstrom which is closer to an underground comic book than a muci magazine. In Lisbon we have the case of the "Mundo da Banda Desenhada" (later called Op) store, which, between 1977 and 1987 was a common meeting place of lisbon's punks and bohemians. The case pointed out by Paula Guerra, Pedro Quintela and Júlio Dolbeth in catalog *God Save the Portuguese Fanzines* (2014) about the importance of the comics found on the first Porto punk fanzine, *Cadáver Esquisito* (1986).

Are there works which approach punk in Portugal?

Yes there are and in several ways. The first comic book to depict punk characters did it in 1983 with a female character – something to be taken in consideration in such an androcentered setting as comic books and punk. *Sabina* and *Sangue Violeta* are the characters/comics which come to us through the hands of Fernando Relvas in the *Se7e* weekly publication. After that, punks slowly fade out as other subcultures are born and raised in the last decades of the 20th century, serving as "urban furniture". They are brought back in the beginning of this milennia with the arrival of the Autobriography of Portuguese comics. In this they are treated as more than stereotypes, and seen, criticized, questioned and asked to testify real events and facts.

There is a greater proliferation of short stories, since they took their medium to be "precarious" publications (such as fanzines), or as ephemeral "gags" in newspaper pages. This is the case of the work of Nuno Saraiva. For the most cases, the role of punk is always secondary to the comics, but in longer works it seems to take a greater protagonism, such as the work of Relvas, *88* by Nunsky and *Punk Redux* by João Mascarenhas. It is however in these

same shorter comics that the most interesting and documental content can be found – authors such as Teresa Câmara Pestana, Marcos Farrajota, José Smith Vargas.

Figure 1 - Sangue Violeta, Fernando Relvas, 2004

The first comics with Punks arrive in the newspapers – Relvas in *Se7e* and Diniz Conefrey in *Blitz* – but its media presence fades out as it loses impact as an urban culture during the

90s. Comic books with punks come officially back with the reprint in book form, from 1996 onwards, catching the Portuguese comics boom of the time. In a savage calculation, nonetheless, most Punk comics arrive in small scale editions such as fanzines and self-published books by Rigo, T.C. Pestana, Associação Chili Com Carne, comics fanzines (*Ritmo*, *Epitáfio*, *Nuxcuro*, *Hips!*, *Mesinha de Cabeceira*, *KBD* e *Azul BD3*), punk fanzines (*Cadáver Esquisito*, *Morte à Censura* e *LBN Punx Zine*) and also punk comics fanzines: *Over-12*, *Os Positivos* e *Ezequiel*.

What documentation do those works present on the reality of punk?

Accordingly to the worries of the KISMIf project, there was an attempt to locate topics which can help investigators of further studies proceed in their approaches: the bohemian portrait of environments connected to the urban cultures of Portugal; the identification of punks connected to music, bands and concerts; aesthetic and behavioural codifications; the sociabilities with other urban tribes, especially the neo-nazi skinhead culture; sexual behaviours, drug use, okupa movements and finally aging in punk.

In what concerns <u>bohemia</u>, Portuguese comics has several works which present realistic cases of the places most frequented and the respective "fauna". It pertains mostly to the capital of the 80s and 90s, in the works of Relvas, Ana Cortesão (whose untitled 1993 work, later reprinted in the álbum "*My life is a sewer*" is of the utmost importance to understand cosmopolitanism and gentrification of the late 80s Lisbon), the collective álbum *Noites de Vidro* (CML, 1991), about the Lisbon nightlife sites, and the three comic books of the (anti-heroic) *Ruivo* by Diniz Conefrey in *Blitz*. As for the <u>representation of punk musicians</u>, one can conclude that João Ribas (1965-2014) is the archetypical super-punk. He is the most portrayed musician, by several different generations: Relvas in *Sangue Violeta* (in *Se7e*) in 1984 with the band Kú de Judas; Diniz Conefrey in the *Blitz* newspaper (1992) and by Afonso Cortez-Pinto and Marcos Farrajota in the disc *Raridades* (2009) in his time in Censurados. There are several other bands represented, not necessarily punk but underground, mostly in the 90s.

Comics also proves excellent in representing <u>behavioural and aesthetic codes of urban tribes</u> and we would find several works already mentioned (Relvas, Rigo, etc…) as well as later, in the case of other tribes, portraying it. In the first volume of the series *Loveboy* by Marte and João Fazenda, we can see the globalized behaviours of an "alternative culture" marked by MTV. Surprisingly enough, the presence of skinheads in comics, mostly as figurines but sometimes as antagonists to the main characters, is quite distinct, especially during the 90s. The only realistic portrait of these individuals is given by the first comic book of *Ruivo* (by Connefrey), which takes notice of a *weird and stupid game of giving slaps to each other*. Other urban tribes (rockabillys, dreads, "vanguards", freaks and metalheads) appear in other comics in relatively pacific coexistence. Police violence is never portrayed, asides from a brief mention in a comics by T.C Pestana in a *Gambuzine*.

Figure 2 - n/t, Ana Cortesão, 1993

Figure 3 - Ruivo, Diniz Conefrey, 1991-92

We sought mentions to <u>sex</u> but there were few interesting results, asides from the same standards of sexuality of all portuguese comics – a mostly heterossexual point of view. Among fiction works, there are erotic fantasies in the punk imaginary space, as shown by Nunsky, in two editions of *Mesinha de Cabeceira*. As for <u>drugs</u> it seems almost synonymous with Punk, and therefore "she" (that is, heroin) is always associated to it, be it in fiction, humor or fantasy. The most real case would be excellent work of Pestana – *O meu vizinho* in the *Gambuzine* of 2008 – which retells the personal experience of the author in an "okupa" in Hannover in 1989, amongst drug addicts. It is assumed that Portuguese punk <u>okupas</u> only took place in the 90s, and maybe because of that they took a longer time to figure in comics. Only in this millenia are there records of them, despite mentioning as far back as 1989, like the work of Pestana, which, despite taking place in Germany, and needing a certain socioeconomic distance, reflects its zeitgeist suitably. There are two cases of Portuguese "okupas", one in the book *Boring Europa* (Chilli Com Carne, 2011) about the destruction of the SPCC, probably the last Lisbon "okupa", and José Smith Vargas about the dismantlement of the building where the social self-suficient Es.Col.A project took place, in the Alto da Fontinha, Porto.

Regarding <u>"aging"</u>, the situation is further complicated, since there is no parallel to the work of north-american Jaime Hernandez, *Locas*, in Portugal. It is necessary to skip through the magazines, in the records of several authors, to offer identical situations. The research will need to be about authors who use autobiography as source for their work, such as Marco Farrajota, Marco Mendes and Teresa Câmara Pestana. It is necessary to bridge them, though there are real confrontations between two of these authors – Pestana criticizes Farrajota for

being an "office punk (…) almost authentic", in a number of *Gambuzine* (2001). This is an interesting situation, with an active participation in DIY culture and comics worlds in 1995, 2001 and 2011, collaborating in several zines about the "state of the art" of his life, on a mostly professional level. Mendes has practiced an autobriographical work since 2007 and 2012, talking of themes such as Porto bohemia, precarious work and the misery of the Portuguese social crisis of the XXIst century. Both situations are a worry of a "mérdia[3]" class (using Pestana's term) and not of punk culture, but can be analogous in the analysis of the life of creatives in Portugal in the last decades. Finally, there have been "existential" questions directed towards punk and underground culture by Farrajota in the brazillian zine *Prego* (2011), in the booklet of the DVD of the 15th anniversary of the Barroselas Metal Festival (2011) and the Slovenian magazine *Stripburger* #62 (2013)

Figure 4 - O meu vizinho, Teresa Câmara Pestana, 2008

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[3] Note of translator: this expression, left in the original portuguese due to the impossibility of translation, is a play on the words "média" meaning average, and "merda" meaning shit.
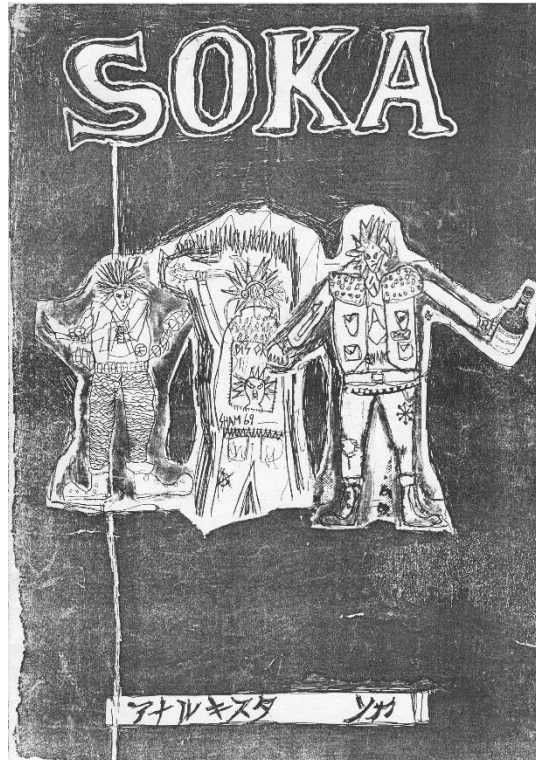
Figure 5 - Soka, José Smith Vargas, 2000

In what way is punk treated in comic books?

Badly treated, of course! Mostly in fiction and fantasy genres, in the line of the oficial culture, the punk individual is portrayed as a little street criminal, a marginal or a drug addict, generally identified with a mohawk. Even the main characters of the works about punk themselves portray less than human images of life – what does *Violeta* by Relvas tell us? As much as the widely known "No Future" slogan. One could state that tere are no interesting punk characters. There are no "anti-heroes" in Portuguese punk comics either – no Portuguese *Peter Pank, Tank Girl* or *Bob Cuspe* to be seen.

Only by the late 90s and on this millenia are punks treated as people (Pestana, *Boring Europa*, Farrajota) due to two reasons. First, because punk in Portugal started as something shallow, an urban tribe to escape the post-PREC monotony, and only in the 90s did it transform into a fully underground circuit, which include structures and militant lifestlyles; and second, because only in the 90s did portuguese comics acess new paradigms of "Alternative Comic Book" creation, both from north-america and europe. These were the pioneers of the documental genre, until then forgotten or inexistente – oddly enough, when the pioneers Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and Carlos Botelho did chronicles exhaustively.

Are there authors who were/are punks?

The discussion on this topic is complicated because one would have to identify punk authors in a very large list of Portuguese comics' authors who are connected to a DIY ethic. This DIY culture in national comics is justified by the lack of interested publishers who wish to dedicate themselves to Portuguese authors, be it in commercial or non-commercial works. To identify

the artists who have published their fanzines or created indepedent structures of publishing shows a true movement rarely seen in other creative áreas in this "country where nothing happens". More than to have existed punk authors, there were authors who "flirted" with Punk and DIY culture, some more militant than others, rarely using a mohawk.

Trying to use international models to identify "punk authors" positions identical situations, with the due reserves. The case of the British Simon Gange, the king of punk comics, that is, of a genre comics in a very specific market niche, could be found in the case of Portugal in authors such as Marcelão and Valter de Matos who published and still publish respectively the fanzines *Over-12* and *The Positives*. Circumscribed to the smaller circuit of portuguese Hardcore and Straight Edge, it makes them nearly invisible to the "public eye", compared to the "fame" of Gane in the international underground. However, in this millenia, the portuguese underground has professionalized, and despite its comics do not reflect directly a punk lifestlyle, we find the names of André Coelho and José Smith Vargas to be recognized more for their graphic work on posters, disc covers, skates, T-shirts of the underground music international world. In the case of Jaime Hernandez, or a "comics with traditional looks which portrays a scene", the cases of Relvas, Conefrey, *Loverboy* and Mascarenhas have already been mentioned, focused mostly on the situations of bohemian Lisbon, but grasping tenously the phenomenons of aging and giving voice to a cultural minority. In the case of the french Matt Konture, or "An autobiographical comics of the punk scene" there is TC Pestana, who is situated in an underground lifestyle and a deep contact with this culture. And to match Gary Panter (or "comics with a graphic style which originates in punk action") we have found no possible paralell.

In the case that there are punk authors, what grphic styles do they employ? Is there a portuguese graphic style?

The graphic styles of Portuguese comics are severely personalized due to the lack of critical productive mass. Each author, underground or even commercial, develops his own unique graphic style, which is imitated by few and which reflects and unrepeatable carreer path, impossible to be followed by others.

Increasing the observation spectrum to comics' authors who did graphic work to bands/discs/posters of punk bands, one cannot discern a single graphic pattern. This echoes the fact that in the 80s and 90s few national bands were releasing discs, a fact that only increased in this millenium and created a niche for authors like Coelho or Vargas.

We attempted to identify some common lines between national production with the base characteristics of punk aesthetics. We concluded that "iconoclasty" and "humor" are not characteristcs one can point out for similarly placed reasons. In the first case, because of the scarcity of collage in comics, or rather, the exclusive employment of that technique; in the second, the impact of hte brazillian magazine *Chiclete com Banana* (where *Bob Cuspe* figured) by Angeli, went beyond the punk "ghetto" and was found on several humorous or generalistic productions of portuguese comics. It is also to consider that scatological and silly humor is too universal in punk production to be thought as a national exclusive.

The "brutism" (or spontaneous dirtiness of the drawing) and "DIY" (not an aesthetic value in itself) are characteristics which bring together a series of authors of comics, punk or not, which have dealt or not with punk questions since the 70s. In part this is due to the advent of cheap reproduction rechniques (print machines), which allowed each and everyone to publish

without having to ask, and allowed the authors to explore the limitations of those same technologies in the treatment of their images, which helped to develop their styles.

It would also come to be the technological development of digital means (starting with text processing to Photoshop) which would mark the "cleaning" and graphic leveling of the underground. It eventually created a professionalized environment which mixes itself with oficial culture, from the mid 90s onwards

Finally, approaching the production and self-publishing of the fanzines, the "chicken or the egg" doubt is born in portuguese comic books. To look at the great production of portuguese fanzines which dates earlier than the 25th of April of 1974, it leads one to wonder if the influence of Punk on Portuguese comics is nothing but a parallel phenomenon, subject to something bigger which was happening. A question which undoubtedly merits its own investigation. The portuguese production of comic books is built essentially on an amateur setting, strongly DIY, and which seeks to exist throughout the times and especially after the Carnation Revolution due to the low level of professionalism. Very few series are published in newspapers and magazines, and even fewer the orders of books on the subject. Almost all of the post-Revolution production is made of self-publications and small-scale publishers. One could state, in a single slightly demented and exaggerated phrase, but one which nonetheless deserves some though: the Portuguese comics is Punk!

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2.2. What does the Balaclava stand for? Pussy Riot: just some stupid girls or punk with substance?

Alexandre M. da Fonseca[1]

Abstract

5 punk singers walk into the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow, address the Mother of God herself, ask her to free Russia from Putin and "become a feminist". They are stopped by the security and three members are later arrested. The rest is history… Nevertheless, Pussy Riot have proven to be more complex. This article aims to go beyond the dichotomies and the narratives played out in Western and Russian media. Given the complexity of the affair, this article aims to dissect the political thought, the ideas (or ideology), the philosophy behind their punk direct actions. Focusing on their statements, lyrics and letters and the brechtian way they see "art as a transformative tool", our aim is to ask what does the balaclava stand for? Are they really just some stupid punk girls or is there some substance to their punk? Who are (politically) the Pussy Riot?

Keywords: Pussy Riot; Punk and Direct Action; Political Thought; Critical Discourse Analysis; 3rd wave feminism

Who are the Pussy Riot? Are they those who have been judged in court and sentenced to prison? Or those anonymous member who have shunned the two persecuted girl? Or maybe it's everyone who puts a balaclava and identifies with the rebellious attitude of the Russian group? Then, are Pussy Riot an "Idea" or are they impossible to separate from the faces of Nadia and Masha? This is the first difficulty of discussing Pussy Riot – defining who their subject is. Hence, we focus on their different "incarnations" to understand of which substance they are made of.

But are their "ideas" easily perceived? Or is the geopolitical context an ever present distorting feature? Is it possible to look at Pussy Riot for what they "truly" are or we can never escape our material position? Are they part of a liberal, a feminist, anti-capitalistic political project or all at once? And are we to look at Pussy Riot from a sort of "void position", without any knowledge of their social and historical context? How would this change our regard of them?

After all, the greatest question guiding this article is: Do Pussy Riot have a political thought? Or are they, in reality, just some stupid unconscious girls as the prosecutors of Masha, Nadia and Yakaterina would have us believe? But, then again, what would we lose by looking only at these three known member of the group? Isn't anonymity part of Pussy Riot's "Idea"?

Let's take a step back. The history is well known. Three girls were arrested and judged, in 2012, a few weeks after a "performance" at the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. Although other members of the group had also taken part of the performance, they were never been found. The three were judged and considered guilty of "hooliganism motivated

by religious hatred". Ever since they have all been released[2], and the 2 most famous took part in a global tour to denounce the conditions of prisons in Russia.

This is what transpired to the "global public sphere" (Talanova, 2013:2), a brief and superficial *résumé* of the whole Pussy Riot affair. But our goal as social analysts is, following Foucault's advice, to dig deeper and to retrieve the deeper meanings, the undergrounded motives and to make them emerge.

Our angle of attack will be Pussy Riot's own words and. In the first part, we will look at both narratives of the Pussy Riot affair in the "west" and in Russia, only to see how, in both places, there has been a misrepresentation of Pussy Riot. In the second part, we will take a look at the group's musical and political influences, as well as their social context. Finally, we will study in careful detail and based on their song lyrics, statements in court and interviews, their "Political Thought".

Misrepresenting the riot?

As stated at the beginning of the article, one of the most difficult tasks of an article devoted to Pussy Riot is to define the "subject" of Pussy Riot. In order to better define the task of studying the narratives of the Pussy Riot affair, we will concurrently refer to *both* Pussy Riot's known members and the group as such (or anonymous who belong to the group) and we will recur to a review of literature of mainly (though not exclusively) Russian authors writing in English (Akulova, 2013; Bernstein, 2013; Chehonadskih, 2012; Talanova, 2013a; Talanova, 2013b).

The results of the research are unanimous in presenting a completely opposite treatment of Pussy Riot in the West and in Russia, as well as the different *dispositifs* through which the collective's message has been downplayed or overemphasized, according to the objectives of the mainstream ideology. Kolesova's (2013:45) statement is illustrative of both narratives:

> Though the dominant discourses around the Pussy Riot case in Russia and in the United States were almost opposite in their content, there were some similarities: both of them presented rather flattened versions, demonized or domesticated respectively, of the Pussy Riot collective and largely ignored their political project. Both representations served to protect mainstream ideology.

In the West

How were then the Pussy Riot perceived in the West? Kolesova (2013:vi) argues that the case has been generally read in the West through the frame of "Human Rights and the Cold War", whereby Pussy Riot's political content became that of "martyrs for western values", in an idealized struggle of good versus the "evil" Putin (see also Bernstein, 2013:234)..

Hence the interrelated narratives on Pussy Riot seemed to be mainly focused on: 1. the case of a liberal collective fighting for freedom of expression in the cultural "Other" 2. the myth of the Pussy Riot heroes versus an oppressive dictator 3. a cultural approach whereby their feminism and their representation as women takes precedence over their political content 4. all of which leading to the negation or ignorance of the political message of the collective.

Rioting in Russia, the oppressive dark-age "Other"?

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[2] Yakaterina was found not guilty sooner than the other 2.

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In the article where she critically analyses the media discourses around Pussy Riot, Talanova (2013b:11) notes that the BBC referred to the trial of the 3 *rioters* as a "return to the dark ages" and that the Russian political system was "attacked…for its authoritarian nature". This seems to be the main trend of the whole affair, where other (geopolitical) factors have taken precedence.

Russia[3] has been considered a strongly conservative and despotic country not fitting "the paradigm of western democracies" (Kolesova, 2013:40). Several deficiencies related to freedom of speech, the role of church in society – thus ignoring the "tradition of atheist culture in Russian and Soviet history" (*Ibid.*:40) – or other cases of state coercion have been presented, thus reinforcing the broader *orientalist* portrait of oppression and conservatism.

References to the Soviet era and/or the Stalinist regime have also not been absent (*Ibid.*:41-2) and as other recent political manifestations, e.g. the so-called Arab spring or the Ukrainian stand-off, the demands or issues have been reduced to a call for democracy and more liberty, seen as the standard western values.

While Pussy Riot have, in some occasions, reinforced these aspects themselves – using western references in clothing, type of music and their name or in their speeches in court (*Ibid.*:34)[4] - another important feature supporting this production of an oppressive "Other" has been the massive support campaign by western celebrities - who also ignored other similar protests in Russia (Chehonadskih, 2012:2).

Putin, the "Oriental dictator" and villain?

A similar script followed the discourses around the affair, although centered around Pussy Riot as the David of contemporaneity to the Goliath Vladimir Putin, or as Kolesova (2013:10) states "in Western media…an idealized and oversimplified historical narrative of individualized resistance to the tyrant government" has been constructed. Although in some contexts, the Russian Orthodox Church also has played the role of Goliath, the main antagonist of Pussy Riot has been, without a doubt, Putin.

Once again, this description was emphasized in some of the 3 *rioters* declarations and mostly in their songs (Bernstein, 2013:16). But the media have been important in capitalizing this "standard Hollywood format" where a "hero stands against the dark forces of evil…and the result (is) a moral victory and ethical supremacy" (Talanova, 2013b:24).

This account is problematic, not only due to its simplification, but specially because it obscures "the importance of mass protest that conditioned the emergence of the Pussy Riot collective" (Kolesova, 2013:41) and reinforces the liberal ideology of individual resistance over the collective struggle –especially if the main focus of the collective Pussy Riot is anonymity. It also simplified the whole trial making it seem that sometimes it as Putin himself who was manipulating every single outcome.

The women question

Even if they're seen, most of the times, as the heroes of the story, the three members of Pussy Riot on trial have also been pictured as victims (Talanova, 2013b:14; Talanova, 2013a:8; Kolesova, 2013:43) of an all-powerful malevolent regime. Thus, BBC and others tried to

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[3] But specially its president Putin, as we will see.
[4] And especially after their release and subsequent "tour" to see the conditions in prisons abroad.

produce what Talanova (2013b:11) describes as a "human touch story", where the age and the fact that 2 defendants had children was prioritized[5].

The ambiguity of this account is very much present because the "cost" of their political act is both portrayed as heroic and sacrificial. Their victimization or their heroism served as a simplified portrait, denying the subtleties of their actions. In other accounts, their feminism/ty also served to disregard their political points and by "giving them a voice", the commentators seemed to be also taking out "their" voice and agency, ignoring or overlooking their statements (Kolesova, 2013:43).

Still, the most problematic description was the portrayal of Pussy Riot as the "beautiful rebels" (Talanova, 2013a:22; Kolesova, 2013:42). In her article, Talanova shows the different treatment and sensations transmitted by the trial photos in Russian and western newspapers, with the "Independent" presenting "artistic portrait photography…highlight(ing) the youth and the good looks of the convicted girls", quite apart from the caged girls "like monkeys in a cage", in the Russian newspaper Trud.

Finally, there has been a clear differentiation of the attention given to the three women. Nadja Tolokonnikova was and still is the "face" of the band, with her facial features being overemphasized, concealing not only their other 2 comrades (Akulova, 2013:282), but also their political gesture and specially the "idea" of anonymity of the band. The media has thus presented an image of Pussy Riot in profound contradiction with the values of the collective.

Therefore it's easily understandable that the media has not given the full picture of Pussy Riot and ignored some of their messages – e.g. their anti-capitalist stance. Still, this is by no means unique of the western media and also in Russia, many of their motives have been snubbed and/or manipulated.

In Russia

Whether or not one agrees, Russia is our "cultural other". Our lack of knowledge of specific cultural particularities (or simply of the language) does impede the access to the discussion and lived realities of the case. Regardless and trusting again the review of the literature and the author's insights, we can easily conclude that, as in the West, the case has also been depoliticized.

During the trial, Russians could have been introduced to their political views, but that has hardly been the case. Both the prosecution as well as Putin and most of the political class denied their explicitly political act in the Cathedral and turned it into a moralistic matter (Bernstein, 2013:230-234).

One such example is the accusation of "hooliganism motivated by religious hatred" for which the accused were sentenced to jail. But also Putin rejected the gesture as political and mentioned that they only tried "to desecrate a sacred space" (*Ibid.*:232). He recalled a previous action by the group "Voina" – "Fuck for the Heir Puppy Bear" - claiming it as amoral and "describ(ing) th(e) performance as an act of group sex…[for] personal gratification" (Talanova, 2013a:36).

Finally, similarly to the western accounts, the fact that the defendants were women served to further diminish their actions – for some it even seemed impossible that they did not have a man behind guiding their deeds. For others, their feminism was a further indication of their will to "desecrate" the altar and the Church. Their agency and speech were denied and the

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[5] This also happened in Russia, although with completely opposite aims.

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fact that Nadja and Masha are mothers caused further indignation and incomprehensibility of their acts (Bernstein, 2013:234).

Influencing the riot

In order to be able to make the case that they are not "just some stupid girls", we will take a look at their influences, inspirations and previous belongings to grasp how the group emerged. Distinguishing from other more casual inspirations, there seem to be 2 undeniable sources of what the Pussy Riot "mean": the Riot Grrl and the *Voina* group.

Riot Grrl, Guerrilla Girls and the 3rd wave feminism

Pussy Riot members acknowledge their "tribute" and inspiration from the Riot Grrl movement (Schwartzman & Maillet, 2013:180), a DIY punk girl movement, which emerged on the in the early 1990s, part of the as the so-called "3rd wave feminism" (Kolesova, 2013:3). A movement opposing our patriarchal society and breaking gender barriers (Tancons, 2012:4), while also placing "an emphasis on the multiplicity of feminisms" and "replac(ing) attempts at unity with a dynamic and welcoming politics of coalition" (Kolesova, 2013:15:183).

 It's therefore a feminism more focused on the individual(ity) (Schwartzman & Maillet, 2013:184) and open to the new media, exploring the possibilities of "cheap and accessible modes of production" (Kolesova, 2013: 12). The exploration of other means of communication is also related to their anti-commodification stance, as well as, paradoxically, a claim for ownership (Mcmichael, 2013:100), as if, by rejecting their commodification and allowing for the free dissemination of their content, they can own it more.

Thus through their defiant and atypical gestures, political stance, "artistic protests and punk music", Pussy Riot are considered as continuing the tradition of female empowerment which emerged with the Riot Grrls (Schwartzman & Maillet, 2013:180) while also winking at western audiences familiarized with this kind of performances (Talanova, 2013b:16).

Other very important feature of the Riot Grrls, especially of the so-called "Guerrilla Girls", which Pussy Riot has replicated, is anonymity. Much like the Guerrilla Girls, who wear gorilla masks in every public appearance to "expose the hypocrisy and blatant sexism throughout the art world" (Akulova, 2013:12), Pussy Riot adopted the balaclava to emphasize the same point and to demonstrate that more importantly than their selves is an "Idea" (Zizek, 2012).

The only big difference to the Riot Grrls movement is that, contrary to them, Pussy Riot do not hold sanctioned concerts, opting for illegal and unannounced "in your face" appearances in public places, more close to the direct action style of actionists and, in Russia, the *Voina* (meaning "war") group, of which Nadja and Yakaterina were members.

The Voina group and the actionist tradition

One of the most known performances of the group Voina has been the "Fuck for the Heir Puppy Bear...sexual acts that took place in…the Biological Museum in Moscow in front of a taxidermy display of a bear… a pun of Russian President…Medvedev's last name" (Kolesova, 2013:4), after the "farcical and pornographic elections' in which Medvedev was to inherit Vladimir Putin's 'throne'" (Talanova, 2013b:20-21).

Although the character of this performance, as we argued before, has been dismissed by Putin as an act of pleasure, this and other Voina performances are inherently political. Among

other performances criticizing the Russian political and juridical regime, have been the "Palace Revolution" in 2011, where 2 members of the group overturned seven empty police vehicles (Chehonadskih, 2012:7).

Another example of their direct actions was the "Cock held captive by the FSB", the FSB standing for the Russian secret services, with an image of a penis was drawn in front of the FSB building. Finally, some of the girls in the group took part in another polemic action called "'Kissing a cop", during which they "forcibly kissed police women in the Moscow Metro". Although the aggressive content and "sexual violence" has been rightly problematized by Akulova (2013:281), this constitutes an exemplary performance of the Voina collective.

In fact, one could argue that the political substance of these direct actions have been transfigured into the words of the Pussy Riot album "Kill the sexist" and into their illegal performances. With some slight differences, the rebellious spirit of Voina has migrated to Pussy Riot, after the separation of some members of the group (Chehonadskih, 2012:3) and has without a doubt influenced Pussy Riot's political thought.

Political stupidity, political action, or political thought?

Pussy Riot seem to tread along three political lines – that of apparent "stupidity", that of aggressive action and that related to thinking of and about themselves and society as a whole. After accounting for the diverse narratives about the "Pussy Riot affair" and their self-claimed influences in the first part of the article, we will now focus on what we see as their political thought.

In order to do that, we will firstly analyze their songs' lyrics, their statements in court and interviews, to end with the exchange of letters between the philosopher Slavoj Zizek and Nadja. Departing from their anti-Putin[6] and feminist stance, we will dissect among Pussy Riot's philosophical influences, as Kolesova (2013:3) cites "poststructuralist philosophy, anti-capitalist theory…and LGBT movements" combined with a libertarian anti-authoritarian posture and historical references to political dissidence – the dimensions most often overlooked.

Anti-capitalist stance

No money for art!

One of the lesser known aspects ignored on both sides has been Pussy Riot's anti-capitalist stance. One of the most important aspects of this posture is the refusal to commercialize the band (Masyuk, 2013:2) and to hold for-profit concerts, a practice that would lead to the dismissal of both Nadja and Masha of the group.

This happened after their appearance as "Pussy Riot" together with Madonna and others for an Amnesty International benefit concert on the 2nd of May of 2014, which led to an open letter where anonymous members remembered that "selling tickets 'is highly contradictory to the principles of Pussy Riot'" and that they "never accept money for our performances". While the commercial concert with Madonna is contradictory to the principles of Pussy Riot, it's important to note that both Nadja and Masha stopped being members, maybe even before

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[6] And the regime as a whole, including the close connections between the church and the state, a dimension of their protest often ignored (Akulova, 2013:281)

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that concert. Thus the contradiction is their acceptance of being referred to as Pussy Riot, not in appearing in a "for-profit" concert.

Together with this artistic and political position, as some authors noted, Pussy Riot (as a group), by holding concerts in "unpredictable locations and public places not designed for traditional entertainment" seemed to demand, as other collectives which emerged recently, a return to the public common. A demand of "transforming private spaces into a public ones open for participation and discussion" (Kolesova, 2013:4) and to make "art…accessible to everyone" (Tolokonikovoy, 2012a:3).

The black gold, the "regime" and western complacency

In order to spark a discussion about the nature of the "regime" in Russia, its usage of oil and the connections between elites, especially businesspeople and criticizing also the repression in the country, four Pussy Riot held a "performance" in an oil platform and called the song "Gruel-Propaganda".

In it, they not only criticize president Putin who has "distributed the countries' richness to his friends" in important companies and in "high places" – "Federal Penitentiary Service, Interior Ministry, Emergency Situations Ministry, and Rosnano, LUKoil, TNK, Rosneft, and Gazprom", but also compare Russia to the Arab and Persian authoritarian regime:

> *You have a president like Iran's ayatollah,*
> *And your church is like it is in the U.A.E.*
> *So, let everything be like it is in Qatar,*
> *Evildoers at the oil towers,*
> *Pumping till its dry*
> *A physics university teaches theology.*

Although this is a very raw but also very aggressive denunciation of regimes that function based almost on "exporting nature" while repressing most of its citizens, in personal declarations and in her letters to Zizek, Nadja goes a step further and argues that such regimes, especially Russia would not be allowed to do that, if it weren't for western buyers, denouncing the hypocrisy of clamming high values, while doing business with the countries' elites and leaders.

> I call for a boycott, I call for honesty, I call for not buying oil and gas which Russia may offer. I call for applying all the humanitarian standards, traditions and rules which Europe speaks about. That would be really honest. I am for truth and honesty.

> Les pays 'développés' font preuve d'un conformisme…et loyauté…vis-à-vis des gouvernements qui oppriment leurs citoyens…Les pays européens et les États-Unis collaborent volontiers avec la Russie qui adopte des lois moyenâgeuses et jette en prison les opposants politiques…La question se pose: quelles sont les limites admissibles de la tolérance ? Et à quel moment la tolérance se transforme-t-elle en collaborationnisme, en conformisme et en complicité?…Voici la justification…typique du cynisme: Qu'ils fassent ce qu'ils veulent dans leur pays. Mais cela ne fonctionne pas. Car les pays tels que la Russie et la Chine sont inclus, en tant que partenaires…dans le système du capitalisme global

Pervert capitalism?

Why does Nadja make this point about Russia and western "collaborationism" and "tacit approval" of the regime? In the exchange with Zizek, she's refusing both the anti-hierarchical and emancipatory character of capitalism, as well as the universalization these characteristics to all countries and regions of the world. Taking the example of her own country, she claims

that "the anti-hierarchical aspect of capitalism isn't more than successful publicity" (Zizek, Tolokonikovoy, 2013).

If on the consumer side, every wish seems possible – a point to which Zizek would agree– on the producer side of capitalism "the logic of totalizing normalcy still functions on the regions that assure the material basis of every creative, new and mobile things in late capitalism". Therefore, in these regions "workers are entitled to no eccentricity, only unification and static rule".

Contrary to the "fable" of "crazy dynamism", the old and worn off mechanisms of exploitation are present and still rule, if not only in Russia, where "old friends of…Putin get the most important benefits of the Russian economy…(with whom) he studied…(or) was in the KGB…Aren't this frozen and rusty social relations? Isn't this a feudal system?"

If capitalism is a perverted form of social ordering, Nadja's answer is not to "reject it all together" (*Ibid.*). According to her, is more productive to "play with it, and in playing it, to pervert it, to turn it towards us, our beliefs and ideas, to recruit it". Thus, although she criticizes the Eurocentric and colonial approach of some thinkers, in an interview, she mentions that while being disturbed by the "shortcomings of the consumer society":

> "we're not looking to destroy consumer society. Freedom is at the core of our ideology, and our concept of freedom is a Western one. This is a fight for the right definition of freedom." (Alexander, 2013)

Libertarian and anti-authoritarian struggle

More than a rejection of capitalism altogether, Pussy Riot claim the "right definition of freedom", thus their support – here, of Nadja and Masha – for the "oil tycoon and Kremlin critic…Khodorkovsky" (RFE, 2014) must be understood more in the sense of a fight against authority than "capitalism". This seems to be the true fight of Pussy Riot, if their punk attitude is any indication (Mcmichael, 2013:103; Parker, 2012:2).

Thus, if the band itself is led by "anti-hierarchy" principles and "doesn't have any leaders or faces", the true test of their libertarian posture is their songs, such as "Death to Prison" and "Raze the Pavement". In the latter they appeal for "a Tahrir on the Red Square", a claim for both revolt and internationalism (Kolesova, 2013:5), a similar message to that of "Putin has pissed himself". As Kolesova (*Ibid.*) suggests, more than songs, these are "manifestos", and more than performances, they're discourse in action. (Mcmichael, 2013:105).

One could argue that this revolt is the true aim of Pussy Riot, as showed by the song "Death to Prison" where they profess anarchist principles: "the will to everyone's power, without damn leaders/ Direct action – the future of mankind!". Their rejection of an oppressive information state is also evident "The fucking end to informant bosses!" and, after the imprisonment of their 3 comrades, the denunciation of the "prison institution" is more than evident:

> *Death to prison, freedom to protest (…)*
> *Make the cops serve freedom (…)*
> *Take away the guns from all the cops*
> *Taste the smell of freedom together with us.*

This is a fight that both Nadja and Masha, even after their separation from the collective, are pursuing, a struggle that other intellectuals, such as Foucault or Angela Davis have

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pursued. Since they carry the belief that "the state of prisons reflects the state of society", they see prison as a:

> "little totalitarian machine...Russia is really built on the model of the colony. Therefore it is...important to change the colony now, so as to change Russia along with the colony."

According to Nadja, the aim of prison is to make the prisoner become "an automate" and to maintain them in a "state of stupidity" but also that this is the way "the system works… (and) forms the slave-like mentality in people". Thus, one could argue that there really isn't a distinction between their fight as "Pussy Riot" and their struggle in a NGO against prisons – it's all about unjustified and unruly authoritarianism (Oliphant, 2013:4).

History of dissent

During their trial, the three (ex-)Pussy Riot mentioned several times important and historical figures of dissent, especially of the former Soviet Union, but also of philosophers, political, religious and artistic activists. These allusions were made not only to state their case, but to position themselves in "a genealogy of dissenters (who) cannot be silenced in a Siberian gulag" (Carrick, 2014:278) and have the "support (of the) people and the flow of history" (Kolesova, 2013:34).

Russian dissenters

There's a long line of Russian or Soviet dissenters. Pussy Riot may remember them to demonstrate that, unlike the human rights narratives, "the change will be done by fellow citizens, who already succeeded in making several unfair regimes fall" (*Ibid.*:35).

But they also do it to make the case that History is dangerous to any regime. Nadja, for example, asked, during her trial: "who could have imagined that history, especially Stalin's still-recent Great Terror, could fail to teach us anything?" To strengthen their argument, they made further references to "Stalin's troikas or Khrushchev's trial on the poet Josef Brodsky" (*Ibid.*:34).

Furthermore, they have identified themselves with the "Oberiu poets", exponents of Russian absurdism, who liked "what can't be understood" and claimed that "what can't be explained is our friend." Nadja also presented Pussy Riot as "Vvedensky's disciples", who died on a train for unknown causes, possibly "a bullet from a guard", having "led art into the realm of history".

Other point of support, stated in an interview from Nadja (Masyuk, 2013:3), were the "Russian religious philosophy…of the early XX century", who back then demanded the "modernization of the Orthodox Church", rejected by the "Church people". Why does she make this analogy? She is, at the same time, explaining that she does not have any religious hatred, but again, inscribing their struggle into History itself.

Philosophers and political dissenters

Deleuze said that philosophy is "engaged in a 'guerilla campaign' against public opinion and other powers that be such as religions and laws" – isn't this a good way to describe the actions of Pussy Riot? Aren't they though in action? Contrary to what some might think, the 3 convicted *rioters* have studied – philosophy, journalism and photography – and they are keen to knowing their philosophers. Furthermore, their balaclavas are a powerful sign that ideas do matter (Zizek, 2012).

They have been influenced by feminist theorists, such as "be De Beauvoir with the Second Sex, Dvorkin, Pankhurst with her brave suffragist actions, Firestone and her crazy reproduction theories, Millett, Braidotti's nomadic thought, Judith Butler's Artful Parody" (Langston, 2012) or "Judith Butler of 'queer theory'" and "Alexandra Kollontai" (Penny, 2012), a Russian feminist. Pussy Riot's "mission" may be to open doors to other feminisms, and as Yakaterina affirmed "Most Russian women are interested when you…talk to them about queer theory and international women's studies".

In prison, Masha Alyekhina (2012) revealed that she also talked to other inmates "about Orwell, Kafka and the governmental structure", as well as "quotes from Foucault". She also "read the Bible and the works of Slovenian philosopher and Marxist Slavoj Žižek". Yakaterina had, in her home, a "book about Chinese concept artist Ai Weiwei, a book by Russian dissident and winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature Joseph Brodsky, as well as 'The Strategy of Conflict'…by American economist Thomas Schelling".

Their dissent is broader than the "regime" or Putin, although it might not have seemed so. During the trial, they referred often to Marx's famous maxim "Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it" (Tolokonikovoy, 2012b). As Zizek (2012) stated "Pussy Riot are anti-cynicism embodied. Their message is: IDEAS MATTER. They are conceptual artists in the noblest sense of the word: artists who embody an Idea."

What the Balaclava did not hid…

Whether one agrees with Zizek or not, or one thinks he's overoptimistic or even naïve about Pussy Riot, it's impossible to deny that the balaclava *means* something. They are the key to unravel Pussy Riot's thought and for Zizek (*Ibid.*), they're "masks of de-individualization, of liberating anonymity" and an anonymous member of the group agrees "(we) choose to always wear balaclavas—new members can join the bunch and it does not really matter who takes part"(…). Other stated that "(our) goal is to move away from personalities and towards symbols and pure protest" (Langston, 2012).

One can get stuck in their "stupid" costumes and attitudes, but that's not what they're for: "Pussy Riot does not want to focus attention on girl's appearances, but creates characters who express ideas". Or as Zizek claims "they're not individuals, they're an Idea". Even though Pussy Riot ended up becoming the "individuals" Nadja, Masha and Yakaterina, in this article we argued that they are not – in any sense - stupid girls (the collective or those 3) but furthermore that their political message was hid and distorted.

Therefore in the first part we studied both narratives about Pussy Riot in the west and in Russia to see the different ways they depoliticized their actions and words. In the second part, we referred to their political and artistic influences - the Riot Grrls and *Voina*. Finally, in the third part, we devoted to the study of their political and philosophical thought in detail. Our aim was to argue that, although fluid and shaky, it's possible – from every angle of interpretation – to learn from Pussy Riot.

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2.3. Aesthetics, anti-aesthetics and "bad taste": a brief journey through Portuguese punk record covers (1977-1998)

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Abstract

Aesthetics, Anti-aesthetics and "Bad Taste" intends to be a brief journey through Portuguese *punk*, by assessing the covers of records released between 1977 and 1998. Thus, within a critical and historical approach, we will look at the courses taken during the first two decades, from the first records released up until the widespread use of computers, emphasizing the awareness and recognition of national and international ideas and, above all, their plastic fulfillment.

Keywords: Art & Design, Do-It-Yourself labels, Portuguese Punk, Record Sleeves.

Introduction

Winston Smith, the graphic designer of *Dead Kennedys* LP's and other punk releases and fanzines, in an interview, synthesized the importance of punk records cover art in a sentence, and I quote it as the starting point for this paper:

> Record covers can be a mirror to society... Something you can sink your teeth into... you could bite into it... It is an opportunity for us to change the world.

Keeping this in mind, I bring forward an analysis of Portuguese punk record covers focusing on both the relation between the ideas, ideals and the artworks; and how they relate to society in general and to Portuguese society in particular. All this will be organized in a chronological and historical way so that we can understand the changes that took place throughout the two decades I'll be focusing on and at the same time provide a brief journey through the Portuguese punk scenes between 1978 and 1998.

"1978-1982"

Starting with a brief roundup of Portugal prior to the emergence of punk we shall go back to 1974 and settle the 25th of April revolution as the point that marks the opening of Portugal to the world and the urgent need for forms, material forms, of freedom. The following years Portugal saw a sort of invasion of all different sorts of cultural material among which music. To cut a long story short and focusing on punk, it was in 1977, that a young Portuguese emigrant living in London, named Rui Castro, who had a label and band named *Warm*, began sending tapes and records that were being released at the time in the U.K. to António Sergio,

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an already well-known Portuguese radio-host, who aired them regularly, thus introducing punk to Portugal. Alongside with that radio-show, some major labels started to release new bands (but no Portuguese bands), stores imported records, and those who had better economic conditions began to travel abroad more freely, updating themselves with the latest trends and bringing new sounds and ideas back to Portugal.

Influenced by all that was happening, with an urge to rebel and to create something they could identify with, around 1978 new kids started to form bands, with more energy and ideas than actual musical skills or professionalism. Among them, in Lisbon we had the *Faíscas*, *Minas & Armadilhas*, *Xutos & Pontapés*, *UHF* from Almada, to name a few.

Paying attention to the new scene rising, *Metro-Som*, a small label from Lisbon specialized in fado and folklore music that had also already released a couple of prog-rock bands decided to contract an already existing rock band and release them as punk, in order to cash in on the new trend. As so, what is now considered the first Portuguese punk 7" was released in 1978: *Aqui d'el Rock*'s «Há que violentar o sistema». Out of the suburbs of Lisbon, *Aqui d'el Rock*, were a former hard-prog band named *Osiris*, that by 1978 got a new line-up, changed their name and started to deliver a more raw rocking act in the vein of *The Stooges* and *M.C.5*. Despite some early conflicts with supposed "real" punks, since the ideas - punk ideas or April ideals it's up to us to decide – energy and lifestyle were alike, they were soon adopted by the emerging scene and began sharing the same concert bills. Focusing on their first 7", the sleeve, signed by *Aqui d'el Rock* themselves, consisted on a painting of a blood-red lettering where we can read the a-side music title, «Há que violentar o sistema» («We shall violate the system»), and stains over a black background. Despite the poorly designed band logo, probably inserted inside the red stain at a later stage by the record label themselves, and the unnecessary "punk" round label, the sleeve managed to express the violence contained in the title and to sort of visually translate their scream against the tedium felt in the post-25th of April, post-PREC times. Unfortunately, the song is a never-ending epic, clocking 4:20, exactly the opposite of the speed and duration that punk was craving for…

Figure 1 a/b – Aqui d'el Rock, *Há Que Violentar o Sistema*, 7", Lisboa, Metro-Som, 1978

This record was followed by another single with two straight-forward, much more direct songs. The sleeve, signed by Rui Santos consists on a photo that says little or nothing about the band or the music except, maybe, a notion of speed that these two new songs, finally, achieved. «Eu sei» («I know») counts 2 minutes; «Dedicada (a quem nos rouba)» («Dedicated (to those who steal us») counts almost three minutes. No punk ideals or criticism were expressed in this sleeve that looked no different from any other standard rock band. Maybe it

even looked worse with that new, colorful, neon-like, disco-sound inspired band logo that might be misleading. A record label option which shows that they were paying more attention to *Saturday Night Fever* than to punk.
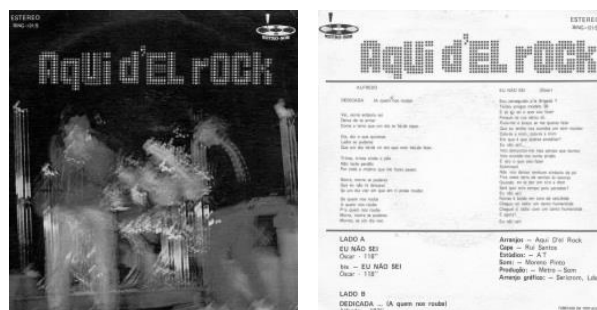
Figure 2 a/b – Aqui d'el Rock, *Dedicada (a quem nos rouba)*, 7" , Lisboa, Metro-Som, 1979

Aqui d'el Rock also ended up having a major role in the emerging scene, since it was through them that a new band named *UHF* managed to get a record deal with the label *Metro-Som*. Coming from the southern suburbs of Lisbon, across the river Tejo in the city of Almada, *UHF* were also formed in 1978, and played their first show in that same year, in Lisbon, along with *Aqui d'el Rock*, *Minas & Armadilhas* and *Faíscas*. A few months later their first 7" cames out and sold-out fast, seeing a second pressing with a different sleeve shortly after.

The first pressing sleeve was signed by Artur Guedes, and consisted on a drawing of city buildings outlines with no definition nor details, just monochromatic solids. Although the city is not identified, since the author insisted in reflecting it in a river, we can assume that that the river is Tejo and therefore the portrayed suburb, Almada. Almada, and I quote the record liner-notes was "a city poor in human contacts, a city made of concrete and indifference", which is completely the opposite to the traditional and picturesque city of Lisbon shown during the fifty years of dictatorship. Despite the terrible artwork is, it was here that, for the first time, an image of a suburb was portrayed. Music-wise, the record features a song named «A Caçada» («The Hunt») that clocks 1:38, almost one third of the *Aqui d'el Rock* song, no solos and with apocalyptic lyrics that makes it one of the first punk songs recorded in Portugal.

Figure 3 a/b – UHF, *Jorge Morreu*, 7" , Lisboa, Metro-Som, 1979

For the second pressing *Metro-Som* conceived a new front sleeve. Using a photographic negative of the band playing live they tried, with all the sombre and funeral feeling, to express the mourning for the death of the character Jorge, whom the title track refers to. Poorly conceived graphically speaking, this record, along with the second *Aqui d'el Rock* 7", reveals the total lack of cultural references and artistic skills by the designers at *Metro-Som*. And also the fact that they had no idea about what punk was, or could be, about.
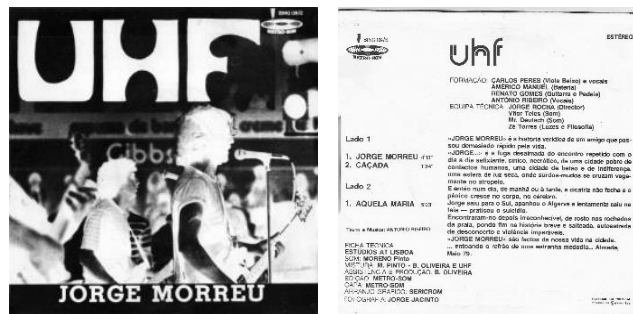
Figure 4 a/b – UHF, *Jorge Morreu*, 7", Lisboa, Metro-Som, 1979

With these three records we close the first chapter of Portuguese punk. To briefly summarize it, despite the fact that there were several bands at the time, and an audience to listen to them, this early beginning of punk suffers from a lack of interest and investment by record labels; and the visual or graphic side was not a priority nor a part of the bands' agenda, who failed to understand the possibilities of an artwork as a mean to express a message or to express themselves or simply be creative.

If on the one hand, as seen, the emancipatory side, the freedom to create as one wished, that the *do-it-yourself* ethics of punk could imply was not reflected in the record sleeves, on the other hand, many people involved in this punk scene invested in multiple forms personal expression through fanzines, posters or photography, or by organizing their own concerts and creating their own independent labels. Once again, it would be António Sergio, the radio-host and music critic, the person behind this wave of new-found creativity. Inspired by other do-it-yourself labels in 1977 he came up with *Pirate Dreams Records* and, using one of the tapes Rui Castro sent him from London, pressed an LP simply titled «Punk Rock 77» featuring the *Sex Pistols*, *The Jam*, *Screwdriver*, among others. As far as the artwork goes, despite the quality of the pressing, it would be the most interesting object released in this early years of punk in Portugal. Signed by "Faustfried Rich'Ma" it would consist of a collage of band photos and punk artifacts – from razorblades and safety pins to Johnny Rotten's "Destroy" t-shirt along with hand drawn lettering and bits of film -, all in negative to give the artwork a darker, no future, tone and feel. Unfortunately, this was the first and only *Pirate Dream Records* release. Because the bands were not licensed, the record was in fact a bootleg, and therefore copies of this LP had to be confiscated and destroyed.
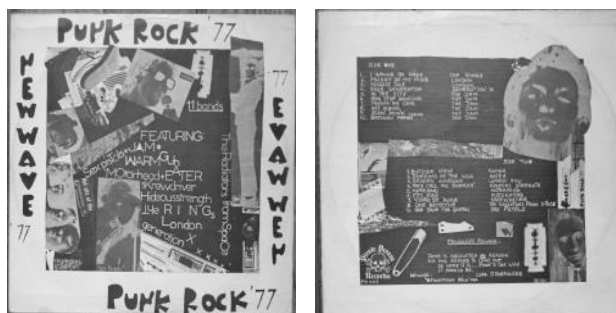
Figure 5 a/b – VA, *Punk Rock '77*, LP, Lisboa, Pirate Dream Records, 1978(?)

After this very short adventure, António Sérgio began to work legally, creating the *Da Nova* label, which among Portuguese pressings of international bands, released what would be a reference record, marking the transition to the 1980's: *Corpo Diplomático*'s «Música Moderna». Formed by some ex-members of *Faíscas* – as previously mentioned, one of the first Portuguese punk bands – they got together to form a new band with a concept, not explicitly punk but still provoking, starting with the band name – *Corpo Diplomático* («Diplomatic Corps») - or the record title – «Música Moderna» ("Modern music") in already post-modern years - ideas that would be worked lyrically and music wise but also on the artwork.

The front-sleeve consisted on a maoist image of Chinese individuals working out, and the back-sleeve on a rhythmic collage by Fernando Cerdeira, with direct Dada influences, making use of cut and paste techniques for the first time in a record sleeve. Over a new-wave blazer suit we can see images of the band members stuck like pins and a rotating mechanical device that divides the image in an almost constructivist way that at the same time gives a sense of motion to the image.

They would also release a 7" at the time with an almost generic sleeve that includes a small reproduction of the LP back-sleeve. They would disband shortly after and some members would form *Heróis do Mar*, a project in which they would take aesthetic concerns much further.

Figura 6 a/b – Corpo Diplomático, *Música Moderna*, LP, Lisboa, Da Nova, 1979

Figura 7 a/b – Corpo Diplomático, *A Festa*, 7", Lisboa, Da Nova, 1979

1980: Portuguese rock boom

Corpo Diplomático was a sort of alien phenomenon in the Portuguese music scene and they were only released because of António Sergio's dedication and friendship. No one actually heard or cared about them. But soon after record labels' lack of interest in the late 70s new bands would change. In 1980, due to a professional musicians' strike - who demanded better conditions and higher wages -, labels began paying attention to what was happening, thus realizing that there were bands with just four people and no need for arrangements, desperate to release and play, which would be a better and more cost-effective investment. An LP record by Rui Veloso would soon sell thousands of copies and right after dozens of bands were signed, generating what would be called "Portuguese rock boom".

I won't go in-depth about this phenomenon but it's important to note that it was among all this that we saw the birth of the independent label named *Rotação*, ran by, and once again, António Sergio, now with the help of Cristina Ferrão. Punk was dead by then but a couple of bands that this label released came from the early punk movement, or were highly influenced by it, such as *Xutos & Pontapes* and *Opinião Pública*.

Focusing on *Opinião Publica*, a band from Lisbon, it was in 1981 that *Rotação* released their first single, named «Puto da Rua» («Street Kid»), where the lyrics outline part of the social context of Portugal in the early 80's, a city and society in development, no longer euphoric with the ideals of the revolution, trying to set the pace with what was happening outside. It was Portugal, in the South of Europe, as they named their LP where, as they described and I quote, "we already have rock, we have disco, coca-cola, flippers and the slums, invasions and class war", in a list that also includes color TV, lack of space in the subways, nudism in the Algarve, thousands of miles of highways and tourists. Back to "Puto da Rua", street kids were also part of the new Portuguese society and synthesized the angst of a new generation, dealing with gaps and the discovery of "alcohol and substances", to quote the lyric.

The sleeve translates the music and lyrics into a photo - no author credited - and for the first time we can see a direct relation to a reality. Shot near Praça de Espanha / Sete Rios we can see the Lisbon suburbs in the back, with their 70's /early 80's architecture. Unfortunately the photo was ruined by the artwork which framed it with a band logo, an enormous yellow label logo and song title. The back sleeve showed the band in a late-70s, New York punk-like pose, in the vein of *Television* or similar to U.K. power-pop bands.

Figure 8 a/b – Opinião Pública, *Puto da Rua*, 7", Lisboa, Rotação, 1981

Also released by *Rotação* were *Xutos & Pontapés*, nowadays a major rock act but at the time still inspired by the punk rock scene they helped to develop. Their first 7", «Sémen», is released in 1981, three years after they started playing. By then they had already changed their music style, more rock and less punk, as the *Joe Jackson* inspired sleeve can confirm. Their second 7", released in 1982, shows a generic live photo signed by António Pedro and the back sleeve also a photo, this time by Jean Jacques.

Figure 9 a/b – Xutos & Pontapés, *Sémen*, 7", Lisboa, Rotação, 1981

Figure 10 a/b – Xutos & Pontapés, *Toca e Foge*, 7", Lisboa, Rotação, 1982

A quick note before closing the *Rotação* chapter: they would also release a 7" of a new band by former *Aqui d'el Rock* members, now called *Mau Mau*, who by then were playing a more new-wave sound.

Another band worth mentioning from the early 1980's "Portuguese rock boom" are *Street Kids*. Focusing solely on their «Tropa, Não!» («Army, No!»), this would be the first explicit anti-militarist lyrics, a theme that would reemerge in the 1990's punk/hard-core scene. And the fact that the record has probably one of the best photos from those days where we can see a clear notion of photographic pose, a concept translated to image and a work of the *mise-en-scène*.

Figure 11 – Street Kids, *Tropa Não*, 7", Lisboa, Vadeca, 1982

To this small discography, which is already diverging a bit from punk, we could also add bands like *Tilt*, *Grupo Parlamentar* and *Speeds* for the energy or rawness, although it seems this was more due to recording and other technical incapacities than ideals or ethic. None of them managed to conceive a single slightly interesting artwork. The *Stratus* 7" might be the only cover worth a closer look, «Um Chuto no Quarto» («A fix in the room»), that explicitly

features drugs on the front sleeve. Curiously, although drugs were a major issue in the early 80's, and during all that decade, especially when heroin became more easily accessible, this theme would rarely feature on songs or artwork.

Figure 12 – Tilt, *Só Quero o Rock*, 7", Porto, Roda, 1981

Figure 13 – Tilt, *Bolinhas de Sabão*, 7", Porto, Roda, 1981

Figure 14 – Tilt, *Play-Boy*, 7", Lisboa, Materfonis, 1982

Figure 15 – Speeds, *Today's Not a Good Day*, 7", Lisboa, RPE, 1980)

Figure 16 – Speeds, *She's Gonna Leave Me*, 7", Lisboa, Gira, 1980)

Figure 17 – Stratus, *Um Chuto No Quarto*, 7", Lisboa, Vimúsica, 1982

Much more interesting, graphic-wise, would be the fanzines and demos, which visually translated the chaos, violence and confusion of the times during which they were published as we can see in the front sleeve of *Estado de Sítio* (1978) fanzine, done by a member of the punk band *Minas & Armadilhas* in the late 70's, *Desordem Total* (1978-1979) or *Leitmotiv* (1980).

Figure 18 a – Borges, Paulo, *Estado de Sítio*, nº 1, Lisboa, 197?

Figure 18 b – *Leitmotiv*, nº 1, Lisboa, 1980

Back to records and bands, in 1982, *Xutos & Pontapés* released an LP compiling their material from 1978 until then. Closing a period in their career, 1982 can also be read as a closing year of rock in Portugal. *Heróis do Mar* were sort of taking all the attention as well as other small rock bands that were getting bigger, more professional and backed by majors.

From punk to rock

In the meanwhile, among the new-wave and new-romantics, a new punk scene was forming, highly influenced by English *street punk* and *oi* but also by the likes of *The Clash*. This generation would have more politically concerned and "in-your-face" lyrics, but also, and this is something rare in Portuguese punk, a sense of humor.

With a venue in Lisbon to back and support them, *Rock Rendez Vous*, it was there that many of the forthcoming punk bands - *Crise Total, Kú de Judas, Condenação Pacífica, Mata-Ratos, Jardim do Enforcado*, to name a few - started or got bigger opportunities, not only by being allowed to play live and in decent conditions, but also due to the record label that they also ran which would release LP's compiling live songs from the bands.

Figure 19 a/b – V/A, *Ao Vivo no Rock Rendez Vous em 1984*, LP, Lisboa, Dansa do Som, 1984

Focusing on the bands from that generation that would later release records, we shall start with *Peste & Sida*. Formed in Lisbon in 1986 they would release their first LP in the following year, after gaining some visibility with the 4th edition of the *Rock Rendez Vous* contest where they would reach the finals. Highly influenced by *The Clash* music wise, their first record would pay tribute to them in the artwork - and therefore to Elvis too - although the chosen image ended up being four street dogs, most likely representing the four band members.

Figure 20 a/b – Peste & Sida, *Veneno*, LP, Lisboa, Transmédia, 1987

Their second LP, released in 1989, immediately became a landmark in the Portuguese scene for being one of the few coherent punk albums, featured one of the best artworks to date, a group of nuns cheering – the use of religious imagery was still provocative by then – with the ironic saying «Portem-se bem» («Behave yourselves»). Signed by Manuel San Payo, brother of João San Payo, *Peste & Sida* guitarist, this simple, direct and humorous image would be complemented by the inside booklet, very much inspired by the *Dead Kennedys*, with collages and drawings.

Figura 21 a/b – Peste & Sida, *Portem-se Bem*, LP, Lisboa, Polydor, 1989

A later *Peste & Sida* release, «Orgia Paroquial» («Parochial Orgy»), a cover of an 1980's Lisbon punk band named *Vómito,* would return to the same imagery but in the meanwhile that band was already moving from punk to rock, a shift that would be reflected in the ever-growing uninteresting artwork.

Figure 22 – Peste & Sida, *Orgia Paroquial*, 12",
Lisboa, Ariola, 1992

Figure 23 a/b – Peste & Sida, *É que é!*, LP, Lisboa,
Polydor, 1990

Figure 24 – Peste & Sida, *Eles andam aí*, LP, Lisboa,
Ariola, 1992)

Figure 25 – Peste & Sida, *Tu queres ecus*, 12",
Lisboa, Ariola, 1992

Like *Peste & Sida*, the next band we will focus on, *Mata-Ratos*, was crucial for the Portuguese punk scene and also got more visibility thanks to the *Rock Rendez Vous* contests. Formed in Lisbon 1982, after several line-up changes and a few demos, *Mata-Ratos* managed to build a name in the scene and in 1990 they released their first LP. Out on a major label, produced by Paulo Pedro Gonçalves - former member of *Faíscas* -, this LP would have one of the best cover arts among Portuguese releases. Managing to capture the energy of *Mata-Ratos* live concerts – the bomb represents it all -, the author, Nuno Saraiva, in one of his first works in a career dedicated to illustration and comics, didn't forget to reproduce the audience, which at the time, at least in Lisbon, comprised of a mixture of punks, rockabillys and skinheads, carefully drawn with attention to detail from clothes to hairstyles.
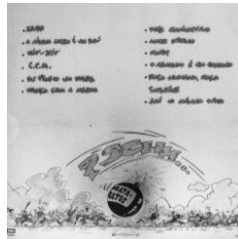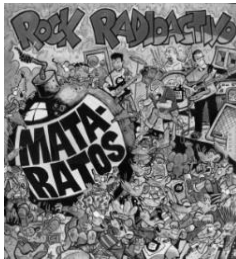
Figure 26 a/b – Mata-Ratos, *Rock Radioactivo*, LP,
EMI / Valentim de Carvalho, Lisboa, 1990

Figure 27 a/b – Mata-Ratos, *Expulsos do Bar*, 7″,
Drunk Records, Lisboa, 1994

The next record would be «Expulsos do Bar» («Expelled from the Bar»), released four years later, in 1994, distributed on a new independent label, *Fast & Loud*, and the sleeve illustrates the content: songs about drinking, partying, farting and puking. The next record follows the same approach musically and artwork wise it is practically irrelevant to our argument, as no social comment, aesthestic concerns or ideologies are expressed, except maybe for the back-sleeve of the «Bebedeiras e Miúdas» («Drinking and Girls») 7″, that amisdt the confusion features a drawing of two skinheads, Portuguese and Brazilian, easily identified by the dress codes, cheering and drinking.
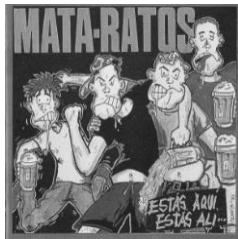
Figure 28 a/b – Mata-Ratos, *Estás Aqui…Estás Ali…*,
CD, Lisboa, Drunk Record, 1995
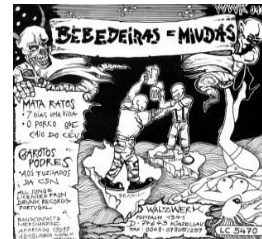
Figure 29 a/b – Mata-Ratos / Garotos Podres,
Bebedeiras e Miúdas, 7″, Alemanha, Walzwerk
Records, 1995

In parallel to all this, a new independent label is created, *Ama Romanta*. Highly influenced by do-it-yourself and punk ethics – some of the people involved were part of the early punk scene – they soon would put out all sorts of records, from punk to jazz to electronics. Concerning this label we will only look at two of their releases. Firstly, a compilation named «Divergências», released in 1986, where, among others, we can hear the punk band *Grito Final*. While the front-sleeve expresses nothing, the back sleeve, hand-drawn by one of the first female punks in Portugal, Ondina Pires, doesn't follow regular graphic structures making a free use of the space, working the lettering and adding small details.
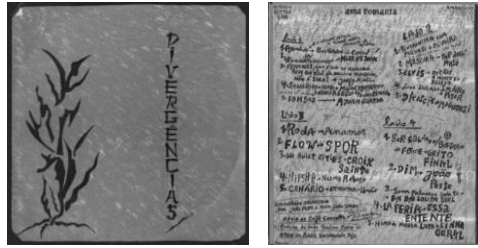
Figure 30 a/b – V/A, *Divergências*, LP, Lisboa, Ama Romanta, 1986

Secondly, the punk rockabilly band from Porto, *Cães Vadios*, whose 7" came out in 1987, being one of the few releases from a band outside Lisbon. The poorly drawn almost childish sleeve, created by the band themselves, consists of a joke inspired by Hanna-Barbera's *Top Cat* where the cat is replaced by a psychobilly dog, as we can see by the haircut, where the filth and violent scenery can help build an atmosphere for the music. The back-sleeve has the classic, almost uninteresting, collage with photos of friends, where the clothes and hairstyle might be the only thing interesting to look at after all these years.

Figure 31 a/b – Cães Vadios, *Cães Vadios*, Lisboa, Ama Romanta, 1987

Punk was generally associated with anarchist, or extreme left-wing politics, but in all the freedom they reclaimed there was also space for other political wings which soon would use the same music style to express themselves, with similar energy and rage. Focusing on the not very prolific right wing skinhead scene there are two bands we must look at: *Guarda de Ferro*, for being the first skinhead band, and *Lusitano*i.

Even if in the beginning *Guarda de Ferro* did not assume an extreme political agenda, on their first 7" released in 1991, a typical skinhead imagery is used to portray strength, and to impose fear: shaved head, army boots, bomber jackets, baseball bats. This photograph is framed by an uninteresting graphic design. For the back sleeve a band symbol was created, like a montage of several elements that concerned the band – celtic cross, skulls, medieval axes, and also a few Japanese characters left unexplained. On their first LP released in 1992, they display a clear nationalist stance with ideals expressed in songs such as «Portugal aos Portugueses» («Portugal to the Portuguese») and on the sleeve's chosen image – a reproduction of a painting of the historical Aljubarrota Battle.

Figure 32 a/b – Guarda de Ferro, *Short Hair, Heavy Boots, Big Beat!*, 7", U.S.A., Steve Priest Fan Club, 1991

Figure 33 a/b – Guarda de Ferro, *s/t*, LP, France, Boot Boyz Records, 1992

As for *LusitanOi!*, the front sleeve of their «Olho por Olho, Dente por Dente» («Eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth») shows a drawing of a typical skinhead, again identified by his dress code, fighting against a riot police officer, which can parallel to some anarchist graphics that will be seen in the future. The lyrics inside explain the band's position against the corrupt governments at the time, demanding another regime.

Figure 34 a/b – LusitanOi!, *Olho por Olho, Dente por Dente*, 7", Italy, Tuono Records, 1994)

1990's a brand new age

In the transition from the 1980's to the 1990's a new band was formed with *Ku de Judas* members, *Censurados*. Releasing their first songs on an independent compilation named «Feedback 001» they would soon get signed by a new label, *El Tatu Records* ran by Tim of *Xutos & Pontapés*.
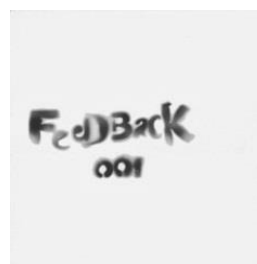
Figure 35 a/b – V/A, *Feedback 001*, LP, Lisboa, Feedback, 1990)

In 1990 they released their first LP, a straight forward punk rock album, more melodic than *Kú de Judas*, still with political lyrics but on a more personal perspective. The front sleeve for this LP would be a black and white photo of the band members, with special emphasis on the leather jacket, capturing a small movement that translates the band's live energy, for which they were already known. The army type lettering would add punk credibility.

Moving fast from an underground to a more mainstream circuit, thanks to *Xutos & Pontapés*, on the second LP, «Confusão», sleeve, which came out in 1991, *Censurados* revealed a more serious approach to music. The front featured a mixed media artwork and the back-sleeve featured four live photos that represent a maturity that the sound confirmed but also a departure from their punk rock roots. Their third and last album, «Sopa» was released by a major label in 1993 but by this stage, *Censurados* were nothing but another rock band, that fortunately split right afterwards.

Figure 36 a/b – Censurados, *S/T*, LP, Lisboa, El Tatu Records, 1990
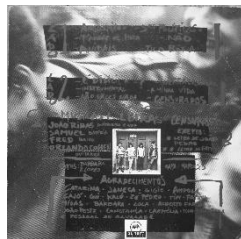
Figure 37 a/b – Censurados, *Confusão*, LP, Lisboa, El Tatu Records, 1991
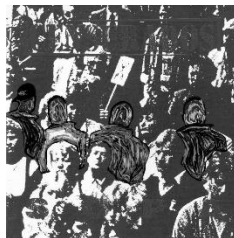
Figure 38 a/b – Censurados, *Sopa*, LP, Lisboa, EMI, 1993

As previously mentioned, in the late 1980's an underground punk/hardcore scene was emerging. Much more informed, with a more political and critical conscience, they would reclaim a set of ideals imported mostly from the United States hardcore scenes, crossed with English anarcho-punk. For the first time, a music scene was connecting to organizations or collectives nationwide – from anarchist centers to animal rights -, or even worldwide, trying to build a more solid scene, not exclusively musical. It was a new generation, most of them born after the April 1974, this time coming not only from Lisbon suburbs but also from nearby urban centers Sintra and Cascais (and their respective suburbs), who by building a strong network, soon extended all over Portugal. Among bands, concerts, demonstrations, squatting, opening of social centers, debates, etc there were also do-it-yourself record labels to back the bands and spread the ideals.

The first record releases came out on a previous trash/death-metal small label named *Slime Records* that shifted to punk hardcore and released a 7", in 1992, compiling five of the new

bands. *Corrosão Caótica, Inkisiçao, Alcoore, Subcaos and X-Acto*. All of them had previously released demos and were for the first time on vinyl and as a sample of something new that was emerging. The inner sheet filled with lyrics, contacts and manifesto would reinforce this new ethos. The compilation name was *Change* and on the front sleeve, a poster stated «Velhos Tempos, Novos Tempos» («Old Times, New Times») predicting that something was about to happen. The photo itself would be the first of many appropriated from books with no identified author, trying to either "show reality" or question it, illustrating the music, synthesizing the band's agenda.
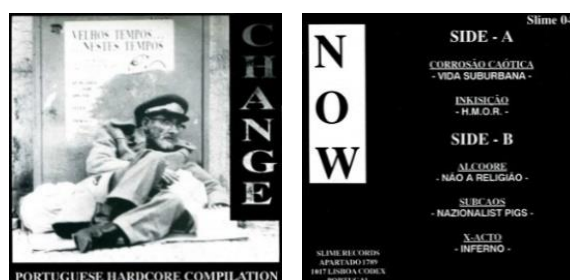
Figure 39 a/b – V/A, *Change*, 7", Lisboa, Slime Records, 1992

Analyzing one by one the bands featured in the compilation – it would be these bands who would release records in the following years – and starting with *Corrosão Caótica*, from Lisbon, they were formed in 1988, released their first demo in 1990 and in 1992 Slime Records releases their 7" «União e Okupação» («Unity and Squatting»). The front sleeve, a black and white drawing by Johnny, inspired by Spanish punk comics, consisted on a visual manifesto of all the ideals that the band sung about. From the "Resiste" t-shirt to the writing on the wall that includes the "anarchy" and "squat" symbols, the stance against police and against hard drugs, and not forgetting punk iconography - leather jackets, spiked hair and studded belts and army boots – the drawing had all the elements of the new punk hardcore scene. The back-sleeve was inspired by anarcho-punk, with a *Crass*-like photomontage about the dangers of nuclear power, something completely displaced if we look at Portuguese society in those days (it's worth mentioning that there was never the threat of a nuclear plant being built in our country).

Figure 40 a/b – Corrosão Caótica, *União & Okupação*, 7", Lisboa, Slime Records, 1992

Settling a name within the scene due to constant live shows, *Corrosão Caótica* would invest in their sound, crossing punk and trash metal, and also by becoming more professional as the back sleeve of their first album, a photo of a recording studio, suggests. But they would soon split.

Figure 41 a/b – Corrosão Caótica, *S/T*, CD, Lisboa, Projecto Global, 1994

Also in 1992, *Slime Records* releases a split CD with two other bands featured in the *Change* compilation: *Inkisiçã*o and *X-Acto*. Here would be included both new and previously demo-released songs. The sleeve was, again, a stolen photo. Author not credited, as most of the artwork of the punk hardcore scene that believed that everything could be disposed of, it was in fact a photo taken during the Pacific Campaign, 1944, by Eugene Smith, here highly contrasted or simply badly reproduced. On a quick side-note, it has to be said that it's ironic that one of the first straight-edge releases includes a photo taken by a person who would become an alcoholic and drug addict.

Back to the artwork, the back-sleeve was an uninspired piece with a track-list, two band logos, a stolen illustration. This austerity can either be seen as stance against luxurious packaging and commercial releases or just a lack of graphic ideas from bands and labels, more concerned with the written message. Something that would affect the majority of the releases, the bands didn't seem to know how to deal with new possibilities, and to the fact that there were no restrains to their freedom to create. Still, if we look at the song titles we can see this back-sleeve as the tablets of the commandments of the hardcore scene: «Meat is Murder», «Bull fight is torture», «Fascist Pigs», «Clean Planet», «War on Drugs».

Figure 42 a/b – Inkisição / X-Acto, CD, Lisboa, Slime Records, 1993

After this release, *Inkisição* would release a split with a Japanese band and would split shortly after as two band members would die in a car accident. Others would make a new band years later named *Intervenzione*.

Figure 43 – Inkisição / Battle of Disarm, *Ordem, Racionalidade – Não*, 7", Lisboa, Ataque Sonoro, 1995

Figure 44 – Intervenzione / Yuppiecrusher, 7", Sweden, Dod & Uppsvald, 1998)

One year after the first bunch of *Slime Records* releases, a new label from Cacém starts to release some of these bands, and in 1993 we can see a new *Alcoore* record out. Also from Linha de Sintra, Cacém, Mem Martins, *Alcoore* formed in the late 80's and in 1993 released their first and only 7", «Terra das Flores» («Land of Flowers») with a poetic, metaphorical or simply uninteresting artwork which reveals nothing about their sound or ideas. Luckily the booklet would clarify their positions and concerns, namely regarding drugs, in a much more mature way than society in general.

Figure 45 a/b – Alcoore, *Terra das Flores*, 7", Cacém, Rage Productions, 1993

Also out on *Rage* was *Subcaos* second 7", released in 1994, and there we could see, on the sleeve and music, all the anarcho-punk / crust clichés. No originality found in the music, lyrics or graphic work, *Subcaos* soon became known for their live energy and punk lifestyle. The sleeve consisted on a collage – which surprisingly was not a very common practice among the vinyl releases, only on demos – and an original drawing of a punk, with all the identifying symbols, dreadlocks, bullet belt, peace punk patches, setting the model of the crust-punks to come. This was pasted over newspaper photographs of chaos and disorder.

A brief round through their sleeves, the first 7", a split with *Hiatus* was a stolen photo of riot police and band logo, a not so creative do-it-yourself artwork. Other releases were a CD that showed another poor intervention on a photograph, still it made clear about the contents, and the last 7" would be a ninja, which shows their then obsession with Japanese punk.
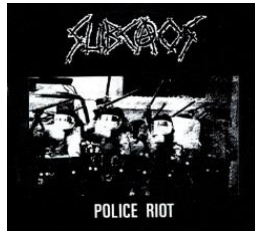
Figure 46 – Subcaos/ Hiatus, *Police Riot*, Lisboa, Slime Records, 1993

Figure 47 a/b – Subcaos, *Revolution*, 7", Cacém, Rage Productions, 1994

Figure 48 – Subcaos / Genital Deformities, *Who Did This to My Sister?*, CD, Lisboa, Ataque Sonoro, 1994
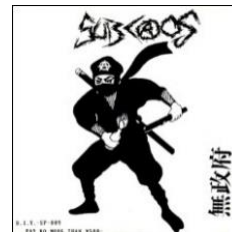
Figure 49 – Subcaos / Battle of Disarm, Disarm or Die!, 7", Japão, D.I.Y. Records, 1995

No Oppression, from Cascais, were formed in the early 90's and released their first 7" in 1995. With a highly engaged political agenda, the front cover would express this stance through a photomontage made with plundered photographs. This would be one of the first uses of computer in the punk scene and amidst the confusion we can see a priest and the face of an Indian. Indigenous rights were part of the anarcho-punk international agenda by then, and would be a concern rapidly adopted by the Portuguese scene, which made some sense especially on the eve of the 500th anniversary of the Portuguese Discoveries during the 1990s. The back sleeve would be an art work inspired by Monty Python, with a slight Dada or Surrealist feeling, which could be reclaimed as influence if any of them knew what Dada was.

Figure 50 a/b – No Oppression, *Change! What Destroys You!*, 7", Portugal / Espanha / Austria, Creative Conscience / Our Struggle / VDP-CDE, 1995
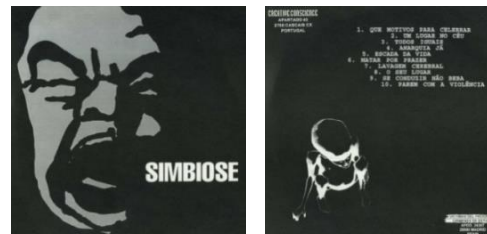
Figure 51 a/b – Simbiose, *S/T*, 7", Cascais, Creative Conscience, 1995

The first *Simbiose* 7"s was out at the same time on the same label, *Creative Conscience*, with an uninspired artwork that showed a screaming face in the front sleeve and in the back sleeve, like many others crust bands, a third-world child reminiscent of Nausea's «Extinction» LP. *Simbiose* would become the most prolific punk band in Portugal still playing nowadays but with a completely different line-up.

Back to *X-acto*, after their split CD with *Inkisição*, in 1994 *Rage Productions* released their first record, a five songs 7" where they would continue to settle down what would be the rules of the hardcore scene. This time there was an anti-nazi song, anti-fur song, a song about unity, among others, all inside an artwork that expressed their strong stance on animal rights and veganism, with two images of a slaughterhouse in the front sleeve and a free cow on the back sleeve.

Figure 52 a/b – X-Acto, *S/T*, 7", Cacém, Rage Productions, 1994

Achieving a cult status and a horde of followers, in the following year *Ataque Sonoro*, ex-*Slime Records*, released the much expected full album, named «Harmony as One», where an aerial photograph of the sea and earth tried to illustrate and confer deeper meaning to the album title. The back-sleeve showed a new attention to design. In the following two records, both from 1997, a split CD with the American band Ignite and a 7", the artwork tries to capture the band's live "positive" energy and since some band members became graphic designers for the first time a punk band achieved a professional look. As so, this last *X-Acto* record can be seen as the definitive end of an era of cut-and-paste and hand-drawings made by friends, and the shift to computer design and investment in cover art, not necessarily creating better artworks, the beginning of a new hardcore scene.

Figure 53 a/b – X-Acto, *Harmony as One*, CD, Lisboa, Ataque Sonoro, 1995

Figure 54 a/b – X-Acto / Ignite, CD, Lisboa, Ataque Sonoro, 1997

Figure 55 a/b – X-Acto, *The New Child*, 7" , Lisboa, Ataque Sonoro / Bee Keeper / Milk-Shake, 1997

To list some conclusions from this brief journey through two decades of Portuguese punk:

-Cover art was rarely a concern in bands' agendas. Music and lyrics were always the priorities. As so, there's neither an aesthetic nor an anti-aesthetic developed. This is something that is easily explained as there were no artists or illustrators in the scene, nor collaborations with artists abroad. And usually the friend invited to conceive an artwork would never be invited again.

-The freedom punk bands sung about in their songs was rarely reflected in the artwork. Portuguese punk record sleeves were usually a montage of clichés, an abuse of visual codes and an imitation of what was seen in imported records.

-Very rarely do bands deal with their own daily realities, concerns, angers or frustrations, preferring to focus on more generic realities such as war, famine in third world countries, state violence. The artwork is never thought-provocative, and their perception of *do-it-yourself* seemed to be about stealing images.

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Musicalíssimo

Rock em Portugal

2.4. I've got straight edge: discussions on aging and gender in an underground musical scene

Jhessica Reia[1]

Abstract

The straight edge movement first appeared in the United States around the 1980s, having a remarkable influence from the punk scene. They opposed the "live fast, die young" approach of the punks, but incorporated its sonority and the strong DIY culture. More than three decades after the band Minor Threat sang "I've got straight edge", we still have an important and dynamic underground hardcore-punk scene in Sao Paulo (Brazil) tied to the straight edge values: veganism, sobriety, political activism and the DIY as a way of life that goes beyond the musical production. This article is part of a research carried out over the last three years that aims to discuss the importance of the straight edge identity to this urban youth culture that spins around the Verdurada festivals. Here, the approach is focused on the debate of two problematic questions that cannot be seen separately: the doubts surrounding aging in this scene – since most people that started it on 1996 are still actively producing music and festivals – and how gender issues still permeate this context, even after many years of dialogues with feminism and queer activism. Even with the emergence of new technologies, such as the Internet, the scene keeps its dynamics and maintains much of the energy and processes of the previous days.

Keywords: Straight edge; DIY; Verdurada; Gender; Aging.

Straight edge (sXe) is usually characterized as a movement that started on the 1980's at the USA, specifically at Washington, D.C. It has Minor Threat, former Ian MacKaye's band, as its prominent trigger when they sang, back there in 1981: '*I'm a person just like you / But I've got better things to do / Than sit around and fuck my head / Hang out with the living dead / Snort white shit up my nose / Pass out at the shows / I don't even think about speed / That's something I just don't need/ I'VE GOT STRAIGHT EDGE*'. The straight edge arise in some way as a contraposition to the punk scene of the period, searching for a life free of drugs, alcohol and tobacco; another aspects on the delimitation of the straight edge identity can change from scene to scene, depending on the country, such as veganism/vegetarianism, DIY culture, political activism and a sort of anti-promiscuity attitude, for example. This movement has been known for decades by its militancy for a sober, drug free life, adopting the X as a symbol of representation and mutual recognition on hardcore punk scenes. The X was initially used to mark the back of youngsters hands, in order to allow then to enter the hardcore punk shows in places that commercialized alcoholic beverages in D.C, but it ended up being incorporated by the straight edgers to represent the choice for sobriety (Haenfler, 2009; Wood, 2006).

Very quickly, the straight edge was spreading its principles of sobriety on other corners of the world, arriving in Brazil at the same decade – the first reference to straight edge in the

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[1] Getúlio Vargas Fondation, Brazil.

country is from 1982, on the cover of the *Grito Suburbano* album. Sao Paulo, the largest city in Brazil and home of a diverse range of scenes and subcultures (staging punk versus headbangers fights, eventually) housed a very active straight edge subculture that is still organizing gigs, festivals and other events until these days. They are organized around a collective named Verdurada, created in 1996, that promotes an homonymous festival featuring sobriety, hardcore punk bands, veganism and political activism, all done on the DIY principles – which is claimed to be the largest DIY event in the country. The DIY ethics mark out several aspects of the collective, the festivals, as much as the other agents involved in the broader hardcore punk scene, such as labels, bands, and vegan food providers. On a regular Verdurada day of shows, you can find a wide range of DIY culture, from a small stand selling feminist material with DIY herbal abortion methods to merchandise, recordings and people that sell vegan food made by themselves between one show and another (you can find burgers, cupcakes and the traditional soy drink, *Mupy*). Often, before the last show, there is an informal talk on topics seem as important to the collective: women rights, direct action, real estate speculation and squatting groups, current environment issues, etc.

Although all this political involvement, gender issues still appear like a constant tension among straight edgers: few girls are part of the bands that play in the scene while the mosh pit is still dominated by boys dancing furiously. There are few women at the collective, especially among those who have been part of it for a long time. Several debates around exclusion and prejudice arise, both on the straight edge subculture and on the broader hardcore punk scene. This article is part of a research carried out over the last three years[2] that aims to discuss the importance of the straight edge identity to this urban youth culture that spins around the Verdurada festivals. Here, the approach is focused on the debate of two problematic questions that cannot be seen separately: how gender issues still permeate this context, even after many years of dialogues with feminism and queer activism; and the doubts surrounding aging in this scene – since most people that started it on 1996 are still actively producing music and festivals, and few of them are women.

Being part of a three decades movement

Aging in straight edge is a sensitive issue, since there is a belief/joke that you can only be 'true till twenty one'. After this age you grow up, become an adult, eventually start a new family and it would be difficult to keep up with the sobriety-activist-hardcore identity. Straight edge has now more than three decades since it appeared and people who were part of it at the beginning usually change their perspective on identity issues related to 'being a straight edger'. In Sao Paulo, there are people involved with the Verdurada since 1996. The motivations to continue defining themselves as straight edgers are multiple, but they converge at some points, such as: they believe in the value and importance of this event both to the underground hardcore scene and the youngsters living this experience, they want to be with their long time friends, and they are living for something that make a difference:

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[2] The research was carried out between 2011 and 2013 and it is a result of my Master's thesis. The methodological approach was both theoretical (based on previous works in the field, as much as discussion of Cultural Studies on subcultures, scenes and identity) and empirical (two years of fieldwork with the object, consisting in participant observation, interviews, survey and nethnography).

> This is an event as no other I've known, since it goes beyond the music. I think this is the most important thing about it. It is not a show, it is an event that addresses interesting topics that we think should be discussed anyway. I still believe on the importance of Verdurada, as much as on the importance of the topics that we bring here to be debated – and we are a very united and cool group after all. (D.M., 31 years old, woman).[3]

> I really like Verdurada, because it is not only a rock show for the kids; I think it has something more, it has a clear political goal: move the do it yourself forward. We always try to show that DIY is possible. I like being part of it (F.M., 37 years old, man).

> Here we can spread the vegetarian lifestyle and do something that goes beyond the established rules. Hardcore gives you two lifes: the everyday life (with its standard routine) and the other. At Verdurada we can have this other life just as we are, more honestly. Also, there is the music – something that I love. There is this desire to get things done, to spread the DIY, to show that we can do lots of things without tying ourselves to the government neither to the market – we can make our scene grow, musically and artistically. (X., 22 years old, man).

> I always imagined how it would be like to age inside a scene. This is a motivation for me. I want to be linked to this when I become 40 or 50, I don't know. I want to be still involved in some way. If I eventually get tired, that is ok, but for now it is important, I'm experiencing a unique sensation: I'm getting old while I'm involved with all this. Seeing people taking their sons to a hardcore show… I feel good about that. (A.M., 34 years old, man).

Few women have been participating at the Verdurada collective for a long time, and their motivations to continue in the group are very similar to those pointed out by men: the feeling of belonging to a scene, to a subculture, to a group of close friends working together to build a better world, etc. Also, this question is closely linked to the identity boundaries of being a straight edge, since after the 30's, usually, you no longer belong to the youngest groups of the scene and you have a family, a job and carry out a 'regular life' to pay the bills. The idea of two lifes comes up eventually, together with the idea that these two sides of their life complement each other and let them move on without 'losing the edge'.

Straightedge and the gender issue

One of the few female authors writing about straight edge in the U.S., Beth Lahickey (2007), compiled interviews and interesting information about the straight edge subculture in New York. In her words:

> Like any musical movement, straight edge has its pros and cons. I have never seen any live bands that can match the level of physical energy put forth at straight edge shows. The lyrical suggestions of a positive outlook, unity, and basic clean living are admirable, though not necessarily heeded. […] I definitely tout the motivation behind the straight edge, but at the same breathe denounce its male-based egocentricity. At any rate, I chose to stand at its sidelines and support its players. And more importantly, I found the subject worthy of documentation" (Lahickey, 2007, p. xvii).

The author points out a common discussion about the straight edge subculture: its male dominance and sexist approach. Robert Wood (2006), who studied this subculture in the United States, affirms that the people who identify themselves with this subculture can be characterized as predominantly male, Caucasian, young (under 30 years old), from urban centers and belonging mostly to the middle class. Ross Haenfler (2009) states that straight

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[3] The interviews were conducted in Sao Paulo, between 2011 and 2013. The ages shown represent how old people were at the time I interviewed them. Here I opted to use the initials, instead of the names, in order to keep them anonymous.

edgers, today, face dilemmas on the gender subject, since some boys are trying to re-think their role, as much as their position inside the subculture, in order to redefine their meaning for masculinity. According to this author, we can found some contradictory masculinities within the subculture, since the 'progressive, idealistic, anti-sexist, pacifist, animal rights activists coexist with hypermasculine, domineering 'though guys' who resemble the stereotypical 'jocks' they claim to resist' (Haenfler, 2009, p.103). Sometimes, young cultures opposing the hegemonic gender roles end up reinforcing the values they are trying to deny:

> Like punks, sXers seek to create an alternative to sexism and patriarchy and question what it means to be a man, but the pull of dominant society is difficult to overcome. Straight edge presents two general faces of masculinity, one proposing a more progressive vision of manhood, the other reflecting 'hegemonic masculinity'. Multiple expressions of masculinity emerge within *any* single men's movement and faces problems of reconstructing manhood in a masculine context (Haenfler, 2009, p.104)

To this author, the straight edge movement usually offers two perspectives on gender issues: in an extreme, the pro-feminist approach and at the other, a reproduction of the hegemonic masculinity. Men roles among straight edgers vary widely, producing many fragmented masculinities (Haenfler, 2009). The progressive face of straight edge, as a subculture, tries to resist oppressions, challenging sexism and homophobia, for example; also, it intends to 'break patterns of abusive masculinity' and empower women inside its dynamics. Some women are very critical to the men-only bands that raise gender issues on stage, but part of them think that it is valid, indeed, that men take the initiative to transform both the scene and the world in a better place for everyone (Haenfler, 2009, p.107-121).

There are several engaged girls, such as Jenni Ramme, interviewed by Gabriel Kuhn (2010). She funded the Emancypunx Records in 1997-98, a project developed in the anarcha-feminist hardcore punk scene (from a group called Women Against Discrimination and Violence), at Warsaw (Poland), which ended up becoming a very important reference of feminist and queer politics with a straight edge approach. According to her, Emancypunx arose from the need to distribute feminist materials (pamphlets, books, zines and music), since there was no internet back then and Poland did not have a consolidated movement; the name derives from 'emancipation in punk' or from 'suffragettes punk' (which in Polish is *emancypantki*) (Kuhn, 2010).

Issues of discrimination for sexual orientation are quite common in straight edge, as well as activists fighting for respect and equality, combined to the principle of sobriety. Nick Riotfag, an activist and writer that was also interviewed by Kuhn (2010), tells his difficulties to connect his sXe side with his *queer* side, since he faced resistance in both scenes (for his sobriety, in the *queer* world, and for being *queer*, among sXers), claiming to be very difficult to counteract the exaggerated masculinity of the hardcore-punk-straightedge scene (Kuhn, 2010, p.200-212). Nevertheless, some bands challenged homophobia in their music production, such as Outspoken, Good Clean Fun and Earth Crisis.

One of the approaches in the straight edge scene that tries to revert these problematic gender issues is the idea of women empowerment, managing to include women and give them an active voice inside the scene. Haenfler (2009) shows that the women he interviewed in his research told him that they indeed felt empowered by the movement. One of the interesting discoveries made by the author is that straight edgers girls usually put themselves not only in an opposition to girls that drink and use drugs, but also to mainstream culture girls, and independence in relation to men is an element they proudly defend – along with a

rejection to some aspects of femininity such as passivity, a constant necessity to impress men, competition with other girls and an exaggerated focus on appearance (Haenfler, 2009). Anyway, it is clear that there are problems that follow the hegemonic culture tendencies, such as the lack of an effective inclusion of women in the scene and its consequences.

The only possible way to change these patterns would be through a persistent action, thanks to the diffuse nature of sXe, and one cannot exclude women from defined positions; however, one can only discourage them to assume important positions in the scene – like being a band member, for instance. Even in a scene that offers quite opportunities for girls to be involved, to be in a band is certainly one of the most prestigious roles, since the bands are responsible to define the sXe ideology, to create new meanings for the movement and have a big admiration by the fans (Haenfler, 2009).

Haenfler (2009) says that, in the scene he observed, there was this situation where girls were called 'coat racks', referring to those who held their boyfriends coats when they went to the *mosh pit* to dance during the shows – an attitude very ill-seen by girls who questioned women authenticity inside the sXe. The dance itself is quite violent and turns away much of the girls, who fear getting hurt among the boys punching and kicking each other in front of the stage.

The girls that join the straightedge end up feeling special exactly because they are women in the scene, since this is rare; a lot of members believe that the aggressive and furious musical style can turn women away, at the same time that women aren't socially educated to appreciate such kind of music – a belief that reinforces the dominant gender pattern (Haenfler, 2009).

It is considered that the most accepted girls in the scene are those that, someway, fit as 'one of the boys' – what turns out to be problematic at the moment that women must conform to a masculine performance, and that some women will never be able to fit this role. Regarding relationship among women, it is believed that, in face of so many adversities, they end up uniting themselves in strong friendship bonds – building up the idea that girls must be united to win their space inside straightedge (Haenfler, 2009).

Haenfler (2009) makes a reference to the Brazilian straightedge scene (which, according to him, is one of the biggest in the world) and to the band Infect, composed only by girls that sang against sexism and homophobia. In their music 'Homophobia', originally sang in Portuguese, they say: '*End up homophobia / We support free choice / of sexuality'*. Social criticism against sexism is clear in their musical production.

Besides participating in bands, in these male-oriented subcultures, girls often use fanzines for their creativity and political views. The Riot Grrrl[4] movement, for instance, gave more visibility to feminist fanzines inside subcultural spaces. After the Internet diffusion, some women started the creation of feminist websites about sXe: the two most popular in the 2000's were *Girls with Xs on their hands* and *xSisterhoodx*. These sites had a lot of elements from a conventional website, with discussion forums, interviews, musical reviews and links to other sites.

Other important roles are added to these, like scheduling shows, producing the festivals, advertising the shows, helping touring bands to find some place to stay, photographing and

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[4] Riot Grrrl is a movement that ranges from fanzines to festivals and hardcore-punk-feminist bands, whose intention is to make women become aware of and claim their rights, having music as their primary form of expression.

documenting the history of the scene, among other things – showing that some scenes only work thanks to women participation.

There is a feminine adhesion inside the straightedge scene that ends up blending with sXe identity – with many men ending up being at least friendly to principles and attitudes claimed by feminism. However, there are still those that do not see homophobia and sexism as obvious inside the scene, as an issue that should be discussed and changed; there are also lots of girls who believe that opportunities are equal and the main reason for women not assuming more prestigious roles is a lack of interest.

Straightedge in Brazil: limits and opportunities to discuss gender issues

São Paulo has one of the largest hardcore punk scenes in the world and since the emergence of straight edge subculture in the 1980's it has been playing a renowned role on the international scenario – principally after people started Verdurada, a music festival organized by the homonymous collective since 1996. Nowadays, Verdurada is a festival, with shows (mostly from hardcore punk bands) and lectures/conversations about political issues, in addition to workshops, debates, video and art exhibitions with a political and divergent content. At the end of the day, they distribute a free vegan dinner for all the participants.

These festivals happen periodically, without a fixed address (in fact, they're facing problems to find a place, due to the changes in Brazilian real estate speculation over the last years), but always close to the public transportation system. Besides the shows, there is always vegan food, water and *Mupy* for sale, as much as merchandise material from DIY and independent labels – like t-shirts, zines, recordings, etc. The festival brings together several bands, most of them being outsiders even for the 'independent' circuits and are not part of the recent trend of new business models on the music industry. They claim to be DIY, delimitating clearly that they are not part of an alternative network of independent rock scene gaining strength in Brazil – such as Fora do Eixo[5].

During the fieldwork at Verdurada one of the most sensitive subject to be addressed was the gender issue – specially regarding sexism – inside the hardcore punk scene and, mainly, inside the straight edge subculture. There are several discussions on the male predominance at straight edge gigs, a fact that can be confirmed just by taking a look at who is attending the event and who is dancing in the mosh pit. Also, I heard people from outside the subculture affirming that sexism and homophobia are remarkable among these straight edgers.

Most part of the above discussed issues was reproduced at Sao Paulo's straight edge subculture. During interviews and participant observation I noted that the perception hold by the collective's members over the treatment given to gender issues differ significantly from the rest of the scene, since several members believe that the scene is neither sexist nor

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[5] Fora do Eixo (FDE) is a Brazilian network of cultural collectives created in 2005, which has been dramatically growing since then. Having Pablo Capilé as a "founder", along with other artists and cultural producers, it has the goal of promoting cultural exchange in regions located outside the axis of Rio de Janeiro/Sao Paulo. It focused initially on independent musical production, but is now also engaged with other artistic expression, such as cinema, visual arts and theater – at the same time that it is now also expanding its actions through Latin America. Criticism has been directed at their so-called independent network of cultural production, for the fact it receives money both from the government and from private initiatives, to the organization, and that it is said to be horizontal, decentralized and collaborative, but raised many recent debates around authorship and appropriation of works inside the collective.

homophobic. They suggest that what create this animosity against straight edgers would be the results of uncontrollable individual actions towards a sexist/homophobic attitude. It is also remarkable, in some discourses, affirmations that girls should 'make themselves respectable' and stand for themselves, which means, they should earn the boy's respect, as if respect were a reward or recognition of pre-determined efforts, attitudes and so on. It is also common to hear from girls that they have a tougher way to conquer their own space in the subculture, passing through a process of 'masculinization', eventually becoming (or being seen as) 'one of the boys'.

For C.M. – who has recently been integrated to the Verdurada collective – one of the biggest problems inside the straight edge subculture is the sexist jokes made by the guys. According to her, these jokes are not made to offend or sound sexist, but this culture is so deeply rooted on people's imaginary that ends up appearing even among those who claim to resist it, such as the Verdurada. The opinion from other members who are also part of the collective shows a diverse perception:

> We always promote debates, but sometimes we see these jokes; maybe the person does not think that way, but these are kinda annoying jokes. (...) I agree with the talks between the shows; I think it's always worth to discuss these gender things. It is one of the topics we talk most because lots of people say that the Verdurada is sexist; and this is something that we always try to demystify, because we have the 'Verdurada show' and the 'collective Verdurada'. It's a hardcore show and the boys that hang out with us are not like that, but it has some young boys who go to the mosh pit and dance violently, clueless and end up hurting the girls. But they belong to the same hardcore scene, and not the collective. We always try to discuss this, because it [*Verdurada*] is not sexist. (C. M., 18 years old, women)

> The Verdurada always tried to confront homophobia and sexism, both in everyday life and in specific policies, debates, supporting some groups and initiatives, and everything else. We always made an effort to keep these things on the agenda. What also happens is that society is sexist and homophobic, and we can not pretend that this is not reflected in any way among us. These problems are reflected even in those who are consciously resisting it. We live in a world like this, which is slowly changing. I think it is an illusion to believe that hardcore is a bubble that protects people from the outside culture, like a field of cultural strength that we live daily; we exist in social relations that propagate and perpetuate this kind of prejudices. We fight, keep it on the agenda, stand up against homophobia and sexism. The best way we can (P. C., 34 years, man).

> I think there are more sexism, homophobia and prejudice outside of this scene, than within it. I think it is a mistake to try to understand the straightedge hardcore punk scene as a perfect scene, this is what ends up confusing the kids - they want to create a perfect utopia to live in, and this will never happen. You'll have to deal with some difference inside it, you will have to deal with opinions very different from yours. (F. M., 37 years, man)

According to C.M., one of the biggest challenges of being a woman in this context is the fact that you have to prove that you are really interested on music, on activism and on whatever the subculture can offer to you – in other words, that you are not interest only in meeting and hanging out with the boys:

> I was talking to the girls about it - and we agree - that some girls really come here because they think the boys are handsome and want to hook up with them. But I don't. When I started to come here I had already read about straight edge, I had listened to some bands and I wanted to enter the scene for the music. When you arrive, the first thing that some boys do is to flirt with you; but then I continued to come here and tried to show that I knew stuff – and was not here just because of men. When they realized it, everyone welcomed me, even the boys that flirted on me ended up supporting me, sending me new songs and bands. But I really think that at the beginning everything is much more difficult for the girls, because it seems to me that men have to prove themselves just once to be accepted in the scene, while women have to prove themselves twice: prove that they like being there and that they are not

only looking for boys to hook up with. I think women always have to make a greater effort. (C. M., 18 years old, woman)

When questioned about the necessity of becoming 'one of the boys', i.e., the process of adopting certain masculinities in order to be accepted among the guys, she affirms that this happens more often that she would like – even because hardcore is an aggressive way of expression, and girls are educated to follow some stereotypes that tell them to keep a safe distance from this kind of sonority and ambient:

> I think we don't have to show it [*being one of the boys*], but as we hang out with them it ends up becoming something like this. I faced many situations where the boys were talking about stuff as if I was one of them, even some embarassing things. This 'women issue' is very strong, for us to stand there is a much greater effort than if we were men. Because hardcore is a kinda sound that men are created to listen to, we usually grow up to listen to fluffy music. Then, the girl enters the scene and the guys think they are looking for them. (…) There is plenty of cases of girls who come here with these intentions. But I do not care. There are also girls who come here while they are dating some of the guys, and when they break up, the girls just stop showing off at shows. (C. M., 18 years, woman)

C.M. is one of the girls who participates at the mosh pit, dancing and performing stage dives. For her, being recognized by these actions, by her engagement with the scene, is the best part of the straight edge subculture:

> The best part - I feel that it is silly to talk about this – is that the scene does not have many girls, but those few are your friends, and it is very cool when the guys say: you 'represented'! Giving a stage dive, for example, and hear that you 'represented' is the best part, because the guys are recognizing your efforts. (C. M., 18 years, woman)

In her opinion, the relationship between the girls goes beyond gigs, becoming part of everyday relationships – going out to talk, visiting each other and skating, for example. Also, at the time of my fieldwork, there was a Facebook page that the hardcore girls used to talk and exchange information. The use of new technologies and its platforms facilitate the interaction and information available. Some of the girls that I talked to affirmed that they feel different from the 'regular' girls outside the subculture, since these straight edgers allege to not care that much about their physical appearance or 'superfluous' and 'empty' things. Furthermore, straight edge can evoke, according to these girls, empowerment and security feelings, since sobriety allows the control over their own body in situations where you will need to stand by yourself, such as parties: "I like to have control over my actions, knowing exactly what I am doing, with my mind fully working; I feel safe as a straight edger", affirms C.M.

Both for her and for P.C., the fact that men dominate the scene is natural, since it reflects the reproduction of outside notions that the music played there, as much as the aggressiveness involved in the dances and performances, belongs to the male imaginary. However, P.C. believes that the violent dancing at the mosh pit is an expression of anger, which is not directed specifically to somebody; according to him, people rarely get hurt. He thinks that we should discuss if the dance excludes people, but we cannot prohibit people from dancing.

But according to the general public that attend the festival, several perspectives on gender issues can be addressed, without a homogeneous point of view:

> Sexism is well addressed, mainly because of the feminist bands, hitting hard against this, but I still think there is resistance on homophobia. They are not homophobic, but this topic is not as addressed as sexism is (B.J., 31 years old, man).

It's a very male-dominated and sexist scene; only men stay at the mosh pit. In theory nobody is sexist or homophobic, but when a homosexual appears you can see the strange looks he/she gets, people pointing at the person. The same thing that happens in the streets (C.B., 20 years old, man).

I think this issue [*gender issues*] is not properly addressed, nor by the organizers neither by the public. You can still see a lot of sexism and this is not only in sXe, other scenes also have it. I think this is a problem that is rooted in Western culture, and if we take it - just as we already do - into the counterculture, it gets worse. I think it is extremely important to address these issues and to promote productive conversations, and mainly, to support who was sexually harassed - it's hard to see such support or any emotional structure within the scene (L.A., 21 years old, man).

I cannot remember at least one homosexual couple at Verdurada – maybe girls, but never boys. Sexism reigns, since the girls have to fight a lot to conquer some space in which they are not "the girlfriend of…". The guys are pro-equality in theory but in everyday life this is way more complicated. The jokes about gays appear as in any other place (B.K, 25 years old, woman).

I know I am not as active as I would like to, I don't have a band, zine or organize events, but sometimes I saw the guys saying hello to other people that were with me, but just ignored me for being a woman. This upsets me a lot. I also saw people spread an idea in their music and bands, but outside the stage they adopt totally controversial attitudes. (S., 26 years old, woman)

Obviously, it is not possible to generalize the whole scene situation through these testimonies, but it is symptomatic that some people can perceive, or suffer, different types of sexist discrimination. There is a spectrum in these testimonies that initiates with the belief on the underground scene in promoting equality, debating the controversial topic and changing some bad attitudes; at the same time, it is possible to see, for example, girls affirming that usually the discourse does not match with the scene's reality, as they had problems related to their gender. Some of these young women say that they had to change themselves in order to be accepted by the group of straight edgers:

Today I realized how much I became "masculine" in order to be accepted. Dominatrix [*Brazilian Riot Grrrl band*] used to say that we should not worry about our appearance, but accepting this as the truth continues to tie me to the dialectic. Now I understand: to free me I need to know different points of views and make choices. Choosing to wear lipstick – or not wearing it at all – is something that makes me a victim of a discourse at the same extent. It is clear that Verdurada has more men than women participating and I feel the urge to assume a masculine attitude in order to protect me, which really sucks and I am trying to change this. (…) I don't dance in the shows anymore, nor do I go to the stage; besides my desire, I feel uncomfortable and this is something that decreased significantly my frequency to the shows over the last years (B.K. 25 years old)

We can see that, despite the anti-sexist discourse, some girls still feel uncomfortable for having to assume masculine roles to be accepted, and also the caution that they think is necessary when dating one of the sXers boys, because it is easy to become "ill-spoken". The feeling is that there is some anxiety on the part of these girls, in this transition of being accepted or not, to have a relationship with any other individual in this scene – of any gender – and still to manage to make it clear that there is no other reason for being there than to enjoy the shows, their friends or even the vegan food.

Conclusion

We saw, briefly, that much of the issues being reproduced about gender at Sao Paulo's straight edge subculture were already observed and discussed in other similar underground scenes. There is clearly a gap between people directly involved with Verdurada and its organization - who aged inside the sXe subculture - and the people that belong to the hardcore punk scene of the city. Perceptions on sexism and homophobia vary significantly, but it is not possible to negate that, besides all the efforts to resist them, they are still sharing the space with sobriety and other questions. Probably because hegemonic discourses, and the actions and positioning that derives from them, are rooted in our culture – and of course, have its roots on the scene and in Verdurada. Even though increasing the spaces for debate that were made possible by the organizers – facilitated by new technologies – as well as the attempt to politicize discussions and to foster social/cultural change, by now, these actions are not so effective to reach everyone and to decrease contradictions and oppressions.

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2.5. Between drums and drones: the urban experience in São Paulo's punk music

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Abstract

The advent of punk marked a turning point amidst the pop culture universe. Punk music, as the centralizing element of the movement's identity, emerged with the proposal of breaking-up the conventions of musical expertise and technique increasingly present in rock compositions of the early 1970s. The return to a simple musical form combined with an emphasis on the dynamics of everyday life's ordinary reality brought to the composition core both the particular sonorities of the great cities – the general hum of the city – as well as narratives of urban daily life, establishing music as a powerful vehicle of transmission of urban experiences. Therefore, this paper aims to explore the punk movement as a lens of analysis of urban phenomena, particularly by observing which questions punk casts over the peripheral urban context of Sao Paulo city, Brazil. The Brazilian punk bands that emerged in the early 1980s, a period essentially marked by an inconclusive process of political redemocratization, show a particular accent over the issues raised by punk in the US and UK, for instance. The Brazilian context enhanced the rudeness and aggressiveness of the punk language, for it embodied a possibility of eagerly expressing the experience of crisis amid the complexity of the urban environment. The over-accelerated rhythm and the poetic density of Sao Paulo's punk draw attention to the tensions and relations tacitly present in the city space as they were perceived and experienced in everyday life, therefore allowing a more complex investigation of contemporary urban phenomenon in Brazil.

Keywords: punk rock; urban space; urban experience; Sao Paulo city.

Introduction

> *Unlike other forms of art that touch us through the most rational sense which is sight, music reaches us through the most sensitive one, which is hearing. In order to turn away from a picture that does not please us, it is much easier than with a song. Its range of action in space seems to be much more open, almost infinite, because the notes are spread over larger waves than the traces attached to the concrete limits of the frames. In this sense, within music, a distorted guitar note seems to reach not only the ear and the brain, but every single cell of the human body* (Chacon, 1983, p. 13).[2]

As a means of cultural expression, music has an inherent spatial dimension. The musical language is able to incorporate and convey spatial images, as both the medium and the outcome of environmental experiences, simultaneously producing and reproducing social systems (Kong, 1995, p. 4). In this sense, the massive diffusion of music in almost every situation of urban daily life, makes it one of the most powerful vehicles for the understanding of the character, the identity, the tensions and relations tacitly present in the city space. In

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[2] All citations were freely translated from the original in Portuguese.

spite of the strong presence of elements such as space, place and city in musical language, music itself has been little explored as a source for the comprehension of urban issues, especially in the field of urbanism.

In parallel, the traditional means of apprehension and analysis of urban space employed in the field of urbanism have significant limitations given the complexity of the contemporary metropolis. The technocratic objectivity of their methods alienates from the small ordinary events of everyday urban life, i.e., the experience and practice of the real city. Thus, understanding the contemporary city from the bonds between social life and urban space as expressed through music, enables a whole new set of layers to the apprehension, analysis and research of the urban phenomenon, going towards "decisions linked to the movement of the real actors who design the city" (Rolnik, Kowarik & Somekh, 1990, p. 15).

In this context, punk presents itself as one of the best investigative objects for addressing the urban space from a musical point of view. Born in the United States and England, around the cities of New York and London, and in the midst of deep political, economic and social crises of the 1970s, it is connected to a political, economical and social system in deep and disorienting transformation. By keeping distance of an utopian revolutionary positioning, punk sought in the reality of urban chaos, the basis for its constitution.

Punk music, the centralizing element of the whole punk culture, emerged with the proposal of breaking the traditional assumptions of competence and technique increasingly present in the music of the early 1970s. A return to a simpler musical form in combination with an enhancement of everyday life ordinary reality, brought to the centre of the composition both sonorities of great cities as well as narratives of urban daily life, making music a powerful vehicle of transmission and absorption of daily urban experiences.

If ever since the early days of popular music, particularly in the 1950s rock'n'roll, the city is a constant theme in musical compositions, in punk it becomes central whether in textual terms (lyrics), whether in formal and structural terms (instrumentation). Thus, the punk has produced an extensive symbology that differed from any other movement, signalling a manner of being in the world accentuated by the conditions of urban space and establishing a repertoire that appears constantly mixed and confounded by city description.

Despite the peculiarities of the Brazilian cultural context, the frank appropriation of the aesthetics, the attitude and the whole musical proposal of punk in Brazil, potentializes the possibilities of the movement's analysis as it permits a parallel analysis between different urban and social realities. Therefore, the analysis of musical pieces of the first punk bands of Sao Paulo, the place where the movement emerged in Brazil, permits the examination of which regards and questions punk casts over the peripheral Sao Paulo city urban context in the passage from the 1970s to the 1980s.

With the purpose of understanding how the experiences of everyday life and cultural expressions influence each other so as to render explicit certain urban issues, this paper proposes to develop a study of urban space through music. Therefore, it is brought into debate a set of musical elements that emphasizes the potential of music in revealing different perceptions of daily urban life, so as to set it as an important tool for examining the contemporary city.

São Paulo: a different kind of tension

As well as in the original punk contexts, the Brazilian social environment in which was born "one of the most representative punk scenes outside of the English language" (Alexandre, 2004, p.62) was certainly tense. A different kind of tension, however, very specific and distinctive from the one existing in Ramones' and the Sex Pistols' countries. The Brazilian specificities of this period, manifested by military dictatorship scenario[3], economic dependency and social inequality, resulted in a very peculiar appropriation of punk's language, aesthetics and attitude as a manner of expressing the everyday struggle of the urban peripheral youth.

By the end of the 1970s, after doubling its population in less than two decades, heading 8,5 million inhabitants[4], Sao Paulo became the largest city not only in Brazil but throughout South America. This vertiginous and recent process of metropolization, as a consequence of the intense industrialization in the mid-1950s (Rolnik, 2003, p 43), reconfigured not only Sao Paulo's sociocultural environment, but also the very perception people had about its space.

If since the beginning of the 20th century, when the city experiences its first industrial boom, there has been a concern on the part of Sao Paulo's cultural elite in building an identity for the city based on the ideas of modernity and urbanity, which the Week of Modern Art[5] of 1922 is exemplary; it is from the 1950s that this imaginary definitely consolidates itself: what seemed to be an exceptional prospect in the 1920s became an undeniable reality thirty years later. From this moment on it is established a proper *paulistan culture* in a broader sense (artistic, architectural, mediatic, industrial), distinctive from any other Brazilian regionalism, especially the one around Rio de Janeiro.

Furthermore, the inauguration of the first segment of the Sao Paulo Metro system in 1975, with a line connecting the northern and southern zones passing through the downtown area, definitely attested to the cosmopolitan imagery of Sao Paulo. Although the installation of the Metro did not represent, at first, a significant change on the traveling dynamics of the city, which would continue to occur on a large scale by buses and private cars, the introduction of the metropolitan transport system had an important symbolic effect, introducing the city to a new era of technology, speed and efficiency without precedents in Brazil. In this manner, it reinforced the idea of an effectively modern Sao Paulo way-of-life, comparable to those experienced in the largest and most important urban centres of the world.

However, the contradictions highlighted by economic, political and social conditions on a local, national and global level, elapsed in Brazil by the experience of the military dictatorship, resulted on a general pessimism towards the gigantism and urgency of Sao Paulo, the city "that cannot stop"[6], a new socio-cultural scenario from which would unfold the Brazilian punk movement.

One of the major incongruities of Sao Paulo's context is exactly the configuration of its urban area, predominantly consisted of poor and precarious suburban neighbourhoods – the peripheries (*periferias*) – constructed in the form of dormitories cities and in which overlaps

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[3] The Brazilian military regime occurred between the years 1964 and 1985. Characterized as an authoritarian period, it suppressed the civil freedoms and censured media and individual expressions.

[4] Source: http://infocidade.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/htmls/7 populacao recenseada 1950 10552.html (last access: 12/05/2014).

[5] The Week of Modern Art (Semana de Arte Moderna) was an event held in Sao Paulo in 1922 with the purpose of promoting the Modernist movement amongst Brazilian art.

[6] São Paulo não pode parar was a popular expression created by Ademar de Barros, mayor of Sao Paulo between the years of 1957 and 1961 (Rolnik, 2003, p. 48).

numerous exclusion factors such as "poor education, high unemployment rates, deficient urban services and radically outcasted from the places where the opportunities circulate" (Rolnik, 2003, p. 51). Amidst the *Brazilian Miracle*[7] that followed the military coup, at which time that Sao Paulo city (in addition to its metropolitan area) becomes a major focus of public investment and establishes itself as the dynamic centre of the richest state in the country, this acute process of *peripherization* and spatial segregation denounces a situation of deep social inequality in which "are juxtaposed and superposed traces of opulence, due to the strength of the economic life and their material expressions, and signs of demise, due to the delayed state of the social and political structures" (Santos, 1990, p. 13).

Periphery: "the subterranean, invisible city" in the words of geographer Milton Santos (Santos, 1990, p 53.). Thus, this condition of socio-spatial marginality and invisibility of the peripheral population, especially under the tense conjuncture of military control, repression and censorship of the military dictatorship, ultimately represented an obstacle for accessing the opportunities of human development that were mostly offered at the centralized areas of the city.

Therefore, it is by appropriating its own circumstance of inferiority that Sao Paulo's punk builds its identity, "they insist on stating that they are from the periphery, that they are in a bad situation, at the intestine layers of society, at the lower levels of all hierarchical scales" (Abramo, 1994, p. 101): by affirming and accentuating this condition, punk builds its complaint. It is symptomatic of this construction, for example, the first Brazilian punk record ever made, the compilation entitled *Grito Suburbano* (*Suburban Scream*), soon followed by the compilation entitled *SUB*. The lyrics of the song *Periferia,* by the punk band *Ratos de Porão*, this statement is even more explicit and emphatic:

> Everything happens at the periphery/ Fights, death at the periphery/ Shots, blood at the periphery/ At the periphery/ Everything happens at the periphery/ Everything happens at the periphery/ Stuff runs straight through at the periphery/ We keep the anarchy at the periphery/ At the periphery[8] (Song *Periferia* by *Ratos de Porão*, 1984).

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[7] The Brazilian Miracle (Milagre Brasileiro) is an expression that concerns the exceptional economic growth observed in Brazil between the years of 1968 and 1973. This period was also marked by the hardening of the military dictatorship repressive apparatus, as well as by the remarkable increase of wealth concentration and poverty.

[8] Original Portuguese lyrics: Tudo acontece na periferia/ Brigas, morte na periferia/ Tiro, sangue na periferia/ Na periferia/ Tudo acontece na periferia/ Tudo acontece na periferia/ Bagulho corre direto na periferia/ Mantemos a anarkia na periferia/ Na periferia/ Tudo acontece na periferia.

Figure 1 - Back cover of the album *Pior que Antes* by *Garotos Podres*, 1988

Internationally, the broad cycle of structural changes of the industrial society initiated in the 1960s which featured a complete review of the practices and control of social and economic spheres - from labour relations and consumer behaviours, to technologies and the general configurations of political power - ignited a deep and generalized state of crisis. According to Elsa Vivant (2012), pioneering industrial cities such as New York and London, "were those that suffered the most with the industrial crisis: in face of rising unemployment, capital flight and the constitution of vast voids in former industrial properties" (p. 9). As from the 1970s, however, these new configurations came to present themselves through a large variation of discourses and practices of social phenomena, triggering unprecedented cultural processes, particularly with regards to the perceptions of urban citizens in relation to their environment.

Amidst this scenario of crisis and reconfiguration of social systems, punk emerged by placing itself in a rupture position with previous forms of youth cultural action, especially the precepts of the hippie generation, one of the major movements of the 1960s. At this moment, a new reality was imposing itself upon the libertarian and utopian hippie essence, destabilizing its main ideological pillar: the construction of an alternative and renewed society, communal, rural and self-sustained (Pereira, 1983, p 82; Abramo, 1994 p. 20). Its music shows mythical and surreal spaces, great psychedelic trips:

> So we sailed up to the sun/ Till we found the sea of green/ and we lived beneath the waves/ in our yellow submarine (Song *Yellow Submarine* by *The Beatles*, 1969).

In England, however, as from the 1970s, the English Labour Party begins to collapse and is no longer able to ensure a social welfare state. Numerous strikes of civil servants erupt in the city such as garbage collectors that leaves piles of waste on the streets, public transportation,

creating huge traffic congestions and paralyzing the city, besides the closure of hospitals and airports. In short, the city becomes intolerable and absolutely chaotic. The situation in New York did not differ, particularly when in 1975 it was considered bankrupt and unmanageable (Harvey 2011, p 137.). This situation was perfectly illustrated by the infamous message of President Gerald Ford that ended up printed as the headline of the New York Daily News: "Ford to City: Drop Dead"[9].

> I mean, New York City declared bankruptcy! Compared to what was going on in the real world, decadence seemed kind of quaint. So punk wasn't about decay, punk was about the apocalypse. Punk was about annihilation. Nothing worked so let's get right to Armageddon (McNeil & McCain, 2006, p. 256).

Additionally, in a world in a constant process of urbanization[10], the dichotomy between rural and urban weakened, in a way that escaping from this urbanity was no longer an option (Benfatti in Benfatti & Schicchi, 2004, p. 9-11). Therefore, the myth of a paradise made of peace and love built over an egalitarian society and without borders begins to sound absolutely anachronistic (Sousa, 2002, p. 17).

The original punk movement, whose stance is closely tied to this complete transformation hitherto hegemonic paradigms in the context of advanced capitalist societies, is, therefore, a result of a new relationship between the urban youth and the city space, structured by negativity. The same can be said about the Brazilian case; however, an important distinction is necessary. While in the cases of New York and London punk is dealing with a circumstantial situation, in Sao Paulo the punk attitude towards the city is related to the very structure of the Brazilian society, it derives from a historical construction. This difference is felt both in terms of sound and of critical content, as will be seen below.

Vivo na cidade: living and alive in the city

> The first bands emerged from your need to talk... You heard a song of the Sex Pistols talking about "Anarchy in UK" or "I was on the street in London" and there was no one talking about Carolina's hood, about what was happening with you, talking about you, about what was going on in your reality… (Clemente apud Moreira, 2006).

At the peak of the punk movement in 1977, groups such as the Ramones, Sex Pistols, The Jam, Eddie & The Hot Rods, among others, had some of their songs selected and assembled on the record *A Revista Pop apresenta o Punk Rock* (organized by *Revista Pop*, a magazine and one of the main vehicles of youth culture of the time) which would be the first official record of punk in Brazil.

The advent of punk with its strength and simplicity signalled an opportunity of expression for the marginalized youth, which had been historically excluded of any traditional vehicle of manifestation. "It was the first time the working class decided to organize itself without the 'approval' of the artistic middle class [...] and the first time since the 60s that Brazilian teenagers and youngsters had a common voice amid the darkness of the dictatorship" (Alexander, 2004, p. 62).

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[9] October 30, 1975 (Taylor, 2006, p. 19).

[10] In 1975 the urbanization rate had reached 38.5% of the world population and the number of cities with over five million inhabitants such as London, New York and Sao Paulo, more than tripled

As opposed to the international punk scene, however, the Brazilian movement did not constitute itself as an opposition towards a decadent rock scene, after all, the perspective of Brazilian rock was formed by "diligent poor devils, playing at small theatres, in 'cursed' hours, loading the banner of 'rock' for 200 people a night, with no hits, no money, no decent instruments, no prestige" (Alexander, 2004, p. 62). If there was any opposition, it was towards the MPB [Brazilian Popular Music] whose themes and melodic lines were overly hermetic and "far from the reality of punk and of the subtropical climate of the city the movement lives in" (Bivar, 2001, p. 101). Thus, punk music represented to the peripheral youth a possibility of abstracting its invisibility condition and fulfilling its "legitimate and unconditional desire to express themselves through music" (Alexander, 2004, p. 65).

> We found in punk a way of saying everything we wanted, it was something that fitted like a glove. But, if there was no punk, we would find something else, because we needed to put all of those things out (*in* ALEXANDRE, 2004, p. 62).

With the emergence of punk came a recovery of the synthesis in pop music, of the simple, circular and repetitive structure of rock, instantly recognizable and reproducible. This return was a response to the rock music scene of the time, dominated by a growing appreciation of concepts such as musical virtuosity and technicality which was ultimately responsible for the demise of rock'n'roll spontaneity and also made it increasingly unaffordable to the vast majority of urban youth, both in terms of reception and production. But more than a mere return to basics, punk was responsible for radicalizing the principles of rock by incorporating elements of immediate everyday reality. Few power chords, nervous rhythm, maximum distortion effects. In this simple musical structure there was no space for an intricate melodic line so the guitar solos were purged, leaving only one big block of fast, noisy and rhythmic sound in a mimetic relation to the impact of the urban cacophony. If it was not for this, there would be nothing, because life was too short and time was too valuable to spend it learning how to play any supposedly "real" music.

> Four really pissed-off guys in black leather jackets. It was like the Gestapo had just walked into the room. These guys were definitely not *hippies*. Then they counted off a song – "ONE, TWO, THREE, FOUR!" – and we were hit with this blast of noise, you physically recoiled from the shock of it, like this huge wind, and before I could even get into it, they stopped (McNeil & McCain, 2006, p. 205).

Thus, the brutality of the punk repertoire synthesizes the experience "of the city with its violence, its deterioration as a physical environment. (...) The style is not an artistic condition but personal; a certain needed characterization is assumed in order to cope with the urban reality" (Bassani, 2003, p.113). The punk appropriation of the most degrading aspects of the metropolitan city are present throughout its aesthetics – from music and garment to a behaviour pervaded by a tangible sense of negativity – and also operates as a stylistic device with the purpose of highlighting the reality of life that happens in the depths of the cities. This condition is synthesized by Mark P., editor of the important fanzine *Sniffing Glue*: "no one can define punk rock; it is rock in its lowest form – at a street level" (*apud* Bivar, 2001, p.51).

The specificities of Sao Paulo context accounted for further radicalising both structure and form of punk music, as well as its critical content. Therefore, Brazilian punk music has a very particular accent, determined by an overly accelerated rhythm, a large incorporation of noise and distortion, an extreme short duration of the songs and by the use of a darker tone than New Yorkers and British bands. The lyrics are focused on subjects of denounce on many levels,
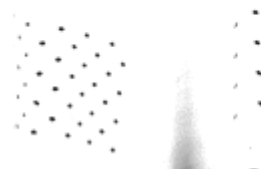
from oppression and lack of freedom, to exploitation, unemployment and poverty. The space of the city is a permanent target of criticism; however, their actions and demands cannot happen in any other place than it.

> I live in the city/ The air is negative/ The trees are dying/ Concrete surrounds me/ I look at the city, at all of its faces/ Garbage and people mixing together/ I protest to find/ The other side of this life/ I live in the city / Look at the avenues, people lots of people/ They don't express anything, they run nonstop/ I protest to find/ The other side of this life/ I live in the city (Song *Vivo na Cidade* by *Cólera*, 1986). [11]

In the song *Vivo na Cidade* there is a duplicity of meanings that can be perceived from the word "vivo". In Portuguese it means both "to live in" which contains a sense of being a city dweller; and also "to be alive" in its space, participative and present. This two-layered semantics pervades the Brazilian punk, in which the city is not only the space of the house but also and above all the space of expression about life itself. The urban space appears as the necessary field for the action of appearance [*aparecimento*] (H. Abramo, 1994), operated through the spectacularization of one's own condition. Through the action of public self-exposition, the peripheric youth leaves its zone of invisibility and circumvents its lack of access to the traditional channels of expression – from mainstream media to student movement – making the public space their own platform of expression.

In the case of punk, by appearance H. Abramo (1994, p. 106) understands the public display of signs of shock and provocation, intended to assert, through the very physical presence in space, the existence and necessity of care for certain social problems. Therefore, the appearance draws attention and obliges society to recognize and inquire over issues that would otherwise be submerged. In Sao Paulo, the main spots of gathering and circulation of punks groups are concentrated in the city centre, the areas of maximum visibility. Also "it is that part of town where it still remains the urban aesthetics of the 40s and 50s, with its elegant but decadents buildings [...] The youth turn to the decayed centre to install their new relationship with urbanity and modernity" (H. Abramo, 1994, p. 146).

> Sao Paulo has alleys, constructions/ It has Mohawk's punks, Mohawks or not / It has crazy people talking aimlessly/ Sao Paulo is cold weather with sun or drizzle/ Walking by the centre through the crowd/ The Mohawks are protesting, people are passing and looking/ There is all sorts of visuals/ But what matters is the general content/ Sao Paulo is huge/ It is the great underground (Song *São Paulo é Gig* by *Cólera*, 1986). [12]

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[11] Original Portuguese lyrics: Vivo na cidade/ O ar é negativo/ As árvores vão morrendo/ Concreto a me cercar/ Olho a cidade todas as suas faces/ Lixos e pessoas a se misturar/ Quero protestar para encontrar/ O outro lado desta vida/ Vivo na cidade/ Olhe as avenidas, gente muita gente/ Não expressam nada, correm sem parar/ Quero protestar para encontrar/ O outro lado desta vida/ Vivo na cidade

[12] Original Portuguese lyrics: São Paulo tem becos, tem construções/ Tem punks moicanos, moicanos ou não/ Tem gente louca falando à toa/ São Paulo é frio com sol ou garoa/ Andando pelo centro, pelo formigueiro/ Moicanos protestando, o povo passa olhando/ Tem todo tipo de visual/ Mas o que importa é o conteúdo geral/ São Paulo é gigante/ É o grande underground
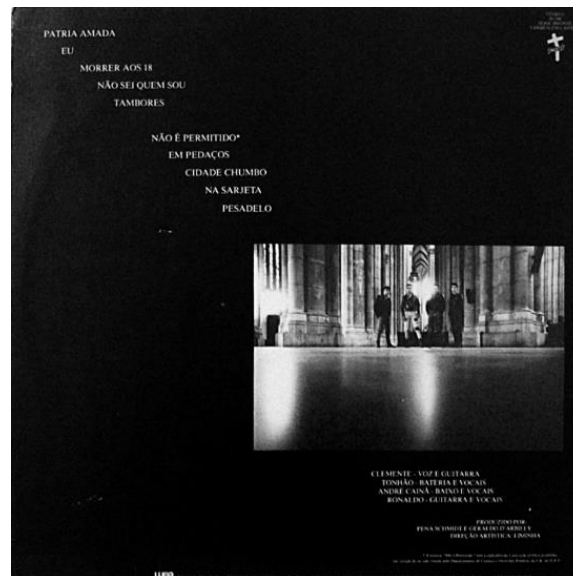
Figure 2 - Back cover of the album *Adeus Carne* by *Inocentes*, 1987. The Picture in the sleeve shows the group members standing inside *Catedral da Sé,* a church symbolic of the historic city center of Sao Paulo.

Also, the inauguration of the Metro in this moment reinforced the physical centrality of punk's range of action, since around the stations suddenly appeared a series of public spaces hitherto virtually non-existent and with potential of becoming eventful. This way, new possibilities of action are seen in the city, firstly by the immediate dissolution of territoriality brought by this new kind of fast flows and by the easy access to multiple locations, rendering the city more permeable and accessible; and secondly by the fact that the agglomeration itself can lead to new sorts of cultural developments of this places.

Furthermore, the Metro itself conveys an imagery of an international and cosmopolitan way of life, forging ties between different punk contexts: "in an obviously exaggerated manner that betrayed a certain provincial dazzle, it felt as Sao Paulo was a sister-city of New York" (B. Abramo in Campos, Gama & Sachetta, 2004, p. 193). In this manner, the peripheral youth is no longer restricted to their neighbourhoods of origin; it now belongs to the multiplicity of crowds.

> Wandering the streets they try to forget/ All that oppresses them and prevent them from living/ Maybe forgetting would be the solution/ To dissolve the hatred they have in their hearts/ The desire to scream is choked in the air/ The fear caused by repression/ All of that tries to prevent the suburban boys from existing/ Suburban boys, suburban boys/ You cannot give up on living (Song *Garotos do Subúrbio* by *Inocentes*, 1986).[13]

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[13] Original Portuguese lyrics: Vagando pelas ruas tentam esquecer/ Tudo que os oprime e os impedem de viver/ Será que esquecer seria a solução/ Pra dissolver o ódio que eles tem no coração/ Vontade de gritar sufocada no ar/ O medo causado pela repressão/ Tudo isso tenta impedir os garotos do subúrbio de existir/ Garotos do subúrbio, Garotos do subúrbio/ Vocês não podem desistir de viver

Figure 3 - Record inner sleeve of the album *Descanse em Paz* by *Ratos de Porão*, 1986. The Picture shows the group members standing inside a random urban tunnel

The Metro importance in this moment is therefore more symbolic than objective, because even after its installation almost all the daily journeys of punk groups remain being done by bus or by foot. Also, the very act of displacement is appreciated in punk, the promenade as a speculative and subjective experience. Its excursions through the cities underbellies integrate this strategy of appearance; there is an eagerness in knowing new places and overcoming barriers. By exposing itself, punk gains territory and domain over its environment. Thus the spectacle punk is complete:

> And the punks are going, in pairs, trios, bunches, like warriors after the battle, all in black uniforms, on foot, from PUC [*Pontifical Catholic University*] at *Perdizes*, until the *São Bento* square, through *Francisco Matarazzo* and *São João* avenues. Something like 200 punks [...], an impressive theatrical show. [...] And the punk march continues. It's five o'clock in the morning from Saturday to Sunday. The punks are now passing by the corner of *Ipiranga* with *São João* [...]. A little more and they go through the *Paissandu* square, turn, cross the viaduct of *Santa Ifigênia* and gain *São Bento* square. Exhausted but alive. Some fall on the benches and go to sleep, others fall with their girls, cuddled; one will sleep in the school door [...]. And while waiting for the first subway train, they chat and comment the show and the stuff that happened. [...] It dawns, it is Sunday. One by one, everybody is taking their way home. All of them are little more than children and, although they already work, they are still living in their parents' house. But, as it is Sunday, after lunch the punks will be coming back to the square" (Bivar, 2001, pp. 112-114).

Finally, there is a particular appropriation of a subterranean image, the underground, the underworld – a world that cannot be seen. On one hand this comes from the decayed scenarios where inhabits punk's identity: images of wreckage and rubble. "An subterranean venue is also a place apart, as opposed to the normal plan of the city, and by adopting it, these young people want to proclaim their difference" (H. Abramo, 1994, p. 146).

> Urban Animal/ Crisis, violence/ Sad existence/ We perform the decay/ Urban Animal/ Subterranean dweller/ Among the rubble and ruins/ Your soul is hungry/ It howls for you (Song *Animal Urbano* by *Inocentes*, 1989).[14]

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[14] Original Portuguese lyrics: Animal urbano/ Crises, violência/ Triste existência/ Realizamos a decadência/ Animal urbano/ Habitante subterrâneo/ Entre escombros e ruínas/ Sua alma está faminta/ Ela uiva por você

On the other hand, the adoption of this "sub" condition does not mean a detachment from reality or an intention of constructing an alternative social system, but a strategy of giving an even greater emphasis on the reality. In this way, the subterranean could also be situated at the very city centre - the centre of all events, opportunities and attention. This ambivalence is essential and defines all facets of the phenomenon punk, with even greater emphasis on Brazil.

Final considerations

By moving away from a strictly objective and technical study of the urban environment, it is possible to create a more human comprehension of places and spaces, qualifying them in terms of discursively constructed arenas and also apprehending them through a wider web of social relations, thus rendering a more representative reflection of the divisions and tensions present in society. The analysis of the interface between space and music from the point of view of the punk culture in the Brazilian context, allows not only the establishment of a dialogue among different punk panoramas, but also the observation of which considerations over the metropolis are revealed by these different configurations.

Regarding the space of the city, there is in punk phenomena the appropriation of the decay, the marginality and all the perversions that constitute urban life, thus constructing an cultural imagery attuned to the human conditions in the context of the metropolis.

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2.6. What is punk rock? What is DIY? Masculinities and politics between *l'art pour l'art* and *l'art pour la révolution*

Martin Winter[1]

Abstract

Punk Rock is dominated by (white, heterosexual) males. This imposes the question how male domination is established in spite of the political stances of active Punk Rockers. To deal with this question, my starting point is to ask how the musical genre Punk Rock and gender are co-produced. Drawing on ethnographic field work and two focus group discussions in the Punk Rock and DIY scene in Graz (Austria), I will show how Punk Rock is distinguished from so called "tough" genres by context-dependent references to music, political views, modes of production and distribution, or most notably gender. Punk Rock is related to a specific anti-hegemonic masculinity. On the one hand, however, the male domination prevalent in most rock genres is reproduced. On the other hand, masculinity within Punk Rock is contested. Punk Rock is either understood as *l'art pour l'art* or as *l'art pour la révolution* – an emancipative and political means to tackle male domination.

> *"Indie sux, hard-line sux, emo sux, you suck!*
> *– But what about Punk Rock?*
> *– Hahaha"*
> (Anti-Flag)

What is Punk Rock? This simple question is not so easy to answer. Or rather: everyone might have an answer to this question, but the answers will differ a lot – depending on who we ask when, where and in which context, e.g. about which band. The above quoted Band Anti-Flag differentiates itself from Indie, Hard-Line, and Emo. And what about identifying themselves as Punk Rockers? They laugh. I would argue that they do this because they do not want or can define what Punk Rock actually is. They rather say (or sing) what Punk Rock is not. In its contrast to the named three other genres, Punk Rock is at least not for "a bunch of snobs", not "anti-choice" and sounding "like metal tunes", and not "really weak", as the lyrics of that song continue (Anti-Flag 2002). What this example indicates is that the boundary between Punk Rock and other genres is drawn on the basis of quite different things. Musical, social and political aspects come into play. And that struggles of inclusion and exclusion might be bound to the definition of the music one plays. "You suck", if you like indie, hard-line, or emo.

In this paper I will trace the ambiguity and the contested character of the categorisation of the musical genre Punk Rock. My aim is to show how the categorisation of music into

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differentiated genres is related to different constructions of gender and related (scene) political attitudes. The denial of hard-line is for example related to their "anti-choice" attitude and their "metal tunes", and thus related to gender and sexuality politics as well as musical practices. My starting point is the thesis that the differentiation of music into genres and the differentiation of subjects into gendered categories are simultaneous and interwoven social processes. I will show how different constructions of masculinity and Punk Rock can be regarded as co-constructed in social practices. At the same time, the understanding of musical practices and the meaning of Do-It-Yourself (DIY) is at stake and the subject of scene-internal struggles.

The work of many inspiring scholars indicates that gender is a central domain of conflict within the Punk Rock scene. In spite of the claim to be a socio-political counterculture (cf. Büsser, 1998; Calmbach, 2007), gender inequalities remain to persist in the Punk Rock universe. In the 1990s the Riot Grrrl movement in the USA attempted to end male domination in Punk Rock and Hardcore (Gottlieb & Wald, 1995). But gender is still a domain of struggles within the scene. Schippers (2002) coins the term of "gender manoeuvring" to describe the political action of scene-goers to shift the gender order within the alternative hard-rock scene. Punk Rock activities and DIY-practices are not in itself politically emancipative, conclude Císař and Koubek (2012). They map the DIY-scene of Brno along the axes of politicization and commodification with the result that DIY can be highly political or highly commercial and non-political. In this paper I want to investigate how these lines of conflict about the intention of DIY musical practices within the scene do relate to questions of gender. Haenfler (2006) for example speaks of "manhood in contradiction", that the Hardcore and Straight Edge scene is characterised by a pro-feminist and progressive masculinity on the one hand and a rather macho-masculinity on the other hand. But how may gender be related to the conception of diy and musical activities? In this regard the symbolic meanings of musical practices and their categorisation into musical genres offers interesting insights. As Strong (2011) can show, riot grrrl became the "women-genre" over the years, subsuming all alternative rock bands with female musicians. Bands that were known as Grunge bands in the beginning of the 90s, such as Hole, were nearly 20 years later seen as Riot Grrrl bands. The symbolic labelling and categorisation of the music changed during the years. This indicates that political ambitions and gender constructions relate highly to the symbolic categorisation of music: to the question *what is Punk Rock*?

Musical genres as boundary work processes

I do conceive musical genres not as inherent to musical properties, but as *concepts of knowledge* (cf. Foucault, 2002, p. 63) to deal with musical material. Further, I regard distinct genres as the product of boundary work. According to Bourdieu (1996, pp. 223–227), the struggle about classification of art is the very stuff of artistic fields. What is art and what not? And if so, what kind of art? This classification struggle involves a serious game between the actors about their position in the particular field. Not for alternative Rock music but for Jazz, Appelrouth (2010) has shown how the boundary work to demarcate Jazz has been loaded with social and political/moral attributes. The development of Jazz from a so called "Black" music to a so called "White" music also involved an increase of social status. Following this view, we cannot conceive musical genres as a fixed and given categories. Genre differentiation is not solely grounded in the musical practices and related to social differentiations and power

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relations (cf. e.g. Curran, 1996). Hence, I understand musical genres as contested knowledge areas that are produced in continuous boundary work processes.

The sociological concept of boundary work was introduced by Thomas Gieryn in Science and Technology Studies (Gieryn, 1999). Gieryn defined boundary work and the demarcation of knowledge territories as "a contextually contingent and interest-driven pragmatic accomplishment drawing selectively on inconsistent and ambiguous attributes." (Gieryn, 1995, p. 393) Applying this to musical genres, what constitutes a genre varies from context to context, from situation to situation, and is directly related to struggles for power. In combination with field theory according to Bourdieu (1996), these struggles are practices situated in the social field of music. Thus musical practices are structured by specific habitus and schemata of perception, action and valuing. These schemata are directly related to the symbolic-discursive order of musical genres (for the relation of practices and discourses cf. Reckwitz, 2008; Paulitz, 2012, pp. 50–58). To sum this up, I grasp musical genres as symbolic order that is produced and reproduced in practices of boundary work by actors in the social fields of music. Genres structure musical practices at large and get incorporated as practical knowledge by social actors.

To connect the boundary work concept to gender constructions, I draw on recent advancements of this concept in feminist Science and Technology Studies (Paulitz, 2012). Following this theoretical framework, I will draw on the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) as the generative principle of male habitus to analyse masculinity constructions that is discussed recently in German Gender and Masculinity Studies (Scholz, 2004; Meuser, 2009, 2010). Thus I understand masculinities as multiple and constructed in relation to other masculinities on the one hand and to femininities on the other. Masculinities are constructed in relation to a context specific model of hegemonic masculinity that functions as a cultural norm. In this theoretical frame, the context specific masculinity norm is inextricably intertwined with the symbolic order of musical genres. Therefore I draw on the concept of co-construction of gender and technology (Paulitz, 2012, p. 60; Singer, 2005). Music in its materiality (DeNora, 2000) and genre as knowledge and symbolic order are constitutive for specific gender constructions and vice versa. Musical genres and masculinities occur as concurrent and interdependently construction: certain musical practices are bound to specific masculinity constructions and vice versa. Musical genres are demarcated by references to masculinity models, while the symbolic reference to a context-specific model of hegemonic masculinity can be understood as a resource in the game in the social field of music to gain power (cf. Paulitz, 2012). Gender and especially masculinity constructions function as my critical lens through which I analyse norms and practices in the Graz Punk Rock scene.

Empirical methods – group discussions and participant observation

Based on the assumption that knowledge can be explicit or implicit, I combine two different approaches to grasp gender norms and images in both types of knowledge. Explicit knowledge is directly accessible via discursive practices. Implicit knowledge is only partly accessible via discursive practices and has to be reconstructed via the observation of social practices in which this knowledge is activated (Kalthoff, 2003, p. 74). Discursive and non-discursive practices need not to correspond to each other, but rather can also be characterised by specific cracks and tensions between them, or towards other practices (Reckwitz, 2008).

My enquiries took place in Graz, mainly in an autonomous youth centre called Sub[2]. I have conducted two focus group discussions with participants from the Graz Punk Rock and DIY scene. I did not stimulate the discussions with words, but played pairwise different songs at a first stage and showed a collage of different pictures at a second stage. This approach was influenced by the intersectional study of Degele and Janz (2011), who used a collage of different pictures, on the one hand and the technique of the sounding questionnaire on the other hand. With this empirical design I left it as much as possible to the participants of the discussions how to verbally categorise the music. As a second method I conducted participant observations at 17 concerts. All materials were analysed according to the coding strategies in the sense of Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). My following analysis mainly focuses on the symbolic level and the statements in the focus groups.

So, what is punk rock?

I will first deal in this section with how Punk Rock is characterised and distinguished from other genres and how thereby the position of Punk Rock (as a subfield) and its actors in the field of music is contested. In a second step I will proceed to discuss struggles within Punk Rock for the "right" interpretation of what DIY means.

Three chords: the "classical definition"?

The first pair of songs (by the bands Ruidosa Inmundicia and Leons Massacre) I played to stimulate the group discussion, was chosen by the contrast between different kinds of hardcore punk. Talking about these two songs, they are at the same time categorised into different genres while these are hierarchically positioned in the field of music.

> E: Well, for me this was a mix between Nu-Metal and typical Beat-Down Hardcore. (…) In your face!
> Q: Maybe the first one was what one rather calls Punk Rock, if it is possible to categorize that way, and the second song is maybe a mixture that once originated out of it.
> T: From Punk Rock and five other musical genres
> Q: From Punk Rock and five other musical genres, right.

Punk Rock is described as music that once originated and stayed 'pure' ever since, some even say the DIY-practices "came out of nothing" (T) in the USA in the 1980s. Punk Rock is seen as an authentic musical style, while other genres are composed out of other musics. What is classified as Punk Rock is thus seen to be the only legitimate representative of the values of Punk Rock and DIY in the way the actors ascribe them to the musical practice of the founder generation. The other named genres have their relation to Punk Rock, since they once originated from it, but due to their mixture with other genres they are not seen as Punk Rock. Only what is seen as Punk Rock today can legitimately claim to stand in the highly valued DIY-tradition. Additionally, Punk Rock is loaded with higher symbolic value, because it is a genre that does not owe its existence to other genres, in oppositions to others.

The struggle for symbolic weight in the musical field goes further than the categorization of music. The mentioned Bands I used as a first stimulus also played concerts in two different

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[2] You can find information on this venue here: http://subsubsub.at [27.08.2014]. Most of the concerts are organised by the collective "No Punx in Gradec", you can find information here: http://diy-gradec.at [27.08.2014].

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venues in Graz. Interestingly this was recognized and of high importance for the participants. How music is categorized is related to the symbolic connotation of infrastructure, especially the different venues, that are linked to different genres. And this implies claims to legitimately use and shape these locations.

> E: Another rather problematic topic is the Explo[siv].
> Q: Yes!
> E: I don't know if the Explo[siv] would still exist without Punk Rock. Or without people, who attended the Punk Rock shows in the Explo[siv].
> Q: Yes, certainly not!

The "Explosiv" is related to the second song and thereby excluded from Punk Rock by the participants. In this representation it is not only the music that originated out of Punk Rock, but also the necessary venues used to be Punk Rock venues once. Similar to the DIY-practices in the US-context, this implies that Punk Rockers once established the rooms and formed the necessary infrastructure for youth (sub)cultural activities that are used nowadays by musicians of other genres. The important point is that these venues would not exist without Punk. This connects Punk Rock with originality that functions as a resource to gain higher symbolic value in the musical field. Further, the Explosiv is criticized for offering a stage to bands that are seen as openly sexist. Since sexism is explicitly excluded from Punk Rock (see next section), the Explosiv is questioned as a relevant venue for Punk Rock.

But what actually are aspects that characterize Punk Rock? The participants of the group discussions do not come to a clear definition. But for another participant, also music with other influences can be punk, while there is also the "classical" definition, obviously the "original" Punk Rock:

> S: I would also see music as Punk Rock that does not fit into the classical three or four chord Punk Rock definition, but also have some electronic elements or something like that.

For the participant S. Punk Rock is not bound to musical aspects. Thus, also "electronic elements" can be part of Punk Rock, although they do not belong to the "classical" definition. This "classical" kind of Punk Rock rather represents a dilettantism and minimalism as a musical style. But how can further elements be added to this constitutive basis, without becoming a different music that is mixture out of "Punk Rock and five other musical genres"? The discussion of a Weston-song I played during the focus group offers interesting insights:

> Z: But why is it a Punk Rock song?
> Q: Because of the chords.
> All: *laugh*

The interesting part about this sequence is the laughter after the statement that the chords make this song to be a Punk Rock song. Obviously the difference is not based solely in the music. One major aspect here is politics, but discussing the Ramones, the contradiction becomes obvious to the participants:

> T: No one would say the Ramones are not a Punk Rock band.
> Q: I would rather say the Ramones are punk than Blink [128] is punk, because of the influence the Ramones had on other Bands.
> Z: And they had their statements. Standing on a stage with unkempt hair
> T: But on the other hand, two of them were Republicans. And that is definitely not punk!

At this point of the discussion, there is a clash between the consensus that seems to exist in the scene, since no one would deny that the Ramones are a legitimate Punk Rock band, and their political engagement on the right side of the political spectrum. Another participant (R) solves this contradiction by stating that Punk Rock is defined by some sort of "rebelliousness". This discussion of what defines Punk Rock shows that it is indeed dependent on the actual context that is discussed and even for the participants themselves no clear-cut and definite boundary around Punk Rock exists. Sometimes musical aspects are brought forward, sometimes political, sometimes the sheer number of sold records. Some aspects might sediment and stabilize the boundary and mark the symbolic land of Punk Rock, encompassing certain aspects. But it is still contested and the line is drawn in every statement. For example, "electronic elements" are seen as possible parts of Punk Rock, while other music are differentiated as other musical genres because of being composed. What is at stake in these processes of negotiation is for example the access to infrastructure like venues (and audiences) to play concerts. In the following section I will show that the boundary work demarcating genres from each other builds upon musical and social aspects at the same time. The genres excluded from Punk Rock are not only excluded on a musical basis, but the musical practices are directly linked to a specific kind of masculinity and thus named "tough".

"Tough": what punk rock is not

"Tough" encompasses various genres and labels a specific symbolic terrain that is demarcated from Punk Rock. The participants speak for example of "tough sound", "tough concerts" or "tough behaviour". "Tough" is always negatively connoted and explicitly gendered as masculine. For example a participant states that at "tough" concerts are "nearly only guys that perform their macho-masculinity-whatever-thing" (A.). Thus, "tough" functions as a negative against which Punk Rock is constituted. This negative is mainly characterised by an orientation towards becoming a rock star and explicit sexism that is ascribed to "tough" musical genres.

"Tough" genres are described as hyper-masculine, while Punk Rock is seen as gender-neutral. This "tough" masculinity and a related exclusion of women are mainly seen in a competitive logic of musical practices.

> A: That is the point of these [tough] concerts: who has the hardest sound, who has the coolest tattoos, who moshes the most aggressive, who screams the most brutal? And here I am missing the punk! They do it not because of frustration or anger, but to distinguish one and to compete against others. And I think that is something extremely masculine. And thus I can explain why female persons might not feel welcome in such an environment.

It is assumed that the participants of "tough" concerts are mainly interested in the competition with others and that this competition is the reason, why these concerts are seen as mainly masculine. Again, Punk is positioned as 'authentic' against other genres, since in Punk Rock the performance is hard because of legitimate feelings like frustration and not because of the selfish aim to gain reputation. This competitive logic and the aim to be better than others correspond to the ascription that "tough" musicians aspire to become rock stars. It is ascribed to the (wannabe) rock stars that they foster the hierarchical division of musicians and consumers, while the musicians feel as something better because of their musical skills (which are a domain of competition as well).

Furthermore, in the description of the Punk Rockers, "tough" musicians employ explicitly sexist accounts strategically (like calling their band "Bitch-Slap"), to gain attention and

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commercial profit in the rock musical field. It is stated that this "sexism is a stereotype or blueprint for some tough (…) Hard-core bands to do some marketing" (E.). Competitiveness and sexism are connected and associated with the (mainstream) rock musical field. Both are strictly opposed in Punk Rock. Practices like these are sanctioned and anti-sexism is established as an alternative norm. The symbolic reference to the hegemonic model of the rock star does not promise benefits in the subfield of punk. To be acknowledged as a proper Punk Rocker, you may not join this kind of competition in this context. In opposition, Punk Rock is connected with a do-it-yourself attitude, minimalism and dilettantism, and the claim that everyone can grab a guitar and play. On top, as we have seen, against the description of "tough" practices as masculine, the expression of frustration or anger on a stage in Punk Rock is not seen as a gendered practice. However, Punk Rock is not described as free from gender inequality. Rather, the boundary work towards „tough" genres is put into effect by a reflexive practice and the demonstration of critical awareness of male dominance and sexist structures in rock musical contexts. Discursive practices of reflexion are main building blocks of the construction of a progressive and anti-hegemonic masculinity in Punk Rock. References to this kind of masculinity construction do promise profits in the game in this subfield of music.

By rejecting the „tough" masculinity, an anti-hegemonic masculinity is constructed. However, this does not mean that this supposedly progressive masculinity does not go along with male dominance. In statements that do not engage in boundary work towards other genres, it is femininity that represents the "other" that "actually" does not belong to Punk Rock.

> A.: Especially in the area that we [his band] play, it is strange, but it is absolutely not an easy music to listen to, or not a hard kind of music. But however, we often play with bands that still are male dominated, but women also do play active roles in these bands.

This statement reflects an image that is anchored in everyday knowledge and that indicates that women rather prefer "softer" and easily accessible musical styles. The astonishment of participants, saying that it is strange that women actually are active participants, also in "harder" Punk Rock styles, reveals the norm that femininity is usually not connected with Punk Rock - especially not with "harder" styles. To sum this up, in the case of Punk Rock an accepted masculinity must be positioned anti-hegemonic and references to this model of masculinity promise profits in the game of prestige – but still at the expense of the symbolic exclusion of women.

…and what is DIY?

But this does not mean that Punk Rock encompasses one uniform model of masculinity. I will proceed in this section with differentiations within Punk Rock. In the specific context that I researched in Graz I found two competing forms of interpreting DIY that are mainly divergent in the connection of the do-it-yourself-paradigm with gender and the wider field politics. I found two positions that I called the "self-made-man" and the "activist".

The self-made-man: punk rock and DIY as a *l'art pour l'art*

The "self-made-man" can be characterised by the acceptance of musical quality as a legitimate criteria in a vertical order of bands. But in contrast to the rest of the musical field, musical practices are not related to the aim of commercial success. However, the aim in this sense is

to "come around", to play as many shows across Europe as possible. To meet their friends as several musicians said on stage. Musical practices are an aim in themselves and not a means to challenge gender order or other inequalities directly, but rather mediated by calls to participate in demonstrations or squatting activities. But discussing the possibility of challenging male dominance in Punk Rock bands by introducing a kind of quota of women – as practiced by the band RVIVR –, the "self-made-man" refers to musical quality as the only legitimate criteria of choosing support bands.

> T: For example RVIVR, as far as I know, they asked the booker to book support bands in which a women or a homosexual person plays an instrument.
> Q: That is complete nonsense, from my point of view.
> T: Definitely!
> Q: Somehow, because they should look for good bands or young bands that need a gig, and not for a specific gender.

Instead of seeing the "quota" as a possible feminist action, the musical practice is presented as gender-neutral (similar to the frustrations expressed on stage) and male-dominance is traced back to punk-external factors. Therefore the "self-made-man" is not interested in changing the gender order within Punk Rock. This is also related in the understanding of do-it-yourself as a kind of ethic of hard work. Musical quality and success (that is seen in playing many tours and shows) must be achieved by one's own initiative. It is (implicitly) denied that gender is a structuring order of gaining reputational positions within the Punk Rock scene:

> T: But that is how it works. Many bands have connections because they invest a lot of time and come around a lot. From nothing nothing comes. All the work you invest will be rewarded sometimes.

Furthermore, against this claim, to play Punk Rock concerts musicians often use expensive and professional music equipment that contradicts this symbolic claim of a low-budget minimalist attitude. Also, these instruments can be described as masculine status symbols. However, Punk Rockers have invented strategies to bridge this gap between symbolic claims and material practices. They decorate their instruments and especially the instrument's cases with stickers of other punk bands and/or with political messages as a way to integrate the professional instruments into amateurish punk contexts. DIY appears to be a symbolic attitude that many bands rather perform on the surface of their instruments. It seems to be an obligatory symbolic reference, necessary to fit into Punk Rock venues to play as many concerts as possible.

To sum it up, regarding musical practices and the conception of what is "success", the "self-made-man" privileges musical quality over political impact. Although gender inequality is reflected as prevalent within the Punk Rock scene, musical practices themselves are not seen as a possible point of action. Rather they are described as gender neutral, mainly in comparison and distinction from so called "tough" genres. It is some kind of hard work necessary to achieve a prestigious position. And it fits to this conception that then a kind of "quota" is not a (legitimate) way to reach this position. This implicates that those who take advantage of the quota do not invest the same hard work or reach the quality of other bands.

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The activist: punk rock and DIY as a *l'art pour la révolution*

The second interpretation of DIY criticises this position. DIY should be inherently political. It is described as a network that should revolutionise society and should not be there to benefit a few people:

> A: To be honest, DIY is not a threat for the society when [name of the band] plays in a squat and is in a small van on tour in Europe.
> S: Yes, then DIY means that this band comes around, but that's it.

Punk Rock is not understood as a practice to gain a prestigious position in the musical field, but as a practice to change society. And in contrast to the "self-made-man", the "activist" does not exclude musical practices from this claim. Music is not (only) a medium to spread political beliefs and initiate actions, but seen as political action itself. Thus, the "activist", connects musical practices and performing on a stage as political acts and therefore as potentially emancipative. One of the aims is to change the gender-order within Punk Rock and in society as a whole through musical activism:

> E: Well, all the bands like Limp Wrist and so on. In my view they can be seen as the queer or gay equivalent to the riot grrrl movement. They say: 'we are here and we are present and we muddle in your fuckin' heteronormative matrix!'

In this practice masculinity is questioned as the dominant gender. The relevant criterion is political activism and the potential for emancipation, while musical quality is (symbolically) not relevant. The practices that are referred to here can be described as a means to occupy a place that is otherwise mainly reserved for straight white males. The (straight) male domination in the Punk Rock scene is questioned and its reproduction disrupted. The act to go on stage and to perform alternative, e.g. queer, identities is seen as a way to actively change the order of gender and sexuality in the Punk Rock scene and beyond. This quality of musical practices is put in the foreground and more relevant than the sound and "quality" of the music. Music is not only a medium to spread political views, but a realm for political activism itself.

Resume: ambiguities in punk rock

I have shown in the first part of my analysis that Punk Rock is not defined by some music-inherent features but the result of constant boundary work processes. These boundary work processes are strongly connected to gender constructions. A progressive masculinity construction is related to Punk Rock, mainly constructed by the demarcation and devaluation of so called "tough" genres. However, while Punk Rock is defined as progressive and anti-sexist, the related model of masculinity also builds upon the symbolic exclusion of women. A central point here is that gender-inequality is not seen as grounded in the musical practices. But there is not a uniform gender construction privileged in Punk Rock. Also within Punk Rock there are struggles about what DIY and musical practices as such mean. Within Punk Rock, gender order is challenged by an understanding of musical practices as political and emancipative acts.

Still, the construction of masculinity in Punk Rock is bound to practices that produce the exclusion of marginalised gender constructions due to their masculine connotation. The "serious games among men" happen more subtle under the surface of a pro-feminist discourse that only partly finds its counterpart in practices. This shows that this pro-feminist

discourse has certain effects. But besides this it is apparent that the symbolic reference to anti-sexism can paradoxically also be seen as a resource in the "serious games among men".

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2.7. "Fallen fallen is Babylon". Polish punk rock scene in the 1980s

Piotr Zanko[1]

Abstract

The 1980s were in Poland a time of crucial changes occurring in society. It was when Solidarnosc, a trade union and a democratic opposition movement, emerged, and when the communist regime introduced martial law to stop democratic transformation. Poland faced economic crisis and almost a million of its citizens chose emigration, both because of economic and political reasons.

In the background Poland experienced then an extraordinary boom for rock music. It was also a time of huge popularity of punk rock – crude, uncompromising music. In my article I want to bring nearer a production of chosen bands of Polish punk rock music from the 1980s, among them Dezerter, TZN XENNA, Brygada Kryzys, Smierc Kliniczna, Siekiera, Moskwa. I will focus especially on selection of the lyrics of these bands. I will show how these bands criticized the social reality of that time, and what alternative visions they created in their artistic production. After Stephen Duncombe (2002), I assume that Polish punk rock music in the 1980s was indeed "a haven in a heartless world", a way of escaping from politics, as well as a means to set free a feeling of discontent with dull reality, but on the other side it created, in spite of the censorship, some kind of a "free space", a place where new language and new meanings could emerge, as well as where communities might be built.

Keywords: Polish punk rock, cultural resistance, DIY, communism

Poland after World War II became a satellite country of the Soviet Union, but in the 1980s it experienced important social changes. The growing economic crisis caused by extravagancy of Edward Gierek, who governed Poland as a first secretary of the PZPR (Polish United Worker's Party, a party that ruled Poland from 1948 to 1989), caused the emergence of Solidarność (Solidarity). Built in Gdańsk shipyard, it was a first independent trade union in communist Poland, and at the same time one of the most important centres for democratic opposition. The emergence of Solidarność brought about an astonishing boom in Polish rock music and materialization of punk rock, new uncompromising form for musical expression. Although the period of "carnival", how the tremendous time of legal Solidarność was known, lasted only until the government introduced martial law in December 1981, Polish underground music continued and productively developed its "spaces of freedom". It appears that rock musicians criticized the government and distanced themselves from the conservative "Solidarność", too. It may be seen in the first version of Dezerter's song "Half-baked generation (analyzed below) which in English translation goes as follows: "There's no hope, no future, either in the party, either in Solidarność" (Grabowski 2010, p. 8-9).

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In this article I refer to the produce of some most renowned Polish punk rock bands of the 1980s. Using an interpretative analysis of the cultural texts (McKee 2006) I will demonstrate, on the basis of the lyrics, how the bands such as Dezerter, TZN XENNA, Brygada Kryzys, Śmierć Kliniczna, Siekiera and Moskwa criticized the social and political reality of these times and what kind of alternative visions they created. While choosing particular songs I tried they were of semantic and stylistic variety. All the songs come from the early 1980s. I regard punk rock music as a form of cultural resistance, which "…is used consciously or unconsciously, effectively or not, to resist and/or change the dominant political, economic and/or social structur" (Duncombe 2002, p. 5).

But before the analysis itself, I want to say few words on the genesis of the Polish punk rock music.

The beginnings of punk rock in Poland

Although the zenith of Polish punk rock took place in 1980s, the beginnings of this (sub)culture may be traced back already in the 1970s. The Polish public discourse witnessed first mentions of punk rock in 1977. According to Remigiusz Kasprzycki (2013, p. 113) Polish youth learned about this revolutionary current in rock music from: official press that was mostly hostile to punk rock, western music magazines (despite the fact that they were almost unavailable and written in English which was not commonly known as it is today), Polish Film Chronicle – a newsreel shown in cinemas prior to the film, Polish radio (punk rock was occasionally broadcast on Channel 3), western radio (for example Radio Luxemburg), accidental visits to Great Britain – the motherland of punk rock, and local exchanges of long plays, very popular in Polish cities. Such exchange offered not only a possibility to buy western music, but also was a place of real swap of information and thought and therefore served to materialization of certain cultural communities around music (Kasprzycki, 2013, p. 123).

One of the first punk rock bands in Poland was Deadlock, founded in Gdańsk in 1979 (Lizut 2003, p. 49). In 1981 the band recorded their only LP "Ambition". Thanks to the French journalist Marc Boulet, it was published in France by Blitzkrieg Records in the same year. Boulet was a punk rock fan, who travelled across Eastern Europe and searched for bands that could not get through to the western music scene, for obvious political reasons. It is worth mentioning that Boulet published this music without legal permission of the artists. It was the case of Deadlock, as well as other punk rock band, Warsaw-based Kryzys, which did not authorized Blitzkrieg edition until this day (Chosiński, 2012).

"Ambition" was actually published in Poland twenty years after its initial edition, in 2003. It is a mix of postpunk, reggae and ska. Its crude, uneven rhythm of percussion, crude unturned guitars, singing out of tune, together with poor sound realization, give the album a strong garage character. The most renowned piece from it is "Ambition", that takes a lot after reggae. Its lyrics warn in simple words against consequences of looking for prestige and fame which the author of the text perceives as something sacred, a kind of modern (today we would say: postmodern) religion: "Ambition, it's your fucking religion, ambition is your god. Your ambition kill you baby". Deadlock seized to exist in 1983, so it did not continue long at the underground scene.

As Robert Brylewski, a legend of Polish musical underground and long-time leader of Kryzys, later Brygada Kryzys, brilliantly pointed out, what Deadlock did was "a spark thrown on a flammable material" as "the punk wave moved from Gdańsk and covered the whole

country" (Lizut 2003, p.49-50). The songs of Kryzys: "Television", "Star wars" or "The Dolls' valley" entered into the Polish rock canon. In the same time KSU was formed in provincial Southern-Eastern Poland, a band that soon became a legend of Polish punk rock. The punk rock was also promoted during Jarocin Festival – an event that every year gathered thousands of rock fans. It was the biggest rock festival in Eastern Europe, and it took place even in 1982 – half year after introduction of martial law in Poland. It witnessed many punk rock performances made by Dezerter (primarily named SS20, after Soviet missiles), Siekiera, Śmierć Kliniczna and Moskwa (Lesiakowski, Perzyna, Toborek 2004, p. 14-37). The selected lyrics of these bands, together with the lyrics of TZN XENNA and Brygada Kryzys, are analysed in this article. All of the aforementioned formations were created in the early 1980s, some of them are still active (Dezerter, Moskwa, Brygada Kryzys, TZN XENNA).

"Our world"

Most of the texts of the punk rock formations from the 1980s relate to existential problems of the young. One of their topics is the alienation and loneliness in the world of the adults, which the young perceive as "the world of apparent, archaic and unrealized virtues" (Pęczak, Wertenstein-Żuławski 1991, p. 264). Such a vision is manifested in the lyrics of "Grey reality", song by Dezerter. The leitmotiv of this text is the inner emigration that constitutes a tool of contestation, and rebellion towards the alleged "grey reality". Furthermore, the lyrics creates a space of independence and freedom: "I don't need you, wanna be alone. Leave me alone – get the fuck of! I have what I have, I want what I want. Leave me alone – Get the fuck of! I don' t think as you do, I'm not what you are. I don't give a damn about your thoughts nor dreams. This grey reality, your reality. I don't give a damn. Get the fuck of! I don't give a damn what you think of me. Get the fuck of! I want my own life. Leave me alone, don't want your stupid advice. I won't do you any harm, just wanna be alone!".

In this song the resistance consists of escape from the grim world of the adults, whereas another production of this band, titled "Brothel", indicates also its direct opposite: different character of the young, manifested with irony, unconventional look, lack of humility, susceptibility to conflicts and eager questioning of social roles. "I am stupid and fucked up. Wearing earrings, all messed up. They complain 'bout me a lot. So I Cash with them All Day long. […] Won't be working in any office! Wont' be wearing any suit! Won't be going on the buses! Nor work only "'cause it's my lot'! […], Mother, father, I am different. Will you beat me up for this? My brain is swollen, I'm fucked up! Like a beast I feel nothing. I only wander and consume. I think nothing, I do nothing. My brain is all messed up! They don't like me. I incense or frighten people. They want do me lobotomy, as I'm abnormal for them! Yes, I'm all the wicked idler".

The world shown by Polish punk bands is the world where there are no perspectives. It a repressive, schematic world that is lacking feelings. This pessimistic and decadent feeling fills "Dark room" by TZN XENNA and "Half-baked generation" by Dezerter. The "dark room" of the title in this first song may be seen as a metaphor of the gloomy world that young people struggle with every day. Although sometimes the door of the room opens and a little bit of light (metaphor for hope) comes in, it is soon cut by the "dark lords" (those in power): "Dark room, closed room, dark walls, dark sky, dark people, dark earth, dark around, you see nothing. Somebody cried: Open that door!, but the dark lords won't let it. There's no day, no

night – all we know is this dark world. Sometimes a small ray of light comes in, then you see how dirty is our room, but soon the door gets closed, shut with the heavy boot."

Meanwhile Dezerter shows in its lyrics the feeling of being a lost generation that dominated among the young in the 1980s. All the attempts to change the social world was buried and the young were left with their frustration and a feeling that they are a members of the bankrupt generation: "No satisfaction, too much frustration. This is my generation. No aims, no future. No hope, no freedom. We're half-baked generation. […] You wanna fight, wanna change something, wanna stamp out all the evil. There's no chance, All is gone. Your generation will be over. Half-baked generation. […] You watch TV, you know what the crisis is. Iran's war, Western gold. Your future is destroyed. Your generation is lost. Half-baked generation".

In punk rock lyrics the emphasis is also put on the schematic and mechanic character of the society. "Standardization" of Śmierć Kliniczna manifests that this world is lacking feelings and spontaneity, and reminds the vision of Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World". The band sings about automatic procreation and masturbation, automatic sexual relations, children behaving like perfect machines, synthetic dreams that are shown on TV, programmed nerve impulses, and encrypted conditioned reflexes. This terrifying vision of the soulless world encounters in the song a opposition in a recurring lines: "Yes, I'd like to move beyond the schemes, do something against the plan. I cannot, they won't let me. Human machines under remote control."

Despite all the dullness and cruelty of the world manifest in punk rock lyrics, in some of the text we may find certain elements of hope. In "Fallen, fallen is Babilon" Brygada Kryzys forsees the decline of this totally repressive reality. Babilon is a symbol of the system that represses people (in Polish context may be identified with communist regime), but it cannot win with the love people have in themselves. Love is a remedy, love sets people free: „Fallen, fallen is Babylon. […] And the wall of Babylon is fallen. Love is the shelter, love is the key. Love is all creation. Reality is living free. Love is our liberation. Fallen, fallen is Babylon."

As the 1980s are the a climax of military competition between the capitalist West and Soviet-controlled East, a time endangered by the nuclear war and holocaust, those topics are present in the analyzed lyrics as well. "Atomic holocaust" by Dezerter is blaming politicians on both sides for the arms race: "We need more arms. We cannot let them outrun us. New atomic bombs. They make the Earth smaller. They build new atomic bomb. They build new neutron bomb. More brand new missiles. Scoundrels of West, scoundrels of East. Atomic death comes from both sides, atomic death is on both sides". Moskwa recorded "Light" in which similar apocalyptic vision is articulated. The band emphasizes tragic consequences of the atomic bomb and the fact we cannot defend ourselves from its devastating power: "Atomic light kills children's sight. Bodies are quiet and covered with blood. Atomic light squeezes the brain. Bodies are quiet, one step from death. Bombs, mines, weapons and tanks. It's history now! Atomic explosion, atomic cloud. We can't protect ourselves!"

This rhetoric is present also in a song by Siekiera titled "The war is coming", probably the most warning in the Polish punk rock music. It manifests an apocalyptic poetics that refers in the suggestive visions to Hieronim Bosch's paintings, and visualize the coming of a slaughter: "Warm human blood is covering the stairs. A gnome pulls woman's dead body – that is what he likes. Oh, my god! Just look at this! Death and blond is everywhere. War is coming. War is coming. Slaughter's coming. A head lays on the field and there's a rat's corpse. An insect rapes a crocodile. A dog bites a monkey. The war vampire is close. War is coming. War is coming.

Slaughter is coming." Perhaps in a less psychodelic or even less poetical way, but still with a force Brygada Kryzys sings about war consequences in their song called simply "War". Extermination, pacification and pillage are some of the most typical characteristics of the war in this song. In the lyrics blame is put on paranoid visions of politicians: "War! The slaves are marching. War! They'll hunt for you. War! They'll kill you! War! They'll exterminate you. Paranoid halucinations. Political degenerations. War! They'll be invincible. War! They'll burn and rob you. War! They'll destroy your house. War! They'll pacify!"

In the analyzed lyrics there is also a critique towards the national institutions. In "Education-copulation" of Śmierć Kliniczna Polish educational system is being condemned. School is shown as a place that does not allow for independent thinking nor interest in the world. It is permeated with vulgar knowledge, conformism and discipline. Teachers treat youth with contempt, while all the independent reflections are laughed at. Śmierć Kliniczna sings: "If we want it or not, we know everything by heart. Professor likes it. Education-copulation. We don't think anything new, 'cause headmaster would be screwed. Discipline and order. Education-copulation. They don't believe what they hear. But still everyone agrees. And for better notes proceeds. Education-copulation. […] Those who suck up to the teachers. Get promotions, privileges. That's our life till its end. Education-copulation. […] We want to know something of life. But professor keeps us in dark. Bastards, morons, bandits. Education-copulation. […] We're slaves at school. Our brains are drilled. Get lost with such education!" The recurring „Education-copulation" suggests that learning in Polish socialist school is a „mechanic fucking bullshit". Such form of education may only destroy young brains: "Our brains are drilled with this stupid edu-fill."

While Śmierć Kliniczna criticizes school as an institution, Dezerter in „Ask the militia man" (in socialist Poland the police was called Milicja Obywatelska, MO) mocks this repressive force. The Poles perceived Milicja as a means to sustain communist regime for it took active part in pacifications of demonstrations in the whole country. Its most brutal force, and therefore most hated by the society, was so called ZOMO. People dubbed it "a beating heart of the party (PZPR)". Militia man is a figure that Dezerter is ironic about in their song: "Which way is right, according to law and order? Who leads me to happiness and praiseworthy duties? Ask the militia man. He'll tell you the truth! Ask the militia man. He'll guide you through! […] I wanna get to know the world. But I don't know how. Who will help me? Who will show me? Ask the militia man. He'll tell you the truth! Ask the militia man. He'll guide you through! […] How to become perfect? Manly, handsome, strong? Which way should I go? And remain unspoilt? Ask the militia man. He'll tell you the truth! Ask the militia man. He'll guide you through!"

„To the future"

Of course, this analysis of lyrics deals only with part of production of Polish punk rock in the 1980s. In this article I focus on showing the most recognizable bands and the topics present in their texts. The analysis demonstrates nevertheless that Polish punk rock in the 1980s was, as a form of cultural resistance, what after Stepehen Duncombe (2002, p. 5) we would call "a haven in a heartless world", an escape from politics and a way of liberating the discontent. The social world manifested in these texts is grey, dull, dark, brutal, schematic. All the attempts on spontaneity or creativity are repressed. It is also a world without future nor perspectives for better time. In this world inner emigration is one of the strategies of survival. What is more, this world lives in the edge, is threatened by war and even by an atomic holocaust.

But on the other hand, despite the censorship in communist Poland, punk rock created a kind of "free space" (after Duncombe 2002, p. 8), where new language and new meanings, as well as a cultural community, were born. Many of the analyzed texts are filled with metaphors. "Babylon" and "Dark room" are symbols of repressive system. There are also blasphemic comparisons: education – copulation, or irony (as in "Ask the militia man"). Some of the lyrics may be easily called poetry ("War is coming" of Siekiera) which is a challenge to the common notion of punk rock as a simple music accompanied by screams. Polish censorship was often helpless when dealing with metaphoric, ironic, poetic forms of punk lyrics. It is also worth mentioning that the omnipotent censorship institution was one of the means of shaping the punk rock lyrics with all their veiled meanings.

Although the analyzed punk rock lyrics are already 30 and more years old, they did not actually become out of date. Despite the fact that in 1990 communist Poland seized to exist and the country started its democratization, soon a new kind of repressiveness appeared – "neoliberal Moloch". A new, this time colourful not grey, Babilon gradually "commodifies" all the aspects of our lives, developing a myth of "brave new world". Dezerter in 1993 recorded a new version of their song "To the future". In the 1980s its lyrics was a mockery of socialist propaganda: "Our dear brothers, cherish your lives. Cherish them with us! Like steel in blast furnace. […] Let's do it together. Unite all our forces. Your country waits for you, my dear comrade!" In new version the lyrics changed to mock the capitalist propaganda: "Our dear brothers, cherish your lives. Cherish them with us! How to gather capital […] Let's do it together. Unite all our forces. Your country waits for you, my dear capitalist."

Summing up, I would like to state that Polish punk rock music was indeed anti-systemic, but not only in a political sense. This subculture should be rather treated as a form of a generation rebellion. I would suggest that punk rock was a "third force" in Polish opposition – contesting both the regime and the main democratic opposition organization – Solidarność. Its characteristics is not a mere political revolt, but rather a discontent with the worlds of the adults.

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Photo given by Cristina Sousa

PART 3 | Music scenes, politics and ideology: social-historical memories and contemporary practices

3.1. Independence or death: alternative music in the Brazilian 80's

Tereza Virginia de Almeida[1]

Abstract

The '80s are mainly known in Brazil as a period of transition between dictatorship and democracy. From the late '70s on, the artistic scene changed because of the emergence of new attitudes in regards to the production and circulation of cultural artifacts. The phenomenon manifested in literature, drama and music. Homemade poetry books sold in bars and restaurants, collective cooperative drama companies and independent musical labels are some examples of such cultural phenomena, creative counterparts to both the cultural industry's economic challenges at the time and to the political complexity associated with the experience of dictatorship.

This paper - the title of which ironically references the sentence purportedly spoken by Dom Pedro when he proclaimed Brazil's independence in 1822 - aims to address a phenomenon that appears in the 1980's: the independent music labels. Both a response to economic restrictions in the record industry and an artist solution challenging the aesthetic patterns imposed by the major label, independent labels are responsible for both the appearance of sophisticated artists on the music scene and the emergence of product that was able to confront the cultural industry's serialized musical output.

Artists and bands who took part on what is known as the "vanguarda paulista," as well as Grupo Boca Livre in Rio de Janeiro, invented a new track to success that precipitated the emergence of several independent labels throughout the country.

Keywords: alternative music; Brazilian culture; independent label; aesthetic

The '80s are mainly known in Brazil as a period of transition between dictatorship and democracy. From the late '70s on, the artistic scene changed because of the emergence of new attitudes in regards to the production and circulation of cultural artifacts. This phenomenon was manifested in literature, drama and music.

Homemade poetry books sold in bars and restaurants, collective cooperative drama companies and independent musical labels were some examples of such cultural phenomena. In fact, they were creative counterparts to both the cultural industry's economic challenges at the time and to the political complexity that was associated with the experience of the dictatorship.

My title references ironically the sentence purportedly said by Dom Pedro when he proclaimed the Brazilian independence in 1822. Indeed, it aims to address a phenomenon that appeared in the 1980's: the independent music labels. This phenomenon is responsible for the current existence of an entire musical tradition which could have been impossible without the gestures of the generation that decided to challenge the power of the majors and to find ways of taking responsibility for the production and circulation of their music.

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Both a response to the economic restrictions in the record industry and an artist solution challenging the aesthetic patterns imposed by the major labels, the independent labels were responsible for both the appearance of sophisticated artists in the music scene and the emergence of a product that was able to confront the cultural industry's serialized musical output.

Artists and bands who took part on what is known as "vanguarda Paulista" (Paulista avant-garde) in São Paulo as well as "Boca Livre" group in Rio de Janeiro, invented a new track to the success that precipitated the emergence of several independent labels throughout the country.

Therefore, one decade before the appearance of the compact disc format, Brazil was able to witness an avalanche of creativity due to the emergence of groups of artists that decided to get rid of the industry dictates and finance their own music.

Then, in the mid 70's the majors started an ostensive movement to incorporate the so called "garage bands", which were considered a form of low-cost investment by the entrepreneurs. These bands did not demand any investment in musicians and arrangers. Their work was ready for sale since they came out with their own identities and ready repertoires in which simplicity was the rule. This easiness explains the boom in the 80's of what has been acknowledged as the national rock, most of which was originated in the garage bands.

On the other side, the independence was defended mostly by musicians of solid musical training who tried to produce their musical products cooperatively and resist to the patterns imposed by the dictates of the majors. Still, the refinement of their work did demand a certain investment, which was an opposite feature in comparison to the garage bands. At least, their work requested time and, consequently, it could not be produced and consumed as fast as the national rock.

However, some of those very musicians also recorded albums through majors, especially when it could be done with no kind of cooptation. This was the case of Arrigo Barnabé's second album: *Tubarões voadores*. It was released by Ariola, but it did maintain its aesthetic coherence to what the artist had shown in his first album, *Clara Crocodilo*, which had been independently released. In this specific case, one can say that the independence gesture defined the aesthetic patterns which were respected by the major. The negotiations could not have been coherent with Arrigo's interests if he had released the first album through a major. The independence gesture had the function of conquering a public, defining a style and shaping an aesthetic pattern outside the cultural industry's immediate commercial interests.

The example above testifies a relation of complementarity more than of contradiction between independent and major labels. As Márcia Tosta Dias asserts, the independent labels can function as means for testing musical products, so that the majors can make safer investment choices (Dias, 2008, p. 129).

It is not difficult to realize that in certain cases the imposition made by the major in the negotiation with an artist who was already independently established could have led to negative consequences. There could have been a reaction from the public that was already identified with the marginal form of distribution and with some characteristics of the work. In certain cases, for example, even a change in the magnitude of the concert halls could have pushed the public away.

If one considers the title of this conference, *Keep it simple, make it fast,* it is important to observe that the independent musicians in the Brazilian 80's were not seeking a simplification in terms of the musical patterns applied, but quite the opposite. However, this generation did

express a desire for keeping it simple and making it fast when they decided to take both the stages of production and distribution of their musical artifacts in their own hands.

The independents were reacting to a complexity in the very cultural industry. The process of recording music was getting more and more artificial, but at the same time it became extremely rational in order to respond to the demand for serialized production. This meant, for example, the emergence of a collective creator for the mass product that was the result of the work carried out by a group of professionals responsible for the social production of the song more than the expression of an artist (Dias, 2008, pp. 72-73).

It is not difficult to imagine what this superposition between mass culture and music meant to a generation of musicians that had grown up listening to the sophistication and challenges of *Bossa Nova* and *Tropicalismo*. They could not passively accept to see their creations being excluded from the cultural industry by products like the ones coming from the boom of the dance music and other mass products originated from North America. For the independents, their generation was not only confronting an economic crisis but a political question, since the mass culture was being clearly orchestrated by the American imperialism.

At the same time, this generation had learned not to discard the importance of some elements that were mainly exploited by the cultural industry, such as the language of the pop culture. Actually, this was a lesson already learned from the *tropicalistas,* who did take advantage of the scenic and visual demands created by the television as a main media for the music distribution. In the same way, the relationship with the musical cultural tradition, the inscription of styles and references taken from the past as one can find, for example, in the works of "Grupo Rumo" and "Premeditando o Breque", and even in "Boca Livre", are also features that had already been shown by *Tropicalismo.*

This form of reaction to and within the cultural industry is part of what Luiz Tati calls a "force of permanence", which corresponds to something that can be recognized even inside the majors when working, for example, on the emergence of local and regional artists. It occurs despite the pressure presented by the demands of the cultural imperialism on the predominance of the North American musical patterns (Tatit, 2004, p. 232-233).

Therefore, it is possible to state (especially about the Paulista avant-garde) that the independents from the 80's found a way of following the *tropicalista* tracks and that they had to do it outside the majors, which were committed to the treatment of music as a mass product.

The claim for independence from the market dictatorship was also a claim for cultural independence, a response to the demand for the Brazilian musical tradition continuity that had been producing remarkable artistic responses to what happened in the country. In fact, the musical works accomplished by the *Tropicalistas* and also by Chico Buarque de Holanda, as well as the singer Elis Regina's ones are good examples of this response. Despite the constant confrontation with the dictator's censorship, they all counted on their musical label's investment for the production and distribution of their records.

The independents from the 80's were a direct consequence of changes in the very organization of the musical labels, of the cultural industry complexity and of the economic crisis that had transformed the mass music into a pattern from which any musical sophistication would turn out as a challenge to the ears and to the market laws as well.

Fifteen days before her death, Elis Regina, who was considered at the time one of the best Brazilian singers, gave a long and last interview on TV. It was January 5th 1982 and Elis spoke about her dissatisfaction with the cultural industry. She complained about being only a number

in the middle of a big machine: "The record label thinks that the product is the record, not the artist", she said. At a certain moment of the interview she answered specific questions about the independents addressed to her by Maria Rita Kehl. Did she know them? Why did not she record one of their songs? Her answer was clever: in her own words, she made clear that the power of the independents was in being free from the type of weight a name like hers would impose to their songs. They needed to remain marginal since there, in the margins and outside the cultural mainstream, their power of contestation could be more effective. "Let the madness free", she said enthusiastically about the independents' experimentation. In her opinion, if she recorded a song by Arrigo Barnabé, she would be diluting the counterculture inside the official culture. For her, the most important fact was that the independents had built a space where she did not feel allowed either to invade or to eliminate through its incorporation to her own career (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ax-p-Zr8cyg).

The political character of Elis's own musical career is unquestionable: in the beginning of her career she had denied going on being just a clone of another singer, because in her first album she was supposed to mimic Cely Campello. Besides the search for singularity in her style, it is important to stress that a considerable part of her repertoire is constituted by songs which confronted the dictatorship, such as the renowned "O bêbado e a equilibrista", written by João Bosco and Aldir Blanc. However, it is possible to infer from her answer that by that time she did not see any possibility of contestation coming from an artist whose music was recorded by a major. The enemy now was not the censorship but the industrial machine and its emphasis on numbers. The enemy was not the Brazilian dictatorship anymore but the standardization of taste.

It is important to emphasize that the music produced independently had no predominant style characteristics. However, it is impossible to deny that Arrigo Barnabé in São Paulo was the most radical example of the counterculture and of the kind of resistance we are trying to address in this paper. Why do we consider him the most radical one? His music challenged the ears through the inscription of atonalism, serialism and dodecaphonism. At the same time, at the literary level Barnabé composed on lyrics made of narratives where characters of the post-industrial society appeared. In *"Diversões eletrônicas",* one of the songs quoted by Elis Regina in her interview, the theme is the new fashion of the videogames in big cities like São Paulo. Besides, technology is also simulated by the very performance, since the high tonalities in which the female vocalist sings fits into the building up of the post human world's atmosphere. Also, the human figure is substituted by mechanized stereotypical characters of the metropolis: the office boy; Neide, a manicure and pedicure; the drunk in the middle of the night as well as the girls from the streets, who seem like automatons in a megalopolis made of concrete and other industrial materials.

Arrigo Barnabé released two albums in the 80's: *Clara Crocodilo* (1980) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=co17YM3fVVE and *Tubarões voadores* (1984) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bohaCWrzaGU. In both of them the titles allude to hybrid figures: partly animal and human, partly animal and machine. Also, in both of them the characters are threatening hybrid monsters within a sonorous atmosphere that mimics thrillers and cartoons soundtracks. The humor is mostly demarcated by the playful and caricaturized Arrigo's narrative voice as it happens in the beginning of *"Clara Crocodilo"* (*Clara Crocodile*). In this song the plot is revealed as a science fiction story that happens in the year 2000, when an office boy sells himself to a multinational company and he is genetically mutated into a hybrid creature. Or when Arrigo's voice presents the threatening *"Tubarões voadores"* (*Flying*

Sharks) using a voice that mostly resembles a narrator of those popular radio programs in which crime and urban tragedy are the main ingredients.

This humor is even more stressed by the graphic designs where the use of the comic books aesthetic is dominant. In the case of the second album, the songs were composed over Luiz Gê's drawings who also signed the lyrics what turns the album into a sort of musical comic book. In the humorous character of Arrigo's work there is a clear inclination to a satirical approach related to the post industrial world, since its colors and sounds are at the same time incorporated and transgressed through mockery. *Clara Crocodilo's* plot, for example, can be easily read as a satirical and metalinguistic allegory related to the fear of having the very avant-garde music mutated into a monster if it was sold to a multinational.

Arrigo Barnabé stopped performing for a long period, and the proof of the power of his independent gesture is that in the last years he has been presenting the songs of his album from the 80's accompanied by younger performers. Independent from the commercial demand for the consumption, Arrigo Barnabé's albums have been inscribed in the canon of the Brazilian alternative music and have been conquering the newer generations who still listen to his work as transgressive and challenging to the contemporary acoustic patterns. Given the mass media contemporary tendency to shorten even more the space for any kind of aesthetic experimentalism, by transforming the musical experience into a sequence of an easily recognizable formula, the avant-garde effect of Arrigo's sonority tends to last for even more time, being able to affect and challenge future generations.

Considering just Arrigo's music is putting aside the power of his performances that were accompanied by the vocalists and musicians, where the theatrical element was extremely exploited. At this point, it is important to highlight that the music of the Paulista avant-garde as a whole was conceived for the stage. Moreover, this aspect has a strong connection with the valorization of the body as a means of communication and expression in the 80's artistic scene. It was a period when several collective drama companies appeared in the Brazilian major cities. In fact, the body awareness had a significant role for the new groups that followed Augusto Boal's experience with Teatro do Oprimido from the 70's. A good example of the kind of group theatrical experience from the 80's is the "Asdrubal trouxe o trombone" group from Rio de Janeiro, which was created in 1974 and that was the pioneer in cooperative production. As Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda notes, trying to reveal an "Asdrubal effect", the group intended to find creative alternatives for the absence of money for the productions, and had the actor's body as the most important scenic mean. Also, it exploited a mixture of languages with very distinctive origins, always searching for a significant connection with the everyday reality of its own generation: "rhythmic, video, visual arts, choreography, rock, pop" (Hollanda, 2004, p.9-11)

That was a time for the discovery of new ways for performing, and that can also be identified in the importance played by the performances of the independents. If they were sophisticated, high talented musicians who wanted to be differed from the mass products, showing themselves alive was a must. Vania Bastos and Tetê Espíndola, for example, Arrigo's vocalists, proved in their performances that they could not only sing in very challenging vocal regions, or be very precise in the most difficult melodic intervals: they could also dance at the same time! Consequently, just like Arrigo's strong scenic personality, their singularity could never be reproduced.

Although Arrigo Barnabé can be considered as the most challenging independent from his generation, it is important to say that the futuristic character of his work is singular in that

context. The independent attitude certainly connected him in terms of production and circulation to other artists, such as the ones from "Grupo Rumo" or his friend Itamar Assunção, to whom he dedicated a posthumous Cd, *Missa in Memoriam* in 2007. However, Arrigo's challenge to musical tonality certainly made of him the most radical alternative.

It seems difficult to think about the independents without asking about the physical space they occupied, or where their presentations took place. In this sense, it is important to mention a specific theater: the Lira Paulistana, a small theater in São Paulo with two hundred seats where most of the independents played for a public mainly composed by university students.

In the 80's, in Rio de Janeiro a special place for all kinds of alternative experiences appeared: the Circo Voador. It was created by one of the members of the "Asdrúbal trouxe o trombone" group, Perfeito Fortuna. The circus was first built in Ipanema beach and later (where it is up till now) in the bohemian area of Lapa, in Rio's downtown. Nowadays, the circus is the stage of big productions but throughout the 80's many independent groups, including the ones from the Paulista avant-garde, performed there at really popular priced tickets. They targeted the youngest generation which was avid for new aesthetic experiences in a country where there would be no democratic rights until late in that decade. If Arrigo's music was full of references to the postindustrial world, it is also important to emphasize the relationship that the independents had with the musical past. Part of "Grupo Rumo's" experience, for example, and the very way the group conceived the popular music had to do with a certain understanding of the essence of the Brazilian song. "Rumo" explored the micro intervals already present in the intonation of speech. One of the group's composers, Luiz Tatit, is also a semioticist who has theorized about the connection between the speech intonation and the melody as the central element for a popular song efficacy.

According to those beliefs, "Rumo" was not creating something new but only radicalizing what they considered essential in the work of popular songwriters like Sinhô, Lamartine Babo and Noel Rosa. In 1981, "Rumo" recorded two albums: one dedicated to their own music and the other one to the interpretation of those composers from the past (Fenerick, 2007, p. 110). "Rumo's" songs surprised the most traditional ears for sounding like a speech, which was possible through the group's interaction with tradition. Their process of composition and performing was an attempt to attain what they considered to be the essence of the song itself.

At the same time, what can be understood as a simple process of composition was presented through sophisticated arrangements where unexpected instruments were used in a mixture of popular and erudite references, a strategy that can be recognized in other groups at that moment (Fenerick, 2007, p. 111)

A similar relation with the past can be found in the work of the "Premeditando o breque" group. Its name can be translated as "Premeditating the break". *Breque* or break is a very traditional resource in the Brazilian popular samba and it characterizes the *"samba de breque"*. The *"breque'* relates to the moment when there is a break in the music. In other words, all the musicians stop playing, and during some compasses only the singer's voice can be heard. In most cases, the singer performs a speech taking advantage of its intonation and rhythm. It is not without irony that the group from São Paulo used the resource, especially because they were not exactly a samba group. "Premeditando o breque" performed rock, *marcha*, *choro* and inscribed in its compositions and arrangements a lot of erudite references. The samba *"Brigando na lua"* (*Fighting on the moon*) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sXQvlwpSr_E, for example, starts with a citation of a dodecaphonic piece by Anton von Webern (Fenerick, 2007, p. 125). In the samba lyrics the

narrator meets a group of green creatures in the middle of a desert night. One of the breaks is totally silent, since it is supposed to represent the narrator's attempt to communicate with the extraterrestrial creatures through gestural movements.

It is possible to perceive that the past is not denied for the avant-garde's independents from São Paulo. The past is inscribed, but most of the time it appears in a mixture with contemporary erudite music or other popular musical genres.

It is also important to realize how much this praise for the past is related to the postmodern aesthetics that turned out to be the major form of expression since the 80's in all kinds of artistic expressions. It is easy, for example, to establish an analogy between what happens in the song "*Brigando na lua*" and the citations of old styles that appear in postmodern architecture; a Greek column or a clock from the XVIII century can appear through the modern designs and materials. The postmodern seems to emphasize the idea that the present can accommodate references from different times, including the past and the future with no hierarchy, as if only the present existed in an endless praise for the artistic human archive.

However, not all the independents can be designated as avant-garde. In order to understand this concept it would be important to remember a group from Rio de Janeiro: "Boca Livre". A vocal and instrumental quartet formed by Claudio Nucci, Mauricio Maestro, Zé Renato and David Tygel, "Boca Livre" released its first album independently in 1979 and turned out to be recognized as a phenomenon: they sold one hundred thousand copies. Unlike the independents from São Paulo, their sonority could not be characterized as a challenge to the ears so that it could be defined as avant-garde. However, the refinement and the dissonances performed in the vocal arrangements, the sophisticated lyrics and the quality of the singer-musicians who sounded completely connected transformed the group in a singular reference for the next generations.

"Boca Livre's" reaction to the musical *statu quo*, however, did not take place through denial, parody or satire. Their reaction was carried out through the affirmation of their own work where two elements called the attention: the poetic level reached by the songs and the constant reference to a sonority coming from rural regions of the country, such as Minas Gerais, which contrasted with the urban space where the group lived. This sonority was reached through the presence of genres like "*moda de viola*" and through the instrumental: contrabass and acoustic guitars, among which was the 10- string guitar, or "*viola caipira*", a traditional instrument characteristic of the folk music played in rural areas.

Many other groups and artists could be quoted in this paper. "Língua de Trapo", Itamar Assunção in São Paulo, "Cão sem dono" and the singer Clara Sandroni in Rio who, besides dramatic interpretations, also sang the humorous compositions of his brother Carlos Sandroni, whose style reminded the spoken singing of "Grupo Rumo's" songs. However, the selected examples seem to provide a sufficient picture of what the independents' choice meant in the Brazilian musical scene in the beginning of the 80's.

The very heterogeneity of the independent music scene testifies something that was very difficult to be reached through a major: freedom. The independents were not only free from the market laws. They were also free from any other kind of rule like the ones established by coherent movement platforms. Their rule was to make the music in which they believed, the music they knew how to make and that for most of them had cost years of training. While the majors searched formulas for successful investments, the independents ran their works with no formula in their hands.

The independent experience also had the important role of bringing to the artists much more awareness about the entire process involved in what they produced. In many cases, it could help the negotiations with the majors. The next decades were characterized by political changes, the appearance of the compact disc and later the rise of the Internet. Nowadays, the artists can instantly promote what they are doing through the web. The technologies are being increasingly dominated and there is a radical change going on in terms of the role the artist takes in the process that goes from production to distribution. Despite the fact that anyone can put music online, the independent sector is still responsible for much of the Brazilian musical production that is considered of good quality. Nowadays, being independent may have many different implications and meanings, but for the ones who still make this choice out of a sense of quality preservation, it is not difficult to conclude that the lessons of resistance were taken with the independents from the 80's.

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3.2. Underground politics: "I am sure they know we are not the devil's son and that metal is against corruption" – heavy metal as (sub-) cultural expressions in authoritarian regimes

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Abstract

Can heavy metal be at all political? Different from the clearly recognizable political culture of punk, heavy metal is often described as non-political and/or as a rarely "political pop culture", although different studies validated the political potential of heavy metal but not as an overall political culture, and only in certain segments. Since heavy metal is a global phenomenon, the political moment of the scene is not only limited to the western part of the world. For example the political potential of heavy metal can also be found in the Middle East. Different to the European or American heavy metal scene protagonists in these areas have to deal with different variations of censorship and repressions against their cultural scene. Furthermore, the scene is characterized by its deep rooted connection to the underground.

Keywords: Heavy metal, Social Science, Politics, MENA, Censorship and Repressions

The combination of heavy metal and Islam, or in other words, heavy metal in an Arab or Islamic context, is unimaginable for a lot of people. The media have given the majority of the population a mostly monolithic view of the Islamic world (terrorism, backward thinking, unscrupulous rulers, etc.). This view of the Arabic and/or Islamic world in combination with heavy metal is therefore surprising to many because for the majority population it seems that both do not really fit together. People with long hair, black outfit, who consume alcohol and drugs and who listen to loud, aggressive and unaesthetic music are mainly associated with heavy metal. Thus, this stereotype point of view on heavy metal culture stands in clear contrast to the picture people mostly have of Islam. In fact, the various countries and different cultures which extend over an area from Morocco to Pakistan and Southeast Asia (such as Indonesia and Malaysia), are diverse and differ from each other, e.g. religion, politics and music (cf. Le Vine, 2009, p. 21). This diversity also includes young people who wear a Mohican haircut or Gothic make-up (cf. Le Vine, 2008, p. 3).

Like other forms of popular music cultures, such as hip-hop, the phenomenon of heavy metal spread in the MENA[2] countries in various forms, so that the thesis of Weinstein turns out to be wrong. "[…] the pull of Islam seems to be strong enough, even outside the Middle

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[2] The term MENA stands for "Middle East and North Africa" and is mostly used in an academic or economic context. Under the term the Middle East and the Muslim coined North African states are subsumed. This area therefore extends from northwest Africa (Morocco) to Iran in Southwest Asia.

East, so preclude metal from getting a foothold among Moslem youth" (Weinstein, 2000, p. 120). Nowadays heavy metal is a global phenomenon that first emerged in the UK, spread across the U.S., Europe and the rest of the world which also affected the countries of the so-called third world or threshold countries, e.g. the former states of the Eastern bloc, Africa and also the Arab and Islamic world. The oriental heavy metal scene has recently grown rapidly. If one is paying attention to the statement of Iron Maidens lead singer Bruce Dickinson, the Orient will have a strong influence on the heavy metal music in the next ten years (cf. Stratmann, 2010, p. 42).

As a result, it should not be surprising to find this multi-faceted music culture in all its dimensions also in the MENA, from which one normally would never be expected to find a vibrant and versatile heavy metal scene with diverse bands and a wide range of fans. In fact, an exemplary documentary called "Global Metal" (Dunn & McFadyen, 2008) and others such as "Heavy Metal in Baghdad" (Alvi & Moretti, 2008) refer to the local scene but scientific contributions as exemplified by Le Vine (2008, 2009), Hecker (2010, 2012) and Epp (2011) on these issues represent an exception up to now.

The geographical extension of heavy metal in the MENA

The phenomenon heavy metal first appeared in the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s in the MENA region more than a decade after the term heavy metal emerged to describe a music style (cf. Le Vine, 2009, p. 12 and 21). Heavy metal music in Europe and the U.S. had already flourished and the British band Iron Maiden which belongs to the "New Wave of British Heavy Metal" registered commercial successes. Heavy Metal came with the globalization and the economical opening (or rather the constraint of opening) into the MENA (cf. ibid., p. 13). Parts of the Islamic world, as well as many people from the western world, only have a critical point of view about the globalization and attest it as a negative impact on various phenomena. Thereby, the reality is much more complex than these assumptions would suggest: globalisation enabled a broader cultural liberalisation, communication and solidarity within the region of the MENA, as well as between Muslims and the western world. Nowhere is the "positive" potential of globalisation more apparent than in the media and the popular cultures of that region. Globalisation for example, spread through satellite television and the growth of international travel Baywatch and Britney Spears in the Middle East but also hip-hop and heavy metal such as Tupac Shakur and Iron Maiden. A circulation of the heavy metal music took place with the help of tourists, flight attendants, who spent their time during their stay in the U.S. or Europe in (alternative) music stores or bars (cf. Le Vine, 2008, p. 6ff.) and the international media exchange, the so-called "tape trading". Then, the music reached the MENA in the form of physical sound carriers because mp3 files or hosting services for music did not exist yet. Furthermore, heavy metal appeared with the phenomenon of the so-called "youth bulge". The progressive youthfulness of a society – the disproportionate protuberance of the demographic age pyramid (cf. Le Vine, 2009, p. 21ff.). Younger people wanted their voices to be heard and found a medium in heavy metal with which they can express themselves. Thus, the cultural consequences of globalisation have changed the musical landscape of the MENA (cf. Le Vine, 2008, p. 10). The scene became bigger and bigger at the beginning of the twenty-first century primarily through the spread of the internet and the emergence of acquirable music software for recordings. The internet plays a significant role in these regions for networking between the metal-heads and the distribution of their music.

The internet possesses a special role due to the circumstances of censorship. It is problematic and even risky for the local heavy metal scene to represent themselves as a metal-head in public in some countries. In certain countries, especially in the MENA, listening to heavy metal and/or its occurrence with its cultural codes is (un)officially considered a criminal offense and its exertion is connected with repressions (cf. Epp, 2011, p. 347ff.). If their followers want to participate and exchange with the scene, they need to find other/new ways of communication to avoid any repressions. The fact that new media enables a more (or less) secure exchange, networking and participation cannot be publicly dismissed. The possibilities of new media are not only important for the connection and exchange with the heavy metal scene outside of the MENA but also much more important for the networking within the MENA. With the help of the internet they can connect with new people, promote legal and illegal concerts in their region etc. Furthermore, due to the lack of public meeting points, such as bars and clubs, where metal-heads meet, talk, party and exchange etc. the internet seems to be a much safer and freer space where metal-heads can participate with and within the heavy metal scene without fear. The heavy metal scene in the MENA differs in its structural significance between the scenes in Europe and North America. For example, this implies the before mentioned lack of bars and clubs, so that for example concerts rarely take place – mostly in hidden places – so that the possibility of touring or playing concerts for bands is really limited inside the MENA. The structures of labels also differ in the western part of the world. One can rarely find small D.I.Y. labels, even finding bigger independent labels or major labels as for example Nuclear Blast from Europe is impossible. Taking these circumstances into account, the heavy metal scene of the MENA is characterized by a much greater connection to the D.I.Y. spirit in its whole rather than the scenes in Europe or North America.

The heavy metal scene in the different countries of the MENA, seen from a superficial perspective, share many similarities like censorship, repression, the historical background of heavy metal in the MENA, the political system, the importance of the internet and the connection to the D.I.Y. spirit. At a second glance, the differences show up especially in the sectors of censorship and repression. Thus, certain strategies and experiences from one area are not easily transferable to another heavy metal scene of the region. Experience has shown, that each scene and the (external) circumstances in another country can be seen as unique which are worth being discussed and considered separately (cf. Le Vine, 2009, p. 34).

Moral panics, censorship and repression

The MENA metal-heads have to deal with, according to the political system, highly variable and very different types and forms of repression and censorship. This range varies from simple stage bans to imprisonment and torture. In Egypt (1997), Turkey (1990, 1999) and Morocco (2000), for example, metal-heads were arrested during several crackdowns by security police and held for months because they were accused of undermining the foundation pillars of the Islamic faith as well the public morality. Some spiritual (both Christian and Islamic) and political leaders even demanded the death penalty for those involved (cf. Le Vine, 2008, p. 28ff. and 2009, p. 36ff.; Hecker, 2012, p. 82ff.). Turkish security authorities placed Satanism and heavy metal temporarily on the same level as the activities of the PKK, and thought about establishing an anti-Satanist task force (cf. Hecker, 2012, 107ff.). In Iran, metal-heads are also arbitrarily arrested by the state executive and mistreated in prison. It is not uncommon that their hair got cut off or even torn out violently by police officers (cf. Le Vine, 2009, p. 49ff.).

The following excerpt from an interview with a band from Egypt could illustrate the "criminal" potential of heavy metal: "I once got arrested with three other friends of mine (one of them happens to be our other guitarist) only because we were wearing Black T-shirts and head banging to an S.O.A.D. song in the street. See how criminal we were?". Hecker also confirms that in the Turkish metal scene the personal freedom is restricted on an extensive dimension because of this constant fear.

> The police continued to indiscriminately arrest young people with black clothes, long hair, and tattoos. […]. In addition to that, the police raided music shops and private homes, confiscating magazines, CDs, and other items they believed to have satanic content. Out of fear being arrested, most metal-heads temporarily avoided wearing black T-shirts or going out to bars (Hecker, 2012, p. 101f.).

Thus, metal-heads are and have been in constant fear not only due to the police but also to attacks from the public which is clarified by the following excerpt from an interview about Hecker's study.

> They shot at our [rehearsal] studio twice – with guns. While we were inside. [pauses]. Just people from the streets. They heard the music and they knocked at the door. I supposed the were friends, so I opend and I saw a man I didn`t know. And I just shot the door. And he knocked again, knocked again, knocked again. […]. We played for five minutes, maybe less than that. And there was a big bang. They were hitting the door with a crowbar or something. We were shocked, not knowing what happened. But they couldn`t open the door. So they went. We were scared. And then they shot at the door and the windows of our studio and we lay down (cf. ibid., p. 178).

These so called moral panics blamed heavy metal culture not only for undermining the foundation pillars of the Islamic faith and the public morality but also made them responsible for several suicides of young people in the late 1990s (cf. ibid., p. 23ff.). "A myriad of allegations, lawsuits, and charges has blamed heavy metal for seducing youngsters into Satanism, blasphemy, suicide, violence, sexual perversion, drugs and alcohol abuse" (ibid., p. 23). Those in power as well as the media justified the suicides officially by listening to heavy metal music. From their point of view, heavy metal is a satanic practice and their followers want to fan out with the help of the musical Satanism into society. "Turkish metalheads were publicly perceived as an "army of Satan"" (ibid., p. 111). These ideas are primarily spread by the media in society. Heavy metal followers are thus mainly confronted with the stereotypes which are associated with heavy metal. These ideas and arguments are mostly taken up by the media with enthusiasm and dissemination, as the following example from the Turkish daily newspaper Zaman proves (cf. Hecker 2012, Le Vine 2008, 2009):

> Crimes committed by Satanists snowball … They worship the devil, perform ceremonies, and sacrifice virgins. They drink the blood of animals and offer sacrifices to Satan in collective rituals. They participate in horrific murders and suicides destroying all boundaries by rebellious actions; sexuality plays a major role in this (Hecker, 2012, p. 95f.).

The moral panics, censorship and repressions illustrate that heavy metal is also a political issue in the MENA, as in the western world. Since emerging towards the end of the 1970s, heavy metal has been a political issue (vgl. Hjelm, Kahn-Harris & Le Vine, 2013, 3ff.; Wehrli, 2012, 61ff.). On the other hand one can question if heavy metal also includes political potential in its expression?

Political? Definition of political music

The difference between the political culture of punk and heavy metal is clearly recognisable and is described as non-political and/or as a rarely "political pop culture" as told by Kleiner and Anastasiadis (2011, p. 393). Statements expressed by both fans and bands say that heavy metal is not political at all but just metal. Furthermore, its heterogeneity is considered as an important argument against a political classification of its culture. Heavy metal has diversified into a multitude of different genres since the beginning of the 1970s. This not only concerns the different sub- or sub sub-genres of heavy metal, e.g. Death-, Black-, Thrash- and Speed metal but also the different fan cultures. Thus, it is hard to speak of heavy metal as a compact culture with a clearly political message. To understand the metal scene as a homogeneous (sub-) culture seems difficult, if not impossible. The term heavy metal has been used since its inception in the early 1970s as a broad label by the outside world to describe a large group of otherwise diverse musical forms. Internally that diversity has always been acknowledged (cf. Heinisch, 2011, p. 411), so that it is difficult to speak of heavy metal as a political movement as a whole. Heavy metal can certainly be a location for alternative and subversive statements and circulation of daily and historical themes demonstrated by Kleiner and Anastasiadis (2011) in their longitudinal analysis which broaches the issue of war in heavy metal. They illustrate that heavy metal could indeed be political mainly through reductive and plain phrases within the lyrics on various issues. Therefore, it appears political and also has a politicising effect but only in certain segments not as a macro-culture (cf. Kleiner & Anastasiadis, 2011, p. 396 ff.).

What can exactly be understood as political? If one takes a look at the definition of what "political" exactly means, it would be problematic and one could have issues generally because there is no accepted definition of politics. In "Lexikon der Politikwissenschaften" (encyclopedia of political science), different definitions for the term "political" can be found (cf. Nohlen & Schultze, 2004, p. 669ff.); herein, the question is raised on which political understanding the later analysis is based on. It refers back to Nieland's (2009, p. 33) opinion about politics which is divided into three areas:

1. "Polity" refers to the formal dimension (the norms and institutional structure) and understands politics as a framework.
2. "Politics" captures the procedural dimension; it focuses on the process, conflict resolution and understands politics as a process.
3. "Policy" refers to the content dimension, thus the editing and treatment of social problems and understanding of politics therefore as content.

Political potential of heavy metal in the MENA?!

The question of political potential in heavy metal has always been related to regions where heavy metal is seen as something different but on a governmental level, not generally prohibited. In Europe and the U.S. each metal-head, whether fan or musician, is protected on a very basic level through the freedom of opinion and the right to freely express and develop one's own personality. This situation is fundamentally different in the various MENA countries as shown (cf. Epp, Othmer & Masurek, 2011, p. 34).

In order to find out if there is any political potential in heavy metal music in the MENA, it is important to take a look at the lyrics of the metal bands, if there is any message, attitude, quotation or allusion to be found. Kleiner and Anastasiadis (2011) also did this in their study

about the political moments of heavy metal bands in Europe and the U.S. The majority of the bands from the MENA countries, e.g. Inner Guilt (Lebanon) or Massive Scar Era (Egypt) as well as bands from other non-English speaking countries (Heaven Shall Burn and Sodom in Germany and At The Gates and Arch Enemy in Scandinavia) write their lyrics in English which make it easier for non-Arabic speakers to understand and analyse them. English language used by the bands in the MENA can be seen, on a political level, as subversive because it arises from western culture. In these countries Metal with all its cultural and moral impacts is seen by the conservative forces as a metaphor for westernisation. English as a language is also used to mask and lessen the significance of statements which are made in the lyrics. "Furthermore, they increasingly prefer English over Turkish lyrics – due partly to political reasons, for the Turkish police usually do not understand English" (Hecker, 2012, p. 62). It is difficult to find explicit political statements on a textual level due to the danger and fear of censorship and/or repression. This is illustrated by the song "Freedom" from the Egyptian band Massive Scar Era. The song starts with the Narrator's statement that she has not yet shaped her life according to her own wishes and desires but has always attempted to meet the wishes and desires of others. She follows and does everything one tells her. Suddenly she reflects her situation and notices that she never lived her life up to her own views and conceptions. Thereby, if the narrator refers to the rulers (powerbloc) or someone else who is criticised remains implicitly since no counterpart is directly addressed. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the shown excerpt, decisions of authorities are critically reflected; whether it is people in general or the autocratic rulers is a matter of interpretation.

It can be mainly stated that in selected and analysed lyrics that no clearly marked criticism about those in power is found. Those in power are not addressed directly; the statements stay very general – the criticism is kept implicit and hidden. This should not be surprising at all, regarding the outlined circumstances (repression, torture, etc.). The authors of the lyrics cannot be blamed for the infiltration of the system through the statements in their lyrics because of vague descriptions of anonymous enemies predominant within the lyrics, as well as the desire for freedom and independence. Therefore, it is hard to find explicit political statements in the lyrics of heavy metal bands from the MENA.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out by Epp, Masurek and Othmer (2011) due to problems about ambiguity and hidden statements in the lyrics in order to find out whether subversive potential is assimilated in them or not. The following results should be illustrated in summary.

One conclusion is that the protagonists we asked concerning their lyrics and its expressions all mentioned a critical attitude against the power bloc (those in power) or at least, they mentioned a kind of socio-critical position. Parallel to this we also found an interesting difference in the data whether heavy metal is seen as political or not. We found protagonists, who see heavy metal definitely not as a political movement or with any bond to political terms or messages. In their opinion heavy metal is not political at all, or if it is, than only in a very small dimension. This should be underlined by the responses to the question "Do you consider metal to be political?". Protagonist A: "Hell no man! Metal is Metal. It has always been this way, although there are a lot of Metal bands who base their lyrical theme on the ugly politics!" Interestingly, this group of people for whom heavy metal is not, or just in a small degree, political, engages a socio-critical position in their lyrics and they see freedom (both the personal and artistic freedom) as an important part of their lives which the band uses as a central part in their lyrics. As explained, these people see metal without any political potential but on the

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other hand the same individuals focus on a critical attitude to their lyrics towards society and above all, against the authorities. Protagonist A: "Our lyrics aren't to be read as resistance movement against anyone but to free one's mind from these slanderous societies" […] "Metal is about freedom to choose a lifestyle not the way that these societies force you to live!!" […] "Our lyrical theme explains the authority's power against the poor and the weak". Furthermore, heavy metal for the protagonists is strongly connected with freedom which is inherent in their point of view. Protagonist A: "We have a dear friend who described Metal as freedom, and that is 100% true in our opinion". "In our country we can't resist but we try to survive against all those anointed religious parties who try to confront a genre which can free people's mind and lifestyle". The critical moment apart from the governmental authorities also includes religious organizations.

We also found out in the interviews that metal and not just heavy metal is definitely seen as political as the following statements clarify: Protagonist B: "Not just metal, music in general. Any type of music has the different political view, have message, some issues to discuss, have society, that's why music is politics and that's why they try to forbid music to control the minds and that's why the resistance use music to freeing minds", Protagonist C: "A lot of bands took that direction in writing, even when I started a side project it's going in that direction, so yeah I can say that 70% of it is pretty much political". These protagonists see metal, in particular, as resistance against authorities and/or against authoritarian systems – against the rulers (powerbloc). They also engage a social-critical position in their lyrics, which the following statements should clarify: Protagonist B: "Against those who need to make mankind just machines, those who need to control the mankind minds I think metal is world revolution". The music is clearly expressed here and its lyrics are targeted against those who try to control others and to manipulate them to take their autonomy. The individual's autonomy here is foremost. The individual wants to decide for himself about his life and does not want to be patronised and restricted by governmental authorities, especially in his artistic freedom. Protagonist C: "If it's resistance we're talking about, be sure it's against the government". It is not surprising at all that the protagonists of the heavy metal scene critically question the corrupt systems (power bloc) against which in many parts of the MENA entire populations have resisted in the last few years (Arabic Spring). Protagonist B: "I'm sure they know well we are not the devil sons and they are know that metal is Resistance against any corruption, that's why they are against metal culture".

A common denominator can be clearly seen when comparing the two different positions, as already mentioned. Both positions represent a critical view – one can speak of a socio-critical perspective – towards the reigning systems and organizations. Furthermore, both perspectives focus on the individual freedom in their explanations. Protagonist C: "Well some people say metal is just my favorite music another says metal is lifestyle, but I think metal music is full independent life", Protagonist A: "Freedom to choose a lifestyle not the way that these societies force you to live!". The protagonists' similarity is exemplified by the latter statements. Whether the actors consider heavy metal as political or apolitical, they engage in their writings in response to the restrictions and repression they face and experience a constant idea of freedom and the right to express it. In regards to the aforementioned circumstances these criticisms are more hidden and less direct because of the repressions the protagonists have to worry about. Thus, the environment is critically reflected and the protagonists altercate explicitly with the regional circumstances of their environment (cf. Epp, Othmer & Masurek, 2011, p. 39ff.).

When taking a look at the study of Hecker about Turkish metal, he comes to the same conclusion. Here, heavy metal can also be seen as a secular culture that opposes the Islamisation of the public sphere. Mostly in all interviews and conversations metal-heads mentioned a "vehement antipathy toward government policies of increasingly limiting the consumption of alcohol, preventing the public display of nudity, fostering the re-emergence of headscarves at university campuses, or hampering the teaching of evolutionary theory in the classroom" (Hecker, 2012, 193).

Of course this subversive potential in the lyrics is not omnipresent. Moreover, it is more "hidden" because a concrete counterpart is not addressed. Thus, heavy metal in the MENA cannot be seen as a political movement in its totality but as a location of alternative and subversive statements and circulation of daily and historical themes.

These statements revealed that heavy metal in the MENA possesses and features a social critical point of view. Now the question arises about how this critical point of view on society can be linked and referred to Nieland's opinion about politics? Based on what Nieland says, the political examination with its politicised and political potentials, heavy metal relates to the level of "policy". The protagonists try to deal with and handle their society's problems within their lyrics (due to the fear of repression). Hence the political moment according to Nieland can be seen as content. Otherwise, is politics only limited to the category of "policy"? Therefore, the horizon must be widened. A potential perspective can be seen in the pro-democracy movements in these regions. For example, in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt, where metal-heads

> become major activists in pro-democracy movements as they've grown into adulthood, playing important roles in the revolutionary protests in Tunisia and Egypt. Alaa Abdel Fatah, one of Egypt's main first generation metal-heads, was arrested (and later released) by the post-Mubarak military junta because of his political activities (Hjelm, Kahn-Harris & Le Vine, 2013, p. 11).

Therefore, the political potential is not only limited to the category of "policy" but it can also be found on the level of "politics" (process of action) according to Nieland.

Conclusion

As mentioned the protagonists associate heavy metal consciously and unconsciously with protest. One could also speak of heavy metal as protest music from a macro-perspective. The individuals question the power bloc, such as the political system, the religious leaders and in general the patriarchal structures of their societies with the help of the music. Therefore, it is not surprising that heavy metal has been (since its emergence in the MENA) frequently in the focus of the power bloc who tries to attack and ban this cultural phenomenon. So it was not only the hardness and distortion of the music but rather the lyrics which despise the authorities and question them critically as well as society in general. Bands like Slayer, Metallica, Machine Head, Lamb of God, Kreator, Testament and many other groups captured the attention and hearts of mainly young people because they critically see an answer and reaction to deal with the social conditions like corruption and personal limitations etc. in the music and its content. Furthermore, heavy metal seems to be an alternative to the very dominant traditional Arabic music as well to the extremely commercialized form of Arabic pop music which dominates the radio and TV channels in the MENA (cf. Le Vine, 2009, p. 21f.).

3.2. Underground politics: "I am sure they know we are not the devil's son and that metal is against corruption" – heavy metal as (sub-) cultural expressions in authoritarian regimes

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Heavy metal can be seen in Islamic countries as a kind of protest movement which Stratmann (2010, p. 41) also sees in the band The Kordz from Lebanon who deal in their lyrics for example with suicide bombers, question the alleged heroes of their culture and engage a critical position about the reasons for war between Muslims and Jews. Furthermore, Le Vine sees in this political potential of heavy metal in the MENA a return to its roots because the lyrics deal with socio-critical issues, such as the heavy metal movement of the early days before the music had established itself as mainstream and was commercialized (cf. Le Vine, 2008, p. 5).

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3.3. Before the DIY: Jovem Guarda and youth culture in Brazil (65-68)

Marcelo Garson[1]

Abstract

In August 1965, the TV show Jovem Guarda (Young Guard) was released on Record, one of the most popular networks in Brazil. Consisting in a number of musical performances it targeted the youth and was presented by young working class artists heavily influenced by the rock of Paul Anka and Neil Sedaka, but mostly – musically and visually - by the Beatles. Jovem Guarda is notable in its pioneering effort with the aim to construct a youth culture around the consumption of music in Brazil, that also spread to the fields of radio, cinema, magazines, also even apparel (boots, t-shirts, bags, etc). The purpose of this article is to highlight in which way it articulated a social representation of youth within the mass media. What is the nature of this representation, how is it assumed by the artists and institutions and to which symbolic background does it relate are some of the issues covered.

Keywords: youth culture, rock and roll, Brazil

It is difficult to grasp the great modifications through which brazilian popular music went in the 1960s, if we do not heed the entrance of a new character on stage: the youth. In less than a decade, a category that was timidly thought of as a market niche had become hiper-represented in record sleeves, song lyrics, press statements and a large advertising repertoire. Workings as arbiters of taste, judgment and values, a group of artists acted as spokespersons of an alleged emerging and distinct generation that would configure a singular lifestyle, the youthful one.

The youth culture that then emerged expressed itself in new ways of dressing, speaking, spending money and managing their free time, then filled with movies, song, clothes and other articles. Thus, it made evident how cultural consumption is a fundamental field of identity production. In this equation, the media occupied a very import place, not only by offering the items for youth consumption, but mainly in the way it provided ways of seeing, framing and interpeting the youngster. The modern youth identity, therefore, it is not just represented, but mediaticallly constructed[2] (Grossberg, 1994).

In Brazil, this process is notable in the 60's when the expansion of the TV network submit the other media – radio, cinema, magazines – to its power (Ortiz, 1986). In the youth culture then germinating, American and teenage consumption goods fought for space, as well as political and university militancy then emerging.

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[1] University of São Paulo, Brazil.
[2] The emergence of youth as a social category harks back, at least, to the early 20th Century. However, what interests us is how it integrates itself to the mediatic ciccuits of consumption, what fundamentally happens only in the post-WWII period.

A landmark of this process is the première of the TV show *Jovem Guarda*, in September 1965. Presented by upcoming artists hailing from the popular classes and mixing influences of American ballad rock with the Beatles' sound and look, it brought forth songs that spoke about parties, fun, girls and cars. Soon its artists would become national celebrities, reaching cult status among a wide and young audience.

The emergence of Jovem Guarda helps understand how the popular music scene translates a series of modifications in the political, economic and social spheres undertaken by Brazil at that time: the entrance in a consumption society, the conservative modernization process and the urban sprawl among them. Such changes are usually thought of only through the college students that made use of music as an instrument of political protest. However, this was not the only youth project that rose in the 60's. Living concomitantly in the same media outlets, especially TV, the college students and the Jovem Guarda singers constructed themselves as different models of young identity. Our is to highlight in which way it articulated a social representation of youth within the mass media: what is the nature of this representation, how is it assumed by the artists and institutions and to which symbolic background does it relate are some of the issues covered. In this regard, we explore on what extent youth becomes a central category to think about music and youth becames a central category to understanding brazilian popular music in the 60s.

Imaginaries on carioca youth

In 1961, when proclaiming "Hail, hail Babeland, what I want is trouble, I'll hop on the dancefloor holding my babe tight", the composition "Hail Babeland", by samba man João de Barros, seemed to indicate that youth had migrated to the popular imaginary as an independent category, and therefore needed special adjectives.

"Broto[3]" is the term used to refer to the youngsters, women, most of the time, wich supposedly inhabited a private world the "brotolândia[4]", and almost always feminine, that becomes an increasing target of public scrutiny. Waywards, playboys and brotos register, in Brasil, the influence of north American teenage consuming culture and will be fundamental in the construction of Jovem Guarda's symbolic repertoire (Palladino, 2001).

If the playboy was linked to adult universe of gossip columns, comprising of politicians, enterpreneurs and media celebrities, the teenagers were symbolized by the blue-jeans, scooters, ponytail hairdos and high waisted skirts. Both characters were becoming symbols of new consuming culture – represented by the capital values of leisure, functionality and pleasure – that was expanding world-wide in the post-war, (Osgerby, 2001).

Such values coupled with the oficial discourse of brazilian prosperity and progress, materialized in the arrival of high fidelity turntables, potato chips, shampoo and shopping centers circumscribed to the growth of the industrial complex and the urban sprawl, achieved under the auspices of foreign capital (Mello, Novais, 1998). Although the imports aimed at the american teenager could only be seized by a small fraction of brazil's urban middle classes, that did not refrain their progressive infiltration in the popular imaginary through films such as *Rebel without a cause*, *The Wild One*, *Rock around the clock*, as well as the songs of Elvis Presley, combined with the romantic tunes of Paul Anka and Neil Sedaka.

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[3] babe
[4] babeland

The neighbourhood of Copacabana, in Rio de Janeiro, especially helped nurturing this imaginary. Its extremely vibrant nightlife with bars, restaurants, movie theaters and lots of clubs composed the core of the Rio de Janeiro's nightlife (Lenharo, 1995). This was the habitat of Brazilian playboys, whose routine punctuated with social events – lunches, cocktail parties, nights out, horse races – and love affairs fed the universe of gossip columns. Its figure is molded to the Brasilian imaginary in an extremely ambivalente fashion: it represented a hedonistic atitude towards life that could be both celebrated as a symptom of affluence as well as censored for its individualistic, artificial and shallow character. Thus, "playboy" becomes an adjective not rarely considered derogatory that would establish proximity with another mediatic role: the wayward.

The wayward is a category directly inherited from the American press, that since the beginning of the decade intensely debated juvenile criminality. It was the dark side of the teenager culture: "it is urgente to face the harsh reality (...) before the phenomenon of juveile delinquency – one that constitutes a social stigma in the United States – also contaminates Brazilian youth[5]".

Such terms are not just describing a reality, but at constructing a narrative concerning the extremely ambivalent character of urban life at the end of the fifties: highly influenced by the values of american consumption society and its youth culture. Between the celebration and the fear of change, it rebuilts an foreign imaginarie in a different context. It is this landscape of parties, fast cars and absolute luxury that will help composing Jovem Guarda's symbolic universe.

In search of a market segmentation

Despite the brotos, playboys and waywards were personified as current categories of mediatic imaginary, Brasil did not have, as the United States did, youth as a market segment. Concerning popular music, one would have to wait until the end of the Sixties in order to properly speak about a proper youth sound.

Until the previous decade, Rio de Janeiro had a vibrant musical scenario where Samba, Tango, Rumba and Guarânia could be sung and danced to at boîtes, theaters and especially at the radio auditorium in a great variety of languages: Spanish, Italian, French and English (Lenharo, 1995). In spite of the multiplicity of styles, there were not a clear market segmentation. The artists, public and orchestras dealt with the manifold musical and linguistic idioms. The international hits, therefore, blended with the local repertoire, extremely hybridized from the outset.

It is not by accident that the first Brasilian Rock 45", "Ronda das Horas", a reinterpretation of Rock Around The Clock by Bill Haley and the Comets is released in 1955 through Nora Ney's voice, a singer quite distant from the teenager universe and already very well known for her romantic and overly tragic songs. The first Brazilian teen idols to achieve success with rock and roll come to the fore from 1959 and onwards, having in their repertoire cover versions of Paul Anka's and Neil Sedaka's hits, which lyrics – refering to balls and romantic dating – and slow pacing sounded harmless to the dominant morality.

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[5] 17 /08/ 57, Última Hora, p.10. Última Hora was one of the main newspapers of the country in the timeframe considered for this article's topic.

When this music arrives in Brasil, the doubt regarding its success potential makes the future leaders of Jovem Guarda – Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos and Wanderléa – include it in their repertoire but not as the main genre; eclectic repertoires were the norm back them.

The turn of the decade, however, sees the arrival of a new generation of artists hailing from the middle classes that would reconfigure the conventions on music making, putting into check some formulas of the past. The influence of Jazz, the minimalistic performance and the treatment of guitar as a rhythmic, instead of melodic, instrument gave a novel and avantgard aura to popular music. Coming from Bahia, João Gilberto was the main exponent of Bossa Nova; a new genre adapted to intimism of apartments and nightclubs and characterized by the dilletant atitude, the aesthecizing gaze and an entrenched class habitus that discouraged new members on its circles (Napolitano, 2001).

To Robert Carlos Braga, son a clockmaker and a tailouress, delving into Bossa Nova was another way to success, targeted since the beginning of his puerile career in his hometown's radio stations, in the countryside of the state of Espírito Santo. He would arrive in Rio de Janeiro at fifteen years old, in 1956, pursuing his goal. From 1959 onwards, he start to perform as crooner at the Plaza club in Copacabana, with a varied repertoire that would also include some Bossa.

Notwithstanding his singing style being quite close to that of João Gilberto's, Roberto Carlos was rejected by the Bossa Nova circles, formed mainly by college and middle class youngsters; a constrasting setting from that of a dweller of the suburbs that depended on music to live. His interpretation was seen as a copy, since it was deprived of all signs of legitimation: nothing seemed more vulgar than converting an avantgarde proposal into massive market appeal.

This early moment in Roberto Carlos' career is marked by songs heavily influenced by the new rhythm such as *Brotinho sem Juízo*[6] and *Ser Bem*[7], both from 1961. Whereas the former recalls Sedaka's compositions fused with a Bossa beat, the latter keeps the rhythm and makes evident that "being well-off" in a young suburban kid's perspective, meant being part of the nightlife of Copacabana, represented by the high society clubs and its patrons, the playboys, made visible by gossip columns in newspapers.

None of those songs became a hit. Roberto Carlos would find better accolade with his suburban neighbours, also hailing from working classes and who dreamed of someday "being well-off". Deprived of apartments to gather and scarce consumption goods to entertain themselves, Erasmo Carlos along with Wilson Simonal e Tim Maia – future renowned artists in the realm of popular music – made the streets their playground. There, Erasmo recall on his biography (2006) that the typical merriments of popular classes – soccer, marbles – came across the consumption of American and Brazilian mass cultures symbols: Walt Disney, Popeye and Flash Gordon comics, pin up pictures and movies such as *Rock around the Clock*, *Rebel Without a cause*, as well as westerns and carnivalesque comedies.

Music, however, was central. Roberto and his friends shared a taste for João Gilberto, Samba and especially Rock, also forming a shortlived band that performed at circuses and churches. At the beginning of the Sixties, they made themselves noticed in popular radio and TV shows that would harbor rock and roll and the way it was danced due to its somewhat excentric character.

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[6] Misbehaving babe
[7] To be well-off

Jovem Guarda's third big name, Wanderléa Salim, hailing from the countryside of Minas, also performed since her childhood in radio show with a extremely diverse repertoire. Not until the middle of the Sixties she would assume a rocker identity, claiming for her role as a "straight talk girl", an autonomous and self-reliant woman, that would show her body in swimsuits and miniskirts, but who would also use songs with religious content that dealt themes such as marriage and true love. The attempt to gather emancipation in the field of mores also made the youngsters dealt with a conservative and dominant moral.

Relating to the biography of Roberto, Erasmo and Wanderléa is important to make sense of the link beetween their life trajectories and the cultural consumption that came along and would gains traction through Jovem Guarda. The construction of a youth imaginary will not come about, therefore, strictly as a well conceived market product but is produced in the crossing between the search for individual ascension, the desires of the industry and a cultural consumption populated by celebrities that served as models of success in a crucial moment of American influence in popular music.

Figure 1 - PUGIALI, p.230

Jovem Guarda on stage

To relation about youth and music another meaning with the première of the show Jovem Guarda on TV network Record in 1965. Presenting live broadcasted performances, the show was conducted by Roberto Carlos, Wanderléa and Erasmo Carlos. On its stage, the decor refered to the universe of automobiles and Beatlemania made itself felt through the garments, hairdos and songs, many of which were Portuguese covers of the British band's international hits. Adding up to this there was the influence of romantic songs, be it national, to which the public had access through the radio for the past three decades, or international, connected to the Ballad Rock of the Fifities. From all great musicals hosted by TV Record, this was the only aimed to the young and noisy audiences that would mob the venue, in and outside its premises.

In 1966, the show was already a blockbuster, being exhibited on video-tape across the country. The show's promotion was managed by the *Magaldi, Maia & Prosperi* (MM&P) advertising agency, that would even release a line of products comprising miniskirts, bags, t-shirts, shoes, boots and even school supplies inspired the young artists' image[8]

Invited to star on movies, pose to photo shoots, give interview sessions and perform in live shows, the successful singers would also act as actors, hosts as well as models. Multimediatic competences were required: the demans were fundamentally linked to the audiovisual requirements demanded by TV. The contrasted wth the radio language was evident.

The multiplication of articles that would describe the intimacy and routine of the young celebrities started to increasingly blur the lines between public and private. The artists would become characters in a fiction that turned their own lifes into a novel. Roberto Carlos' moniker was Brasa (Ember), the good boy from the countryside, slim, with a naive and careless look, tailormade to please mothers, whereas Erasmo Carlos was the Tremendão (The top guy), the tal Young man, strong and rebellious, always to ready to defend his and his friend's honour, as for Wanderléa, she was Ternurinha (Dollface), delicate, vain, but also independent, fierce and ambitious. Each role featured the archetypical gallery of heroes and villains from the comics, films and gossip columns. Its singers reprresented the heroes of consumption society, the self made people who would come from "nothing" and would conquer success from his own individual effort, being able to, at last, enjoy life as a playboy surrounded by babes (Plates 2, 3).

In between it all there was the youngster: fundamentally constructed in this multimediatic arena, it is a display and symptom of a new era of technological modernity, making the indissociable link between youth identity, mediatic coverage and consumption. The emerging generation originated on the radio, but also helped define music in relation to TV.

Many were the means used to build the juvenile specificity. The smooth tones would constrast the radio artists' pottent voice. The use of orchestras and accoustic instruments would give place to the young and electrified bands. The careless manner of handling the guitar, amplifiers, keyboards and microfones would express the naturality with which the new generation would embrace the technologies. In their songs, love conquests and losses, themes from the vast romantic tradition of popular music, devoid of the tragic and fatalistic tone, would be relocated on a scenario of parties, love affairs and fun.

The musicians' visuality, performance and peculiarities would have to adapt not only to the radio's microphone, but to the camera's eye. The physical contours would be, therefore, largely exhibited in miniskirts, cleavages and open blouses that would be completed by long hair and other accessories, explored in detailed shoots to be published in colorful magazines. The bet in novelty and rupture, however, would share space with a Strong conservative bias.

Youth and the culture industry

It is undeniable that the construction of youth held by Jovem Guarda was thought of as a product. The Jovem Guarda TV show is a deliberate attempt at hopping in the success of the youth market worldwide. In its premiering moment, TV Record already had in its menu the *Bossaudade* and *Fino da Bossa* shows, gathering a prestigious cast both from the old school and the nascent MPB (Mísica Popular Brasileira [Brasilian Popular Music]). The first group had

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[8] Jornal do Brasil, Caderno B, 19/1/68, p.9

know their pinnacle through radio, during the Forties and Fifties and was formed mainly by the popular classes. The second, on the other hand, comes about at the end of the Fifties, with the advent of Bossa Nova, which would be politicaly infused giving birth to the Protest Songs (Napolitano, 2001). Rock was the third great segment that would assure Record the hegemony in the popular music market on TV. Believing that the Beatles' success could be localy replicated, MM&P decided to accept the risks of a juvenile show. The conditions for the fabrication of idols whose ideal of youth was fundamentally and ideal of consumption were set.

In a moment when the big urban centers grow at astounding levels, attracting a horde of migrants with the promises of social mobility, youngsters seemed to materialize the discourses of renewal and ascension through individual effort that lies at the core of liberal propaganda. The emphasis on hedonism – expressed in narratives filled by fast cars, parties and countless dates – is essentially a bet on the ephemerity of the present, that is in tune with the passing character of the consumption of material goods. Amidst the songs, movies, records and especially items such as pants, bags and dolls, a young lifestyle was sold (Image 2).

Figure 2 - Revista Tv Sul, January 1966, p.4

Nonetheles, Jovem Guarda is not the result of a entrepreneurial decisions made behind closed doors. Jovem Guarda's success was largely based on the improvisation, which is the keyword to understand the way media worked before it began to be rationalised by the end of the Sixties. Until then, accounting planning and market research would not set the tone in communication enterprises, still scarcely integrated among themselves and largely based on its owners centralising spirit.

The end of the Sixties represents the start of the decline of tradicional companies such as TV Record TV, one of the biggest TV networks that would still work as a family endeavour. From this moment on, however, many conventions strongly felt in the radiophonic scenario of

the Fifties still structured the reception to musical shows on TV. The search for a massive audience, music as entertainment and the appeal to the popular classes composed a grammar of spectacle and performance in which the music functioned as an element of engagement and mobilisation of the senses.

If Bossa Nova, through its minimalistic execution, would cast away the performance's sensorial dimension and would repel the audience participation, in the middle of the Sixties, the genre would become more politicised and would reencounter its lost dimension through the Song Festivals broadcast by the same TV Record. At Jovem Guarda's stage the spectacular element was even more evident, expressed in décor, artistic performance and outfits. Alongside the state of the art technologial props, a sensibility inherited from the radio auditoriums would remain.

The same happened regarding the moral dimension that permeated Jovem Guarda's discourse. Its values would be flexible enough to be adapted to the new moment, but at the same time conservative to the point of not demolishing the moral conventions and musical consumption habits that made its succcess possible. On the TV stages, record sleeves, song lyrics and interviews, Brasa, Tremendão and Ternurinha could state that they lived to party, they were terrible, they had to maintain their bad reputation and they would race their cars through the streets.

Festa de Arromba (1964)
(Wild Party)
Composição: Erasmo Carlos

Look to this wild party
Where I got myself on
Radio and TV all around
Cinema and paper coverage
Big crowd, a real mess
Almost couldn't reach the door
Because the mob
Was really tought
Hey, Hey, (hey, hey)
What a sucess
What a wild party

(.....)

Look who arrived suddenly
Roberto   Carlos   in   his   hotwheel
Meanwhile Tony e Demétrius
Smoked outdoors
Sérgio e Zé Ricardo
bumped on me
Outdoors a big mess
Because of the babes
It was Ed Wilson who just arrived
Hey, Hey, (hey, hey)
What a sucess
What a wild party
 (.....)

Eu sou terrível (1965)

Composição: Roberto Carlos

I'm terrible
It's better to quit
Teasing me
You don't know
Where I come from
Who I am
And what I have

(....)

I'm terrible
I'm telling you
There won't be easy
To follow me
Girl walking by my side
Will feel the rush
My rod is hot machine

I'm terrible, I'm terrible...

Conversely, that would pubicly declare their love for heir mothers and would host charity concerts[9]. Fearless, adventurous, consumerists, debauched, but also peaceful, sober, polite, devout to God and Family: those were the apparently contrasting values that Jovem Guarda projected onto their ideal of youth.

All of its symbolic universe captured the mediatic imaginary of the youth that has been under construction since the Fifties. The babes, playboys and waywards are their characters and the parties, dates and car races are their settings. It is about a mediatic narrative that fused the suburban and juvenile sociability to the dreams and desires put forth in American songs, films and comics, nurtured by the gossip columns that represented the tantalizing Copacabana's nightlife.

Being aired at Sunday afternoon, the show captured an extremely familial fraction of the audience that would first get in touch with a universe of clothes, dances, slangs and songs until then not well known by these viewers. The challenge, thus, was to captivate and sell a new young lifestyle to widest possible audience. It was about turning the hedonistic values and other youth signs of an American consumption society compatible with the remaining symbolic conventions already present in the world of music, including those of moral order.

The symbols of Jovem Guarda, thus, mingled with the life narratives of the artists themselves who would enact them, permeated by a suburban sociability and conformed by a mediatic consumption that is generalised as a market product.

Jovem Guarda vs MPB?

From the installment of the dictatorship in 1964 and onwards, the investment on communcations, combined with censorship, was the way through which the State intended to materalise its project of conservative modernisation (Ortiz, 1986). This would not prevent the cultural production from being bestowed with the task of dicussing the destinies of the nation that previously solely belonged to parties, commitees or unions, now under siege. The sphere of music is, therefore, conceived as a counter-hegemonic tool while boosted by the then most powerfull medium: the television. This is especially true in the period before 1968, the year when censorship and political persecutions would got harsher (Napolitano, 2001).

Following the juvenile revolts in international scale, the debate on youth changes radically in the Sixties: from the rebelliousness against family and school, now it turns to the call to political activism, the radicalism and the revolt agaings the State's and capital's dominant ideologies (Ianni, 1963). The debate would become especially acute in Brasil, where an authoritarian and technocratic modernisation process is held by the State.

Articulating a critique to the consumtion society and claiming for the restablishment of democracy, the middle class college militancy imagined the youngster as main force of social change. In the musical field, that is expressed by the formation of MPB, a cultural institution where manifold musical genres were mixed – Bossa Nova, urban Samba and regional folk songs amongst them – whose objective was to rediscover the people through music and denounce the new regime's contradictions[10]. It was propelled fundamentally through the *Song*

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[9] Intervalo, 12/9/66

[10] A song quite representative of this trend is Opinião (Opinion), composed by Nara Leão in 1964 (They can luck me up, they can beat me up/They can even let me to starve/But my opinion I won't change(...)]

Festivals and the musical show *O Fino da Bossa*, hosted by the duo Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues, both broadcast by Record TV (Napolitano, 2001).

It is from that same MPB that comes the critique to the sounds of Roberto, Erasmo and Wanderléa. What, up to them did not represent more than a tacky sonority, "suburban stuff" (Motta, 2000), now becomes the target of ideological reproof, for its "defeatist", "alienated" and "americanised" tunes.

When we study the musical scene from 1964 onwards, precaution is necessary in order to not take the heroic accounts of political engagement at its face value as historical truths. The military coup did not "force" the politicization of popular music, this was one of the possible answers to an historic conjuncture. In sociological terms, the politicization does not appear as an "obligation" to artists, but as an outcome of a mobilization of a specific group that knew how to take the most of that moment. Thus it was not a fatality or an obligation.

When regarding Jovem Guarda as "alienated" we are imposing norms and judgements to the social world instead of deciphering the logics from which it operates. "Engagement" and "alienation" should be read as native categories of the discourse, means through which the actors classify and organize the world. We should understand its origins and how it works. This would allow us to perceive how the field of popular music lived the regime's contradictions in diverse ways that did not run their course in MPB.

Jovem Guarda translated onto its own terms the modernising utopia by amalgamating elements from a popular and urban lifestyle to the dreams and desires that the American consumption society and the very official Brazilian ideology reverberated. If the answer seems uncomfortable and aligned to the official ideology, it is no less representative of the multiple ways in which the cultural field then functioned. Moreover, the rigid opposition between MPB and Jovem Guarda must not be assumed from the start; both positions were undefined in the Sixties and both were born within the mediatic vehicles – especially television – that needed massive appeal to consolidate themselves.

At times, Jovem Guarda and MPB would find themselves very similar positions. As part of the TV Record's crew, they would frequently take part in mixed events. Presenting itself in festivals and long debates articulated in newspapers and specialised publications, MPB could also be followed in weekly TV magazines such as *Intervalo*. In short pieces filled with pictures, both Chico Buarque's green eyes and his intention of finding the people in his music were featured. In the magazine, Erasmo Carlos' love affairs, Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues got the same attention; it could even consider an alleged romance between Bossa Nova's muse, Nara Leão and Jovem Guarda's singer Jerry Adriani[11].

The relationship with the repressive apparatus becones a problem to be solved by MPB: garnering new followers for a counter-hegemonic public Project meant also submit to the conventions oa a Market, itself one of the main tools of the authoritarian regime. The politisation, contradictorily, lived side by side with the dynamics of spectacularisation and mercantilisation.

Despite the diverging political leanings, the notoriety of the young singers inserted them all in a grand mosaic of mediatic entertainment. The more intangible, the bigger was the interest in their private life, offered as a consumption article on the massive press. Each one's identity would be defined, largely, not only in the content of their songs, but in the way this was integrated to the mediatic construction of an image, what depended on aspects of

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[11] Intervalo, 9/7/66

circulation that were hard to control. The alleged "war" between MPB and Jovem Guarda was greatly fed by the same vehicles as a means of keeping the artists in display.

Nevertheless, disputes, elections and contests – best song or male singer (king), female singer (queen) - had put the musical scenario into motion since the radio days, counting on the active participation of musicians seeking for the spotlight (Calabre, 2002). The very Song Festivals followed that logic, recurring to the press that then created a "thrill" around the possible winners. Not by accident that in the 3rd edition of the Festival of Brasilian Music, the biggest display for MPB prodution at the time, Roberto Carlos had interpreted Maria, Carnaval e Cinzas [Mary, Carnival and Ashes], a composition anchored in the repertoire of "popular themes" representative of the politicised repositor of the time, achieving the 3rd place (Images 3, 4, 5, 6).

Figure 3 - Intervalo, 8 May 66, p.12

Figure 4 - Intervalo, 7 May 67, p.33

Figure 5 - Intervalo, 19 December 66, p.32

Figure 6 - Intervalo, 21 November 65, p.37

Between deliberately, fabricated factoids and "honest opinions", all kinds of statements were subject to the mediatic treatment and also to their circulation and consumption. The rise of television would keep this dimension, even if instilling a ideological sense in it, derived from the new social function acquired by the medias.

> Back to Brasil, I expected to find Samba stronger than ever, What I saw was that submusic, that noise dragging thousands of teenagers that start to feel interested in the musical language and get deviated. This Ye Ye Ye is a drug: deforms the youth's mind. Look at the

songs they sing: the majority has very few notes and that makes them easy to sing and remember. The lyrics doesn't contain any message: they talk about dances, pretty words for the ears, futile things. Anyone who wishes can make music like that, commenting on their last quarrel with the boyfriend. This is nor serious neither good. So, why keep the aberration? We, brazilians, have found a formula to make something well taken care of for the youth, not appealing to Rocks, Twists, Ballads, but using the very groove of our Samba.[12]

Published by the Intervalo magazine, this famous statement by Elis Regina is usually read as one of the strongest proofs of the "war" between MPB and Jovem Guarda (Froes, 2000). This does not heed the fact that the magazine was entirely moved the spectacular ink with which it coloured any kind of statement. The image that goes with the article is quite illustrative (Image 7).

Figure 7 – Iê, iê iê (yeah,yeah,yeah) sucks - Intervalo, 27 March 66, p.22

Two months later, the same magazine would register a public apology from Regina to Roberto Carlos on the day of his birthday performance, which was captured with the intent of becoming part of a documentary, never finished. This makes clear how "war" and "peace", as well as "alienated" and "engaged", are more structuring categories of the mediatic discourse than instruments of sociological analysis. What is interesting to investigate, thus, is in which manners the ideological convictions negotiate with both a spectacular and a market logic.

Recognising the commercial dimension of the engaged discourse is not a cynical way of neutralising it. Even more so, it is about acknowledging the limits and dilemas sprung by the character of products in which the cultural goods are immersed, something that does not eliminate the diferences. Many are the points of contact and friction between MPB and Jovem Guarda, the line of demarcation that separates them is not stale, but negotiated in the heat of the historical conjunctures. These are two possible answers within the same universe of practices that should be understood, therefore, in their relational and indissociable character.

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[12] Intervalo, 27/03/66

Radio versus TV, archaic versus modern, democracy versus dictatorship, politicised versus alienated, middle classes versus popular classes are some of the debates that took over popular music in the Sixties, translating wider problematics into specific positions. Youth, historically constructed as a locus of transition, shock and passage, helps us grasp this moment, also of rearrangement of forces. From a particular viewpoint, the one of Jovem Guarda's, we believe that is possible to think in what measure youth emerges in the music scenario and also how the latter, when incorporating youth, appears reconfigured.

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3.4. Rock in Portugal: effects of the rock music in the Portuguese youth (1960 vs. 2014)

Ana Martins[1]

Abstract

According to Ricciotto Canudo's manifest The Birth of the Sixth Art, Music ranks the fourth place in the short list suggested by Ricciotto Canudo, in 1911. Nevertheless, like any other form of artistic expression, the music also was born to change the world. Not only the world of who create music, but the one from all of us who listen it and laugh, cry, beg, have fun, grow, mature and get old, always with her around us, in every circumstance.

The music is all made by different cultures, different rhythms and sounds, crossing and touching each other at some point. And it is in this inequality that lives the beauty of the musical harmony. Rock touches me. I use the term "touch", because my heart beats faster, my ears expand and my skin shivers up.

Like any other forms of artistic expression, Rock came also to leave a very strong mark in the world that we live. And, as we live in Portugal, why not explore this phenomenon of the national Rock? Why not address myself to the arrival, the development and the consolidation of this culture in our country? Why not study his impact, marks, innovations and transformations left in this small country planted by the sea?

So I'd like to explore the emergence of this subculture in Portugal, as well his place in contemporary society. In other words, I will try to realize what impacts this music type brought to the Portuguese youth.

Keywords: Rock music, Portuguese youth, Music, Portugal

Metamorphoses: rock and Portuguese society

As we can see, rock music didn't go rushing in our country, winning everything and everyone, but what is certain is that it came in and changed all that it touched. In this way, I tried to synthesize some transformations given by this subculture at six levels: Rock: first contacts, Rock: socialization booster, Rock: transformation of Myslef, Rock: social consolidation and birth of new habits, Rock: participation and, finally, Rock: transformations into the 21st century. Note, that there are some characteristics associated with the rock culture, that live in the memories of the profiles of the respondents, such as: energy, rebelliousness, longing, pride, profession, past, present, friendship, fun, timelessness, modernity, adrenaline, pulse, transgression, contestation, radicalism, irreverence, curiosity, as positive aspects and death, madness, drugs, risk, failure, denial, consumerism, failure, as the negative aspects associated with this issue. Thus, as almost all social phenomena, also the rock culture presents positive and negative feelings, with the protagonists in study. "(…) the pop-rock is the first artistic product in history that has become mass phenomenon. It is also the first artistic product

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produced by young and the great designer, since the sixties, a youth culture – an autonomous social space, which itself also represents a new social phenomenon: how youth sector with self-awareness of their individuality "(Fernandes, 2002: 26).

On the first level, Rock: first contacts, you can see that rock entered in Portugal by baby steps. "When I got seven or eight years, we had the rock music well defined, but we lived in a very isolated place" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). In this sense, the rock culture first came out, through especially Anglo-Saxonic rock music, which came to compete with the French and Italian music, which seemed to flood public radio at the time. "The Radio was light music, charming singers, orchestras of the national broadcaster, tradition and fado-musical brand of a country that was gray and who taught to believe in fate and the tradition" (Duarte, António, A Arte Elétrica de Ser Português - Interviewee). However, to realize these new sonorities, youth seemed to have connected the «antennas» and fixed their attention for what was coming. "It awakens my whole generation, in 1963 I had 15 years old, when the Beatles were born, then the Stones and, therefore, the entire movement Anglo-American pop/rock" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). These first inductees to the rock culture was mediated mostly by friends or older siblings, who had a crucial role in the dissemination of this new musical genre. "That's exactly when I was 10 years old, so in 1970, through my older brother, who had the Beatles rock albums, the Stones, Pink Floyd" (Rua, Vitor, ex GNR - Interviewee). Regardless of age, one of the first names that these mediators show was called Beatles. "Therefore, in the year 1963, I realized the existence of the Beatles and I thought it was a song that appealed to me greatly, much more than was common in Portugal" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). Many wanted to be like them, others developed hates and sang glory to the rebels Rolling Stones, however, no one seems to deny Beatles enormous influence on initiation into rock culture. Of course, that in the Decade of 60, the Beatles, the Stones or any other band had to be heard a little hide-and-seek from the ears of the relatives. This, because, as has already been mentioned, we were living tension periods and dictatorial threats were a constant.

Thus, foreign rock music began to enter gradually in the jukeboxes of the national clubs, as well as on the radio stations of the national broadcast, passing unnoticed by the national censorship. And why that happened? Because the music herself was a scream speech against political pressures and cruelties, that lived throughout the world. However, it seems that the national censorship didn't understand Portuguese very well and even less English. "And, even for us, at the beginning, the Beatles, the" love you "we understood, the rest we didn't understand a word" (Castro, José, Petrus Castrus - Interviewee). This tolerance eventually gives wings to rock, to go through media outlets. "The apparent tolerance with which the regime left rock 'n' roll vibrate in Portugal, and the undeniable novelty of the phenomenon, its progressive disclosure provided in the media, especially in magazines of spectacles" (Duarte, António, A Arte Elétrica de Ser Português - Interviewee). Most of the young people started gradually getting excited about this new phenomenon, which was different from the kind of music to which they were used to.

> "Is the time when I stopped listening what they gave me to hear, which was what my mother and my aunt heard and in which I spent listening to music I already own and when I start saying "I like this" or "I like that". And what happens? I was at the age of nine when I had my first classic guitar (…)" (Rua, Vítor, ex GNR - Interviewee).

Generally speaking, these first contacts with the rock were made, essentially, by radio or by vinyl. "The radio and the television didn't have nothing about rock" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto

1111 - Interviewee). On television haven't even thought of such a thing, as for radio, initially, to hear rock they used to use radio stations with international satellite equipment or to the mythical national nightly programs. "And I remember had ten years old and listen to the popular music themes like the Stones and the Kinks, in the evening radio shows of Rádio Renascença, which at the time was the radio, maybe more open to this kind of music and had to heard that, when my parents thought I was asleep, but I was listening to under my pillow "(Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). Though, the scene was changing gradually, either on the radio or on television. "On the radio (the national broadcaster) would begin to be transmitted live, and recorded for posterity, talented musicians that views expressed in the new language of rock 'n' roll. This was followed by RTP (national television), which would become the vehicle of excellence to cement the stardom of Portuguese pop musicians in the Decade of 60 "(Duarte, António, A Arte Elétrica de Ser Português - Interviewee). When it comes to vinyl records, these existed around the few stores of the time, but were scarce and arrive with plenty of time delay, in relation to the international release date. A large portion of the vinyls was subject to import shops, another was purchased in individual post name by CTT, but, also, for some, there were other alternatives. "(…) That was my friend who was a pilot of the TAP, which brought me. Went to New York and to England and brought (...) "(Santos, João, Rock Rendez Vous - Interviewee). However, not everyone had this privilege.

> "A poor, illiterate and isolated Portugal, ruled by a dictator narrow-minded but popular, listening to rock 'n' roll was supposed to be a great adventure for a young man, and even more rock 'n' roll! But this adventure was only allowed to those who could afford to buy records and musical instruments imported and expensive, or travel to New York or London to learn about the news. That is, the teenagers of wealthy families of the upper middle class (at a time when the middle class was scarce)" (Duarte, António, A Arte Elétrica de Ser Português - Interviewee).

However, I wonder why the rock took them to listen hiding, to import records, or buying instruments? "Basically, the energy of that music and the rebellion, in relation to current music, the traditional music (…)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). The rock appeared as an oasis in the desert for the youth, who lived hidden by family pressure and of regime pressure. The rock gave them what they needed at the right time. And what they needed was freedom of expression, to live their dreams, to shoot down prejudices and taboos, to criticize, to challenge, to live their youth, as they, in their visions, it should be. The theme of the lyrics was also a very important aspect of this success, as were much more open and drove to various taboos of society, without any constraints. It was also important to the aesthetics of rock subculture. "(…) But, more than anything, it was the clothes and the hair and the visual "(Costa, Álvaro, Antena 3 - Interviewee). As we see, the rock music was something completely new in the eyes of our young people, was the music transformed into intensity, pulse and transgression. "More than modern music was modernity (....)" (Macedo, Adolfo, Mão Morta - Interviewee). In other words was, above all, the cut with the past, with what was going on the radio and what was imposed on them.

And this cut began with the first singles or albums that young people started listening. In these initial contacts, was again important the music of the Beatles. "(…) The first album that I remember having bought and stored in a special way was the Rubber soul, of the Beatles. However, we highlight, also, Brazilian music, which in turn also had some influence. (…) There was a moment of madness by Brazilian music, especially here, because we were talking [the language]" (Castro, José, Petrus Castrus - Interviewee). But other names stand out, such as

the Rolling Stones, the Doors, The Who, Pink Floyd, among others. But, as important as the music itself was the whole ritual of selection, purchase and preparation of the turntables, for by playing vinyl. "Buy an album was an adventure and an album was a valuable thing" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). Even if it was in a store, where they could touch them and hear them in the mythical cabins, or even if it was via postcard, buy an album was an almost religious ritual. "The difference is that if you listened to music with a more liturgical... due to the process. Was the stereo, the needle, the unwrapping of the disc, flip it." (Costa, Álvaro, Antena 3 - Interviewee). And, of course, not to mention the money that came together for the power to buy. "(…) was the staff who wouldn't eat, threw money parents for lunch and don't eat, because after four or five days, that money all along you could buy an album" (Calado, Nuno, Antena 3 - Interviewee). Interestingly, the copy was still unusual, not everyone had access to tape recorders and not everyone wanted to borrow their ' treasure ' to someone. "Met, listen to music, swap disks, I lent a record and lend me another and we took home and stayed. We then piracy, what then was considered piracy at the time was the most normal and simple act in the world "(Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). The music stores began to appear, little by little, to spread all over the country. It should be noted, that subsequently, until the shops of home appliances had a music section, which sold vinyl records, in addition to the sale of turntables.

"At the time, we are interested in music was, clearly, we are interested in rock" (Calado, Nuno, Antena 3 - Interviewee). Despite the heated discussions between the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, the music seemed to dictate the circle of friends, in which young people were part. "One of the things that happens is that the music (...) creates bonds of friendship strong" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). They started creating informal social groups with a common denominator: the rock music. These groups, which evolved, largely, to the creation of bands and to the professionalization, at a later stage. "Numerous and popular contests Yeh-Yeh, at the Teatro Monumental, sponsored by businessman Vasco Morgado and theatrical with wide media coverage, would become, for its part, the great pole of socialization and ritualized fashion urban youth of Lisbon and of Porto" (Duarte, António, A Arte Elétrica de Ser Português - Interviewee). Hence, that much of the conviviality of the groups were conducted randomly in the homes of members, with the aim of listening to music or try playing something. "(…) We on Friday, at the end of the class, one of the hobbies on Friday, because there was nothing to study, till on Sunday, we get together at my house or on the Rui Reininnho's house (…) " (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). It should be noted that the record labels such as Valentim de Carvalho and Orpheus were not, according to Duarte (2014) indifferent to the growing popularity of these new musical scene. However, the wave had little Sun lasts, when in the sixties young people began to fulfill military service.

And we're now at the second level of analysis: Rock: socialization booster. In addition to being in each other's houses, also began to congregate in cafes or subsequently in musical rehearsal locations. "(…) We had to find a rehearsal room and our homes, none of them had conditions, nor our parents were to put up with noise (…) and we decided to go talk to the firemen of Leça da Palmeira (…)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). And the trials were at the Firehouse, the exchange of concerts at balls on Sunday. This, because not everyone had garage or not everybody had permission to play there, due to the noise that inevitably made.

As regards the visual aspect, started to check some transformations. "Changed everything. The hair started to grow all, everybody wore long hair at the time, was very few those who weren't wearing" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). The appearance created by these young people was like a mirror of their desire to be different and to cut off with the webs of the oppressive past. Therefore, scrambled to appear, increasingly, with the ideal that they created. "To buy more different they went to Caritas to buy cheap clothes, because it came from the United States and was where we bought different clothes" (Macedo, Adolfo, Mão Morta - Interviewee) Away were behind the times when they dressed like the parents and grew into the habit of calling ' Sunday clothes». However, at the beginning, the parents didn't found great grace to these new outfits. "One of the things that they controlled, for example, was the outfit, especially my mother. For them it was scandalous, I don't cut my hair, was crucial for me" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). In conservative society it was the Portugal of the time, there were still those who criticized this new lifestyle, however, those views had a very short life. "So there is a revolution in terms of customs, and clothing, which also passes the rock aesthetic and by those changes that accompany the music, too" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). And, in fact, was not only the appearance that changed, but also the attitude towards life and towards society. "(…) They were very energetic people, they needed, somehow, was to vent the anger of the youth, the blood in the gills" (Castro, José, Petrus Castrus - Interviewee). It was like a form of extortion.

> "Rock music, like classical music and other songs we can call of evocation — as opposed to revolutionary message, as the Folk or Reggae, which are more than extortion – has a strong power of stimulation of aesthetic landscapes. This includes a set of transcendences: the journey of thought go out of ourselves, out of the warm gray and real life. The star-system is a production machine of this type of circumvention, being the rock-star your vehicle. Participate fantastically of his life, his art, is to achieve a temporary overshoot actual conditions existence-after all as drugs" (Fernandes, 2002: 26).

However, it is undeniable that the rock has conquered everything and everyone, but won the overwhelming majority of youth. "The rock was across all age groups, at that time, and to all social positions" (Castro, José, Petrus Castrus - Interviewee). Thus, it was normal that the rock delineate the circuit of friendships and form groups, where all the members hear the same kind of music. Who had not been infected by the magic of rock, when he began to be popular, eventually moving away and integrate other social colony that had other hobbies. A hobby which seemed to ' compete ' directly with the Rock was the sport. "There it is, the sport, there were people very connected to the sport, in a very active way (…)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee).

At the beginning, as we have seen, this subculture hadn't great acceptance in society. "People started to use hair by the middle of the back and listen critics and insults in the street" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). This happened because people were not yet used to this new lifestyle of young people, to their new attitudes, to their new beliefs, for their new appearances. Came to be criticized even by his own family, who did not know what was the rock subculture. "The Rock Culture, at that time, but today is something that is everywhere, (…) no height, was liturgical "(Santos, João, Roxk Rendez Vous - Interviewee). However, it wasn't so much the music itself that bothered them. "People were much more criticized by appearance and by their attitude on life, than the fact that putting an album and be listening to rock music" (Castro, José, Petrus Castrus - Interviewee). Others, in turn, were criticized by the families, due to the volume of this kind of music. "I know other parents had other types of complications. But, in my case, sometimes it was more by noise" (Calado, Nuno, Atena 3 -

Interviewee). However, it also happens in some cases, the reverse situation. "We were reviewing the other, for not listening to our music (...)" (Pedro, Miguel, Mão Morta - Interviewee).

It should be noted, also, that when began to appear the first rock concerts in Portugal, young people would soon go watch. In Portugal, among the first names mentioned include Psico, Arte e Ofício, Pop 5, Taxi and the Sheiks... "The first concert thus international band that I saw in Portugal were the Genesis, at Pavilhão de Cascais" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). After this concert, the habit started to grow gradually, until you reach the holding of festivals of music, But before we go in in the early festivals, you might want to take a small jump on the third level of analysis brief: Rock: transformation of the self. All we know about the situation in that country was, when the rock here appeared. Thus, the rock seems to have functioned as a tool of expression, dictatorial demands escape and social challenge. "Me in 1111 had multiple albums prohibited by censorship (...)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). The action of censorship had the tendency to rebel, even more, the artists against the reluctance of the citizens. And this revolt, sometimes not even to contest by the ideal that they wished, but more by the assertion that they didn't want. "(…) the pop-rock goes to emotionality, beside expressive more than rational – is more than reason evocation "(Fernandes, 2002: 27). They wanted to end the regime, but they could not know what they wanted to come next. It is also assumed, as an affirmation of identity for each. "The answer to the question is thus: absolutely. The culture of the time, music, whatever you want, it was like a beacon, where would seek solutions, answers to things (...)" (Costa, Álvaro Costa, Antena 3 - Interviewee). However, awareness of the mindsets of young people don't just come with the rock, even before we had, here in Portugal, very good musicians, young people have grown up listening to. "So, that music can help a certain distance or alienation in relation to political phenomena and, especially, more than political phenomena, which are fundamental to social life, in relation to social phenomena" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). So, this whole revolt against the regime and against its impositions, such as the obligation to provide military service for example, has led many young people to follow in the paths of rebellion. "(…) I think one of the reasons being rock was that transgression, which at the time was real and felt (...)" (Rua, Vítor, ex GNR - Interviewee). And be a rebel is not go around doing ' nonsense ', but is to be aware of the situations and challenge them. "I think the rock and pop rock music were a rallying cry, I do not follow exactly to revolt, but mostly it was a cry of emancipation of younger layers, compared to pressure and hegemony of layers of adults who exercised the power" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). Be a rebel was also different. "Some had hair longer, I would like to have, or have a different outfit, you hear different things, or you feel different, there is defiance" (Costa, Álvaro, Antena 3 - Interviewee).

Rock: social consolidation and birth of new habits is the fourth level of analysis. Although being a small country, the record stores have been growing gradually and getting profits up quite large. "I have more than 600 customers in whole Portugal, when I started on Polygram (...)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). These stores had a huge advantage, already mentioned, that was the existence of sound booths. "You took on the album and heard it there and we spent afternoons like this (...)" (Costa, Álvaro, Antena 3 - Interviewee). These sound booths allowed young people to select the albums that they liked and could hear them in a small space, through headphones. And, although the music tended to be expensive, young people did their sacrifices and tried to buy whatever they could. "(…) I had to ask my

parents money, I don't remember well, but there was a time that was like a thousand escudos or a thousand or so "(Rua, Vítor, ex GNR - Interviewee) However, when the will is big....

> "I remember that the top single is released in Portugal in the years 80 and quickly reached platinum record (...) But a platinum record in years 80 should have at least a hundred thousand units, at least 100,000" (Ribeiro, Artur, Jo-Jo's Music - Interviewee).

And everyone wanted to have the radio hit on vinyl. "It was cheap, there was no 50 television channels, there was no Facebook, there was nothing." (Ribeiro, Artur, Jo-Jo's - Interviewee). Thus, the youth had to entertain themselves with something and that something was, mostly, music. "But it was a different time. There was another economic power, there were jobs, there were jobs everywhere, there was... the cafes were full of people..." (Ribeiro, Artur, Jo-Jo's Music - Interviewee 2014). Today, economic power is less, there are no jobs, but the cafes remain filled. Artur Ribeiro, the owner of the old Jo-Jo's Records also says that there is still a market for specialty stores. "Today we should not go through the standard things, we should be always with an eye on different things to different audiences and I have always had this concern and I always appreciate that" (Ribeiro, Artur, Jo-Jo's Music - Interviewee). The businessman thinks he should lower the prices because compete with free music is not an easy task and you're wrong, "because the artist must feel clearly motivated" (Ribeiro, Artur, Jo-Jo's Music - Interviewee). And, thus, is more difficult. However, "music isn't going away" (Ribeiro, Artur, Jo-Jo's Music - Interviewee), however, has increasingly new formats and people will have, if you want to try to get used to them. Because, although the vinyl have been reborn, who guarantees us that he came back to stay? However, as we know, life is a cycle and we all go back to the same place in the end.

I couldn't speak of new habits and not talking about the slogan ' sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll. "Changed everything and everyone "(Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). Despite initially being unpopular, musicians and artists were given access to them. "Following the revolution and the arrival of returnees from the former colonies is that drugs began to be popularized" (Garcez, António, Roxigénio - Interviewee). Of course, the drugs have always existed and didn't come here at the hands of rock, as well as always existed the State of happiness or delirium. However, "everything goes back to appear in years 60/70, but in the form of smoke, marijuana, hashish" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). Then came the heavier drugs like LSD and hallucinogens in General and the tendency to experience became irresistible to young people. "A person is listening to an album of Beatles, you hear the Sgt. Peppers and know that they wrote a few songs under LSD (...)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee) and the temptation is great. However, the experience proved unsatisfactory. "Either we told stories or, then, we didn't have this ability" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). But, the most important was realizing that when a person is having these experiences, it was not the ideal time to write or compose. However, we cannot deny the interest that the drug created by youth. "(…) the issue of drug was ubiquitous "(Serra, José, Aqui D'el Rock - Interviewee). That happened, because it is a facilitator and turns them on an altered state and in the case of musicians, can even become a facilitator when you're on the stage. "In fact, the rock is linked to any drug culture" (Pedro, Miguel, Mão Morta - Interviewee). Both phenomena appeared to be always connected, because drugs tends to be associated with alternative postures and marginal postures. "And was also part of this posture the drugs, alcohol, sex, everything more or less practice, depending on the society position" (Macedo, Adolfo, Mão Morta - Interviewee). In this sense, the drugs seemed to be

part of this kind of marginal, where the rock was happening. "Basically, these are all catalysts and accelerators of emotions and are catalysts of lack of individual (...)" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee).

However, as for sex, things worked differently. "Portugal was traditional and women now not so much, but were more traditionalists" (Pedro, Miguel, Mão Morta - Interviewee). In other words, women didn't come out at night, pure and simple. There was not this habit in Portuguese society. "It is clear that sex was the least practiced, because at the time it wasn't easy, for example, in Braga, follow to the letter the maxim ' sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll ', because there was no sex, there was virtually no women in Braga, wouldn't come out. There were beatings when rose a woman "(Macedo, Adolfo, Mão Morta - Interviewee). In a Catholic country and guided by the idea «God, homeland and Family» the own sex without being in order, necessarily of procreation, was almost condemned by political and religious power. Then there were the conflicting relations between these two organs with rock and subculture with their excesses. "(…) There was a very large surveillance on women, especially on the younger girls "(Serra, José, Aqui D'el Rock - Interviewee). However, it should be noted that, little by little, women began to have their more open-minded, especially after the April 25 and began trying to prove a point in society. Started, too, at that time, to emerge the first musical groups composed of young girls and when the sexual revolution took place was a Madhouse.

> "Is a complete liberation, in this sense, the mindset of those generations. And ready, start practicing until because at the time there was no danger, which then came to appear much later, danger to health, with the sex that was completely unprotected. It was absolutely crazy, you know?" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee).

In short, what has changed is not the action itself, but the way you looked at them. "(…) What has changed is the freedom to talk about these things, with openness, because hypocrisy aside, before rock and these generations all, sex has always existed and has always done and what else bastards in this country "(Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). And the same idea applies to the drug because it has always existed and was not born with the rock. Nor did bring the utopian revolutions in the field of musical creativity. "(…) Honestly, I don't see that what has been produced at this time, under these catalysts of creativity has made, in General, something absolutely extraordinary "(Castro, José, Petrus Castrus - Interviewee).

However, talk about the rock music is also talking about touching it. "I don't think there was a lot of people play instruments before, but traditional music, fado and cançonetismo national, who used orchestras to the effect" (Garcez, António, Roxigénio - Interviewee). However, as is evident when listening to rock bands playing, young people also showed a tendency to want to imitate what they hear. "With the rise of rock things have changed substantially and the houses of instruments began to appear everywhere" (Garcez, António, Roxigénio - Interviewee). So, young people started getting curious, wanting to hear more and want to recreate what they saw and heard.

> "Finally, when in late 1970, begin to emerge the first shops of instruments at the Oporto, the Castanheira and others, we almost stopped being in cafes, to be there. We went to the stores so I can be and play and it was there that we knew and saw other older musicians" (Rua, Vítor, ex GNR - Interviewee).

Learning is a process, individually or in group. "My inclination to the percussion is intuitive, so I become a drummer and I am self-taught and start to learn to play on my desk (...)" (Serra, José, Aqui D'el Rock - Interviewee). Before the 25 April, the musical formation was scarce and

spent, mostly, by the Conservatory, where he learned classical music and not rock music. "(…) There were no schools, as there is now, music schools. I remember at the time, if you wanted to learn to play had to go to the Oporto "(Pedro, Miguel, Mão Morta - Interviewee). Therefore, most rock fans began by learning to play alone or with the help of friends. "We're learning alone, with headphones" (Pedro, Miguel, Mão Morta - Interviewee). In other words, many of them were truly self-learners. "We learned with each other, we began to gather, organize groups and such" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). And started to buy instruments, "and the sale of instruments increased" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). However, it should be noted that possess a musical instrument at the time was not easy, because the material was expensive and was not available to a mass form. "They were pretty expensive at the time, were not accessible to all pockets and the bands, it was customary, buy the instruments and pay the instruments for years (...)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). So, just access weren't available to everyone. "The social origin of the first Portuguese musicians of rock 'n' roll, and in the following decade of Yeh-Yeh, I'd start by being their first window of opportunity" (Duarte, António, A Arte Elétrica de Ser Português - Interviewee). To cope with the difficulties, many improvised instruments. "So, as I didn't have any money to buy a drums set and no one was going to give me a drums set in the family, they thought it was a crazy, I thought I had to do was create a drums set" (Castro, Sérgio, Trabalhadores do Comércio - Interviewee). Many young people even began, with instruments created by them, until they can buy a real instrument. And when they couldn't, they would pay as I or bought secondhand. "(…) The song until there was also elitist, even in the area of rock "(Serra, José, Aqui D'el Rock - Interviewee). In addition to joining of money and pay benefits, there were also other methods. "The instruments were purchased in stores and payments were made with lyrics and paid with big difficulties" (Garcez, António, Roxigénio - Interviewee).

In any event, come home, then, briefly, to the question of festivals. As is well known 1971 was the year that saw the first official mythical edition of Vilar de Mouros Festival. On that date, Portugal already had faced many social transformations. If that hadn't happened, how could they create a festival of this kind and expect accession? "It was crazy. It was the first time I had twenty thousand people in front of a stage, free form (...)" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). It was a unique event in Portugal, which changed everything that came next. "The first festivals were great. People smoked dope, talking about politics and where was anti statuos quo feeling (Garcez, António, Roxigénio - Interviewee). And the success of Vilar de Mouros shows that the boys on the rock was peaceful, contrary to what many thought. "But everything went very well, I don't hear any problems, people took all nude bath in the River (...) And was, in this aspect, a complete and total liberation "(Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee).

Finally, couldn't talk about new habits without mentioning the changes brought by the mythical rock club, Rock Rendez Vous, in Lisbon. Lasted nearly ten years, but made many more rock bands than we can imagine. Was a space with live music in which just passed rock, from the first to the last minute, revolutionizing the nightlife of young lisbonenses. "(…) During nine years it was open, were bands every day "(Santos, João, Rock Rendez Vous - Interviewee). The Organization was, perhaps, the opposite of the remaining establishments.

> "(…) The scheme was, as the Friday and Saturday are strong moments for the night, what did we do? Put the weak bands on weekends. Why? Because people were more likely to go into the night and on the weekends I already knew they were headed there, basically and enjoyed having a full House to show new bands. During the week was interested in putting a lot of people there and to take over a lot of people had to be famous bands. So during the week I

used to get the strongest bands, to, ready, to fill that" (Santos, João, Rock Rendez Vous - Interviewee).

So, always had a full House and created a habit in young people. When they left they knew there was always live music and rock to dance. And the Rock Rendez Vous turned out to be the jump for many bands in the Decade of 80, that why there stepped on stage and, some of them, still see them play tonight. And why? "(…) The Rock Rendez Vous was important, because the bands typically had a guy there from large publishers (...) went to see the bands, which is something that does not exist today and that would be very important "(Santos, João, Rock Rendez Vous - Interviewee). In addition the Club, also recorded music videos and created the famous crazy modern music contests. "We must firmly establish five or six and the band that won, ready, recorded a disco" (Santos, João, Rock Rendez Vous - Interviewee). And the incentive was so big, that came to receive 400 videotapes to the contest. "This contest had an advantage, too big, it was, had the media on top, so the bands, even if they don't win, they became known" (Santos, João, Rock Rendez Vous - Interviewee). However, at the end of ten years came to an end, due to some stubbornness, but left a mark too large in Portuguese rock'n'roll boom. So, because the first concert of the so-called father of rock national, was on opening night of this legendary rock club.

Rock: participation is the next level of analysis. "It was easy to start a music project, now but reaching the albums was as difficult as it is today" (Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). And why? Because it is very simple to get in two or three friends and form a musical group. There's no need of knowing touch, because unlike before, today there are huge schools of music. The instruments also are no longer so expensive and about the singer, since he or she didn't detune... "People didn't know, play the instruments did not exist and, in that sense, it was complicated" (Macedo, Adolfo, Mão Morta - Interviewee). However, the first rock concerts in Portugal there were thus no scandal. The country had already used to the sound and the older people felt it indifference. "We played for people our age, almost always. Therefore, there was natural empathy "(Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). But, as we have seen, form a group is easy but record was almost an utopia. "Do an album was almost a dream, something almost unthinkable to realize" (Macedo, Adolfo, Mão Morta - Interviewee). But, even when they could, it wasn't easy to stay at the peak of popularity. However, some succeeded and reached us until today. Nowadays, it's not so easy to get recognition. "Today, people have the puck, you know, people have instruments, people rehearse, play and have not come out of tart strain, because they don't have any visibility" (Macedo, Adolfo, Mão Morta - Interviewee). Despite the ease of recording that has reached us with the digital revolution and despite the social tools that are within our reach, it's very complicated revenge and today's music tends to be short-lived. Is not, does not remain. "Where we have is ate concertos to sell records" (Morais, Hélio, Linda Martini - Interviewee). In other words, nowadays, in Portugal, they record disks to make tours, because the disc itself has a tendency not to sell. Later, it also makes the bands grow, there is, you record a disc of an editor, makes you grow and recent growing up will bring you more recent concerts too. And if you bring more concerts, brings more money "(Morais, Hélio, Linda Martini - Interviewee).

And speaking of the changes that have occurred have reached the last level of analysis, Rock: transforms into the 21st century. Refer, then, briefly, the changes coming with the digital revolution. "Therefore, today's with the digital tools, you get a record like that at home" (Morais, Hélio, Linda Martini - Interviewee). The formats have changed and there are

new tools to appear. The idea of the DJ is increasingly internalized, the rock appears to be increasingly left out. "The notion that I have is music that today is much stronger in discos, for DJs. It is no coincidence, that the phenomenon of DJs is growing and the rock bands are disappearing "(Brito, Tozé, Quarteto 1111 - Interviewee). It is much easier to be DJ, that rock artist because they have a lot less work, because it does not require the same capabilities or execution techniques, at material level.

> "(…) exists since 1990 an increase in consumption of music, but it is necessary to consider the amendment of the formats of its consumption and this is a radical change in the context of popular music: immateriality and plurality. It is also permissible to register a change concerning the amount of music heard or possessed, to the extent that what its increase was exponential: "are going to be times of Immateriality, dilution and mixture. But it is not certain that the physical format, the idea of «album» and other foundations of what has been popular music be demolished once (…)" (Guerra, 2011: S/P).

The music industry has changed. "The essentials of the music industry is not recording a disc, the music industry exists around the recording industry, are two different things" (Costa, Álvaro, Antena 3 - Interviewee). In other words, the music industry is not bad, because there are concerts and merchandising among other tools of promotion, however, what's wrong is the industry of the record, because, as we have seen, the discs don't sell like they used to. "One of the most important trend lines on fixed structures and networks for the promotion and dissemination of music. There is a nod to the increased frequency of concerts and on increasing the reception face the experimental projects situated in rock said "alternate (Guerra, 2011: S/P). And the power of the image is increasingly critical in this interactive virtual environment in which we live grasped every day. Through YouTube, Vimeo or Facebook, the music reaches an importance and increasing visibility as a product of music and musical access platform. In terms of tools and products change it should also talk on MySpace (...) " (Guerra, 2011: S/P).

In short, the rock was an adventure, a discover and today is no longer what it used to be, but did it lost its allure? I don't think so. Just look at the rock concerts that exhaust, just look at the resurgence of vinyl, just look at the tables of the best-selling albums of all time. "My My, hey hey/Rock and roll is here to stay (Young, Neil, 1979)".

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3.5."The Garage were I was born": Coimbra´s musical scene in the 1990´s

Pedro Emanuel Almeida Martins[1]

Abstract

The present paper aims to overlook the existence of an alternative field of social interaction among individuals who aroused against the dominant traditions from the 1990s in a local context: Coimbra. This field consolidated its form by *rock n' roll* music identifying a restricted group of individual's. They were involved in a local social context of music production and demand as a group of *music lovers* who lay their beliefs on rock as life's philosophy. The question that led my path through this group was to understand what does exist in music, which comprehends it as a social phenomenon of interaction, sociability and identity, reluctant to counter-cultural dynamics in Coimbra. In this sense, I argue that artistic practices are social practices embedded in emotional, symbolic and transgressive languages.

Keywords: Coimbra, music-scene, rock n' roll, counter-cultural dynamics and music sociability's

Introduction

> *Music could exist even if there were no world at all*
> Arthur Schopenhauer

The present paper seeks to acknowledge a group of individuals that aroused in Coimbra during the 90´s, which I studied for my master dissertation in sociology. This group, restricted in their social milieu and composed by heterogeneous music values, was involved by different social backgrounds from a permeability of arts and politics to philosophy and music production. They had structured a local subfield of music creation and production associated to rock and punk rock music. Understanding rock music as a social and complex phenomenon, which is simultaneously well thought-out between society and structure, Coimbra's case as a local music scene is paradigmatic. Its analysis offered a view point of how the relationship between rock and society states a singular relation. In a sociological framework, rock is an autonomous empirical object of social study due to it's space and time of emergence. A space in which social context and interactions consolidated a range of subjective meanings and attitudes towards a collective imaginary. And in a time were social and historic conditions appears to modify social behaviours structuring social actions and practices in order to define individuals beliefs.

As Coimbra's case, It's rock music scene emerged by a restricted group of "music lovers" (Hennion 2001) that overhang established values to a peculiar life style of irreverence away from traditional social values that characterized the city's life style, such as It's *fado* music and the well known image of It´s University, side by side with the students life in the academy; and

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in a time period were social-historic conditions appeared as a sign for artistic liberty and subversive creativity, which rock music comes into sight as an opportunity for a lifetime to produce the genre of music they exacerbated: *Rock N' Roll*.

By studying these individuals "social trajectories" (Reynold, 2000), understand as a heuristic interest to "convey and incorporate values and meanings related to a set of practices" (Guerra, 2012: 1), and since the use of biographies within the scientific field leads to an acquisition and expansion of knowledge about subjective attitudes and significations as "regulators of social practices" (*ibid*), the main question that lead my journey in Coimbra's rock field was to understand what does exist in music, that comprehends it as a social phenomenon of interaction, sociability and identity, reluctant to counter-cultural dynamics in a local context. I argue that artistic practices are social practices embedded in emotional, symbolic and transgressive languages. As an alternative field of music production these languages are constructed subjectively within relations and interactions between individuals who share same interests, conducting musical sociability in a continuous learning of interdependency, well defined as *Do It Yourself* (DIY). For them, this was the official way of living life: proposed by *rock n' roll* interests and an irreverence style of life, they assumed as their individual knowledge, influenced not only derived by their social interactions, but by including the way they practice and relate with them. A will of collective principles against the dominant hegemony of their social milieu and moral values (Martins, 2013).

From culture to musical scenes: artistic practices as social process

Culture is an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary concept sometimes misunderstood in the scientific occidental literary (Garofalo, 1993: 231). To narrow the concept in its meaning to the prosecution of my argument, by culture, I would define as all the forms and practices derived from customs, traditions and values that people seek in order to give sense in their everyday life. These meanings can be visible, or are visible, in the case of rock music culture through behaviours, corporal aesthetics and moral values which embodies a system knowledge that characterizes the way why individuals integrate social group formation. In this sense culture, as a concept that infers people's subjectiveness to their actions, relates life styles to practices incorporating a process of meanings. The perceiving of this process constitutes the bases of an analysis of social phenomena in the culture sphere, mainly in youth culture, leading a comprehension between culture, music and group formation, or generally, music and society.

Regarding rock music as a "common culture", as Paul Willis postulates as everything that is ubiquitous, sturdy and strongly consolidated in sharing and carrying objects with meanings between individuals (Willis, 1990: 2) its importance as a sociological and empirical object of study compiles a rich framework which enables two essential ideas. First, to stipulate a relation between music and society, while a singular one, demonstrating how music influences and its field of production can structure group formation, especially youth belonging to different social stratifications to the composition of local music scenes. And secondly, the perception of counter-culture dynamics including expressions, signs and meanings that youth, in their everyday life, seek for creativity affirming their presence and identity to express the potentialities of their cultural (*ibid*) and subversive creativities, such as musical aesthetics and performances in stages and streets.

The conceptual link between culture, music and group formation has been theorized by Birmingham School in the late period of the II World War. This relation enabled a theoretical framework for the study of musical consumption and social formations, chaired by identity issues that mattered for the track of relationships facing social structure (Frith, 1996). Other studies emerged by relating identity to social class condition and culture, such as Paul Willis (1978; 1990; 1998 [1978]) who studied the relational process between rock music and motorcycle bikers; Dick Hebdige (1988; 1998 [1979]) who empirically demonstrated that Mods and punk rock were associated to anarchism side by side to an *avant-garde* aesthetics; Will Straw (1998 [1983]) who studied heavy metal, musical genre slighted by critics and neglected by theorists; Lawrence Grossberg (1993; 1998 [1986]) which defined *rock n' roll* and admonishing its death; Tony Jefferson (1976) and his study of *Teddy Boys*, relating their social identity to social structure; John Clarke (1976) and the *Skinhead Culture* in a logic of structuralism, and Dave Laing (1994) who studied the social reception of punk reiterating the phenomenon in classist terms accentuating its private accessibility and its public invisibility.

These conceptual frameworks enabled a paradigm transition from subculture theory to a new theoretical framework of analysis. Towards social and technological changes that emerged from the late 1960s and 1970s the subcultural framework declined basing it's analysis from a social deviation perspective and by relating identity as a collective and symbolic response to the conditions of social class (Cohen, 1997). The nature and function of youth subcultures was based on a rupture between tradition values and the labour class workers. Further more, as Paula Guerra states: "empirical data has demonstrated the complexity and fluidity of youth cultural practices that could not be analysed by the prism of subculture as a homogenous unity of tastes and belongings based on social classes" (Guerra, 2013: 117 and Bennett, 2001).

Some authors defend the re-conceptualization of subculture concept drawn under a sociological theory where juvenile identity could evidence the reflexivity, fluidity and its fragmentation (Bennett, 1999, 2011; Muggleton, 1998; Redhead, 1990) that seems to mark the modern ages of how youth culture seems to advocate interests to their cultural practices. This theoretical transition states a new paradigm in the study of youth culture based on everyday dynamics, music and life style. As Redhead (1990), Muggleton (1998) locates the paradigmatic transition of youth culture framework over the fragmentation and proliferation of new cultural backgrounds from revivalism, hybridism to transformism. These alternative backgrounds induced the way how individuals seek new visual images for the construction of their social and cultural identities (Bennett, 2011). As a collective construction, these new images, dynamics of everyday and life styles forms what can be called as "music scenes". For Will Straw (1991), a *music scene* reflects a state of particular relations between individuals and social groups, which merge from *clusters* of music styles which are capable to structure spaces of social interaction. Not by class or community but by incorporating an analysis based on aesthetic sensibilities and everyday life.

This perspective agglomerates local, translocal and virtual, in an assumption dedicated to music or life styles, envisaging relations and dynamics that occur in the context of everyday life. This dynamics are accentuated by subjectiveness and musical sociability that are reflected in the quotidian and visible in behaviours and corporal aesthetics. As Paula Guerra states: "the relevance of such perspective reflects its contribution for the comprehension of cultural practices and consumptions and the relation of the everyday life in its different spatial

contexts[2]" (Guerra, 2010: 446). Importantly the concept reveals values and social representations, in which such musical sociability occurs, gauging an elucidative reflection about clusters of intermediaries and musical genres.

From culture to music scenes, artistic music practices recalls liberty and free expression on creation and creativity. Despite this relation depending on the political, social and historic contexts of societies, this reflects the conditions of how music scenes affirm in a social milieu. How individuals who participated in Coimbra's scene do affirmed their identities and music productions towards its social context? In which singular relations did the rock music scene appeared? Which musical sensibilities and how musical sociability's structured their everyday life? I would like to address these questions towards the social and historic conditions of the emergence of Coimbra's rock music scene. Second, describe how musical aesthetics and sociability's were important to consolidate the interactions of the everyday life. At last, advocate the importance of the "official" and "informal" ways as a motivator to the counter-cultural dynamics of Coimbra's scene.

From interactions to musical sociability's: Coimbra's musical scene

In Portugal the cultural and the artistic sphere had a late development. While in the 1960s and 1970s social movements surrounding artistic expressions and free liberty in their creations and creativity, Portugal was under a dictatorship that cost a late development mainly in both fields. It social structure reflected a domain of an elitist class that was "restricted and conservator, composed dominantly by an agrarian, commercial and financial bourgeoisies" (Abreu, 2010: 248). In the 1970s, with the end of the fascist regime, the commercial sector opened its doors to a new variety of music market and consumptions. Here, rock music was in its preliminary stage of development (Guerra, 2013). But its social acceptance was still far considered as an artistic form. In Coimbra, in the 1990s, *rock n' roll* was still considered a form of social deviation, with its subversive and transgressive performances in stages and streets.

During the 1990s Coimbra renewed its cultural and musical creation. In this time, a restricted group triggered a wave of cosmopolitism, life stylization and a forefront of artistic stimulating expressions of rock and punk rock music, imported from the United States and England. These musical influences instilled as germinators of the sociability's of the individuals that marked Coimbra's scene. Other influences as literature, from the *beat generation* as Jack Kerouac to Allen Ginsberg, and classics of cinema such as sci-fiction, horror and sexploitation, were all cultural consumptions that developed an alternative subfield of musical production. The effects focussed on the questioning of the status quo, by extrapolating practices and creativities embedded by subversive emotions and symbolisms and engendered by revivalism, hybridism and transformism in their everyday life time.

This cosmopolitan universe configured an alternative cultural landscape necessary for the local construction of the music scene. It framed an artistic expression and aesthetic against the boredom and stagnation felt locally. The city was well known for its rock music due to this group of individuals whose claims enhanced an aesthetic performance establishing the limits of their freedoms for creativity. In the same time, they saw an opportunity in music production

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[2] All Portuguese citations were by me translated to English.

for the achievement of their musical careers, allied to the ideology of DIY, which consequently established a rupture between parental morality and the urban boredom.

Their achievements and social interactions, during the 1990s, were assimilated as a *rebellious romanticism*. Rebellious as nonconformity against the boredom of the city, allied with a social criticism against the hegemony values of culture, popular and traditional customs, and the strong weight of the university's image in the city and all that surrounds it, such as the image of the *student doctor*, the academic festivals and the rituals associated to the *freshmens* (Estanque and Bebiano, 2007; Frias, 2003). Secondly, romanticism invested by social representations of their cultural consumptions, mainly due to the influence of bands like *Sex Pistols, The Clash, Ramones* and *Velvet Underground*, which created collective imaginaries of a style of life related to their way of believing, reproducing locally same behaviours. Sometimes these behaviours were misunderstood as social deviation, but always seeking an alternative way to deal with the everyday life.

These musical consumptions praised a privileged vehicle to the individuals in integrating the field of music production, planning musical projects, values and stylizations. This was also a privileged way to consolidate social interactions, by sharing knowledge, reconstruct and reproduce cultural consumptions to their behaviours and attitudes towards daily life. In confluence of different social groups, similar in their aesthetics, frequency of same local spaces and musical genres, they formed an extensive network with complex interactions.

Mainly three genres were the base of all musical sociability's, mirroring a picture of multiple lived stylization. First, rock, associated to *rockabilly, psychobilly* and *porkabilly*, aesthetically was defined by visible corporal demarcations such as hair styles, black colour clothes and crippers; second, punk, with jackets characteristically having metal peak sharp points with musical inscriptions and troop boots; last, hardcore, usually demarked with a casual urban visual style, long sleeved shirt with square effects and tennis as preferred shoes. These different musical languages embodied by emotionality, symbolism and transgressism composed the interior of the scene, nourishing a typical musical creation and aesthetics in behalf of a collective imaginary.

Aside the social criticism, irreverence and romantic rebellious, the network of proximity, constituted by family and friends were crucial to define musical sensibilities and consumptions. Especially the network of friendships created by ties of solidarity that protruded tastes and musical aspiration were fundamental to some of these individuals' careers. This network was also fundamental to structure local knowledge (Cohen, 1997) about *rock n´ roll* music, which started during the time in high school where social interactions gained a space to trade musical tastes and knowledge, by sharing music catalogues and fanzines, alternative social media that established the underground narrative. Scholar learning's were indeed set aside and the artistic and music activities were always primordial in their interests and tasks in the everyday life. In a dilettantism or DIY logic, the informal learning was portrayed in informal spaces, recreating a milieu of informality which enhances individual's aptitudes of autonomy and independency. In this way, informal milieu was the official way to learn what was necessary to learn. More complex then at first sight, this network developed in an amateur way, with all its artistic practices, gathering interests, significations and necessities associated to music production.

Much of these informal spaces such as basements, attics, streets, public gardens and garages were spaces of sharing knowledge, rehearsal and social interaction. They formed "underground schools" in which Coimbra's music scene saw two of its most influential bands being born: *É Mas Foice* and *Tédio Boys*. By there musical deconstruction narrowed the music

scene to rock music articulating multiple genres from psichobilly to hardcore, and nourishing a transgressive culture which they staged a romantic irreverence against the system and the hegemony culture. The first band, *É Mas Foice*, appeared in the 1980s mixing rock and popular folklore, allying provocation to there theatrical performances. The conversion of their artistic expressions and transgressive attitudes in stage over passed the reflexes of social criticism and irony. The second, *Tédio Boys*, was a stand out band of the time that started at the very end of the 1980s and the beginnings of the 1990s, in the punk rock panorama and revolutionary in its musical deconstruction. They hold an aesthetic performance embedded by artistic influences from *Screamin Jay Hacking* and *The Cramps*, musical standards as *psichobilly*, *punkabilly* and *porkabilly*, which characterized their style music, and the typical image of there appearance in public by the breaking of visual standards and normativity.

Both bands triggered from specific social contexts, from different senses of necessity and different personifications. For the first, one emerged for the criticism of political ideology and social critique, the other, for the criticism of boredom and against the hegemony culture of the popular and traditional; for the later, one theatrical in performances, the other, as transgressive visual normativity. These aspects demonstrate how rock, as a sociological object of study, can be said to have a singular relation within society. Individuals incorporate their social meanings to their daily actions, in the specific case as music scenes, individuals incorporate their subjectiveness to their music productions. In this sense, music it's not only a way of living life, but a way of how music can be understood as life.

All these free spirit of revivalism, hybridism and transformism was lived in a diverse set of social spaces. Theses spaces contributed for the understanding of certain ideologies and symbolic materials, which are mediated by the context and social condition of existence of the individual's (Bennett, 1999; 2005). They were spaces of cult, side by side to underground practices and sociability's enclosing visual and corporal aesthetics to an alternative concept of music. The reliability of these spaces accentuates individual's freedom and liberties during social interaction. Aside the importance of these spaces to social relations, they were also fundamental to another group of individuals that played an important role in the scene: the DIY producers. These individuals formed a small group of music producers, technicians, amateurs or even musicians themselves, aiming a common feeling, as Paul Willis argues (1990). Mainly by sharing and carrying objects with meanings between individuals from a *common culture* keeping the rock spirit always alive. Some of the names are known in the scene: *Arame farpado, ArtRites, Off The Records, Psychotic Reactions* and *Zona Centro Hardcore*, and have the same imperative objective: to promote and to spread regular activities of concerts of alternative music, incorporating in their logic of work, a DIY ideology, keeping cultural activities and it's dynamics, in fulfilling an alternative cultural agenda in Coimbra.

Conclusion

Music is not only a way to escape the daily routines. It embodies a complex understanding and relationship to social life, to social contexts of its emergence, presence and to delimitate identities. It's a construction and solidification of social representations and practices that flows in between consumptions, productions, emotional, symbolic and transgressive languages, codes and signs that ensure the social group strengthens.

Coimbra's music scene is a peculiar example of how individual's incorporated their consumptions to music productions in building an alternative agenda and demonstrating their

collective will towards *rock n' roll*: artistic practices, social representations, subjective attitudes and local knowledge, formed a set of resources that solidify their imaginaries and identities. Here, identities were constructed through differences in existence. In the same sense as Stuart Hall defines it, when questioning *who needs identity?:* "to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempts to 'interpolate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which constructs us as subjects which can be spoken" (Hall and Gay, 1996: 5). We need identity to position ourselves as subjects of knowledge. Assuming Coimbra's rock scene, the language of consciousness that is assumed in the prosecution of artistic practices corresponds as languages of the subjects social representations and they are always constructed across a lack between us and the others. Thus, this corresponding won't be identical to the subjects which are invested in them (*ibid*). In the same time, local spaces, social relations and interactions, DIY learning's and the sharing objects formed a "common culture" (Willis, 1990) in fulfilment of the expressions, signs and meanings that youth seek for creativity, presence and identity to potentially subvert the cultural hegemony that stagnated their way of living life.

This restricted group, some of them known as musicians others not, developed a subfield of alternative music production, and following a plural path defying the expressions of their social existences, finding in the music field the same assumption as Arthur Schopenhauer: "music could exist even if there were no world at all".

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3.6. Underground music in America's heartland: "Rising Appalachia" and traditional folk/pop as social protest

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Abstract

Rising Appalachia, a quasi-folk, quasi-pop activist group fronted by sisters Leah and Chloe Smith of Atlanta, Georgia, strives to stimulate awareness of regional economic and political problems, and to enact changes involving the clear-cutting of forests, mountain top removal, and other ecologically and socially destructive activities. The Smiths and their collaborators stand apart from the increasingly globalized and commodified cultural spaces that surround them. Their do-it-yourself performative roots and style, together with the local musical practices and convictions they embrace, contribute to what might be considered avant-garde and underground character closely associated with one of America's least prosperous and most neglected cultural heartlands. Several audiovisual recordings, all of them available on YouTube, exemplify the ensemble's commitment both to traditional and local musical styles as well as to opposition in the face of political and social repression and exploitation.

Keywords: Appalachia, traditional music, avant-garde, activism, underground music

Rising Appalachia is a quasi-folk, quasi-pop activist group fronted by sisters Leah and Chloe Smith of Atlanta, Georgia. Since their first public performances in 2008 the group, built by the Smiths, has grown rapidly in popularity through social media and an extensive touring schedule; already they have performed in Costa Rica, the Czech Republic, Italy, and several other nations. Unlike most of the performers pro/claiming Appalachia as an identity or allied space, however, Rising Appalachia must be considered radical. The ensemble strives to stimulate awareness of regional economic and political problems, and to enact changes involving the clear-cutting of forests, mountain top removal, and other ecologically and socially destructive activities. At the same time Rising Appalachia remains rooted in traditional performance practices and regionalized appeal. The Smiths and their collaborators stand apart from the increasingly commodified cultural spaces that surround them. Their DIY performative roots and style, as well as the local musical practices and revolutionary convictions they embrace, contribute to what might be considered their underground character—but "underground" within one of America's least prosperous and most neglected cultural heartlands.

The pages that follow are devoted to identifying Rising Appalachia's relationship with a variety of musical cultures and "scenes," including certain aspects of what is often called

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"postmodernity." This discussion is followed by brief synopses of Appalachia as a region both real and imagined, and of traditional mountain music's sources and performative practices. Finally, three recorded audiovisual performances—"Across the Blueridge [*sic*] Mountains," "I'll Fly Away," and "Scale Down"—are examined as exemplary both of Rising Appalachia's musical aesthetics and of its political and social goals. Although the group has released six audio recordings, all of them compact disks (R.I.S.E. 2008; Rising Appalachia 2006, 2007, 2010b, 2012a, 2012c), its musical style and political statements cannot be separated from the personal appearances of its members and the public performances of the ensemble as a whole. In short: Rising Appalachia is significantly audiovisual in style, expression, and political purpose.

Defining Rising Appalachia: scenes, DIY musical cultures, and postmodernity

Rising Appalachia is difficult to define within an increasingly globalized and commodified musical marketplace. Is the ensemble simply a "band" or can it and its followers be considered a "scene"? Are its members professionally trained or are they do-it-yourselfers? To what extent do they participate in the same marketplace as pop stars? Is Rising Appalachia in any sense meaningful to twenty-first-century cultural critics "avant-garde" or "underground"? And to what extent can they legitimately and meaningfully be considered "postmodern"?

Because "scene" as a term is so firmly associated with indie-rock and other youth-oriented styles—among them No Wave in New York City, Madchester in Manchester, England, and the several styles that emerged in Portland, Oregon, during the 1980s—it cannot easily be applied to Rising Appalachia or its audiences. Instead, the ensemble deliberately crosses borders, addressing rural as well as urban listeners. Never has it been associated with individual clubs or neighborhoods. In certain respects the group also courts older as well as younger audiences: those that cherish traditional mountain music as well, intriguingly, as those who grew up celebrating East Coast rap. Rising Appalachia claims a portion of those variegated traditions even as it challenges certain assumptions, musical as well as political and social, associated with them.

Furthermore, the music made by Rising Appalachia is truly do-it-yourself, continually rethought and continually striving for spontaneity. According to Wikipedia, a source not always trustworthy but often correct, the Smith sisters' very first joint musical endeavor, which apparently took place in the mid-2000s, was a home-made compact disk recorded for family and friends. Chloe Smith is said to have initiated that recording project, which "received so much support and recognition" that the sisters " decided to officially start a band called Rising Appalachia" (N/A n.d.). The recording was released as "Rising Appalachia" in 2006. From June 2008 through February 2010, however, the band was known as "RISE" or "R.I.S.E." (see R.I.S.E. 2008).

Perhaps as a consequence of its often traditional, regionally grounded, and DIY origins, Rising Appalachia eschews certain aspects of postmodernity. Above all the group rejects what Frederic Jameson calls "the complacent play of historical allusions" (Jameson 1998, 105). Instead of parodying or abandoning traditionally grounded musical gestures, Rising Appalachia continually (re)affirms the region's musical past—which, among other things, serves as an active catalyst for new sounds. In so doing, the Smiths and their collaborators refuse to contribute both to the breakdown of "temporal continuities" often associated with postmodern entertainment, and to the sense of loss that Fredric Jameson believes such

breakdown inevitably entails (Jameson 1985, 120). They draw upon a wealth of sources, but instead of "sampling" (Goodwin 1991) they entirely recreate or recompose. Innovation in traditional American music is scarcely limited today to Rising Appalachia's real and virtual public performances. Television programs such as *Austin City Limits*, for example, regularly feature less-familiar rural styles, including Tejano, progressive country, alternative rock, and "redneck-hippie" (Endres 1987, 64). Nevertheless, Rising Appalachia remains uniquely unsettling and inspiring even as it cleaves to regional musical traditions.

As Henry Jenkins explains, twentieth-century American culture witnessed "the displacement of folk culture by mass media" (Jenkins 2006, 135). Several years ago Gertrude Himmelfarb went farther, pointing out that America's "adversary culture" seems since the 1960s to have completely broken down, to have become "democratized and popularized" (Himmelfarb 2005, 118). Avant-garde and underground activities seem to have altogether disappeared. Yet Rising Appalachia's performances and especially its activist political and social agenda call the phrase "avant-garde" to mind. The ensemble reminds listeners of music's political power; it rejects the displacement of folk cultures even as it repeatedly challenges listeners, often quite conservative listeners, to reconsider what they're used to hearing and to rise up and do something about the problems confronting them. Numbers such as "Filthy Dirty South" are entirely devoted to contemporary issues. The sounds associated with these issues— sounds that incorporate phrases from urban rap on behalf of rural causes—comprise an evolving *bricolage* of antique and modern references and styles. Like other of its calls for action against fracking, oil spills, mountain-top removal, and other dilemmas, "Filthy Dirty South" is intriguingly eclectic as well as politically and socially transformative.

If only to the extent that the ensemble's members make excellent use of social media, reaching out on Facebook and other platforms to admirers and critics alike, Rising Appalachia must be considered postmodern. At the same time the ensemble has remained to some extent "underground." This last term, associated with initially unfamiliar cultural activities and still-undiscovered talents—Bob Dylan, say, during his earliest New York City performances—seems outdated in a world of cell phones, texting, and the internet. Yet Rising Appalachia appeals to its scattered fan base for support, not to corporate interests and multinational conglomerates. Its sixth and most recent compact disk, unnamed as of 15 August 2014, is being funded by the group's fans, each of whom is asked to send in enough money to pay for a single disk (Rising Appalachia 2014c). Here the digital world of infotainment helps make possible an independence historically associated with earlier, equally radicalized generations of protest artists

Appalachia's several identities and Rising Appalachia's relationship to them

Rooted in the local-color writings of travelers during the Era of Reconstruction that followed the nation's Civil War, ideas of "Appalachia" came to occupy a place in the American psyche at once barbaric and pure, uncivilized and appealing. In certain ways the men and women of the region have long been imagined to embody, and to some extent actually have embodied, the American pioneering spirit. They have also been condemned because, having broken free of the Eastern seaboard, they paused in the mountains instead of moving on and helping their young nation fulfill its Manifest Destiny. As early as 1895, for example, Henry Cabot Lodge proclaimed that small states (and, one would think, the remote and primitive regions within

those states—regions such as Appalachia) belong "to the past," because only expansion "made for 'civilization and the advancement of the race'" (Garraty 1953, 52). Acknowledging during the 1970s that Appalachia has long been hemmed in, ruled by outsiders rather than by its own peoples, David Whisenant epitomized the region as:

> a captive energy colony for urban and suburban middle- and upper-class, growth oriented America, which must have Appalachia's coal and cheap labor in order to remain comfortably on its accustomed binge of consumption and waste or to endure it's energy crisis… The region is—along with much of the impoverished third world—an essential base for perpetuating our much-praised "American way of life." (Whisnant 1974, 103)

Rising Appalachia wields an artistic energy into social protest by connecting and maneuvering around rigid genre, geographic and cultural norms.

The physical and cultural geographies that have contributed to Rising Appalachia's musical and social concerns are associated principally, although sometimes fancifully, with remote areas of North America's southeastern mountains. In geopolitical terms Appalachia is defined by the national Appalachian Regional Commission (or ARC) as the 205,000 square miles that follow the region's "spine … from southern New York to northern Mississippi": an enormous and variegated region that comprises all of West Virginia and parts of twelve other states, including portions of Alabama, Maryland, and New Jersey (ARC n.d.). Geologists, on the other hand, understand that the Appalachian cordilleras also extend north as well as south, into New England and Canada's maritime provinces. Whatever its boundaries, the region's typography—the Blue Ridge or "Crystalline Appalachians," the Plateau or "Sedimentary Appalachians," and the basin and valleys that separate and surround them—is dear to millions of "outsiders" who venerate its geophysical beauties and biodiversity. It seems fitting to many outdoors enthusiasts that the Appalachian Trail, America's first and most popular hiking trail, runs through these ranges from northern Georgia as far north as Maine's Hundred Mile Wilderness. At the same time, Appalachia's inhabitants continue to be imagined as "Others," whose isolated lives are often stereotyped or entirely overlooked.

Precisely where *cultural* rather than physical Appalachia begins and ends has been hotly debated for more than a century (see Ergood 1991). Almost always it is imagined or portrayed as belonging to the southern mountains, especially their nooks and crannies. In this sense it represents a rather unusual kind of "imagined community" (see Anderson 2006): one constructed for political and economic purposes to contain and control part of a nation rather than to define that nation as a whole. Often, too, the peoples and practices of that community—in actual fact, many quite different communities—are marginalized in terms of "hillbilly" stereotypes. Hillbillies are themselves believed to be lazy, violent, drunken, and stupid degenerates who dress in bib overalls and slouch hats, go barefoot, sleep as much of the time as possible, arm themselves (when awake) with old-fashioned rifles and shotguns, indulge in pointless feuds with equally impoverished neighbors, and fortify themselves frequently from jugs of illegal corn whiskey (Harkins 2004, 178-81).

These distortions were especially widespread prior to the later 1950s and 1960s, when Americans became increasingly aware of their nation's minority populations. Attitudes continue to change. In 2000, for example, the Coen brothers' movie *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* inspired nationwide enthusiasm for mountain music and a few of its performers, including Alison Krauss. Even today, however, educated men and women continue to dismiss Appalachia as a poverty-stricken, uneducated, dilapidated space. As recently as June 2014 and in the *New York Times*, Annie Lowrey called the region a mere "smudge on the map" (Lowrey

2014). What is lost in these inadequate images is the region's diversity. Rising Appalachia accepts Stephen Fisher's challenge that Appalachia's inhabitants and proponents themselves act to "end … cultural isolationism" on behalf of "some kind of global solidarity" (Fisher 1993, 12).

Appalachian music and Rising Appalachia's relationship with it

A somewhat more positive view of Appalachia has to do with its musical roots, both real and imagined, in English balladry and other sources associated with Protestant Scots-Irish and German settlers. During the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries the "songcatchers," many of them amateur folklorists, haunted parts of Africa, Asia, and Europe as well as portions of Appalachia, searching for traditional tunes and texts (Hart and Kostyal 2003). Cecil Sharp, for example, investigated traditional music in England as well as the United States; in 1917 he and Olive Dame Campbell published *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians,* a volume that has several times been reprinted in various versions (Sharp and Campbell 1917). Often racially and ethnically blinkered, these studies mostly ignored the region's African- and Italian Americans as well as their musical contributions to regional music (see Conway 1995; Hay 2003; Obermiller 1993; and Portelli 1984). Rising Appalachia has drawn especially upon African and African American clothing, hairstyles, facial decoration, and tattoo styles, as well as upon classical, jazz, and even hip-hop sources of musical inspiration.

The Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers, among the region's earliest recording artists, were equally eclectic. The Carters especially drew upon a wide range of sources and often upon older sources, including nineteenth-century gospel, parlor, and vaudeville novelties, previously recorded pop songs, blues, and Protestant hymns (Zwonitzer and Hirshberg 2002). Rodgers, the "Father of Country Music," drew somewhat more frequently upon African-American music, especially the blues, and upon railroad ballads and other working-class genres (Porterfield 1979). Even today, "old-time" mountain music is largely defined in terms—especially performative terms—the Carters and Rodgers would have understood. Tunes come and go, but the "high lonesome" sound remains the most stable marker of Appalachian musical practices.

Defining that sound is a comparatively straightforward task, although what follows is at best a sketch rather than a full-fledged description (see Cantwell 2003, esp. 19-29). In its purportedly purest form, typically traditional old-time or mountain music draws upon an established body of melodies, many of them set to words evoking sorrows and loss, homesickness, wandering, and the woes of poverty. Livelier music sometimes celebrates hunting and fishing, romantic love—especially trysts between young lovers—and weekend partying. Religion too is a frequent subject and is treated in a variety of styles that include straightforward hymn singing as well as vigorous gospel ensemble numbers. Singers are mostly untrained and occasionally perform alone or in pairs. Often, vocal solos are followed by "choruses" in predictable call-and-response patterns. Instrumental accompaniments and voiceless ensemble numbers generally feature string instruments: banjos, fiddles, guitars, and mandolins are by far the most popular, although later inventions such as the dobro are also employed. Sometimes home-made noisemakers such as washboards and spoons are used. Percussion instruments such as drums are seldom heard, and wind instruments are almost never employed. These practices, together with a handful of melodies often borrowed from

more recent sources or composed by tunesmiths hired for that purpose, were to some extent reconstructed during the 1930s and 1940s, subsequently to be marketed as "bluegrass," a subcategory of "country," by Nashville's entertainment industry.

Rising Appalachia draws upon these materials and especially the performative traditions associated with them, even as it alters or overturns them, replacing acceptance with outrage at political and social injustices. For their fifth album, unnamed as of 15 August 2014, they announce online their use of boudrhan, high-hat cymbals, saxophones, trumpets, and other "non-mountain" sound sources (Rising Appalachia 2014c). All this is of course subordinate to their extra-musical messages. As activists Rising Appalachia can be considered the latest in a long line of musicians fed up with corporate greed and class-based injustice. In other respects, however, the group remains unique. In the ways its members dress, the unfamiliar instruments they use, the African American musicians they feature, and the music videos they have produced—videos, as we shall see below, that in certain respects call to mind avant-garde films of the 1960s—Rising Appalachia must be considered radical as well as traditional. The Smiths especially remain true to their region's aesthetic roots, even as they condemn the economic and political exploitation that besmirch it.

Self-sufficiency: an Appalachian tradition and a challenge to oppression

A large part of Rising Appalachia's radical activism stems from yet another regional tradition: that of self-sufficiency. Since 1928—on that first occasion in Asheville, North Carolina—mountain musicians have come together in festivals to exchange ideas and practices. Outside cultural influences have also been important. The Folk Movement of the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s helped Americans become more familiar both with local and traditional musical practices and with certain social issues, including poverty (Cantwell 1996). So did the populism of the Great Depression and the Arts and Crafts Movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As performers, the Smith sisters have been inspired by these aesthetic, political, and social movements. They wear handmade clothing and jewelry, or they dress themselves in clothes associated with factory workers, farmers, miners, and other laborers. They decorate their bodies with circle tattoos, and their use of face paint is sometimes explicitly African or at the very least "tribal." Consequently, their "look" is simultaneously local and global, Gothic and steampunk-inspired, "foreign" as well as down-home. These details may seem unimportant, but in mountain-music circles, where conventional contemporary western dress is taken for granted, they constitute highly unusual forms of appropriation that suggest everything and everywhere "native" is somehow also "regional."

At the same time, the Smiths themselves constitute the latest wave (or members of the latest wave) of Appalachian women who sing against injustice. As Pat Beaver reminds us, "Much of the complex mosaic of diversity and of female agency that has shaped the Appalachian South has been rendered invisible by racism, patriarchy, and class hegemony" (Beaver 1996, xvii). The Smith sisters, both as individuals and ensemble members, refuse to remain invisible. Instead, they demonstrate their rejection of racism and patriarchy in part through choices of performative dress and personal decoration. In these last respects, Rising Appalachia cannot be considered stereotypically "Appalachian." Nor merely "local." Instead, the ensemble's members oppose not only regional oppression but oppressive practices everywhere. Embodying the diversity and urgency of the work Beaver writes about, Rising

Appalachia adds its conjoined voices to those of the peoples they represent. Nor are those peoples limited to Appalachia's poor white men: the coal miners and hardscrabble farmers of eastern Kentucky and the "hollers" of Virginia and Tennessee. Or, as Leah Smith put it on an earlier version of the Rising Appalachia webpage:

> Music is the tool with which we wield political prowess. Melody for the roots of each of us … spreading song and sound around the globe. Music has become our script for vision, not for aural pleasure, not just for hobby, but now to connect and create in ways that we aren't taught by mainstream culture. We are building a community and tackling social injustice through melody, making the stage reach out with octopus arms to gather a great family. (Rising Appalachia 2014b)

Three rising Appalachia performance pieces

"Across the Blueridge Mountains"

Rising Appalachia's general adherence to conventional mountain-music performance practices are exemplified in their audiovisual YouTube document "Across the Blue Ridge Mountains" (Rising Appalachia 2012b). In this performance the Smith sisters, who appear without backup artists or instrumental support of any kind, perform as traditional artists do around the world. Their unaccompanied voices, moving in open thirds, fourths, fifths, and sixths as well as in unisons and octaves, call to mind similar duets associated with Bavarian folk music and Eastern European peoples. Other old-time and mountain musicians have also sung this way and about similar subjects; "I'll Fly Away," performed by Alison Krauss and Gillian Welch and featured in the sound track of *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* is but one example.

As the Smiths sing "Across the Blueridge Mountains," they seem almost to be advertising the region on behalf of ecotourism. Beautiful images of misty mountain mornings and groves of trees accompany their voices. It is important to note, however, that throughout their performance the sisters are dressed "down" rather than "up." They wear modern work clothes: the caps, jackets, and pants associated in the United States with labor and the "common people" folk singers have often revered. Even more telling are the dreadlocks worn by one of the sisters. Here we encounter something foreign to imagined, idealized images of a relic region untouched by racial division and uninhabited by African Americans or anyone resembling them. The Smiths' choice of clothing and hairstyles celebrate diversity—or, more precisely, contest the stereotype of mountain music as exclusively "white."

Interestingly enough, a similar vocal performance of the same number by the Smiths, recorded live at Floyd Fest 2013 in Floyd, Virginia (Rising Appalachia 2013), was greeted with enthusiastic catcalls and "rebel yells" by audience members. The reception may simply have been the result of fans expressing their appreciation for the Smith's performing style, but it may also have had to do with their clothing. On that occasion the sisters wore rather eccentric low-cut dresses, one short-skirted and one floor-length. In this instance too, traditional music was (re)presented visually—although somewhat less strikingly, and certainly less racially inclusively—by Rising Appalachia's principal members.

"I'll fly away"

We have already seen that traditional mountain musicians often employ banjos, fiddles, guitars, and mandolins as ensemble as well as accompanying instruments. Rising Appalachia draws upon these instruments as well as such non-traditional sound sources as baliphones,

beatboxes, conga drums, didgeridoos, djembe, and tablas, rhythm tracks, and occasional electrical amplification. In one of the group's audiovisual arrangements of "I'll Fly Away" (Rising Appalachia 2014a), the Smith sisters' unaccompanied vocals gradually give way to and are supplemented by a complex percussion accompaniment (a tambourine is among the instruments employed) as well as an acoustic bass, a rhythm vocalist with a hand-held microphone, and an increasingly upbeat tempo.

"I'll Fly Away," a song about death, has been popularized by other artists, including Krauss and Gilliam. The celebrated singer and guitar player Doc Watson, for example, recorded the same melody as a fast-paced instrumental ensemble number in the bluegrass style often defined as "mountain music in overdrive" (Cantwell 2003, xv). Johnny Cash and his wife June Carter Cash of country-music fame, on the other hand, recorded "I'll Fly Away" with a host of supporting players, including a quartet of male backup singers, a quartet of female backup singers (also known as a "gospel choir"), an electric guitar, an electric bass, and percussion. Watson's performance foregrounds the spontaneity of mountain music-making and employs only traditional instruments. Johnny Cash and June Carter Cash, on the other hand, employ amplified *and* acoustic instruments; if Elvis Presley had recorded "I'll Fly Away" around 1970, it might have sounded similar.

"I'll Fly Away" is often played and sung slowly, as an expression of weariness, resignation, and perhaps even religious fatalism. Death will come and there's nothing to be done about it or, perhaps, anything else in the meantime. Both Doc Watson's ensemble and the Johnny Cash-June Carter Cash ensemble present the music in an upbeat, occasionally almost frantic manner. Rising Appalachia, on the other hand, gradually transforms the song from a slow, sad unaccompanied duet into an upbeat, dance-like ensemble number full of percussive excitement. The Smiths' backup artists are both Black and White (one African American percussionist sports dreadlocks), younger and older, and the performers' quite different costumes—none of them extremely unusual, however—suggest spontaneity. As it happens the performance, which takes place in what appears to have been a sound studio, was actually recorded "live," with a small, enthusiastic audience applauding at the end of the event. Although this version of "I'll Fly Away," one of many performed by Rising Appalachia, is in no specific way "political," its performers and their enthusiasm refuse stereotypical images of the southern Appalachians as sad, poor, and white.

"Scale down"

Unlike "Across the Blueridge Mountains" and "I'll Fly Away," both traditional numbers, "Scale Down" is an original composition. In a performance available on YouTube (Rising Appalachia 2010a), the Smith sisters proclaim, over and over again, "I believe in a revolution." As they sing, images of banners and protest posters supplement words about mountaintop removal and the region's oppressive class system. Here we encounter iconic images of the 1960s American counterculture: the raised fist employed by the Black Panthers is one of them; the color red is another—and red has long been an almost universal symbol of revolution. So are torches, which appear later in the clip. The sisters even wear red poppies in their hair, dimly but perhaps significantly suggestive of opium and thus of America's often radicalized drug culture.

Other "Scale Down" images are quite different, however. A pickup truck, a corrugated shed (often referred to regionally as an "outbuilding"), and an old-fashioned railroad pocket watch are all plausible symbols of Appalachia itself, its past, and its peoples. Furthermore, the

setting is unmistakably Appalachian outdoors: a mountaintop "bald" surrounded by second-growth trees. The sheer "junkiness" of still other images, however—among them an old bicycle wheel and a discarded child's doll—calls to mind *George Dumpson's Place*, an avant-garde film produced in 1965 by Ed Emshwiller. Emshwiller's film documents a real-life backyard museum built by Dumpson, an aging African American scavenger who used a child's wagon to carry found treasures back to his house. The Smith sisters almost seem to be "remembering" Dumpson in their choices of apparel: off-the-rack denim pants are supplemented by African face-painting, dreadlocks, South Asian beauty spots, and "capes" made out of old sacks covered with handwritten phrases: "Stand up in this parched land and pour water on the driest of tongues" is one of them. The sisters also seem to be remembering Dumpson's doll, one of the memorable readymades in Emshwiller's film.

Appalachia as a region has long been associated with outright revolution. Consider the so-called "Whisky Rebellion" that took place during the 1790s in western Pennsylvania, an area that lies close to or just within the southern highlands. Uprisings against coal-mining companies and other exploitative organizations have also taken place, although they have often received too little attention in national newspapers and radio and TV. Leah and Chloe Smith, however, provide Appalachia—as well as all of the global south—with a revolutionary voice in the form of musicalized quasi-folk, quasi-pop political and social activism. Throughout "Scale Down" the sisters alternately condemn their own "transgressions" and those of everyone else even as they claim to remain "optimists" in the face of commercial exploitation and social inequality.

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3.7. The influence of punk in the social movements

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Abstract

According to an American rock critic, "punk tried to return back to rock music everything lost, on its way of becoming a mass mega successful phenomenon, so if punk did not exist, rock would have disappeared". Because of the greediness of the discographic industry, punk which appeared on the streets, developed into several streams the aim of which was an aggressive but also a creative realization of its ideas for an authentic penetration in the environments it is present, interweaving the variations of the styles into a heterogeneous musical scene. Even though, representing subculture, it tries to be imposed by attracting peoples` attention whenever it is listened to. Besides, many of Punk streams are closely connected to the streets, every day`s life, being a characteristic of the 70s and 80s of the past century. One of its characteristics is also its close connection with the working class, even though it was later defined as a style with neonazi elements, and a simple destruction of everything. With specific variations of its thematic, punk is listened to, and has got its admirers in the Macedonian society as well, as a reflection of the globalization tendencies in music, its industrialization and low budget production. Apart from the uniformity of the musical contents, punk also reflects its specific ways of reactions, and the movements in the society, even though not as avangarde, but as a postmodern subcultures with its admirers. In Macedonia punk is admired as a result of the apolitical messages it reflects, and the freedom of speech. It is very effective, since being in a transitional society, where everyone is addicted to the extremely politicized mass media, punk is a good way to keep the autonomy of thinking and expressing one`s attitude.

Keywords: phenomenon, mass, authentic, subculture, streams.

Introduction

Once upon a time a famous Irish writer said – life is climbing a spiral staircase, and this means that we measure our progress with the number of the stairs that we climb. The more we climb, the bigger our progress is. So is the function of punk, and it should be as a music of progress, because it springs out of the realistic desires to change the deformities of the society. The more the society is criticized, the more should be the positive energy for the changes. Punk music is a music of the wish to change, to improve, to scream loud, because people have a need to be heard. Punk is a music of reality, a mirror of moods of the people, of the social unbalanced staircases, breaking the unbroken ice, a lightning out of a blue sky, a part of our everyday life, and a wonderful depiction of `our skeletons in the cupboard`.

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Punk is not only music, but also a way of life and contemplation!

The majority of the youngsters have almost the same universal desires for the future: either being a football manager, or have a band of their own. All this sounds well, but not all the young people have the same fate to experience this miracle. And the miracle is, at least for a moment to feel the fast beating of the drums, or the fast beating of their young hearts after a well- played football game. The feeling would have been the same if the youngsters would have been given the chance to play their favourite music on their guitar, whish their parents unfortunately would have never had the money to buy.

Knowing perfectly well the very bad conditions of football in the Republic of Macedonia, we would concentrate on the talented young people. The life of these people is not that attractive for the majority of them, because it is very difficult for them to survive in a poor society, and what is more they cannot even imagine how difficult it is for them to make a good song. But these are underground youngsters who deserve a lot of respect, because they never give up their dreams. It means that they are very decisive and work in the garages where their talent begins to be shown.

We were given the opportunity to make an interview with the famous punk-rock band in Macedonia, Filter 57, which has been making music for over three years. It consists of four teenagers who were very happy to communicate with us, because they, as a band, are a very good proof that punk music is rather present and well accepted by almost everyone in our country, especially by those who are completely dissatisfied and disappointed from the social movements in the Republic of Macedonia. This Punk band has already produced several songs, and a demo-album, which they consider to be a huge success. But on the other hand, they are also very eager to speak about the problems they face, such as the place where they can make their rehearsal as well as a lot of other obstacles which they already manage to overcome. So their enthusiasm goes that far that they say that if something is done with a lot of love, the positive results are always present.

- The real boom in the Republic of Macedonia, as far as punk music is w3ithout any doubt, the band `Parketi`. Very attractive songs, with extremely lyrics, and more attractive looks, they managed to be the first ones in all the top lists, all. around Macedonia. Songs like „Портокали" (Oranges), ", „Муви"(Flies), „Едно млеко и едно кафе"(Milk and a coffee), „Да ја ебам бабати на летање" (Fuck your grandma like flying), „Клара пуши трева", (Clara smokes weed)….
- The essence of all these wonderful lyrics is the harsh revolt against the wrong decisions of the politicians, of the quasi-intellectuals who desperately want to turn into public famous people who spend the peoples` money on their luxories life, on their pathological desires to reach the impossible in every aspects of their life, thus enabling the emergence of the deviant social movements, and making an irreparable harm to the innocent and poor, and normal people in the society. The band `Паркети` as a matter of fact is the voice of the ratio of the normal people in the social movements in the Republic of Macedonia.

The steps which should be undergone to make people come closer to the domestic quality of music

On this question, the underground youngsters, answered that you can never change the peoples` taste. This is a fact that proves that you can never make anyone listen to music by influencing them. The best way to act, according to them, is to have more concerts, even if it means that you audience will consist of ten people, and they believe that it is these ten people who will look forward to the next concert, and will enjoy it. Further on, they state that only good bands can change the desperate mood of the people in the society we live.

Our following question was whether these underground youngsters had have the chance to the concerts outside Macedonia, in front of an unknown audience. They have been invited, the two abovementioned punk groups, in Subotica, a town in Vojvodina, where a famous Rock- Festival is being held annually. They have also been invited in Croatia, and the final answer was, that- the punk groups in Macedonia do not have any chance to go toward progress because they have to pay for everything by themselves, and this is something they cannot afford.

In the question about the procedure of producing an album in Macedonia and how much it costs, the answer was that it is the same as making a tour with the band around the Balkans.and as far as the procedure is concerned, the most important part is money.

Our final question was about the influence of this underground music on the people that do not like punk, their answer was that punk is not only a music direction, but also a way of life and a way of thinking. The way in which the wild musical notes increase the adrenaline so do the anarchistic texts perform their task with the brain of the people who are listening to it. Through our texts we express our dissatisfaction toward politics, manipulation, money, injustice, racism, Nazism, and we remain strongly against the global indoctrination of the people.

There have been many cases when people closed with their hands the ears because they could not listen to our loud music, there have been cases that we were laughed at, at our impossible aim. But most frequently the audience asks for us to return on the stage back.

So these were very sincere answers that we got from these young people in order to show them our respect and support for them, which they definitely need very much. So the people from Macedonia have to be aware of the great number of talents it has got, who are still unrevealed.

Conclusion

Living in a world of depression, living in a world of lies, of floods of false ideas and attitudes, we should be aware of the loss of the core of the normal human`s codex which can improve everything. This huge swamp, is nothing but our collective home. Like it or not, we are its inhabitants, like it or not we should follow the rules imposed on us. Music is a nice way to relax from the sometimes mortal strike of the swamp`s waves. But the code of sounding beautiful, has been lost. That is why the society that we come from is infested with commercial and claustrophobic music. It is very difficult to find places where punk music will be heard. The worst kind of music which is heard all around is the so called turbo-folk music. It is a mixture of folk and popular music, which sounds idiotically. That is why the punk bands in Macedonia very persistent to show their positive role in the social movements. That is why

they tend to be very loud sometimes, louder than the rest of the types of music, because it wants to prepare its healthy path to showing the reality, and at the same time a rebellion about everything that is bad.

`PARKETI` are very good at showing about everything that is abovementioned

References

Interviews with two Macedonian punk bands- `Filter 57` and `Parketi`

PART 4 | Contemporary underground cultures' aesthetics: between the digital, the retro and the nostalgia

4.1. uTubo — development and application of an alternative digital musical instrument

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Abstract

This article describes the development and use of *uTubo,* a sound device planned to be neither a musical toy nor a "serious" instrument. The device, built using the Arduino platform to synthesize sound and read gesture data from a few coupled sensors, allows the instrument player to interact with the sound generating unit mainly by twisting/bending a plastic tube. Furthermore it is also possible to invert this interaction by clicking a big button on the top of the casing, changing the way input gestures are used to produce sound, which can substantially alter the relationship between the instrumentalist and the device.

uTubo was one of the instruments built for the project *Sonópia*, which proposed to create a set of novel instruments and interfaces developed by *Digitópia Collective* - Casa da Música and *LAbMóvel* - *Gulbenkian Foundation,* during March 2013. *Sonópia* was part of *Ao Alcance de Todos,* meaning by the reach of all, which was a larger group of projects with artistic and social scopes, led by *Serviço Educativo da Casa da Música.* And for this purpose, *uTubo* was designed for no specific person or type of person, aspiring to suit a large range of players, from people with certain degrees of physical/mental impairments to children or even "serious" musicians.

Keywords: Alternative Musical Instruments, Arduino, Mozzi, Karplus-Strong.

Introduction

New electronic/digital musical instruments have flourished since the last couple decades, which might relate to the ubiquity of computers and their kindred, the democratization of music, knowledge commons and DIY communities, or "simply" by our need for different tools or our urge for unique or highly specific sound and music expressions. While some of these recent instruments still resemble some characteristics with pre-established acoustic instruments, others make the musical instrument taxonomy quite blurred and can even make the distinction between electronic and digital instruments seem confusing (Ângelo, 2012).

The instrument hereby presented, named *uTubo* — simply because its main interface relies in a tube which can be bent and distorted in order to produce sound, might be categorized

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as an alternative digital musical instrument[4], using the Miranda-Wanderley classification model (Miranda & Wanderley, 2006). It might be considered so as it resembles no particular characteristics from any previously established acoustic instrument, and its interface might not even relate to any other mainstream commercial instrument or controller.

The instrument interface is usually known as the component used by the instrumentalist to control the instrument, and it was taken as a great concern for the design of *uTubo*, as required by the demands and goals of the project *Sonópia - Ao Alcance de Todos,* undertook by *Digitópia Collective* and *LAbMóvel*.

Digitópia is a digital music platform, based at the concert hall *Casa da Música*[5] in Oporto, which encourages the act of listening, performance and musical creation. Based on digital tools, although not exclusively, *Digitópia* emphasizes collaborative musical creation, software design, music education and social inclusion, aiming to merge multicultural communities of performers, composers, curious and music lovers. *Digitópia* as a team, *Digitópia Collective*, consists of artists with strong ties to new technologies. In his work the collective expands on processes and models as diverse as designing digital instruments and other musical hardware, circuit-bending, exploring the relationship between image and sound, the practice of VJ's and DJ's, the digital medium or interactive digital systems.

Ao Alcance de Todos, created in 2007, is a week of performances, workshops and training sessions on the theme Music, Technology and Special Needs. Within this larger project of social and artistic dimension, conducted continuously year after year, *Digitópia* developed an artistic residency in 2013, named *Sonópia* (see Fig.1), targeting the development and construction of new or alternative instruments and interfaces to be used in the performances of *Ao Alcance de Todos.*

Figure 1 - Sonópia residency (from left to right: José Alberto Gomes, Diogo Tudela, João Menezes, Pedro Augusto, Simão Costa and Tiago Ângelo). Photo by José Alberto Gomes.

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[4] The definition given by Miranda and Wanderley (2006) is "alternate gestural controller", although it seemed more appropriate here to classify uTubo as an instrument, it still fits into the class provided by the authors mentioned above. For a clear distinction between musical controller and musical instrument the reader might refer to Paine and Drummond (2009).

[5] http://www.casadamusica.com/

In the following chapters we will address the design and development stages, going from the input interface to the sound synthesis model, then addressing the interaction design in its own chapter, due to its contribution for the development of *uTubo*. And finally we will address the use and application of this instrument in both musical and social contexts.

Design and development

Creating a nouvelle instrument for the *Sonópia* project required a careful design process since the instrument was intended to be used by virtually anyone: from children to senior adults and the specially impaired, to professional musicians, amateurs or simply music lovers. This goal demanded an instrument that could be easy and fun to play as well of being capable to stand alongside other "serious" instruments in performance contexts, thus becoming a musical and socially inclusive tool. To cut a long story short, *uTubo* needed an adequate input interface to suit a large range of instrument players, an interesting sound generator and a relationship between these two that would promote the instrument's playability and engagement from the player point of view, avoiding the dullness that could emerge from an excessively simple and easy to play instrument.

The design and development processes were driven in a back-and-forward manner, taking into account the end-users' (potential) needs, instrument cost of fabrication and the short development time span of one week, required by the *Sonópia* project. Trying to fulfill both reductionist and holistic approaches, as digital musical instruments traverse a large amount of disciplines, such as electronics and physical computing, human-computer interaction, sound synthesis or music performance, just to name a few. Thinking of the instrument and designing it as not only a mere group of components that comprise the instrument, but also of all these components working together to form a higher entity emerging as the holistic concept of the musical instrument *uTubo*.

By addressing musical instruments in a reductionist approach, one can divide them into three functional components: input interface, sound generating unit and mappings — which dictate how the input interface and the sound unit relate (Miranda & Wanderley, 2006). Since mappings can play a very important role in the holistic design of the instrument, working as a kind of glue that brings basic components together into forming a system with higher complexity, they will be addressed separately in the next chapter. While in this chapter we will describe the hardware and software components chosen for the input interface and sound generating unit of *uTubo*, justifying whenever plausible the choices made during the design and development stages.

Interface design

The core concept and metaphor of *uTubo* orbited the idea of touching, bending and deforming sound through a plastic tube. And while initial designs used this tube both as a playing interface and as the instrument body (Fig. 2), which required the instrumentalist to hold the instrument with both hands, the final design required to present an easier way of playing the instrument, especially for players with reduced motor skills. So, for that purpose, the final design consisted in a box or case, which could be laid in the musician's lap or in a table, having the plastic tube and all other interfaces attached to that case (Fig. 3a and 3b).

Figure 2 - *uTubo* initial draft
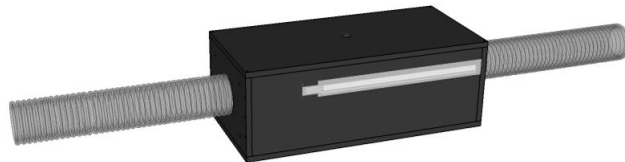
Figure 3a - *uTubo* final draft

Figure 3b - *uTubo* presented at Handmade Music, *Casa da Música*, Oporto, Portugal, 8 June 2013. Photo by João Messias/Casa da Música.

Another important concept around the design of *uTubo* was the possibility to change the instrument's behaviour (what it does in response to the player's gestures) through a simple gesture and interface — a big button on the top of the casing that could be pressed while playing the plastic tube at the same time. This ought to bring a bigger engagement between the instrumentalist and the instrument by surprising him with different instrument behaviours, as well as it could be used according to any special needs of the instrumentalist or even according to any compositional constraints or performance aesthetics.

And while these interfaces, the plastic tube and the big button, would remain as the central pieces of instrument control, there was also the will to add a continuous pitch control set through touch, that could potentially create more intricate musical phrases, in opposition to the tube and the big button, which could become very static across the pitch space.

Furthermore there was the ambition to develop an instrument which left behind personal computers, while still being able to develop it in a short time span of one week, given for the

realization of *Sonópia*. This would result in a more independent and standalone instrument, and not just a musical controller that requires a connection to an expensive personal computer in order to become a musical instrument.

Tools and resources

One way of getting fast results in the development of *uTubo* was to use well established electronic prototyping platforms, such as the Arduino[6], Teensy[7] or similars. Which gave us a microcontroller that could run our code (reading sensor data to control synthesized sound) and an Integrated Development Environment (IDE) which gave us the language and tools to write our code and compile it into the microcontroller. Additionally there is a lot of support from DIY communities for these kind of prototyping platforms.

In order to avoid the dependency of a personal computer, a decision was made to implement all the code inside one microcontroller, thus using it for sound synthesis as well as to read gesture data and map it to the synthesis parameters. Using the Arduino platform, this could cost somewhere around 30 to 60 euros, which is much cheaper than any commercially available personal computer, thus becoming the chosen platform for the development of *uTubo.* Any other similar platform could theoretically be used with similar results, but Arduino was chosen instead for several reasons: I was already familiar with it (which obviously pended a lot in its favour although not exclusively), it has a very helpful online community and there was already some sound synthesis libraries developed for this platform (such as Mozzi[8], the sound synthesis library used for this project).

Regarding the input interface, *uTubo* required the use of two flex sensors (Fig. 4) placed inside the plastic tube, in order to read its deformation and to know when and how much the instrumentalist is bending and twisting the tube. And, for the continuous control of pitch the choice relied on a membrane touch-potentiometer (Fig. 4), which provided a 20-centimeter touch-sensitive strip, allowing to continuously set the instrument's pitch. Additionally there were a bunch of small electronic components (resistors, capacitors, etc.), nuts and bolts, wood to build the casing and a vacuum cleaner's plastic tube.

Sound synthesis model

Using microcontroller boards, such as the Arduino, to develop sound synthesizers obviously carries some disadvantages when compared to the use of personal computers (see Table I). Nowadays, it is certainly possible to obtain more intricate and complex synthesis models with personal computers, due to their processing power and storage capacity. And, although some microcontrollers, such as the ATmega2560[9], can still render some interesting sounds, it is necessary to carefully fill its small memory with efficient algorithms capable of providing more soundwise with less computational resources.

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[6] http://arduino.cc/

[7] https://www.pjrc.com/teensy/

[8] Mozzi is an open-source sound synthesis library for Arduino, developed by Tim Barrass. Available at http://sensorium.github.io/Mozzi/

[9] http://www.atmel.com/devices/atmega2560.aspx
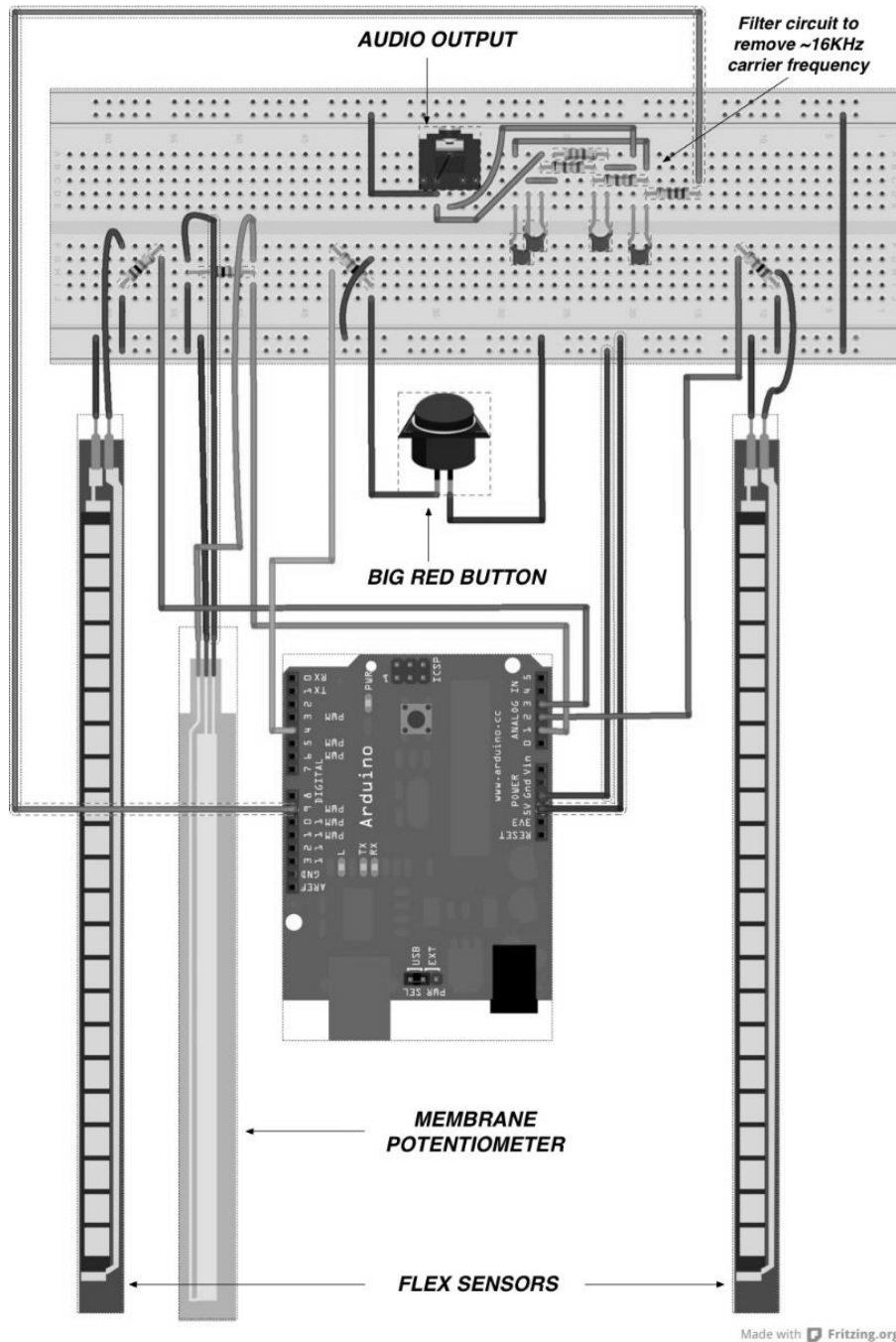
Figure 4 - *uTubo* bredboard schematics

Algorithms like frequency modulation (FM), additive synthesis or subtractive synthesis might be able to build complex tones but they do require some computational resources in order to perform the necessary arithmetics. FM can be a bit more efficient than additive synthesis, since it can achieve the same results with far less oscillators. Despite being possible to achieve complex tones with FM techniques it still requires multiplication arithmetics, which can be computationally expensive (Roads, 1996, p. 293). Other techniques based on the principle of delay lines or recirculating wavetables, such as the Karplus-Strong (KS) algorithm, developed by Kevin Karplus and Alex Strong, can be extremely efficient in terms of computational resources and can, nonetheless, synthesize enjoyable complex tones. These

kind of algorithms were already known to run in 8-bit microprocessors with surprisingly good results. (Roads, 1996)

The Karplus-Strong algorithm is a simple physical modeling algorithm that aimed to simulate the implied physics of plucked strings. Although not fulfilling the entire physical variables and behaviours of a plucked string, the simple algorithm presented by Karplus and Strong achieved good results because it relied on the principle that the instrument's timbre should vary through time within the same sound event, mimicking the behaviour of traditional acoustic instruments.(Karplus & Strong, 1983)

The synthesis algorithm used for *uTubo* is an adaptation of the Karplus-Strong algorithm, and it had no intention of sounding like any pre-existing string instrument. In general terms it is still quite similar to the KS algorithm for plucked strings[10], but it has two delay lines instead of just one. So it is possible to think of it, in analogy to conventional plucked string instruments, as having two slightly dependent strings that are plucked simultaneously. In this case, plucking a string is analogous to sending a noise burst (or impulse) to the delay lines, which are then fed back, simulating the decay of a plucked string. Each delay line (or string if you wish to think of it that way) has a variable size, which corresponds to a variable pitch. And by adding both delay lines with different pitches it is possible to obtain slightly more complex sounds, since the sum of both sounds, coming from two different delay lines, can give rise to peaks in certain frequencies of the sound spectrum, while attenuating others. Thus behaving as a computationally cheap filter that could bring some timbral complexity to *uTubo*.

By using Mozzi library for Arduino one as the benefit of having an adequate language for sound synthesis, with most of the components common to it, such as wavetables and oscillators, envelopes, delays, etc. Leaving the instrument developer with more time to experiment on sound synthesis, by freeing him of the burdensome of microcontroller programming for audio. As seen in Fig. 5, the implementation of the adapted KS algorithm using Mozzi is quite straightforward, making more time available to experiment different ways of controlling and playing this little synthesizer, which could contribute to a more pleasant and enjoyable instrument from both the player and the listener point of view.

```
/////////////////////////////////////////////////AUDIO//////////////////////////////////////////////////
int updateAudio() {
    // IMPULSE
    impulse = (pinkNoise.next()*impulseGain);

    // DELAY BLOCK W/ FEEDBACK
    leftSig = leftDelay.next(impulse + leftSig, leftDelaySize);
    rightSig = rightDelay.next(impulse + rightSig, rightDelaySize);

    //OUTPUT
    return leftSig+rightSig;
}
```

Figure 5 - Karplus-Strong algorithm implementation using Arduino and Mozzi

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[10] Besides the string model, Kevin Karplus and Alex Strong also devised a model for drum sound synthesis. (Karplus & Strong, 1983)

Interaction strategies

Mapping in musical instrument design is what connects variables from the input interface to variables of the sound generator, and it plays a very important role in the instrument's identity, as stated by Hunt, Wanderley and Paradis (Hunt, Wanderley & Paradis, 2002). In acoustic instruments, where the input interface and the sound generator are coupled together, such as the strings in a violin, which are at the same time sound generators and input interfaces for instrument control, where mappings are defined by the laws of physics. On the other hand, electronic and digital musical instruments have separated input interfaces and sound generators, and mappings don't occur naturally by any law, but instead are defined by the instrument's designer (or *luthier*) or even configured and changed by the instrumentalist before or during a performance.

Although the input interface and the sound generator might be easily recognized and identified at a first glance, the mapping layer is usually hidden under code, and is more difficult to identify, especially if mappings are not in a direct one-to-one relationship. Nonetheless, this layer bears an enormous potential on the instrument outcome from the instrumentalist perspective, as well as from the listeners perspective. (Hunt, Wanderley & Paradis, 2002) In this regard it was essential to carefully design *uTubo*'s mapping layer, as it would contribute for *Sonópia* goals, as much or even more than the input interface and the sound generator.

Musical control and interaction design

The control premisses of musical instruments lie in parameters such as rhythm, dynamics, pitch and timbre, as the core of instrument control and expression[11]. Since these are only conceptual semantic parameters, it is necessary to design the link (mappings) between sound synthesis parameters from the sound generator to parameters of the input interface, in order to evidence these musical controls. Therefore, the intended musical controls of *uTubo* were designed to deliver the following results:

- rhythm — one-shot and repeated events with variable time intervals;
- dynamics — besides silent and playing, dynamics are not directly controlled;
- pitch — (monophonic) continuous pitch control;
- timbre — detune and distortion.

Reminding *Sonópia*'s premisses, the musical control of *uTubo* needed to be simple enough for children, unexperienced musicians or anyone with certain physical or mental impairments to be able to play this instrument in a musical context, such as those performances realized for *Ao Alcance de Todos*. But it also should be fun and musical enough to be performed by virtually anyone, even by skilled musicians.

Although the input interface as a huge weight on the accessibility and ergonomics of the instrument, and the sound generator over sonic properties, parameter mappings define the instrument's behaviour and characteristics in response to the player's input. Thus exhibiting a focus area to fulfill *Sonópia*'s premisses, potentially making *uTubo* something between a musical toy and a "serious" instrument.

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[11] For a longer discussion over digital musical instrument expressivity the reader can refer to (Dobrian & Koppelman, 2006)

Parameter mapping

Parameter mapping in digital musical instruments can undertake several topologies, describing the input-output relationship in terms of connection points. The simplest topology is a one-to-one mapping, where one input parameter is mapped to another output parameter. But it is also possible to map N input parameters to one output parameter, one input to M outputs and N inputs to M outputs. (Miranda & Wanderley, 2006) We know beforehand, thanks to Hunt et. al, that one-to-one mappings are usually too simple and straightforward for musical expression. And, as shown by Hunt, Wanderley and Paradis (2002), mapping topologies that are more complex usually drive better results in terms of musical expression, making the instrument less predictable but also more enjoyable to learn and play.

uTubo's interface has basically four sensor inputs: one big red button on the top of the casing, one touch membrane potentiometer and two flex sensors (one on the left and the other on the right of the casing) both attached inside the plastic tube. While the sound generator has basically six parameters: a noise impulse with trigger, attack, decay and duration controls plus two delay lines with variable delay sizes.

Acknowledging facts over mapping topologies, one had to design a somewhat complex mapping layer that wouldn't just care with explicit one-to-one controls, but instead could merge them into more complex topologies, making some controls inseparable from each other, which could contribute for an instrument with a stronger personality and behaviour rather than just a controller for individual sound synthesis parameters.

Parameter mappings created for the musical control of *uTubo* can be described as follows:

- **Rhythm** - in terms of rhythmic control one had to develop ways of making one-shot events as well as repeated events at variable time intervals defined by the instrumentalist, making it possible to apply *accelerandi* and *rallentandi* to this stream of events. One way of achieving this is to use Mozzi's *EventDelay* class[12] to generate this stream, where the time interval between events is controlled simultaneously through both flex sensors as well as the membrane sensor (see *metroTime* variable in Fig. 6). So, in order to play a continuous stream of events the player has to keep *uTubo* out of its resting state, while to play a single one-shot note the user needs to take *uTubo* out if its resting state and leave/take it again to its resting state after the one-shot sound event has been played/heard. In other words, the repeated stream of events is always active when *uTubo* is out of its resting state and it will stop plucking any more events once it reaches the resting state again. Additionally, it is also possible to control the note duration, although not directly, as it depends on the time interval of the metronomic note generator, which in itself depends on data from both flex sensors, as well as the currently selected pitch (see the *impulseDuration* function in Fig. 7).
- **Dynamics** – in *uTubo* there is no direct control over the dynamics of sound events, nor there is any volume control. Direct volume control is binary: it's either on (playing) or off (silent). This is defined by a mechanism that sets the instrument resting state by pressing the big red button on the top of the casing. When this button is pressed, values of both flex sensors are memorized and set as the resting state. So, whenever one of these sensors surpasses the memorized value by a certain threshold (see Fig. 6) the instrument leaves its resting state and starts its

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[12] One of Mozzi's caveats is that it disables Arduino delay() function, so the EventDelay class had to be used.

rhythmic processes (see rhythmic description above). Furthermore it is possible to bring a feeling of louder dynamics by "stressing" the plastic tube, that is, by getting it more and more distant from its resting point, where the density of events increases as well as the distortion of the output sound. Additionally, the control of dynamics might occur indirectly, since both delay lines, with possibly different sizes (or different pitches), are summed at the output, and are fed back to the system, eventually causing some phase cancellations and boosts that will make the generated sound decay faster or a bit more slowly.

- **Pitch -** pitch and rhythm are connected because the membrane touch potentiometer, the sensor used for the continuous pitch control, is also used to define the time interval of the event stream (Fig. 6). So, higher pitches will also generate faster rhythms and lower pitches will generate slower rhythms. Besides controlling the pitch with the membrane potentiometer it is also possible to detune it slightly using the flex sensors inside the plastic tube.

- **Timbre -** timbre control in *uTubo*, such as the dynamics control, had a very simple implementation. Since the KS algorithm emulates a plucked string, where most of the timbral control comes from the attack portion of the sound event, analogously the way a string is plucked will influence its timbre over time. Since the impulse pluck was programmed using a wavetable filled with random values (*1/f* noise ratio, which corresponds to pink noise), and not actually a noise oscillator, one had to change its phase whenever a note was "plucked" in order to avoid having the same impulse over and over again for all plucked notes. A cheap way of setting a random phase to the impulse generator was to read an analog pin from the Arduino with nothing connected to it (see *setPhase* function on Fig. 7, this problem is also addressed by Karplus & Strong (1983)). The other timbral control comes from the sum of two slightly detuned delay-lines, which basically works as a filter, since summing two different sounds will attenuate some frequencies and enhance others, while detuning each delay-line is done through each dedicated flex sensor.

```
void mapping() {    //SENSOR->SYNTH MAPPING

  // SET METRO
  if(leftFlex < restLFlex + REST_THRESH && leftFlex > restLFlex - REST_THRESH
      && rightFlex < restRFlex + REST_THRESH && rightFlex > restRFlex - REST_THRESH )
  {
    metro = false;
  } else { metro = true; }

  // SET METRO TIME
  metroTime = ((leftFlex * rightFlex * membrane)>>THIRTEEN) + METRO_MIN;

  // SET DELAY TIME (wich corresponds to pitch)
  leftDelaySize = membrane + leftFlex + MIN_DELAY;
  rightDelaySize = membrane + rightFlex + MIN_DELAY;
}
```

Figure 6 - *uTubo* parameter mappings (Arduino code)

```
void setImpulse() { // SOURCE IMPULSE

  pinkNoise.setPhase(analogRead(A6)<<3); // cheap way of avoiding a noticeable loop (0~8192 noise)

  //IMPULSE ENVELOPE
  if(impulseDuration.ready() == true && metro == true) {
    impulseEnvelope.start(RAMP, RAMP); // impulse attack-decay values
    impulseDuration.start(metroTime); // impulse duration
  }
  impulseGain = impulseEnvelope.next();
}
```

Figure 7 - *uTubo* noise impulse (Arduino code)

Evaluation and musical output

The examination and evaluation of digital musical instruments has been already covered by a large group of researchers as seen in (Ângelo, 2012, pg. 34). Thus it is out of the scope of this article to present a new evaluation model or even to extend such models. Instead we will look at the seven-axis classification model of Birnbaum et. al (2005) to inspect and observe *uTubo*. This model provides a dimensional space representation of instrument characteristics and it was chosen as it builds onto previously presented classification and evaluation models comprehensively, providing a visual representation of the musical device. Furthermore we will look at *uTubo*'s musical output diversity as proposed by Jordà (2004).

The evaluation model presented by Birnbaum et. al relies on seven axis of representation: required expertise, role of sound, distribution in space, inter-actors, feedback modalities, degrees of freedom, and musical control[13]. In the next section *uTubo*'s design intentions are evaluated according to the dimension space proposed by Birnbaum et. al.

- **Required Expertise:** *uTubo* was designed to have a low entry level of expertise;
- **Role of Sound** - designed to have an artistic/expressive sound role;
- **Distribution in space:** by default *uTubo* has a small space distribution, although it can be extended (as mentioned in chapter 4.1);
- **Inter-actors**: by default *uTubo* was meant to be played by one instrumentalist, although it allows more than one player to interact with its input interface, as well as in the situation described in chapter 4.1;
- **Feedback Modalities:** there are only two feedback modalities in *uTubo*: the produced sound and the physical state of the plastic tube;
- **Degrees of Freedom:** input controls available in *uTubo* are moderate, and most of them are intertwined in 1-to-M mappings;
- **Musical Control:** the levels of musical control present in *uTubo* rely, for the most part, on the note level and on the control of musical processes (such as the ostinato created by repeating sound events).

In terms of musical output diversity, *uTubo* could be empirically evaluated as follows[14]:

- **Macro-diversity (Stylistic diversity):** medium to high Mac-D, meaning that it is not an instrument with a very high specificity over musical style nor it is completely

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[13] For a complete description of the seven axis of classification please refer to (Birnbaum et. al, 2005)

[14] For a complete description of the output diversity classifications used the reader should refer to (Jordà, 2004)

adaptable to most musical styles and genres, although it can certainly fit into more than one style;

- **Mid-diversity (Performance diversity):** medium Med-D, meaning that two different performances (of different pieces) played with *uTubo* can produce moderately different results;
- **Micro-diversity (Performance nuances):** low to medium Mic-D, meaning that two performances (of the same piece) could bring only slightly different results, especially if compared to most acoustic instruments, such as brass or wind instruments.

Musical and social application

The developed instrument presented in this paper was then used in two different child projects of *Ao Alcance de Todos*: *Algodão Doce* (meaning cotton candy) and *Descobertas Sonoras* (meaning sonic discoveries). While the first project was dedicated to children the other was dedicated to the specially impaired. In the next subchapters we will describe and report the use and application of *uTubo* in both projects.

"Algodão doce"

uTubo was used at the *Algodão Doce* concert (see Fig. 8) at *Casa da Música* - Portugal (18 and 19 May 2013) and SESC[15] São Paulo - Brazil (12 October 2013). The concert was destined to children aged from 3 months to 5 years old and revolves around a group of characters trapped inside cotton candy. One of the characters, a wizard, casts many spells that invariably result in music. These include making a grand acoustic piano play on its own, with moving keys, enchanting a ball that makes sound as it moves, and bringing an old vacuum cleaner to life - *uTubo*. In *Algodão Doce*, both the action (that is, the storytelling) and the playing took place in very close proximity to the audience, which was encouraged to participate. The "stage" consisted of three to four small places, scattered around the room, full of stage props.

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[15] http://www.sescsp.org.br/

Figure 8 - *Algodão Doce* concert. Photo by João Messias – Casa da Música

Although not originally designed for the concert, *uTubo* suits its goals perfectly: it's a seemingly normal object capable of producing otherworldly sounds, especially when connected to effects processors - as it was. That non-apparent relation between its looks and its sound was, in fact, crucial, as at first sight any member of the audience would think that it was just another stage prop. But when it was played it had an almost magical effect, contributing to the show's peculiar and surreal character.

The interface itself was also very useful, for two reasons: first, it allowed the instrument to be played by very young children, who obviously lack the coordination required to play somewhat more sophisticated instruments - they could just hit the instrument's tube, and hear a sound response in real time; second, due to it's standby features, it could remain silent for the majority of the concert, when it was not needed. And it was reliable enough to assure us that it would play when the tube left its standby position. Furthermore, adding effects pedals to *uTubo*'s output allowed it to be played by up to three people at the same time - one at the tube, other at the pitch control, and a third one at the effects, which was great for the family interaction these kinds of concerts look for.

From the composer's point of view, and keeping in mind this particular concert, our goal was to create a comfortable place for children to freely explore rhythm through the simple interaction previously described. It was, therefore, important, to keep some level of musical activity on the background, not only to take the pressure off the participants, leaving them more comfortable and avoiding possible silences, but also to create contrast - the almost unchanging background versus the clear, rhythmical attacks of *uTubo*.

"Descobertas sonoras"

The workshop *Descobertas Sonoras* (see Fig. 9) was part of *Ao Alcance de Todos* festival, which took place between 25 and 27 March 2013. During three days two different types of workshops were organized: smaller workshops of one hour and a half were led during the first day (March 25), while longer workshops were planned for the two upcoming days, which intended to prepare a presentation/concert open to public on 27 March.

Figure 9 – *Descobertas Sonoras* rehearsal. Photo by João Messias – Casa da Música

During the three days of workshops, several individuals with specific special needs, such as reduced mobility, blindness and cognitive limitations, participated in *Descobertas Sonoras.* In order to alleviate the arduous execution of traditional musical instruments from these participants, the workshop instructors/tutors had a set of electronic/digital instruments at their disposal. These instruments were previously developed during the *Sonópia* project, which brought a group of instruments aiming to ease and promote the participants' attention and performance. While presenting some of these instruments to the participants, alongside with other traditional instruments such as the piano or the electric bass, *uTubo* quickly got their attention as it presented a different timbre associated with a different mode of execution. And, during the workshops, it truly facilitated the development of activities set by the workshop instructors. In musical terms, *uTubo* was used to create long pedal tones as well as smaller rhythmic cells. Furthermore, some of the participants had the physical/cognitive ability to change the instrument's register (pitch). This musical gesture took place by two different means:

- by instructing the participants to change the pitch, through conducting gestures achieved by the tutors;
- or by giving total freedom to the interpreter for manipulating this musical resource in a free and creative manner.

One resource that was rarely used was the inversion of *uTubo*'s behaviour by pressing the big red button in the top of the casing. This was mostly due to some physical and cognitive impairments of the participants, and in most cases instructors would help participants press the button.

Descobertas Sonoras counted with the participation of 15 individuals from *Centro Integrado de Apoio à Deficiência* (CIAD – *Misericórdia do Porto*[16]) during 26 and 27 March 2013. This group of individuals, suffered from blindness, physical and/or cognitive impairments, and presented different degrees of disability, from moderate to severe, partially or totally dependent from third-person support. These two days were programmed having in mind the final presentation/concert. So, after getting the participants acquainted to all the available instruments, *uTubo* was ascribed to a pair of participants that held moderate cognitive impairments. And, in both cases, they were able to manage and fulfill the proposed tasks for the public performance in a quite satisfactory manner.

uTubo was set on stage on 27 March and it had the starting point of the musical concert, by representing the sounds of a thunderstorm. While in the intermediate section interpreters would improvise with *uTubo*, with the help of instructors to set register/pitch changes using the membrane potentiometer. And, in the final section of the performance, *uTubo* instrumentalists played a rhythmic cell in the musical *ostinato* form. During the concert, all conductor gestures provided to play *uTubo* were devised to simulate the gesture that the interpreter would need to apply in order to play the required sonic/musical events.

Conclusion

The possibility of developing personal synthesizers, synth modules and other electronic/digital musical instruments have been growing in the last couple years, mainly due to large knowledge sharing communities over these topics and the accessibility of electronic components and sensors allied to the use of microprocessor prototyping platforms such as Arduino. Which have become powerful enough to use in real-time sound synthesis. Furthermore, the selected programming tools, Arduino and Mozzi, proved to be a great resource for the development of stand-alone synthesizers.

Developing *uTubo* required some efforts to be made, so that the instrument wouldn't lend itself useful only for the mentioned performances (in 4.1 and 4.2, which weren't known before the development of *uTubo*), but could in fact be used in a variety of different musical and social contexts. Although, some of the programmed functionalities of the instrument tended to be used less often, such as the big red button and the membrane potentiometer, largely because they were difficult to activate/manipulate by some players, the overall capabilities and specifications of this instrument served the purpose of the project *Ao Alcance de Todos* quite well.

The use of different sensors and components, such as ultrasound sensors to replace the membrane potentiometer or a softer button for the button in the top of the casing, for example, could have rendered more control capabilities to this instrument, given the context of *Algodão Doce* and *Descobertas Sonoras*. Nonetheless it proved to be both musically useful from the composer's point of view and satisfactorily engaging from the instrumentalist point of view as well as surprising from the audience point of view.

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[16] http://www.scmp.pt/

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4.2. One is the loneliest number: "one-man bands" and doing-it-yourselves versus doing-it-alone

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Abstract

There has been a notable resurgence in the phenomenon of the one-man band in the past ten years, as documented by Adam Clitheroe's film, *One Man In The Band* (2008), BBC Radio 4's "One Man Band" (2013), and Dave Harris's enthusiast compendium, *Head, Hands, and Feet* (2012). Music festivals exclusively featuring one-man bands have also recently been curated in London and Montreal. The reasons for such renewed interest are complex, but include concerns ranging from the aesthetic (total creative autonomy), the romantic (the image of the lone troubadour), the technological (the mass production of looping software and pedals), to the economic (no bandmates with whom to split income at a time when traditional revenue streams, especially recording sales, have dwindled). This article examines the one-man band resurgence and the themes above from an auto-ethnographic perspective, using the author's own experience as a one-man band performer as a case study.

Keywords: one-man bands, one-person bands, creative practice, aesthetics, social construction of technology

Introduction

It is hard to imagine a more perfect example of DIY music-making than the one-man band. A one-man band performance is the dramatic enactment of musical self-reliance, of not needing anyone but yourself to play multiple instruments and make a full sound. It is also an economic model of music-making that resists the problem of relying on intermediaries who inevitably take a cut of revenue streams: no need for a trucking company and roadies to haul gear, and no bandmates with whom to share royalties or gig fees. Many one-man bands build their own idiosyncratic instrument setups or incorporate recycled instruments into their act, so that even the reliance on instrument manufacturers and retailers is often minimized. Finally, a one-man band is necessarily the artistic vision of a single person, a musician doing it by his or her self, doing it alone, keeping it simple.

Or is it so simple? The romanticization of the one-man band as a creatively autonomous artist or lone troubadour is appealing, but how has the status of the one-man band changed over history? Can the various one-man bands performing in the 21st century be grouped together as a coherent underground music scene, or do they operate in isolation from one another? Do one-man bands in certain genres, such as punk and indie rock, embody different meanings than more traditional comedic one-man bands? And does a one-man band actually

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have a better chance of economic self-sufficiency than music-making groups involving more than one person?

In this article I will explore the trajectory of one-man bands as a DIY culture in four sections. First, I consider the history of one-man bands and the challenges of what to include and exclude in any definition of the culture. Second, I examine the factors which have contributed to a resurgence of one-man bands in the 21st century, drawing from research on the changing dynamics of the music industries, theories of musical "liveness" in the digital age, and my own creative practice as a one-man band performer. Third, I argue that one-man bands present a challenge to both existing theories of the social construction of technology and invention versus innovation (e.g. Hughes 1989; Pinch and Bijsterveld 2004), and raise problems for the current hierarchy of value for popular music versus 'serious' music research in higher education. Finally, I consider the political implications of taking DIY culture to its logical extreme of total self-reliance - what I call DIA (do-it-alone) culture - and whether the alleged political subversion associated with DIY risks leading to an abandonment of the collective cultural (and public) good.

Definitions and histories

When we think about the term "one-man band", a few stereotypes may spring to mind. In a recent article, Dale Chapman (2013) notes that on the one hand, we have a traditional image from the vaudeville era of one musician playing some kind of crazy homemade multi-instrumental contraption. The appeal of the one-man band here is comical; no serious music can or will be made on such machines, and the eccentricity of the contraptions raise questions about the corresponding eccentricity of their makers. The one-man band seems tied up with what one might call the aesthetics of loneliness or the fetishization of art by outsiders or even outcasts. Compare this image, however, with a thoroughly 21st century conception of a one-person band. Chapman uses the example of indie-rocker St. Vincent (née Annie Clark), who, although she now employs a full rock band, paid her dues on the touring circuit as a one-person band (at this point I should state the obvious that the term 'one-man band' is problematically gendered; hereafter I will use the term one-person band). In its 21st century incarnation, the one-person band is more likely to take full advantage of the latest technological developments to create the sound of a large ensemble through loop pedals, samplers, laptops, and other live multi-instrumental enabling devices. These people aren't viewed as novelties; the are legitimate artists, and in recent years the concept of the one-person band has been completely re-appropriated by these new kinds of solo artist.

There is a long history of musicians trying to play more than one instrument simultaneously. Indeed, my interest in one-person bands as a topic for investigation emerged out of another research project on the social history of the drum kit. As I investigated the social conditions that gave rise to the invention of the drum kit at the turn of the 20th century, it became clear both the kit and one-person bands were intertwined in so far as they offered interesting DIY solutions to problems of (1) *musical labour* (edging out competition for gigs by offering to play more than one instrument at once), and (2) *problems of space* - being able to cram a lot of instruments into a portable setup for the purposes of both transport and, in the case of the drum kit, limited space on indoor stages and in orchestra pits. One way to trace the early history of the drum kit is to focus on the development of one of its most important components: the bass drum pedal. This device allowed drummers to place the bass drum on

the floor and free up their hands to play the snare drum and other cymbals, and effects, and there are also many examples of one-person bands in the 19th century using homemade bass drum pedals of various kinds. Some of the more business-inclined pedal inventors successfully sold their inventions to others, and became entrepreneurs. Therefore in the last two decades of the 19th century one can see the first patents for bass drum pedals appearing in the USA. The first pedal to be successfully mass produced was patented by a Chicago drummer named William F. Ludwig in 1909. However, equally fascinating are all of other the one-off, failed bass drum pedal designs, because even the most terrible designs seemed to possess their own kind of beauty, as are the one-person bands that sometimes made and used them.

The homespun, one-off, and often comical aesthetic of one-person bands is key to understanding their continued popularity through the last two centuries. Indeed, others have remarked on the DIY appeal of one-person bands not just as performances but as musical instrument inventions that are deliberately not made to be mass produced or imitated: chief among these is the busker and author Dave Harris, who has produced an exhaustive compendium of one-person bands around the globe. Over the 400-plus pages of his book, Harris groups one-person bands historically, geographically, and stylistically, suggesting that they can be traced at least as far back as the tradition of the pipe and tabor player in 13th century Europe. From there, the majority of his book is devoted to short artist biographies of all the one man bands Harris could find, grouped according to continent and also by genre. Harris's personal preference seems to be for folk, blues, country, rock, and punk-based one-man bands. However, for my purposes the key distinction that Harris makes is not typological but ideological: when explaining his rationale on what to include and exclude in his book, Harris writes:

> The [one-man band] genre includes a large number of electronic based acts. [But] …this book is about the live performing, manually operated OMB's, those who use "head, hands, and feet". (Harris, 2012, p. 6)

Despite acknowledging the time and skill required to create backing-track based performance, the ideology of homemade instrument setups and using "head, hands, and feet" in a live setting is clearly of great importance to Harris, and despite paying lip service to loop-based one-man bands, the fact that the title of the book is *Heads, Hands, and Feet: A Book of One Man Bands* clearly naturalizes the heads/hands/feet style of one-person band practice as the real, or "authentic" one-person band tradition. By contrast, Chapman's concept of 21st century one-person bands cited above constitutes a competing tradition, which I will hereafter refer to as the "loops, laptops, and layers" one-person band.

One-person bands in the 21st century

There has been a notable resurgence of interest in one-person bands since the year 2000, evidenced not only by Harris's compendium and Chapman's article, but also by a range of documentaries. Adam Clitheroe's film, *One Man In The Band* (2008), argues that a new generation of performers - which include acts such as Thomas Truax, Bob Log III, Dennis Hopper Choppers, Man From Uranus, Duracell, Ninki V, Honkeyfinger, and The Two Tears - have broadened out from Harris's preferred blues, country, and folk-inspired traditions to produce follows a more eclectic and often experimental range of musical styles, "ranging from theremin rock to hurricane drum solos and a backing band made of bicycle wheels". More

recently, DJ Tom Ravenscroft presented the BBC Radio 4 documentary "One Man Band" (2013), in which he reported on the new phenomenon of music festivals exclusively featuring one-person bands that have been curated in London and Montreal (the third annual Montreal One Man Band Festival took place in May 2014).

Chapman suggests that "over the last 30 years, we have begun to see a shift in the way that solo multi-instrumental music is understood as a cultural phenomenon", and that in particular one-person bands have "undergone a process of gentrification" in the within the white middle class world of indie rock (2013, p.457). As opposed to earlier one-person bands which were treated as novelties not to be taken seriously, and multi-tracking projects which were constrained to the confines of the studio, Chapman suggests that from the 1980s onwards musicians like Robert Fripp experimented with new kinds of "live solo multi-instrumentalism" by taking sample and looping technologies out of the recording studio and into live performance. As digital looping devices became more affordable, portable, and popular, so too did the number of solo acts looping themselves to create a full band sound live by themselves - notable examples from the 2000s include Andrew Bird, St Vincent, KT Tunstall, and Ed Sheeran. These new bands have disassociated themselves from the comedic conventions of one-person bands and instead command respectability as legitimate artists. For Chapman, this shift in status of one-person bands parallels a wider societal shift towards championing individual achievement over that of the collective encapsulated in the ideology of neoliberalism, which "holds that the overriding goal of state policy should be to foster an environment that privileges the individual as a self-interested economic unit, set loose within an unfettered global marketplace" (ibid. p.459):

> Live solo multi-instrumentalism, while by no means complicit in this turn of events, might help us to understand how neoliberal modes of thought might come to seem appealing or pleasurable. While the individual artists associated with this practice may themselves be stalwart advocates of socially communitarian values, the "heroic individualism" of the one-person band serves as a tactile and visceral endorsement of a much more atomised social order. (ibid. p.467)

In addition to Chapman's theory, I think there are other significant economic and aesthetic factors that have contributed to the renewed interest in one-person bands, of which I will discuss four: changes in music industries revenues; the rise of the "maker" movement as a reaction to mass-produced "black box" consumer products; the changing discourse of "liveness" in the era of laptop "press play" performances; and the unique aesthetic possibilities afforded to composers in one-person bands.

First, the most significant change in the dynamics of the music industries in the last twenty years has been the growth of the live music sector and the contraction of revenue from record sales. In the UK, for instance, 2008 marked the first year that Britons spent more on live music concert tickets than they did on recorded music (CDs, downloads, and streaming combined), making the live industry the largest source of revenue in the British music industries - a reversal which has held intact in subsequent years (Brennan & Webster, 2011; Prynn, 2008). Irving Azoff, a longtime artist manager whose clients include The Eagles, Van Halen, Steely Dan, Christina Aguilera, and other artists spanning the last several decades, expressed the impact for artists this way:

> The way the industry is monetized has totally changed. The order used to be: first, records; second, live; third, merchandise. Now it's: first, live; second, third-party sponsorship; third, merchandise; fourth, publishing; fifth, records. So that's a big difference. (quoted in Seabrook, 2009)

Put simply, changes to the business models of the music industries in the last twenty years have forced musicians to (1) rely increasingly on live income over revenue from recorded music, and (2) mercilessly cut their touring costs to maximize the efficiency of what has become primary source of income. It is difficult to measure precisely to what extent these changes have influenced the number of artists choosing to tour solo where they would otherwise have used multi-person line-ups, but anecdotal evidence from interviews with artists and promoters suggests this is definitely a consideration for some.

There are also aesthetic factors involved in choosing to perform as a one-person band. Musicians are not simply performing the "loops, laptops, and layers" version of the one-person band aligned to Chapman's conception of live solo multi-instrumentalism via digital technologies; on the contrary, many are also embracing the traditional "heads, hands, and feet" version of one-person bands proposed by Harris (2012). One-person band DIY culture cannot therefore be simply attributed to the mass production of looping pedals being sold to musicians; other musicians are, perhaps partly as a reaction against the proliferation of loop pedals, choosing to build their own instruments and custom one-person band setups. One finds evidence of this phenomenon at "maker" fairs that take place throughout the world, which encourage citizens to "make" and understand the objects they use as opposed to unreflexively consuming mass-produced goods: I was recently invited to perform with my one-person band, Citizen Bravo, at the 2014 Mini-Maker Faire in Edinburgh, while Johnny Eriksson was awarded Maker of the Year at the Stockholm Mini Maker Faire for his "Popmaskinen" electromechanical one man band (Hobson, 2014). One can also find more high-tech dedicated musical instrument invention conferences that occasionally feature unusual one-person bands, such as the Music Tech Fest and conference for New Interfaces for Musical Expression (NIME). Related to this trend are the new ways in which "liveness" has been contested due to increasing use of loop pedals, backing tracks, triggered samples, and laptops at gigs. In his assessment of live performance, Philip Auslander once predicted that "the symbolic capital associated with live events" would likely to diminish in an increasingly mediatized world (Auslander, 1999, p. 160). However, precisely the opposite has happened: live music has as much if not more cultural importance today as ever. However, what constitutes "liveness" in the "loops, laptops, and layers" age has been the subject of much controversy - witness the scandal EDM musician Deadmau5 caused when he suggested that he and his fellow superstar DJ's frequently just "pressed play" for their live concert performances ("Deadmau5 clarifies 'press play' comments about fellow DJs," 2012). Sociologist Nick Prior theorized live laptop music performance in particular, and illustrates how notions of "liveness" have become contested through the introduction of the laptop performance with an example from his ethnographic research:

> A small audience watches and listens as the laptop jam unfolds... And whilst the audience members are patient they also look slightly perplexed for it is clear that they are searching for the tangible links between bodily movement and sound that characterize conventional forms of performance. But the visual hooks aren't there. Should one applaud, then, when the signs of creativity are so heavily mediated (Pinch & Bijsterveld 2003)? Who is producing what? Are they really just checking their e-mails? (Prior, 2008, p. 913)

In this context, the resurgence of the "head, hands, and feet" one-person band can be viewed as an antithetical response to "press play" performances, especially when the definition of "one-person band" itself has become contested via the appropriation of the term to apply to newer "loops, laptops, and layers" performers.

21st century one-person bands address these conflicting ideologies in different ways. Robert Stillman, drawn to one-person bands for the unique aesthetic possibilities inherent in a single person simultaneously performing multiple analog instruments, is representative of a traditionalist approach. Stillman (2014) has theorized his own compositional practice in a website and divides the aesthetic particularities of "head, hands, and feet" one-person bands into several categories, including Coordination, Independence, and Musical Structure; Instruments, Technique, and the Role of the Feet; Expressive Rhythm and One-Man Band; The Integration of Composition and Performance; and Studio Production. A selection of the 23 aphorisms from his "one man band manifesto" include:

- One-man band performance asks the body to do something it would rather not do. The sound of one-man band music, therefore, is not perfect. Rather, it is the sound of the outer limit of ability.
- One-man band is not quantized.
- One-man band creates its own context.
- People want to know how one-man band works.
- One-man band is lonely.
- Because there is no accepted technique for one-man band, the standard is an imaginary one created by the one-man band, and usually impossible. (Stillman, 2014)

The kind of aesthetic emergent from the manifesto excerpts above is clearly at odds with the "loops, laptops, and layers" ideology of the one-person band. For Stillman and similar one-person bands, the non-quantized, old-fashioned "head, hands, and feet" ideology provides the richest and most rewarding possibilities to create music. Meanwhile, Artist Daniel Wilcox decides not to choose sides and instead attempts to resolve the two conflicting ideologies by drawing from both of them. Wilcox describes his "robotcowboy" one-person band as having the following aim:

> robotcowboy is a performance project consisting of w a wearable computer system and various peripheral devices which enable a single performer to become a mobile, technological "one-man band" free to roam the stage, the street, and the world. It is both an homage to the "one-man band" tradition and an exploration into a post-digital renewal of embodiment and physical instrumentality in electronic musical instruments... It is hoped that the concept of "wearable music computer" can one day become as ubiquitous as that of "laptop musician" in a return to the fragility and excitement of live music. (Wilcox, 2007)

Both Stillman and Wilcox developed their one-person band practices in an academic context. However, the status of one-person band creative practice as research still lags behind more established "art" music creative practice, and it is this issue which I will turn my attention to next.

Invention versus innovation in DIY music cultures

To summarize so far, one-person bands are a longstanding DIY musical practice, and the definition of a one-person band – be it "head, hands, and feet", "loops, laptops, and layers", or something else – has changed over time and remains contested by current one-person band practitioners. There has been an apparent resurgence of interest amongst both artists and audiences in one-person bands in the 21st century, and the reasons for this range include
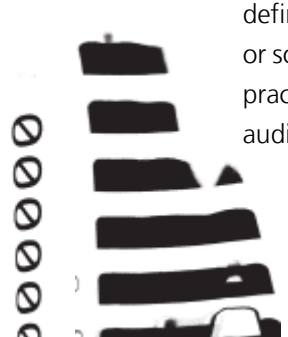
economic, aesthetic, technological, and political factors. I want to start tying some of these discussions together, thinking about one-off designs that aren't mass-produced, and about the opposition between one-person bands as being comical novelty contraptions versus music to be taken seriously, and also challenge the distinction between invention and innovation. Ultimately I want to ask whether and how one-person bands can be valued as both art and research.

My starting point is an auto-ethnographic analysis of my own creative practice in a punk-influenced one-person band called Citizen Bravo. In 2012 I collaborated with an artisan blacksmith named Dave Frazier to create sketches via computer assisted drawing of a one-man band with a suitcase kick drum as the focal point (Figure 1).
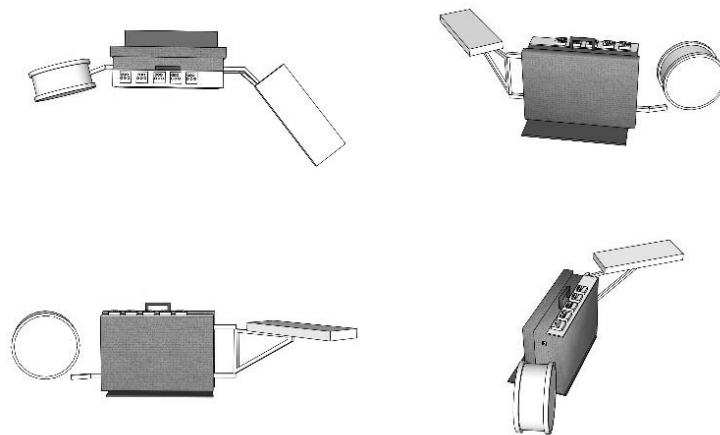
Figure 1 – Citizen Bravo design plans

We then set to work building the design, the central feature of which is a steel frame scaffolding which fits inside a vintage suitcase. The steel frame performs several functions. First, it holds the shape of an otherwise flimsy cardboard suitcase so that various components can be attached. It can also accommodate the other components of the setup inside the case so they be easily packed up for transport. In each corner of the frame are two modular arm sockets, and the suitcase shell has holes that feed in different customized stainless steel arms depending on what component needs to be attached. Finally, the weight of the frame means that when the suitcase is used as a kick drum it doesn't budge from the forward force applied by the bass drum pedal. We also added decorative design elements (e.g. skateboard keyboard stand, skull maracas) to keep with a punk visual aesthetic (Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2 – Citizen Bravo in "transport mode"
Photo by Campbell Mitchell, used with permission.
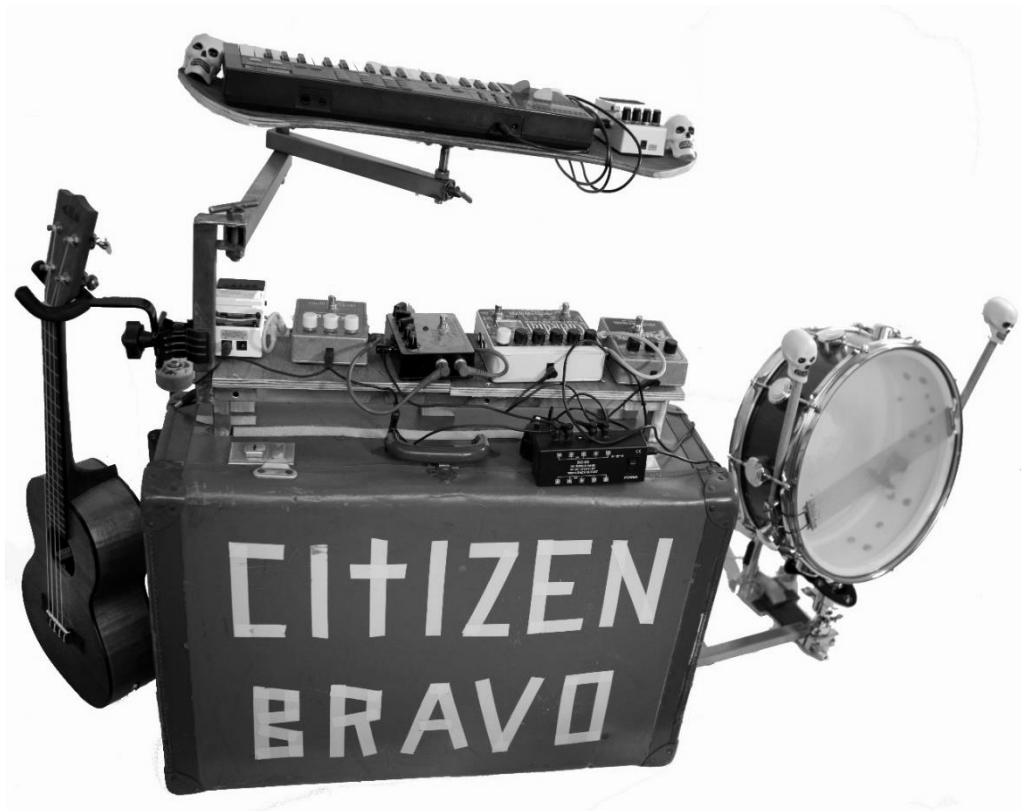
Figure 3 – Citizen Bravo in "performance mode"
Photo by Campbell Mitchell, used with permission.

This is clearly a "head, hands, and feet" band, and I've deliberately chosen not include any loop pedals, because part of the aesthetic appeal for me is precisely the anachronistic reliance on the connection between visible physical effort and the production of sound. I want making music on this machine to be a struggle, something that may or may not fall apart as I perform it.

Although I have a dual background as an academic and musician and currently work in a university music department, I was appointed as a popular music studies scholar rather than an engineer or "art music" composer. In practice this means that while my composer colleagues are able to submit their music as research outputs, and my computer music colleagues are able to do the same with their invented musical instruments (which usually exist in the form of software or digital interfaces), I am expected to produce peer-reviewed journal articles rather than music or invented instruments. But what exactly is it that prohibits a one-person band like Citizen Bravo from being submitted as a legitimate research output?

To answer this one must first briefly outline UK academic research culture: research by British academics is evaluated every seven years by a system called the Research Excellence Framework, or REF. Composers of classical music are allowed to submit their compositions as research, and this is a common practice, but as far as I know no one has ever tried to submit work resembling popular music as research. According to the guidance on Music for the REF:

> 'In assessing work as being [of a quality that is world-leading in terms of originality, significance and rigour], panels will expect to see evidence of, or potential for, some of the following types of characteristics across and possibly beyond its area/field:
> – a primary or essential point of reference
> – of profound influence
> – instrumental in developing new thinking, practices, paradigms, policies or audiences
> – a major expansion of the range and the depth of research and its application
> – outstandingly novel, innovative and/or creative. ("REF panel criteria and working methods," 2012)

I'm not suggesting that my one-person band fulfills the over-the-top criteria listed above to qualify as outstanding research, but if I'm to be frank, I'm not convinced that the compositions routinely submitted by composers of contemporary classical music fulfill them either, and that's the problem. For all that we like to claim that the boundaries between high and low culture have been dismantled and dissolved in a postmodern world, for all we like to claim that popular music has now firmly established its presence in universities, there is a clear hierarchy that remains at the core, and creative practice counting as research is just one example. Who defines the field for popular music as academic creative practice? Who does so for "art" music? How big does your area and field have to be exactly? How many records to you have to sell, how many people have to recognise your work as an "essential point of reference"? Do all musical fields work in ways that are comparable to one another? Obviously not. What if there is no field, and the whole point of the one-person band is to represent the practice of idiosyncrasy, the peculiarities of one individual doing it themselves, doing it alone? What's the purpose of the REF in the arts? Is it time to rip it up and start again?

I suggest that part of the problem in submitting a one-person band as a research output lies in its one-off aesthetic. The technology historian Thomas Hughes makes a distinction between invention (defined as creating something new) versus innovation (defined as transforming a field), and this distinction is entrenched in frameworks like the REF (Hughes, 1989, p. 43). According to this definition, one-person bands are clearly inventions, not necessarily innovations? Do some one-person bands transform the field of one-person band

practice, and others not? This is to raise another question: if you invent a new instrument or technology, and if you (and maybe you and your friends) are the only ones to use this instrument, is what you're doing in any way innovative? What if the point a particular musical invention is precisely its one-off-ness, its value as a DIY construction not intended for mass production? I encountered this tension in my own creative practice building Citizen Bravo: my co-designer, the blacksmith Dave Frazier, was accustomed to patenting his designs which he felt to be innovative and potentially profitable, and with our design he expressed interest patenting the steel frame and modular arms design with a view to reproducing and selling the design to other musicians; meanwhile, I *didn't* want to reproduce the design even if it had commercial potential precisely because I wanted my one-person band to be one of a kind. Indeed, the one-off aesthetic of one-person bands neatly exposes the bias towards patents and mass production underlying Hughes' definitions of invention versus innovation.

Technology sociologists Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld have suggested that "new technologies sharpen the perennial issue of what makes for good music and 'art'", and elsewhere that "the introduction of a new instrument 'provides a way of probing and breaching the often take for granted norms, values, and conventions of musical culture" (T. Pinch & Bijsterveld, 2004, p. 640; T. J. Pinch & Bijsterveld, 2003, p. 538). One-person bands do precisely that, especially in the context of the value of popular music versus art music at universities. Some ideas and artworks, especially in underground and DIY cultures, are not *intended* to spread - their value is in their singularity.

Who needs people? Doing it alone

I wish to conclude by drawing from some ideas put forward by two keynote speakers at the *Keep It Simple, Make It Fast!* conference and applying them to the case of one-person bands. First, in his assessment of the indie rock scene in Montreal's Mile End neighbourhood, Will Straw noted the absence of images representing that particular scene. Citing Dick Hebdige and Hakim Bey, Straw suggested that some scenes are "iconophilic" (e.g. punk), operating "above ground" with visible presence; while others are "iconophobic" (e.g. early 1990s rave culture), operating "below ground", fighting to remain invisible and thus avoid being co-opted and comodified. Or as Straw puts it, paraphrasing Bey, "the purpose of a radical politics is to create temporary autonomous zones which leave no traces and attract no looks". I suggest that one-person bands do not easily fit into either of the above categories. On the one hand, one-person bands are often visually spectacular and draw attention to their own visuality. On the other hand, they tend to be temporary, mobile, performing in unsanctioned zones, ready to move on if they get any hassle from authorities. Furthermore, while one-person bands have clearly shown signs of cohering as a global community through documentaries (Clitheroe, 2008; Ravenscroft, 2013), books (Harris, 2012), and dedicated one-person band festivals, they don't cohere in the same way as other music scenes. Straw offers a tentative definition of a scene as "a cultural phenomenon which arises when any purposeful activity acquires a supplement of sociability" (Straw, 2014). One-person bands clearly have some elements of this sociability: they interact with audiences, and even with one another at multiple one-person bands jam sessions at festivals. But other characteristics of one-person bands - especially their economic, technological, and performative isolation and self-reliance - are at odds with Straw's definition. Given their aesthetic of embracing novelty and one-off-ness, is it possible to legitimately assert the existence of a unified one-person band *scene*?

Straw also made the intriguing provocation that the organization of culture in the 21st century "follows the perception that what is scarce is sociability, not interesting cultural expression", and that in the digital age "what art must resolve is not an absence of meaning but an absence of interconnection" (ibid.). My attempt to formulate a responsive hypothesis about one-person bands follows: the resurgence of one-man bands represents a move away from DIY to DIA, from doing-it-yourselves to doing-it-alone, which is compelling because it performs a wider sentiment of disconnection from others. Even though the DIY acronym stands for "do-it-yourself", in the case of music there is normally still an assumption that music-making remains a collective, social practice; in other words, even music scenes that self-identify as DIY are much more frequently "do-it-your*selves*" than "do-it-your*self*". One-person bands, on the other hand, even though they also operate in social contexts, are compelling precisely because they dramatize musical isolation - they imagine what might happen if you woke up to discover you were the last musician on earth but still wanted to jam with multiple instruments.

The idea that art in the 21st century must resolve an absence of interconnection links neatly with the work of another KISMIF keynote talk by Augusto Santos Silva on "art beyond context", where Silva suggested that sociologists of art have too often focused on studying the context of artworks rather than the text of the artwork itself (Silva, 2014). Following Adorno, Silva proposed that sociologists should take seriously the notion that "art is itself social, itself a totality, the one that acts as mediator". For Silva, art is beyond context insofar as (1) the text is itself a context; and (2) the text is a means to understand the context; he concludes by encouraging a dialogue between sociology and art studies /criticism, and between sociology and art studies / criticism with art itself.

The ideas of Straw and Silva meet when applied to the case of the one-person band. As a text, a one-person band performance is itself social, is itself a totality that generates its own context; and the context it generates can be understood as a representation of interconnection and a comment on the possibility for both tragedy and comedy when faced with an absence of interconnection. Chapman has suggested that the success of one-person band practices "rely on an ideology that privileges social atomisation", and succeed in a neoliberal culture that "takes pleasure in representations of self-sufficiency" (2013, p.467). However, I think that the meaning of one-person band performances is less fixed than this: they can also act as a critique of that culture. The problem of doing-it-alone, of course, is that it risks abandoning the collective cultural (and public) good. Is it possible for a musician or their music to fully abdicate their inherited context in the world? During a time where many feel disenfranchised from existing political, economic, and artistic institutions, the response of some artists has been to severe the link between themselves and wider society and create insular DIY micro-scenes. To these micro-scenes, the one-person band seems to say - what if you're ultimately left all by yourself, trying to play all the instruments at once? It has the potential to be fun and even rewarding, but more than anything, but eventually it gets lonely and becomes a struggle.

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4.3. "We like raves, but…" Shituationism as a way out of the dilemma of hedonism

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Abstract

Shituationism is a rave theory born in the current crisis. It is a position against the dilemma of political hedonism and its temporary zones of exclusivist happiness. These only live through the cliché of the adventurous. We propose instead: Aim at being boring! Raves can have much more potential than temporary hedonist comfort. Boringness could be an aesthetic that does not aim at recognition and visibility. So unspectacular that it breaks out of the order of the spectacle. In our investigation we want to show what can be learnt from the current generation, the rave and internet generation. We sing the hymn for superficiality.

Keywords: Hedonism, Situationism, Rave, Social media

Post scriptum

Us sitting in old chairs and talking about old times now sounds almost as absurd as us speaking about the potentials of rave and the dilemma of hedonism at an academic conference. But that happened, and now we sit down for the post scriptum: what remains to be said about rave. The constant voice of the cars. And a different sound coming in. A sound system has been constructed, basically from nothing, like out of nowhere. It goes there, underneath the big streets, crossing the sound of the cars, through the pedestrian tunnels of the suburbs. And we go there, expecting nothing, and then there are like 2000 people. Or in the mountains that surround the metropolis: signs written on the trees with spray cans, and cryptic maps are spread out, so complicated that even the police didn't find the way. Neither did some of the ravers, getting lost in the forest together, crashing with a car's sound system, satellite raves. The metropolis of Athens more than a decade ago. Police repression was the first hit against this scene, commercial attitudes and the zombie hybrid culture of peace and love and wasted youth was the final strike. And now, in the current crisis, the dark tunnels and similar spaces host the many homeless and hungry people instead of hedonists. And the fascist mob is hunting there also. It is out of these tragic ruins of the rave scene, that we start to formulate this report.

Five years ago, lying down on the hot metal deck of a ship heading to an island close to the Turkish coast, we created a rave collective. It came to be a small number of people all living in precarious situations, with different levels of education and different skills, spread over various cities, creating the myth of being somehow connected, playing sounds and sharing sounds, thinking and writing about their environment. It was a bit of a desperate act

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and the only thing that here and now matters about it, is that it remained a platform for collaborative acting and thinking, instead of becoming one of these profit orientated little companies of the scene that maintain the divisions and hierarchies between organisers and consumers for the purpose of financial profit. It was our little nomadic tree house and cyberzine within the rave capitals and culture factories. The chastity belt that kept our network from transforming itself into something commercially useful, like from joining the alternative economies of the Berlin city model (this wholesale myth, this meta-commodity), was the underlying ideology of what we called shituationism. A tragic version of situationism, a serious joke that always choked on itself. It is the idea of holding up the potentials of rave situations, but with a criticism of political hedonism.

Political hedonism could be roughly described as the idea that the temporary zones of exclusivist happiness, like at parties, form situations, that point at the utopia of happiness for all. It is of course mostly popular in Berlin. We criticize this idea as temporary hedonist comfort zones, as a dilemma instead of a perspective. It is the weekend as a time zone of freedom, enforcing the normativity of five days work, two days clubbing. Not only is that approach temporary and exclusivist, the situations only live through the cliché of the adventurous. We propose instead: Aim at being boring! Raves can have much more potential than temporary hedonist comfort. This opens a new and better problem: how to extrapolate the potentials of rave itself instead of just subordinating it to a cult of freedom and happiness with the weekend as a model for utopia.

What can we learn from the current generation, the rave and internet generation? Social media, the pretty surfaces that allow me to be connected to you and everybody else, which have this connectivity and communication as a function, constitute their own section of reality, instead of just being a means of transmission. We all know that, maybe this is why we added the word social in the term. Even if there are no images or media that are not social.

The modifiable surfaces, the interactive pictorial spaces, the interfaces of the web, join the profane representations of the world and the sacred untouchable images of art. Large parts of life are now lived there, in that architecture of intimacy, through a dislocation of nearness into a pictorial space. It even serves as a factory space for the superfluous, who work there in a occupational therapy of valuing and spreading cultural goods.

The endless wealth of the net is offered in the mode of art, inexhaustible, and generates potentials. In the crisis of social media lies the potential of contact. This possibility seems to be more rooted in the conditions of the social than those of the media.

And in more general terms. To be able to let go, to have the possibility of falling into something, to achieve that state. To get in contact, the closely approach towards the found state, is a construction of unity, and not an excavation of unity. To chose what is wanted and what is not wanted. Nearness is critical of the image, because it seeks to construct its relation to things, instead of accepting the appearance. Nearness does not end at the surface, it happens there. The so-called union, the sexual one, is only a rubbing on the surfaces of erogenous zones, for example concave and convex zones. Penetration is only the according myth, culturally stylized though the related industrial products, like the romantic and pornographic films, texts and images. All this might be also a reflex against the many divisions and dispositions of society, which appear complex and irresolvable.

Putting oneself in the lived reality of the collective artwork that is rave, generates an order of nearness and distance. Inside this the mode is superficiality. The purpose of the rave situation is to enable on the basis of 'a room full of people is listening to music' a situation of

multifaceted potential. The superficiality, in its organic visuality, is shaped through the universal language of action and reaction. The basis is the process of negotiation of what one does want and doesn't want. Even if there would be an orwellian abolishing of language, there still could exist cracks in the architecture that would point to cracks in the order. Every dark room can be a darkroom and doesn't need a sign that declares it, and every darkroom allows for deviancy. The black square of Malevich is a two-dimensional darkroom. The uniformity of the rave situation is the basis for precise deviance. Entrusting oneself to the concept: After setting the time frame, sound and light and crowd then create the rugged line of the evening with different perspectivization and microscopic examination by the participants of the rave. That way everyone is part of the personnel, operating the ambience. And yet there is the rhythm service, the tone service, the sound service, the light service, the fog service, the drink supply, the door control, the operators who work everything out with the state so everyone else can feel like having nothing to do with it. Of great importance also the wardrobe, where everyone molts oneself and is welcomed. And finally the people who remove the incrustation that remains.

Immediacy should not be associated with penetration or permeation or immersion, it has to be located on the surface, on surfaces that rub. The surface of the respective organ is the sensor: erogenous zones, the remaining skin (if something like that, skin that is not erogenous zone, even exists), eyes, language apparatus. immediacy carries too much of firm immovability, it is not fitting for grasping the relation of living beings to their surroundings. Supervicial visuality in this sense is essentially organic, we do not talk about images as being static, but of surfaces that are transformed by the users. A club is an interface. That is why the screen generation finds themselves in the club. An old shituationist once said: Superfluous of all realities, unite in superficiality, we have a world to win, online and offline!

We think we saw old Guy Debord at the conference, at least the guy in the white suit looked one hundred percent like him. He was standing next to the people serving black and red caviar to underground music scenes scholars at the conference dinner. Later we were DJing there, playing Regressverbot and King Deluxe, with a 400 watt sound system in the small bar with the parquet floor where nobody was allowed to dance for conservational reasons, it was just us and the workers and some champagne. Everything was possible.

4.4. A survey on graphic communication and publishing practices in the Portuguese independent music scene

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Abstract

In this paper, we present a research project on the use of graphic media within the Portuguese independent music scene, with an emphasis on traditional printing techniques. To better understand the DIY cultural practices taking place in Portugal and assess the relevance of traditional printing techniques, we surveyed the social actors participating in the contemporary independent music publishing about the media they use, how they use it and their impact on the graphic landscape of the independent music scene. The results of the questionnaire show that digital media prevails, but print media are also important to add a tangible extension to the communication, which can be enhanced by the use of traditional printing techniques.

Keywords: Independent music, Traditional Printing Techniques, Survey, Graphic Design, Portugal

Introduction

Graphic communication is closely tied to the publishing of music projects. With the decline of a music industry underpinned on major labels, a new generation of independent publishers has risen, developing its own communication strategies.

From a designer perspective, the independent music scene may represent an interesting work opportunity. Being an independent context it is free from the usual client/market constrains, with music becoming not only "a product to pack and sell" but also a genuine source of inspiration for creativity. It establishes a territory for researching and developing a personal line of work that usually is not possible when developing commercial projects. Whether to enhance portfolio or to improve skills, the motivations are diverse but shared by many designers and other professionals such as, photographers, illustrators, film directors, among others.

On the technological side, the emerging digital media offers a wide range of possibilities for DIY music projects and are being used not only during the recording process but also in the branding/communication process. As they can be cost free and ubiquitous, we would expect them to be used in exclusivity, but some artists find value in other media like, for example, traditional printing techniques.

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Regarding the distribution and promoting process, Internet assumes a central role in the current music scenario. It became a powerful communication vehicle and brought the possibility for musicians who where confined to a local sphere to reach a vast global audience with a relatively small investment. This reality brought a change of paradigm in the music industry. In some way the record sales may have decreased, but there has been noticed an increment in live events like concerts (Connolly & Kruegger, 2004) and artist are finding new ways to generate income beside gigs, such as the creation of soundtracks and jingles (Brousseau, 2008). Independent music projects self promote and self publish their work through small labels, in many cases created by the artists themselves. They promote and distribute autonomously, and cooperate with independent intermediaries. Many bands promote their own advertise and manage their concert tours. There are also small producers, promoters or labels that work on the independent music circuit.

To better understand how synergies can be fostered between musicians and other cultural agents we needed to understand how musicians are addressing their communication. Each person may have his/her own perspective about the subject and may inquire a small group of persons about their usage of the media but an objective perspective over the "big picture" is difficult to achieve. Such challenge, in conjunction with the lack of information in the literature, justified and motivated this study and made essential to create a survey to better understand and characterize the idiosyncrasies of this community.

We aimed at collecting information not only from musicians, but also from other intervenient who collaborate with them along the process, such as producers, agents and label owners.

Acknowledging the Internet as an important resource for communication we sought to understand how it is being used in Portugal and, at the same time, to ascertain the role of print media in a digital era.

In short, the goal of this research was to identify and characterize the media used by the Portuguese independent music projects in promotion/branding activities.

Methodology

In order to find an answer to our research question, we opt by using a survey method based on questionnaires. The questionnaire design, sample and distribution are presented next.

The sample

The target sample for conducting the survey where active members of the contemporary Portuguese independent music scene, including musicians (on a band or solo), DJ's, promoters, labels and producers. We excluded all the individuals that were associated with any of the grand phonographic labels like EMI, Warner, SonyBMG or Universal (The Association of Independent Music, 2011). Using the "rule of thumb" for social surveys, we calculated the size of the sample to be a minimum of 50 individuals (M. Hill & A. Hill, 2009).

Survey design

The design of the survey obeyed the best practices found on social science research methodology, and was crafted based on semi-structured interviews with individuals and small groups of people with an active role in the independent music scene. We also consulted

graphic and web designers on topics related with the media and an advertising copywriter to validate language aspects.

We made a preliminary survey with a sample of 10 individuals to identify possible misunderstanding of the questions, to measure time of response and to improve the quality of the survey.

Structure of the survey

The survey was organized in five blocks of questions, grouped according to their aim and function. The average time of response was estimated in 18 minutes, so we have decided to include a feature for saving and continue later in order to minimize the turn away.

In the first part of the survey we characterized the respondents regarding their social and demographic aspects.

The second part was dedicated to identify and define the music project of the respondent, and their positioning in the music scene. We defined two possible categories. The first one gathered people that created and performed music, such as musicians, bands, DJs. The second category included people that are indirectly related with the music creation, such as label managers, agents, promoters and producers. These categories were not exclusive, so the same respondent could be simultaneously a musician and manager of a label, for example.

The third part inquired about the media used for disclosure, which media are being used and how. In the forth part we identified the publishing habits and channels.

Finally, the fifth part was dedicated to gather information about the importance attributed to each media, and the advantages and disadvantages of Internet and print media for disclosure. This was an optional part, comprised of open-ended questions.

Collecting data

Since the sample was scattered all over the Portuguese territory, the idea of conducting face-to-face questionnaires was declined. Assuming that the majority of the audience was Internet proficient, we concluded that the best way to reach the respondents was through the Internet with a self-applied survey (Janet, Steve, & Healy, 2001; Brace, 2004).

After testing several platforms we chose Survey Gizmo[3], for having all the features needed and being free for academic purposes. We designed the survey and generated an URL, which was distributed mainly through email and social networks.

We sent approximately 500 emails and made approximately 600 contacts thought Myspace and Facebook.

We also address the survey thought known channels in the independent music scene like Raquel Lains[4], A Trompa[5] e Sergio Hydalgo[6]. This resulted in 200 emails sent to musicians and concert producers by Raquel Lains and a banner in A Trompa website with an URL to the survey.

The survey was self-filled so we created an introductory text explaining the goals of the research and the criteria for being considered in the sample. In this text there was also a request for the respondents to forward the survey for their contacts.

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[3] http://www.surveygizmo.com/ (consulted at 17/05/2014)
[4] http://www.letstartafire.com/ (consulted at 17/05/2014)
[5] http://a-trompa.net/ (consulted at 17/05/2014)
[6] http://www.mafama.blogspot.pt/ (consulted at 24/2/2011)

The data was collected between January 15 and April 15 in 2011 gathering a sample of 72 individuals from musicians, producers, DJs, and independent label managers.

Data analysis

For statistic analysis we used the SPSS v.18 software. For descriptive analysis of the variables (nominal or ordinal scale) we calculated the absolute and relative frequencies.

With continuous variables we used hypothesis test, T test. We used a significance level of $p<0.05$.

For the open answers analysis in the last part of the survey we grouped the answers by similarity to further descriptive analysis using absolute and relative frequencies.

Results

Social and demographic aspects

The majority of the responses came from Lisbon (53%) followed by Porto (13%). Almost all the respondents where male (89%) and the majority had ages between 25 and 34 (72%). 78% of the inquired had a degree or other higher education diploma, and all them used the Internet on a daily basis.

About the projects represented

Half of the surveyed respondents had only 1 musical project and a quarter had 2. Approximately a quarter of the surveyed had 3 or more projects. The majority of the surveyed (84%) started their project before the year 2000, and, as seen in the Figure 1, 2005 registered an increment of new musical projects.
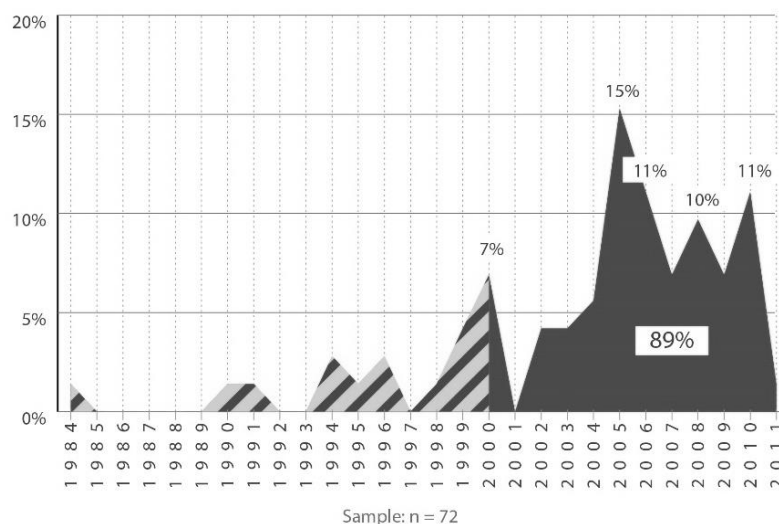
Figure 1 - Beginning of the projects

According to the activity of each respondent we defined two categories. The one related with creating and performing music, gathering musicians, bands or DJ's was represented by 63% of the respondents. The other category including people with an activity surrounding the music creation (producers, promoters, label owners or agents) represented 38% of the respondents.

To inquire the level of activity of each respondent, we asked how many events they had organized or have participated in the last 12 months. 79% promoted 1 or more events and 82% participated in at least 1 event organized by others.

From this sample those identified as being in the surroundings of music creation exhibited more activity on the promotion of events, organizing 6 to 10 a year (26% against 7%) and 11 or more events a year (44% against 24%).

They also have been more active in events organized by others, participating in 11 or more a year (56% against 31%).

Media used for disclosure

Advertising media

When asked about who developed the artwork for any graphic media related with the musical project, such as posters, disc covers, flyers and photography, the majority resorted Very Often or Always to active members of the project (83%) and/or friends (47%), as seen in Figure 2.
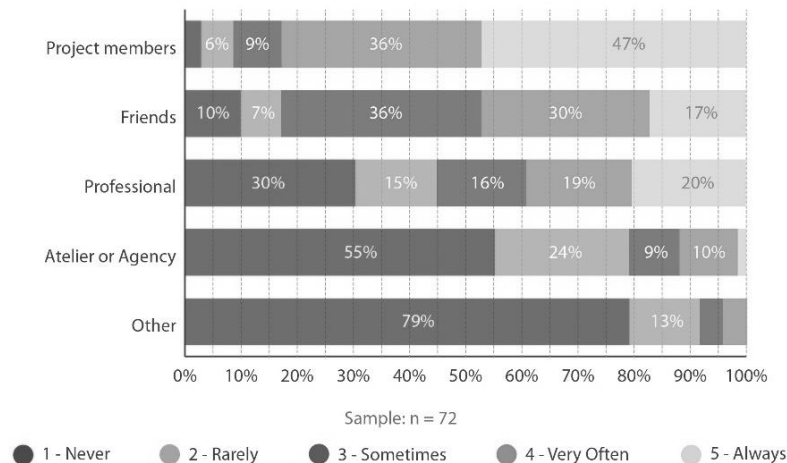
Figure 2 - Who developed artwork for graphic media

Another significant figure is that 30% never hired a professional to do this kind of work, and 55% never turned to an atelier or agency.

When asked about the media used to disclosure their project(s), almost every respondent elected the Internet (96%) as the preferable medium, followed by print media: flyers (75%) and posters (74%). 29% of the survey claimed to use "other print media than posters or flyers".

When asked about which other media they used besides Internet and print media they pointed radio and publications like newspapers or magazines, or even more personal channels such as mobile SMS and word of mouth.

When asked about which media they considered as Very Important for promotional purposes, 76% of the enquiries elected Social Media, 61% mentioned Radio and 54% declared newspapers/magazines (Figure 3).
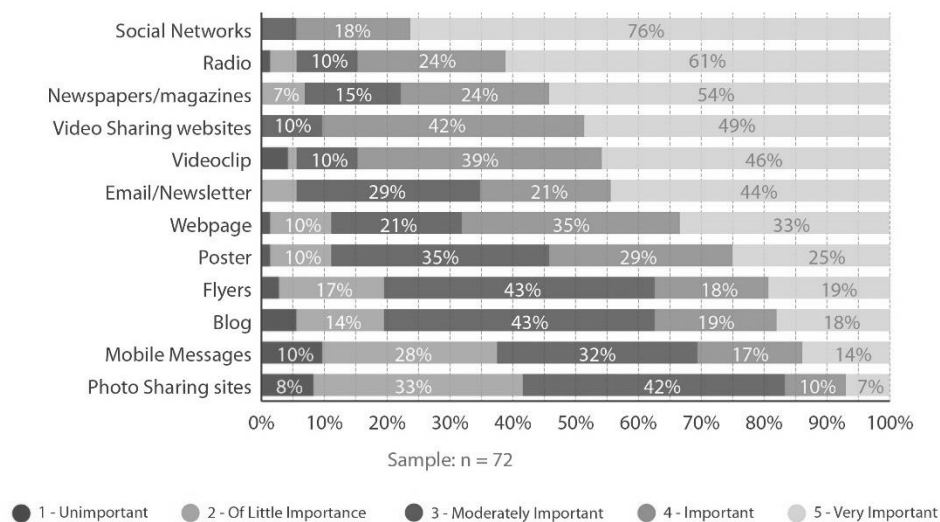
Figure 3 - Importance of media

Video was considered a relevant medium since sites like Vimeo.com or Youtube.com where referred as Very Important (49%) or Important (42%). Similarly, regarding content, the video clip was also considered Very Important (46%) or Important (39%). Email and newsletter were pointed as Very Important by 44% of the surveyed. In print media, posters and flyers where considered More or Less Important, respectively by 35% and 43% of the sample. Posters where considered Very Important by 25% and Important by 29%. Flyers where considered Very Important by 19% and Important by 18%. In a period of 12 months before the survey, 72% of the respondents used print media to disclosure at least once.

Print media

The print formats most common among the surveyed are the A4 and the A3. The majority never used larger formats like 50x70 cm and never printed more than 500 copies of posters. The most frequent number of copies was less than 100. For flyers the most used format is A5, and as for the posters, the majority (63%) never printed more than 500 flyers and the most common amount is less than 100 copies.

How they are using the Internet

We identified three main platform used by the surveyed. The majority of the respondents always use Social Networks (74%), Website (55%) and Email (52%) as seen in Figure 4. Video sharing sites, like Youtube or Vimeo, where used Always by 22% and Very Often by 22%. The majority Never used Blogs (51%) or photo sharing sites like Flickrs or Picassa (62%).
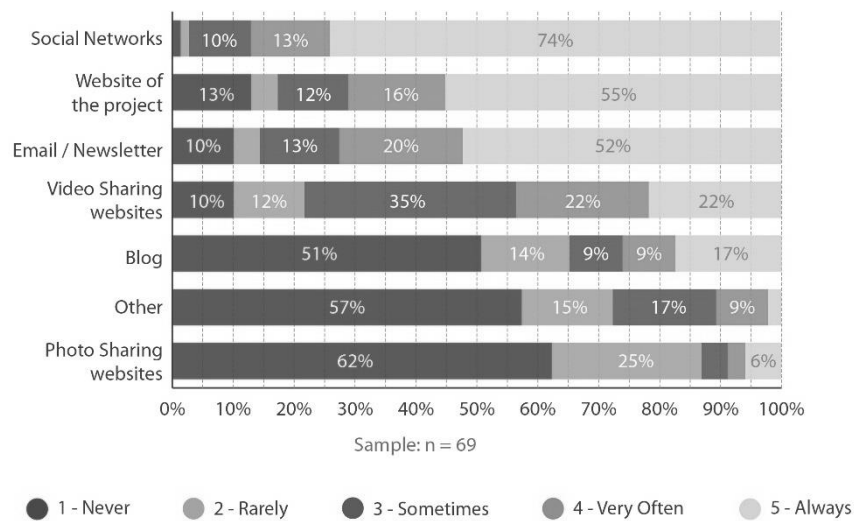
Figure 4 - Usage of each Internet channel

Publishing habits and channels

When enquired about the audio formats used for publishing, those who have published a record (87%) have elected the MP3 format (70%) - through net-labels or similar –, the Industrial CD (68%) and home recorded CD-R (48%) as the preferable formats. To distribute the copies, 89% have used the Internet and 85% made their own personal distribution without recurring to intermediaries.

Print Media *versus* Internet (Advantages and Disadvantages)

When asked about the advantages of the Internet 64% pointed the ability to reach a vast audience. Other advantages have been referred like being low cost (44%), fast (38%) and accessible (26%). The fact of being multimedia, combining different types of content like video, photography, sound was pointed as an advantage by 13%. The possibility of a direct contact with the audience was also referred as an advantage by 11% of the surveyed. The disadvantages of the Internet registered disperse answers, but there was a clear reference to the excess of information, pointed by 49% of the surveyed.

Some of the respondents mentioned that the Internet is not accessible to everyone (11%) and that it has low impact on communication (11%). For print media, distinction was the main advantage (33%). Being tangible was also referred as an advantage by a quarter of the respondents. The ability to disclosure to a wider audience was referred as an advantage by 19%. The graphic potentiality of the media as a support was also referred as an advantage (17%) and the ability to distribute in strategic spots closer to the target audience (17%). The main disadvantages for print media where it's cost (50%) and issues related with logistic and distribution (27%). Ecological concerns where also referred by only 11% of the surveyed.

Discussion and Conclusion

By crossing information we concluded that 46% of the surveyed used a combination of Internet, posters and flyers to disclosure their projects. Twenty five percent used Internet and

flyers and only 19% used the Internet as the only communication medium. None of the inquired used only print media without using Internet (Figure 5).
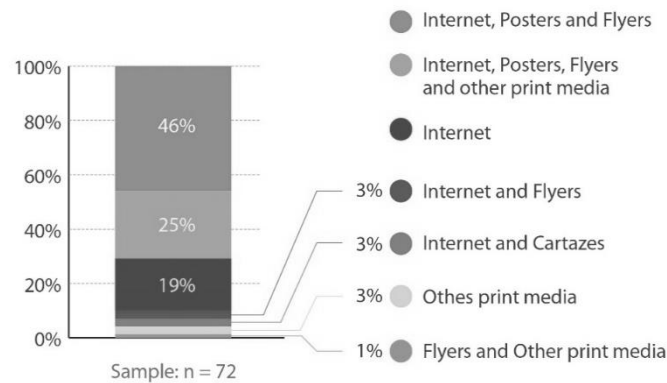
Figure 5 - Usage of mixed media

The majority of the responses where submitted from Lisbon region (53%), followed by Porto (13%). This ratio (4,1) does not match the population ratio between the two cities (2,3), which led us to conclude that the sample distribution was biased due to the fact that most of the contacts where addressed from Lisbon. Therefore, we cannot draw conclusions regarding the geographic distribution of independent music projects. The age group of the majority (72%) of the sample lies between 25 and 34 years old. This data may be a consequence of the distribution platform of the survey, as an online survey may be easier to respond to a younger audience. On the other hand, this age group is more propitious to the participation on independent music projects.

We registered an increment on the creation of new projects since 2001 with a particular grow in 2005. We need to considerate that 2005 was a year when the researcher collected a great number of contacts used on this survey[7]. This may have influenced the data collected, but we should consider that since the year 2000 there was an increasing demand for live shows in Portugal. And 2005 was a year with a singular increment. According to the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry there was an increment in the demand for live shows since 2005 (IFPI, 2010). In Portugal we observed an increment since the year 2000 with a slight decrease from 2008 to 2009 (INE, 2001, 2002, 2009, 2010).

Regarding the promotion of events, the respondents in the category "editors, promoters or producers", despite representing a smaller percentage of the sample, promoted more events during the last year than the group of "Band, Musicians or DJ's". This result matched the expectations, since the first category usually represents several bands or musicians.

The Internet was the main media used by the respondents. It was also the most important media. Social networks where the main channel used by the respondents and were also considered the most important, more than some traditional great diffusion media like radio or press. The importance attributed to video sharing sites like youtube.com or vimeo.com and

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[7] Some of the contacts where made through themailing ered the most important, identify wich media the respondents had in mind.mportant to define a more specific period for t list of Cãoceito, a project co-founded by the investigator that was also founded in 2005.

the videoclip was revealing. We concluded that video communication was highly valued by the respondents.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that Social Media was considered the most important way for promotion, none of the other media was completely neglected. When comparing the average of the classification given to each media, we realize that the variation is small, 3,7 (in four) for Social media, against 1,7 (in four) for images sharing sites.

When asked about the advantages of the Internet, the respondents referred the wide-range, low-cost, fastness, being accessible and multimedia. Comparing these results with the importance attributed to each medium, we concluded that our sample values a multiplatform approach for disclosure, combining sound, image and video.

The main disadvantage pointed to the Internet was the excess of information circulating that interferes with the communication and makes difficult to stand out.

The Internet was the most valued media, but in print media posters registered some importance. They where considered "Very Important" or "Important" by 54% of the respondents, against 11% that considered the Importance of the poster "Small" or "None". The majority of the surveyed already used flyers (75%) or posters (74%) for disclosure and on the last 12 months 72% of the surveyed used print media to advertise at least one event.

The promotion of events was not always followed by a disclosure with print media. Especially when the respondents promoted more than 11 events a year. This means that the respondents that promote more events don't always do it through print media. They use it, but more occasionally using always other on-line media. When printing posters the respondents used mainly 100 series. Higher number of copies where used, but the higher they where the least frequent they where. The cost of print media was probably the main reason for that, but there can also be other reasons for these results like distribution issues.

The most frequent printing formats where the A4 and A3 most frequently printed in small series. Notice that these formats are easy to find in consumer print shops of home printers. Larger standard formats that require printing on other kinds of print shops are less frequent.

Comparing these results with the advantages and disadvantages, we conclude that the usage of small runs and smaller formats is related with the costs and the difficulties on the distribution in large quantities. We registered similar behavior to poster with flyers. Higher numbers of copies where less frequently used. For the printing sizes, we couldn't draw conclusion.

The main advantage pointed to print media was its distinction from other media, maybe because of the issues with the excess of information found on the Internet. The tangibility of printed objects and its potential as a media was also valued as qualities. An important advantage attributed to print media was the possibility to post in strategic spots, closer to the target audience. The main disadvantages pointed to print media where the cost, and issues related with logistics and distribution.

We believe that this data sheds some light over the new possibilities under the new wave of Makers and DIY scenes. After running this study, became obvious to us that print media is still an important complement to the digital promotion channels. However, the price and distribution issues refrain promoters and creators to use them in large scale. The challenge now is to find methods to produce interesting print materials, in a low-cost and sustainable way.

We find examples in the Portuguese and in the international landscape of traditional techniques like screenprint, printmaking, engraving, being used in small printshops or at home

(Figure 6 and Figure 7). They may have a word to say, since they can be produced without the use of expensive equipment or by recovering old equipments that aren't in use and find another purpose.

This study followed a convenience sample, so the range of the conclusions is limited.

We identified some aspects to improve in further studies.

We identified a high number of responses in "Other print media than poster or flyers" (29%). It would be important to identify witch media the respondents had in mind.

Figure 6 - DIY screen-print device at Paulo Arraiano Studio.

Figure 7 - Nick Sambrato - Printmaker

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4.5. The subcultural scene economy of the Berlin techno scene

Jan-Michael Kühn[1]

Abstract

When reviewing the research of scenes and subcultures it becomes apparent, that economic aspects remain largely unresearched or exploratory (E.G. Hesmondhalgh, 1998; Lange & Bürkner, 2010). So far the economy of those formations has been mostly understood as being part of the cultural industries (or now referred to as creative industries), or not even economic at all (Gebesmair, 2008; Handke, 2009). Based on research in the Berlin music scene around 'underground' techno and house music, I have come to different conclusions: I found micro-globalized and small-entrepreneurial infrastructures of clubs, marketing and booking agencies, shops, media and distributors run by club owners, promoters, DJs, booker and agency/club staff. They have an own value creation chain rooted in a common subcultural aesthetic and integral music culture – a scene economy (Kühn, 2011). By exerting various selective subcultural orientations (non-commerciality, familiarity, sell-out) these both cultural and economic actors perform a post-modern form of aesthetic resistance (Kühn, 2013). Although the distinctions remain blurred, they thereby produce a subcultural/internal hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1996; Thornton, 1995) and draw boundaries around their mode of cultural production (Strachan, 2007; Moore, 2007). By combining Bourdieu's theory of the cultural field with scene and subcultural theory (Hall & Jefferson, 2006; Hitzler, Honer, & Pfadenhauer, 2008; Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003), the presented approach links both subcultural identities and cultural-economic structures together and heads towards overcoming the current dichotomy of subcultural and post-subcultural theory.

Keywords: techno music, scenes, subculture, economy, scene economy, neo-subcultural theory

"Underground" is a word, which is an essential part in the title of the "Keep it simple, make it fast" conference. Not only in punk, also in techno this is a term very frequently used, referred to and rejected at the same time. Many claim, this terms doesn't make much sense anymore nowadays. Is this really true, or is there just a lack of a fitting theory to explain, why this term seems still to be central for discourses in and about music scenes? Scensters say they prefer things *"more underground"*. One of my interviewees, a label owner, put it succinctly, "Berlin isn't Lady Gaga or Paul van Dyk; this is the capital city of the underground." What does this term mean here, and how is it sociologically rooted in the cultural field of electronic dance music (Bourdieu, 1996)? Current post-subcultural theories, such as from Andy Bennett, David Muggleton or Ronald Hitzler (2010; 2008; 2003), offer little means to understand these claims and differences; and how to explain why they don't disappear, but re-shape and accommodate with newer developments. Although I broadly agree with the insights of post-subcultural theories, a crucial feature of the music scene has been lost along the way: a

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systematical sociological exploration of the roles that distinctions play and how they are rooted in the music scene's cultural economy (Kühn, 2011, 2013).

So far, the economy of scenes has been mostly understood as being part of the cultural industries (or creative industries by now), or not even economic at all (Gebesmair, 2008; Wicke, 1997). Music industry research sees them as fully integrated actors of global and national music markets, classified into so-called independents and majors (Handke, 2009) and differentiated along lines of size, musical specialties and originality. Creative industries research tries to subsume them as major drivers for the attractiveness of cities and national economies by their engagement into supposedly very innovative products (Caves, 2002; Florida, 2003; Hartley, 2004). What both perspectives have in common is that they do not approach economic structures from the music scene's perspective, but rather from an economic-industrial point of view. And thereby they overlook and underestimate structural peculiarities.

In order to define the economic sphere of electronic dance music scenes sociologically, I argue for the term *scene economy* (Kühn, 2011). Although previous insights have been extremely illuminating, these studies have lacked a systematic perspective that analyses the aesthetic, distinctive and commercial attitudes of hobbyist and professional scene participants within the conditions of their specific cultural norms and scene-based reproduction. My assumption is that the scene economy of 'underground' electronic dance music scenes represent their own differentiated economic fields with specific structures that have developed their own organizational logic. The consequences and the basis of this logic are particular conditions for action and relations of production within the scenes' own infrastructure and value-creation chain that result from the specific cultures and market relations of electronic dance music. To understand the specific structure, the following features need to be considered: Scene-based cultural production instead of industry-based cultural production, the emphatic role of the music culture, the internal subcultural hierarchy and the role of distinctions in maintaining and re-shaping the scene economy, music culture and attractiveness.

The following remarks and claims are firstly based on my research, using focused ethnography, on producers of electronic dance music, twelve expert interviews with individuals active in various areas of the scene economy. And secondly on my own long-standing participation in the scene as a DJ, booker and media producer as forms of sociological ethnography. I use ideal-type descriptions. That is, I work with exaggerated representations of differences that in reality occur in a substantially more mixed and indistinct way. And yet, their exaggeration is precisely what allows the core of their specificities to be represented most clearly.

Towards neo-subcultural theory

In his theory on cultural fields, Pierre Bourdieu noticed a general trend towards two poles with opposing cultural logics. The 'autonomous pole' defines itself by its cultural orientation; in which the furthering of art itself takes highest priority over any political, moral, or economic interest. The other pole has a commercial orientation; treating art as just another form of commerce like any other, in which art is produced based on its marketability. Each pole has its way of making value and profiting from it, but they are also in tension with each other. This tension also exists in electronic dance music: on the 'autonomous' side of things you find

house and techno music, along with the club/open-air party culture of Berlin. On the other side, you find mass-produced and profit-driven so-called EDM 'dance pop', which readily absorbs anything that promises to increase sales and reach. Both poles have very different definitions of success, as well as sharply divergent aesthetics and modes of production. *Aesthetic subcultures* (and not class-based anymore) with their own identity and infrastructures struggling to maintain aesthetic and seductive cores against unwanted external influences and political, moral or economic instrumentalisation.

To understand the dynamics of post-modern popular cultures, it is necessary to overcome the opposition of subcultural and post-subcultural readings of music scenes. The reality is, in the case of electronic dance music such as house and techno, neither strictly the one or the other. As small scale underground music culture and their big scale counterparts suggests, also in other fields of music, both are closely intertwined and distinct from each other at the same time. Pierre Bourdieu's field theory helps to extend the concept of the music scene and re-shape the concept of subculture to understand the cultural dynamics between "underground" and "mainstream" as different forms of meaningful culture-economic infrastructure and social identity. By combining Bourdieu's theory of the cultural field (2001) with updating scene and subcultural theory, the presented approach is linking both subcultural identities and cultural-economic structures and is heading towards overcoming the current dichotomy of subcultural and post-subcultural theory.

Scene-based cultural production

Involvement in house and techno music typically starts with a random visit to a techno club, or by first listening to the music through recorded DJ sets. Some become very passionate about music and clubbing and start to visit clubs very frequently. In the beginning, participation remains passive, but quickly may *evolve i*: People start to look for certain sub-genres, follow certain DJs, gain certain scene-specific sets of knowledge about clubs, do's and dont's, artists, and so on. Then, to *participate more deeply* and earn money, some start to DJ, throw parties, launch music labels, found scene specific agencies or just start to work in clubs or for labels and agencies. They start to combine their passion for a certain aesthetic with commercial and distinctive attitudes: For some, it will always just remain a hobby, but others quickly become professional and turn their scene participation into a business. However, for the passionate, this *business orientation remains strongly limited* by the cultural institutions of the music scene. They don't start making other music just because it is more profitable. They relinquish economic opportunities, because the feelings of enjoyment and freedom experienced through the music are more important to them. They see economic activity as *being able to get by* instead of pure profit-maximization. This means that they associate the generation of sufficient income and social protection with their main desire for economic self-determination, artistic freedom and passion in life. For them, money exists to make their lives possible, in which they will be able to ideally pursue their personal goals in artistic freedom—but not in order to secure as much wealth as possible, following a logic of accumulation. The small-business structure of many lone entrepreneurs promotes this logic, since it imposes fewer practical constraints on the individual than a large organization with numerous employees. This connection through a commonly shared passion also results in individuals working together in clubs or labels, often referring to their friends and colleagues as a "family". To summarize: Their private desires and business activities become closely coupled and integrated, resulting in a deeply culturalized

economic orientation. One recruits "bottom-up" out of the fascination for a certain music and prioritizes cultural orientations over economic possibilities. This makes small-scale actors who mainly do it for the fun and a feasible outcome. An atomistic structure of many sole entrepreneurs dominates the markets. Instead of pure sale orientation, subjective aesthetics and political interests dominate the cultural products and business co-operations among the scene economy participants.

The emphatic role of the music culture

As participants of a certain music culture, their activity is oriented on the cultural institutions of Detroit Techno and Chicago House and thereby framed by its opportunities and restrictions. These cultural institutions enable and demand certain cultural practices to be fulfilled and followed in order to reproduce and accommodate the seductive core of the music scene. The norms are typical music tracks to be seamlessly mixed by DJs in front of a dancing crowd on a loud sound system. What are these institutions? Although very roughly and surely not exhaustively, house can be understood as established musical practices condensed as tracks with repetitive and loop based beats, with a focus on groove, making crowds dance in clubs, mixing in DJ sets and played on events at high volume. Genre-typical patterns for house and techno music are the four to the floor beats, between 100 and 150 beats per minute speed, elements like basslines, kickdrums, snaredrums, hihats and track themes. Techno sounds rather dark and heavy, house sound rather soft, funky and easy-going. Tracks are typically composed with intros, breakdowns, a main section, climaxes and outros. Tracks are supposed to make people dance at events and to be mixed in continuous sets by DJs (Kühn, 2009; Mathei, 2012; Volkwein, 2003).

The central role of distinctions in the music scene's economy

As a result of their scene-based involvement and fandom of house and techno, many scene participants towards the autonomous pole exert distinctions[2] in order to conserve and develop their preferred set of aesthetics and scene-based cultural production (Strachan, 2007; Mäe & Allaste, 2011; Moore, 2007). In the post-modern world, aesthetics can flow everywhere and thereby can be used and adopted anywhere. Even in contexts, that many scene participants find not very much desirable. The current boom of electronic dance music in the US, with associated artists like David Guetta, Swedish House Mafia, Skrillex and so on, is a good example of this. With the increasing success of so-called "mainstream" EDM, many scene participants insists of debunking that culture as "fake" and "inappropriate" - and try to keep these aesthetics, actors and corresponding organizations out of their scene contexts.

Sociologically speaking, they draw boundaries around their aesthetics and modes of production. It is a form of *resistance* not primarily rooted in class, but in the preservation and defense of aesthetically-based life-worlds. Typically, these distinctions are about a perceived corruption of cultural logics by the economic logics of apparently too commercialized music and events, or about external actors like companies, political shareholders or councils who are

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[2] See (Kühn, 2013) for an example, how event producers use distinctions to avoid unwanted music, DJs, insfluences and crowds on their partys.

not intrinsically interested in the music culture, rather using them for their own allegedly purely commercial or political aims. Aims, that eventually might endanger the productivity and survival of the music scenes by for example causing gentrification or mainstream identity. These distinctions have become a background knowledge of the subcultural field and are also expected by the participants in order to enable economic cooperation. From these distinctions the possibility and necessity of an internal subcultural hierarchy within the field of electronic dance music evolves. Various forms of distinctions as a form of "aesthetic resistance" become the primary means to keep out unwanted aesthetics and modes of production in order to preserve the aesthetic core of the music scene.

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4.6. "Pimp your Pipes!" Knowledge, networks and DIY practices in the revival(s) of bagpipes

Thomas Kühn[1]

Abstract

This paper explores the relationships between people and musical instruments, meanings of artefacts and knowledge in musical revivals and issues of heritage and identity. After disappearing during the 19th century folk instruments, such as the bagpipe, have (re)gained interest in the last decades. Music scenes mostly formed by amateurs, dedicated to the revitalisation of musical repertoires, emerged all over Europe. Since the 1970s musicals instruments, commonly perceived as traditional and rural, have entered urban spaces, stages and styles. Bagpipes in particular appeared at the intersection of discourses on heritage and modernity, authenticity and regional collective identities. The absence of professional instrument makers gave rise to Do-It-Yourself initiatives, organising festivals, workshops, construction classes and assembly kits. Self-made instruments and self-taught bagpipe players were essential in the early years of this movement. My ongoing research – focusing on the labour and musical skills of the pioneers and amateurs as well as the formation of international networks – is based on ethnographic methods, media and archive materials. The collaborative collecting and assembling of knowledge and materials has to be analysed as a precondition for revivals and as an alternative form of agency. Moreover, the (re)production and improvement of traditional musical instruments in altering technical and cultural settings created new social and musical practices. The making and playing of Bagpipes in the 20th and 21st century shows the ambivalence of revivals as recourse and development in music scenes and networks.

Keywords: revival, bagpipes, instrument makers, knowledge, craft, heritage

"It´s a long way…" The revival(s) of a musical instrument

Already in 1975 the Australian rock band *AC/DC* used a set of bagpipes on the first track of their second studio album. The song "It's a long way to the top" is just one famous example for the re-appearance of such traditional instruments in popular music. Since the 1990s punk bands like *The Real McKenzies* or the *Dropkick Murphys* have played with images of Celtic heritage and musicians like *Carlos Núñez* and *Hevia* performed with their acoustic or electronic gaitas, an Iberian type of this instrument, in big concert halls worldwide. Currently you can hear different kinds of bagpipes anywhere: during medieval fairs and folklore festivals, during parades and in the streets. Still, it was a long way for a musical instrument – perceived as traditional or historical – to celebrate a comeback under altering sociocultural circumstances.

After having been played all over Europe the bagpipe was gradually replaced by other sound devices and disappeared from the musical landscape during the 19th century and – with the exception of some solitary regions in Eastern Europe and in Scotland, where it survived

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due to the fact that it became part of a military tradition and therefore spread throughout the British Empire. Jonathan Swayne, a well known bagpipe maker and musician from England, stated in an interview (2013), that only since the last decades of the 20th Century we find that a considerable number of people has been able to make a living by producing bagpipes. Yet this instrument remains surrounded by an ancient, somewhat archaic aura.

The principal question governing my research is connected to the relation of material culture, music and time: How did musical instruments end up in museum collections and how did they re-enter contemporary musical scenes and stages?

In a previous project I analysed the potentials and functions of musical instruments in museum exhibitions, arguing that the impermanence of things and the ephemeral qualities of sounds challenge common museum paradigms (Kühn, 2014). My current inquiry explores the revival of musical instruments and bagpipe making in 20th century Germany. The first attempts of reconstruction and revitalisation of bagpipes in Germany had already begun in the 1930s as a result of the rediscovery of Early Music and the emergence of historically informed performance practices. However, it was in the course of the folk music vogue since the 1960s that seemingly vanished musical instruments gained significant interest. During this revival, local folk scenes, formed mostly by amateur enthusiasts, emerged and made a huge effort in re-establishing musical traditions by collecting and assembling information, knowledge and materials.

This paper, as well as my PhD project, is about the pioneers of these German scenes and their practices of networking, researching and tinkering, strongly influenced by the DIY attitude of these decades. My ongoing research is based on ethnographic methods. Participant observations during concerts, festivals and workshops, self-conducted and archival qualitative interviews with musicians and instrument makers as well as media and archive materials are combined in order to create a nuanced multi-perspective view in terms of a "thick description" (Geertz, 1987). The main part focuses on amateur instrument makers and their handling of knowledge, networks and materials. I conclude my analysis by summarizing the social dimensions related to the making of musical instruments and the DIY ethos of revival scenes.

In search of ~~authenticity~~ creativity

According to Tamara Livingston "[m]usical revivals can be defined as social movements which strive to 'restore' a musical system believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past for the benefit of contemporary society." (Livingston, 1999, p. 66) Recent studies on musical revivals mainly focus on protagonists, audiences and ideologies by examining repertoires and performances. In contrast my approach has its starting point in the material culture – the things, requisites and tools, which are necessary for the revitalisation of any musical phenomenon. The cultural study of a musical instrument in particular offers a broad perspective; as Kevin Dawe puts it: "Musical instruments are formed, structured, and carved out of personal and social experience as much as they are built up from a great variety of natural and synthetic materials. They exist at an intersection of material, social, and cultural worlds […]." (Dawe, 2003, p. 275) From this point of view the ethnographic research on amateur bagpipe makers contributes to a deeper understanding of revival processes; the motivations, interactions, experiences and actual practices in underground music scenes.

Apart from a few exceptions such as the exemplary case studies gathered in Neil V. Rosenberg's anthology *Transforming tradition* (1993) the study of musical revivals was widely

neglected by folklorists and ethnomusicologists until the recent decades. Scholarly notions in German and American Folklore Studies were strongly affected by national causes and the desire to find 'authentic' expressions of the past (Bendix, 1997). Cultural phenomena like the folk revival were seen as imitations, manipulations or forgery, often described as "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992). Research programs were (and often still are) dominated by the "assumption of musical continuity" and "questions of authenticity" (Feintuch, 2006, p. 14) – ideas, which were coined in the 19th century. In a side note on this matter Burt Feintuch asks an important question: "Sometimes, though, I wonder what would happen if our work began with ideas of creativity and change at the local level rather than emphasizing continuity." (ibid.)

I will take this objection seriously, because even the attempts to revitalise a musical instrument or to revive a musical genre from an imagined past are innovative processes, which involves a huge amount of creativity. For research into musical cultures like revivals the "invention" is a more striking feature than the mere surveying of "traditions". Not only the punk scene but also the folk music revivalists in the 1960s and 1970s were driven by commitment and the belief in improvisation, tinkering and one's own initiative. I argue that reconstructing, reproducing and improving traditional instruments such as the bagpipe in changing technical and cultural contexts has created new social and musical practices, which affect various cultural domains up to the present day.

Making bagpipes: handling of knowledge, networks and things

The first contact with a bagpipe exemplifies the obstacles which revivalists in Germany faced in the beginning: In absence of resources like trained instrument makers, teachers or manuals on instrument making and playing, the acquisition of a bagpipe was a complicated undertaking. An example from my fieldwork illustrates possible strategies of appropriation. Joachim, an artist, musician and instrument maker from Hamburg, told me in an interview (2013) about his first encounter with a bagpipe. In the early 1970s he knew the sound of this instrument from records only. His interest in Scottish and Irish folk music triggered his desire to learn how to play the pipes. He went to an average music store, a place stuffed with guitars and amps. In a corner he found a Scottish Highland Bagpipe, which was manufactured in Pakistan, where cheap instruments of this kind were made due to the British Empire's legacy. Neither Joachim nor the shop assistant knew how to assemble the instrument. He bought it anyway, but even after many attempts of repairing it, he was still not able to put it into an operational state. Although the insufficient instrument from Pakistan did not become part of his musical practice, the object encouraged him to examine the technical and musical principals of bagpipes. He looked for other bagpipe enthusiasts, met other players and became engaged with the German folk music revival. After acquiring a functioning set of bagpipes and learning how to play it he went to the British Isles, learned how to build historical woodwinds and returned to Germany to make a living as a bagpipe maker and musician.

Without access to experiences of other members of the scene and the exchange of information Joachim's encounter would have come to an end before played a single note. That demonstrates that the collaborative collecting and assembling of knowledge, experience and materials is a necessary precondition for revivals and can also be considered an alternative form of agency. Acquiring knowledge by joining networks and making own experiences seem

to be key aspects of such collaborative agency. Actively collecting information about the instruments, the repertoire and the ways of performing, knowledge about regional or historical circumstances were essential – not only for the ideological agenda behind the revival, but also for its practical realisation. Hence it seems to be appropriate to borrow Mitchell G. Ash's classification of spaces of knowledge in order to describe the physical, social and symbolic locations and correlations of knowledge (Ash, 2000). In the three following sections I will describe the different levels of my research; after distinguishing different scenes within the revival I will draw attention to the networks and their ways of collaboration, followed by some insights into the concrete spaces of manual work and the DIY practices of German bagpipe makers.

Signifying practices: space, time and musical identity

The motives behind the reanimation of a musical instrument are as manifold as the associations which are connected with the historical meanings of bagpipes. It is possible to distinguish a least three different groups of bagpipe revivalists with differing aims, making it difficult to speak about one single revival movement. In order to understand the production of meanings – the signifying practices (Hall, 1997) in different scenes – it is inevitable to follow the trajectories of cultural artefacts like musical instruments into the spheres of their actual use: "Thus, even though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context." (Appadurai, 1986, p. 5). The division of contrasting scenes is not only a result of my heuristic approach, but is in line with a contemporary description of the bagpipe revival in Germany (Junghänel, 1979).

First of all there is the folklore music scene. In the 1960s, cultural and political initiatives began to devote themselves to local traditions. Especially in the south-east of Germany individual activists promoted the heritage of a certain region – the Upper Palatinate – and argued with an assumed unbroken bagpipe-tradition in a neighbouring area in the Czech Republic (Eichenseer, 1980). The idea of regionally bound music gave the impulse to revive an instrument, which was declared to be specific for this district's distinctive culture.

In contrast, re-enactment scenes were focusing on the music in different periods. On the one hand, access to historic instruments or replica was the key for many ensembles to play medieval, renaissance and baroque music as authentically as possible. Historically informed performance groups emphasized the accuracy of reconstructions. On the other hand, idealized imaginations of the Dark Ages gave rise to a completely new kind of instrument, which is played on medieval fairs. The so-called "Marktsackpfeife" resembled partially to medieval descriptions and paintings, but regarding aesthetic features and sound intensity the result was a somewhat exaggerated creation: This independent development took place first of all in the GDR in the 1980s and was driven by a punk attitude – this new instrument had to be loud, aggressive and provocative in order to materialize the imaginations of the supposedly wild and untamed Middle Ages (Gehler, 2014).

The third scene – the international folk music scene – is driven by the "nostalgia for another culture's idealized past" (Livingston, 1999, p. 82). Mats Hermansson (2003) has shown in his study on Pipes and Drums in Scandinavia how the Great Highland Bagpipe became a "strong national iconic symbol of Scotland" (ibid., p. 347) and how it was adopted as an expression of musical identity all over Europe.

These different horizons of interpretation – time, space and cultural identity – are affecting musical and social practices. Of course activists were taking part in different scenes and shared agendas, but each group operated primarily through one of these three lenses. Not only the instrument itself, but the attribution of meanings forms its use and the experience made with it as well as its public perception (Waksman, 2001). Bagpipes in particular appear at the intersection of discourses on heritage and modernity, authenticity and regional collective identities. As a result of these signifying practices they serve as material and visual representations of spatial, temporal and cultural imaginations.

Networks, media and collaborative production of knowledge

By definition revivalists are sharing an "overt cultural and political agenda" (Livingston 1999, p. 66). But as a matter of fact there is a wide range of motivations supporting the revival. Workshops, festivals and concerts were – apart from personnel overlaps – mostly organised and frequented by members of a single scene. Still, despite their differing aims and interests the various scenes worked together on another level. Individuals started to collect information about bagpipes in general, gained experience and shared them with others. The collaborative production of a stock of knowledge was a precondition for the reconstruction and development of an abandoned, mostly unknown instrument.

Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer argue that consensus "is not necessary for cooperation nor for the successful conduct of work" (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 388). It seems appropriate to use the concept of boundary objects to describe the value of the instrument in revival scenes: According to Star and Griesemer boundary objects "have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation" (ibid., p. 393). The concept "bagpipe" is steady and sufficiently structured to create a common ground for various scenes. The basic principles and functionality are similar enough to discuss solutions for technical problems. On the other hand the object offers interpretative flexibility. It is possible to adapt different models of the same instrument for ambiguous musical and ideological purposes.

The revival of bagpipes was far beyond the cultural mainstream, so the gathering and sharing of historical, musical and especially technical knowledge required alternative forms of media. A striking example is the creation of a fanzine: About 80 issues of the Dudlpfeifer, a non-professional and non-commercial magazine, were published between 1981 and 1993. By setting up a self-made magazine, German revivalists created a network and their own space to share and discuss knowledge and experiences, which was acknowledged even in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The ongoing discourses and the objectification of knowledge led at the same time to "simplification", "standardization" and "homogenization" (Ronström, 2010, p. 320).

Materials, knowledge and body: practices of making things

During the first decades of the revival there were almost no commercially produced bagpipes available in Germany. So, in addition to the import of bagpipes from other countries many pioneers of the revival scenes started to make their own instruments; the Do-It-Yourself spirit

in the 1970s encouraged amateur instrument makers. Through the networks, in workshops and craft classes it became possible for enthusiasts to obtain the necessary information, to find the appropriate materials and develop useful skills in order to build their own instruments. Annual meetings and small festivals were described in my interviews as very important events, where the amateur instrument makers and musicians met, discussed and learned from each other. Some entrepreneurs, like the *Early Music Shop*, tried to make use of the DIY trend and offered assembly kits for historical instruments – even for different kinds of bagpipes.

By analysing pictures, archive materials, publications and interviews I was able to understand the inventive handling of knowledge and the exploration of new arrangements of available materials, tools and techniques. Lévi-Strauss (1991) characterizes this creative mode of production using a heterogeneous repertoire of resources as "bricolage". But in attempting to grasp all aspects of DIY projects like making or repairing a musical instrument I faced a methodological problem. Besides the level of discourse and appropriation there is also a vital, non-verbal experience level in manual work, often described as "tacit knowledge". Douglas Harper (1987) has shown in his study "working knowledge", how skills like "kinesthetic sense", "knowledge of materials" and ways of "learning by doing" interact in actual working practices, which also have to be regarded in the context of revivals.

In order to include these aspects of embodied knowledge and manual work into my study, in 2013 I conducted ethnographic research in the workshop of a young bagpipe maker in Berlin. He is the first (but not the only) officially trained woodwind maker specialised in bagpipes in Germany. So my research material covers the time from the first pioneers of the bagpipe revival to the increasing professionalisation and commodification of this trade. This empirical account aims at filling the gap in the literature concerning crafts, knowledge and networks in underground music scenes as well exploring the interdependency of musical and material matters in revival movements.

The social dimensions of making things

It is striking that in the case of the revivals of bagpipes in Germany amateur instruments makers gained a more profound knowledge about a specific musical instrument than academically trained music historians, conservators or museum professionals. The formation of networks and scenes with different agendas, their collaborative production of knowledge, their signifying and crafting practices all arise from the urge to revive and to enhance a musical instrument. In conclusion, I will reflect the role, which material culture – specifically the making of musical instruments – plays in social interactions and revival scenes.

To understand interrelated forms of individual appropriations of physical and social environments, practices of crafting and cooperation appear as cardinal issues (Sennett, 2008 & Sennett, 2012). In his book *Making is Connecting* David Gauntlett (2011) highlights three social dimensions in Do-It-Yourself cultures, which – in case of my study – characterise the relationships between people and musical instruments in processes such as the revival of bagpipes.

(1) Making a musical instrument virtually means connecting things from diverse fields. Materials, knowledge and experience are brought together in the development, production and use of things.

(2) The DIY makers of musical instruments are mostly working alone in their workshops. But as I have shown, they are involved in networks by exchanging information, discussing ideas and sharing experiences. The bagpipes serve as a shared focus or as a boundary object.

(3) The instruments themselves are connections. As manifestations of ideas, imaginations, knowledge and practices they appear as interfaces between different temporal, spatial and social contexts (Kühn, 2014).

The practices of revival scenes are apparently driven by a strong DIY ethos. The appropriation and mobilization of a relegated instrument like the bagpipe has to be seen from this point of view not exclusively as a regression, but as a creative process and a form of empowerment. In opposition to the cultural mainstream, not only the playing but also the making of instruments is part of the DIY ethos of underground music cultures.

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4.7. Jazz scenes and networks in Europe: repackaging independent jazz – new strategies for emerging markets

Haftor Medbøe [1]

Abstract

Recent years have witnessed significant changes to the methods by which artists connect with their fans. Where in the previous century these connections were primarily made through touring, media promotion and the physical distribution of product, the Internet has offered up a burgeoning range of alternatives.

The novelty of digital dissemination platforms is waning and an appetite for more direct and tangible artist/audience connection is emerging. Where iTunes and the like have afforded everyone the possibility of getting 'signed', the music of independent artists is often lost in the noise of a saturated marketplace. Social media, too, has begun to lose its charm and efficacy due to commercialisation and exhaustive applications. This climate, in which we are reappraising our 'love affair' with the digital marketplace, charges us with innovating responses to the requirements of internet-weary audiences. The rise in farmers-market sensibility amongst consumers is being manifested in artisanal product, imbued with a sense of authenticity through 'denomination of origin'. A similar mind-set in the marketing of music might provide an alternative to the seemingly homogenised array of goods available in the Internet's virtual shop-window.

The Internet has become synonymous at best modest financial return for the musician. This paper, therefore, seeks to fresh methods of engagement with the instruments of digital interconnectedness. To profitably connect with our audience, we might begin to rethink the nature of the products that we offer and the terms by which we offer them.

Keywords: jazz marketing; product packaging

"The music business in crisis: An industry on its knees!"
"The death of recorded product: The de-commodification of music!"

We can surely both pity and empathise with the fledgling (and for that matter the established) musician trying to make their way in an industry beset, as it has been for some years now, by doom and gloom. It's surely hard to motivate yourself to get out of bed in the morning when all around you are saying that the business in which you operate is both fundamentally flawed and in terminal decline – that the foundations on which it is built have undergone (in academic speak) a "paradigm shift" and that the values ascribed to your creative output are more likely to be measured in terms of social capital rather than in the form of a rent–cheque.

All the more difficult when your work is your vocation – the job that chose you (rather than the other way around). At least, that's how most musicians I've met describe their relationship

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to their job. "The job chose me – I wouldn't know what else to do, I don't know how to do anything else".

It takes doggedness to stay in music – a stubbornness to stick in for the long haul. Success is, after all, rarely an overnight sensation. More likely, it's a slow build over 5 – 10 years (or more) in which job-satisfaction comes in the form of step-by-step progression towards the goal, rather than measured simply in terms of cash for effort. It's always been this way. The only difference between "then" and "now" is that today's musician is operating in a brave new, digitally interconnected, environment – one in which nobody seems sure of the rules of play, who's in charge or what the future holds.

Back in 'yester-year', there was a comforting transparency in career progression. You formed a band; wrote some songs; played some gigs; came to the attention of A&R men; got signed; made an album; toured the album; made another album; toured some more etc. etc. Everybody worked for everybody else. The band took care of the music and faced the audience, and the supporting industries (management, record company, publisher, distributor etc.) made sure that it got to that audience and that everyone got paid. This model represented at best a symbiotic interdependency at worst a holding to ransom between the various parties involved. There were, of course, differently nuanced models: for example in the case of a record company or production company 'creating' a band and 'farming out' the song writing, or bands that released through their own labels).

There were (as there are) the big 6, 5 or 4 (depending on who you ask) major labels and a host of subsidiaries and independent labels. Not uncommonly a band would release first on an independent, move to a subsidiary and then on to one of the big guns as their success grew in stature.

We know – because we're told a thousand times a day – that the major labels find themselves in troubled times. We are also told that, in these straitened times, there is little to no investment in untested bands or music and that conservatism and sure-fire sales are the watchwords for the majors. The squeeze trickles down to the subsidiaries and the independents find themselves on a more level playing field, albeit it one increasingly over-populated by net-labels and similar DIY initiatives alongside a host of 3rd party sellers from iTunes to CD Baby. Money is increasingly stretched and competition increasingly tough. This, in essence, is the music industry's "crisis" and why we should, apparently, be 'on our knees'.

There is of course the occasional 'good news' story in and amongst the doom and gloom:

> "There's money's in live! There's money's in publishing and synchronisation!"
> "Vinyl is making a comeback! There will always be a market for have-and-hold!"

These rare nuggets of optimism are every bit as dubious as "end of the world" predictions that they seek to balance out.

For a band with an established and well-populated audience, live performance may well offer the most immediate route to monetisation of recorded product and related merchandise. For all but what has been dubbed the 'rock aristocracy' this does not hold true, however. The 'lower' and 'middle' classes struggle to break even on the live circuit in the absence of record company tour-support and ever-diminishing public funding for venues and government arts bodies. At the bottom end (or early career stage) "pay-to-play" is not uncommon. Thereafter it's often a case of sharing the bill with other bands and dividing up the modest income from ticket-sales-minus-costs. Out of town gigs have substantial, and often prohibitive, travel and

accommodation costs and touring, in the absence of financial support, can quickly bankrupt an artist or band.

Yes. There's money in synchronisation of music for television, film and advertising. But you need a publisher, aggregator or some other kind of inside track. Synchronisation is every musician's dream but in reality, for most musicians, its realisation is a 'dark art' – a mystery not fully understood.

Yes. Vinyl sales are increasing. However, they still only account for around 8% of a shrinking market and, rather perversely in my opinion, the majority purchased never make it out of the shrink-wrap – consumers preferring to listen to a digital version and keep the physical product as a souvenir.

Who dares wins

Those that will survive these turbulent times in music are those that make efforts to think positively in harnessing the new and many potentials that are afforded us by the age in which we live.

Community is the new commodity

As never before, we are able to connect and reconnect with fans of our music on the global arena. We can tap into ready-made communities or we can be involved in building one from scratch. The Internet is the meeting place of the like-minded as well as those of diametrically polarised opinions. We have at our disposal websites, artist pages, forums and social media to spread the word about our creative endeavour (and to discover those of our peers) – instantaneous two-way transmission across borders and time zones. We can measure our efficacy and adjust strategies according to numbers of 'hits', 'likes' and 'visits' and we can collate invaluable information through demographic profiling of those who interact with us.

Compare this, for a moment, to communities of old. There was, as there still is, the primary face-to-face community that embodied the live gig. Thereafter there were once-removed, national and international communities, united as fans through common passion for the music and through the common texts of fanzine and music press. In terms of artist/fan interaction, the luckiest of fans might fleetingly meet the artist backstage (or at the bar) or get an eventual reply to a snail mail fan letter in the handwriting of their favourite artist (or more likely that of an assistant).

We have more potential for control today, both as artist and as fan. We can posit and we can gainsay without ever having to lick a stamp. Information and its communication are in constant flow and evolution. The scale and immediacy of this dynamic new world is perhaps what we find so very daunting when trying to locate the business of music within it?

There are of course also downsides to this new cyber world running, as it does, alongside our physical interactions:

Everything we view is framed within a screen. Content is to a large extent homogenised through the use of menus, hyperlinks, thumbnails etc. Quality of image and sound is often compromised for the sake of compression and speeds of download and streaming. And there's the sheer scale of what's available in the cultural blizzard that is the ever-expanding Internet – and the downside specific to the artist, is how to be seen and heard in the whiteout that is other peoples' "contribution to culture".

Then, perhaps crucially, there's the amount of time we 'need' to spend keeping up with the multiple platforms through which we project and sell ourselves. We're told that we must regularly update the gamut of available content – photos, news, gigs, retweets from artists similar to ourselves – with optimised SEO from meta-data, to picture tagging, to hashtags. Oh, and then we have to also find time to write, rehearse, perform and record some music and take care of the boring stuff like tax, MCPS/PRS and PPL claims and communications with the more 'old-fashioned' aspects of the business like agents, bookers, promoters and press.

A case in point

Perhaps there is a golden mean to be achieved between the physical and virtual realities that shape and define our workplace? A recent example of such a hybrid approach is that of the Danish band, Efterklang (formed 2004).

After some half-a-dozen years establishing themselves on their local Copenhagen scene and touring throughout Europe with modest, though sustainable, success, Efterklang made the biopic An Island (2010) with renowned French filmmaker/director Vincent Moon. The resulting film offered fans a context within which to gain an understanding of the geographic and cultural roots of the band-members and was released through a dedicated website, on a worldwide Creative Commons licence. The masterstroke lay in the innovative mechanics of the film's distribution.

The website afforded fans the option to download for free in return for hosting a private/public screening in their home or other venue. The only stipulation was that there should be a minimum of five viewers in attendance. These five or more could be friends (private) or strangers (public) who could sign up on a first-come-first-served basis on the film's website. The band also encouraged group photos to be taken at each of the screenings and sent in for inclusion on a photomontage page on the site.

The initiative achieved more than 1200 downloads with an estimated 50,000 viewers in the time it was active. In doing so, over a thousand email addresses were harvested and, after reviewing private/public user data, a clear idea of geographically framed audience concentration and associated demographics could be arrived at – valuable in the planning of subsequent touring and marketing. Perhaps more importantly, Efterklang with Vincent Moon, had brought people together. Fans old and new, from far flung corners of the globe were physically united in the act of viewing An Island – a phenomenon that was capitalised on through the participants photo-montage on the film's website. As a busy international touring band (some 200 concerts annually), the band had been careful to keep a photographic record of audiences by taking snapshots from stage and uploading to social media. Fans photographing fans and uploading to the band's community pages represented a step further in terms of promoting audience empowerment through shared experience.

The venture represented an important staging post in their passage from releasing through the small independent Leaf Label to their new relationship with the 4AD label. With this move came an enhanced press and marketing budget as well as synchronisation deals through the label's publishing arm with clients such as Apple and Audi. Their debut album, Piramida, on 4AD went on to spawn the film Ghost of Piramida, distributed through a similar public/private model.

The music industry has always been difficult to navigate and has bestowed significant rewards to only a few of its many claimants. History is littered with anonymous artists and acts

that have come too late to the table by being been content to tread a path well travelled either in their music, in their attitude to business or, most catastrophically, both.

Innovation in product (both intellectual and physical) and route to market are key. The digital product has become almost entirely disposable following the growth in leasing platforms such as Spotify or the advertising funded YouTube and the market oversaturated with unfiltered content.

As this and similar examples illustrate, the music industry doesn't have to be perceived as being in crisis. Vestiges of the old industry remain but have been augmented by the many newcomers to the table. Changes are doubtlessly afoot – but change is not synonymous with crisis. Change is the primordial soup from which fresh perspectives and interactions are borne – fresh perspectives and interactions that keep us abreast of and in tune with the cultural zeitgeist.

If I'm to be true to the abstract that I submitted some months ago, I'm here to talk specifically about innovation in the jazz music sector. Here, examples of different thinking and original strategy are often less glamorous in their description. There are of course instances of successful jazz artist surfing the crest of a wave of contemporary culture. In recent times, Esbjörn Svesson Trio, Bad Plus and others tapped into a culture broader than jazz in borrowing presentation techniques from the intelligent end of popular music and winning over jazz and non-jazz fans alike. More latterly the band Snarky Puppy has enjoyed both international touring success as well as domestic critical plaudits in their native USA. In building their touring network, social media and ad-hoc, local street teams were key in building a profile for the band in a remarkably short time. In cities throughout Europe, Snarky Puppy went from playing small jazz clubs with audience capacity of less than one hundred, to concert halls with audiences in their thousands in a remarkably short timeframe. They achieved this by presenting themselves as approachable, community spirited (they are effectively a musical collective) and appealing directly to other musicians as well as music fans. And as the strategy was conducted on a global scale, the social media were indispensible.

Jazz, however, has its home primarily on the local scene, with only the very few artists and bands making it onto the international circuit. Here there are numerous examples of creativity in the presentation of recordings and live performance. The Internet has allowed artists to create and present a somewhat selective myth to their fans and fellow musicians. Carefully managed and continuously updated content in the form of photographs and texts on websites and social media portals are expected from all but the most eccentrically idiosyncratic of today's musicians. Publicity photographs make reference to the musician's ideal (be it the iconographies of Blue Note or ECM) or, in an attempt gain new audiences, borrow from non-jazz, and perceptually "cool", cultural strains. One might argue that musicians are simply engaging in what most users of social media aspire to: the projection of an idealised and highly selective image of who they are, or would like to be? The major difference is that, for the musician, this virtual shop window is a potential portal to the monetising of their art. It acts as an invite to gigs and lets fans know of new and archive recordings.

Direct monetisation of the art is predominantly achieved through the musician's two, inextricably linked, strands of business: live performance and recording. These are increasingly intertwined as each has become dependent on the other. Gigs pay little and the fee can be meaningfully enhanced by selling CDs; CDs generally don't sell well anywhere other than at the gig.

One might reasonably accuse jazz musicians as having been slow off the mark, at in relation to their cousins in the popular industries, in adapting to new technologies and adopting complementary strategies. The reasons for this being the case are too many and too complex to do justice to here but it's worth pointing out nonetheless. In order to sustain, jazz necessarily has to reinvent on a variety of levels. As a minority music, jazz relies on the balancing of very tight financial margins and, this reality often breeds a lack of ambition and, ironically for an improvised genre, imagination amongst its musicians.

4.8. Deka – skate, illustration and the other side of the skateboard

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Abstract

Skate and skatebording culture emerge from the street space, which simultaneously influences artists, designers, illustrators, musicians, writers, filmmakers and creatives. The Deka project focuses on this relationship between the urban culture of skateboarding and illustration and the expressions that this relationship trigger. To this research, various activities were structured throughout 2013, such as artistic events, a graphic diary and the participation on the 'Milhões de Festa' festival, with the outreach event 'Dekalhões', where was spurred an environment that combined art, illustration, music and local skaters, wrapped in a diverse audience. The action plan was structured in order to promote new artists and the skate culture in Northern Portugal, through research and analysis of intervention opportunities at public events, physical spaces and digital universes. It is sustained that this urban counter-culture is an opportunity to enhance and Express creativity and the case study of the research reinforces its potential to become a starting point for artistic intervention. dekaday.tumblr.com

Keywords: illustration, skate, urban culture

Background and context

The practical-based project happens with the aim of combining and bringinf to Skateboarding other parallel perspectives. Having Skateboarding as a starting point, from it emerge associated various hypotheses or ideas to explore: (i) skate as inspiration for artistic creation, (ii) in the dissemination and support to the activity and (iii) as an agent of integration of all the surrounding culture in a new context.

Allied to Graffiti and Music, Skate emerges from the street space, influencing artists, designers, illustrators, musicians, writers, directors, designers and other creatives. Faced with this dimension, the Deka project examined, in an applied research, a point of convergence where it conceives opportunities for an intervention. It is intended, with this strategy, to highlight distinct subcultures soaked by the underground and that are outside of a mainstream system, projecting independent creators or other forms of cultural expression. In this sense, its ambition is to generate artistic work and visual expression for its promotion, to promote and to collaborate with new artists and mostly to highlight Skateboarding as a voluble and singular modality.

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An (brief) historical review

In the late 1940s and early 1950s of 20th century, the object Skate becomes associated to Surf in California. With the shortage of waves and low tides the skateboarders sought an alternative and built their own skateboards for urban practice, that after development became known as "sidewalk surfing" or street surf.

However, the concept of Skate at the time was quite primitive and consisted in a reproduction adapted from the Surf; this modality was practiced barefoot and on slopes, the manoeuvres were similar to the Surf as if it is an extension of the aquatic environment to land.

A short time later, with more and more followers and after constant variations in the suitability of movements and way of skating, changes emerged Skateboard and has established itself increasingly, developing a singular vocabulary. Companies have noticed the growing phenomenon and started producing boards from layers of pressed wood and specific trucks for Skates, giving a better consistency and use by the skaters who began inventing tricks as handstands, manuals or 360º.

Alongside this, appeared the first competitions and teams and in 1965 occurs the first television transmission of a skate contest in Anaheim on the channel ABC's Wide World of Sports with only two categories: the flatland freestyle and the slalom downhill racing.

At the same time, alternatively other skaters were exploring new concepts, as practice in empty pools by sinuosity and speed that could reach, contributing to the design of a new environment and style and for the evolution of this modality in a way that exploits and adapts to any medium, feature that continues today.

Everything changed when Frank Nasworthy designed the first urethane wheels "Cadillac Wheel" that achieve a higher traction, flexibility and durability, contrary to the primitive clay wheels. The skateboard reaches the necessary impulse to turn into something more. In 1975 the Zephyr Team debut in freestyle championships, founded by Jeff Ho and Skip Engblom, and distinguished himself by bringing together the best "skater-surfers" of Dogtown, the Z-Boys: Stacy Peralta, Tony Alva, Jay Adams or Jim Muir presented a new style, attitude and way of skating defining new parameters for the future. The Z-Boys were fluid, quick and had style, differentiating itself from an earlier generation that was rigid, property and quite technical.

At that time, the magazine Quarterly Skateboarder changes its name to Skateboarder and after the second edition and under the pseudonym of John Smythe, the articles and photos of the documentary photographer, skater, artist and writer Craig R. Stecyk contribute to create the myth Dogtown and of the Z-Boys. In his first article "Aspect of the Downhill Slide" (Stecyk, 1975), comes one of the most quoted phrases in the history of skateboarding:

> "Two hundred years of American technology has unwittingly created a massive cement playground of unlimited potential. But it was the minds of 11 year olds that could see that potential." C.R. Stecyk (1975)

In 1978 another important moment occurs, Alan Gelfand – nicknamed by friends for "Ollie" – invents a movement that allows jump and hold the skate without hand support. Later, the trick adopts the name of "Ollie Pop" and is arguably the most important trick in the history of skateboarding. "Ollie" was the beginning, which opened the way to the evolution of multiple combinations causing other new tricks as aerials, or inverts marking a new era that looked move away from the world of surf.

Between 80 and 90's, the Skateboarding continues to grow and to assert itself as counter-culture. The skaters begin to build their own structures at the back of the house and moved

to the skate parks and streets, at the same time the shape of the boards is modified in order to overcome obstacles and to adapt the new movements. Born the VHS technology and the start of production of skate videos reaching an worldwide audience. The Skate video became a promotional tool most powerful for skate brands enabling them to define an identity. This technology allowed a evolution of Skateboard since it was possible observe new skaters, tricks, techniques or styles.

At the end of the 1980s, the Skateboard declines again by economic recession, which precipitated the end of the skate park era by the lack of security, the collapse of many skate manufacturers and the posterior end of the magazine Skateboarder.

However, the skate parks were replaced by structures made by skaters or by the invasion of pools. As a consequence, Skateboarding re-emerged into a symbol of counter-culture and also as a signal of the times that they lived. The Skateboarding has become underground and clandestine, adopting a value of social and cultural identity by the Do-It-Yourself from the Punk Rock scene. The culture of skateboard and the music intersected and fecundated themselves, mutually sharing an individualism by disregard and iconoclastic style.

During this change, born in 1981 the Thrasher Magazine by Kevin Thatcher and Fausto Vitello (Independent Trucks), which became the bible of the rebel skater econsolidating a rebellious image, of controversy by the motto "skate and destroy" against the clean image of surf-skate perpetuated in the 70s by the media. To the magazine, and this new wave were intrinsic Skate Punk bands as Jodie Foster's Army, Black Flag or Suicidal Tendencies, by the dissemination of music collections in each issue.

Skaters as Steve Rocco and Rodney Mullen continue to invent more complex freestyle tricks. Mullen took the "Ollie" of Gelfand and turned it into a trick with more pop and gradually other skaters as Mark Gonzales, Natas Kaupas or Tommy Guerrero will use the tricks of Rodney Mullen in the streets and will completely revolutionize the "street skating" allowing new challenges over banks, stairs, gaps or rails.

The change from the Vert to the streets precipitated a global change in the culture of Skate. The suburban skate park and the homemade half-pipe with followers from the Punk Rock became a flexible and multicultural urban scene, where skaters of different urban tribes boosted abandoned spaces of the 60s into authentic ready-made skateparks.

Skateboarding nowadays

Skateboarding has been extended by the commercialization of brands, by the competitions such as X-Games or Street League Skateboarding and by the media coverage sometimes contradicting concepts or ideals that are linked to the origins of Skate.

On the other hand, alternative and movements appears by individuals and independent brands as an example of Pontus Alv and the Swedish brand Polar Skate Co. These companies are made of people who observed that something was missing in the world of skateboarding and that they intended to distance themselves of purely commercial and profitable trends, devoting a look on the skateboard in its pure form under the manifest of the importance of this state. Pontus Alv believes in the capacity of the Skateboarding by the union in community, for fun in turn be standardized and packed. By the DIY spirit, also defends the importance of the reappropriation of abandoned spaces by the use in a positive and constructive way, moving away skaters of their comfort zone. The formula for success of Pontus and Polar is defined by thinking the Skateboarding as a centralized action in people's lives. In 2005, Pontus Alv

portrays a singular vision of skateboarding by the debut of "The Strongest of the Strange", whose title comes from a poem of Charles Bukowski and it works as documentary and video artist.

Based on the above here, we can say that skateboarding is able to reinvent themselve and now his incarnation corresponds to a post-modern miscellany of historical consciousness and of a contemporary focus. As Rock Music, the Skateboarding may appropriate features from its past in a recreational cycle and today is a fusion of tastes, sometimes uneven, styles and images.

"DEKA"

The project arises from a discussion under the Masters in Illustration and Animation from the Polytehcnic Institute of Cávado and Ave (Barcelos, Portugal), October 2012. Through a discussion of ideas the theme of skateboarding was identified as a research area of common interest.

Through the Deka Project, it is proposed to promote copyright work in the areas of Illustration, Urban Art and Communication Design, with Skate as main inspiration, related to the world of Skate, as well to participate and organize events or cultural manifestations. The Project looked up and created the necessary conditions to mix art, illustration, music, local skater community, wrapped with a diverse audience.

After a brief analysis to the national skateboarding overview, especially in the North of the Portugal, we noticed that the number of supporters has been constantly increasing, as well as the quality of those who practice. Public support for this modality is scarce and, in some cases, investment is made in public works to preclude the practice of sport.

The action plan was structured in order to promote new artists and the skate culture in Northern Portugal, through research and analysis of intervention opportunities at public events, physical spaces and digital universes.

Sketchbook – DEKADAY

Initially, we decided to create a blog with the purpose of producing practical and experimental content for the project and, at the same time, provide a digital portfolio presentation of our work. "Pandora Complexa"[3] is an illustration project developed by Júlio Dolbeth and Rui Vitorino Santos. One of the objectives quoted by the authors was a pledge to make at least one illustration per day. They then created a blog where they upload the pictures side by side.

Following this philosophy, we adapt the concept of blog/sketchbook for this project. We decided to use the web platform Tumblr in the first instance, for its freedom in terms of programming (HTML) and allow customizing the page without the constraints imposed by other platforms with template service. Another decisive factor is that Tumblr is a social networks where each user has its customizable page and it's able to follow, reblog, exchange messages, etc. Thus it is easy to get feedback of our showcase. Unlike other web social networks, Tumblr is prepared to display animations in GIF format. Finally, it is a platform where multimedia sharing is the main content and where a high proportion of users are young.

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[3] Available at http://pandoracomplexa.blogspot.pt/

A template was created with the shape of two skate decks where they are then assembled the illustrations. The theme and technique has always been free but in some instances we worked on the same concept. Dekaday was the name given to the blog that result by combining the words "deck a day", which literally reflects the main objective of this Blog – to illustrate a board every day.

Figure 1 - Illustrations from Dekaday

The DEKA brand

The next step is to create a brand with which we could sign and develop work related skateboard and illustration. We created "Deka" as the name, for the obvious connection to "Dekaday" and can also be interpreted as the feminine of "deck" ("tábua" in Portuguese). Through the study of various urban artists as Shepard Fairey, Barry McGee, Margaret Kilgallen, Rigo23, we developed a logo that identifies the brand through a pictogram, which resulted in a graphically stylized skateboard deck without wheels, in an unreal physical twist levitating in the air.
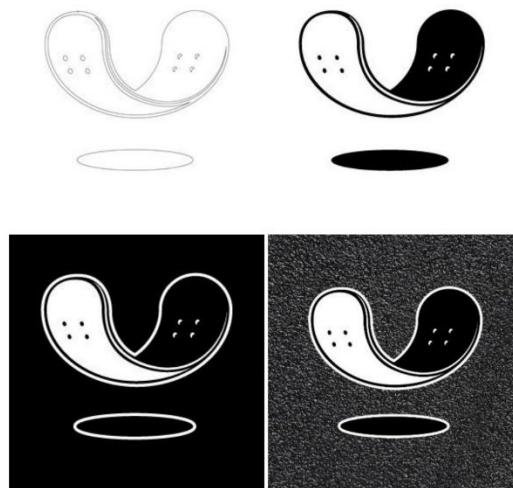
Figure 2 - Studies of Deka logo

After designing the logo we decided to create an animated version of it to apply in video or web formats. We use the process of traditional animation, where each movement corresponds to an image and we chose the GIF format. The movement consists in extending the idea of levitation in the air, implicit in the static image. The final version of the logo has no typographic information or brand name associated by choice. Thus, we can work typography with complete freedom for each situation that requires it. Following a more poetic vision of the pictogram without a textual identification, this can acquire an enigmatic and encrypted interpretation for those who don't identify with the world of skateboarding, or who simply don't know the project. During this phase we had the opportunity to collaborate with the brand "Cão Azul"4, which has expressed interest in creating a special collection of t-shirts illustrated by the authors of Deka. We developed a series of 10 t-shirts, 5 each author, reused and adapted from illustrations posted on Dekaday.5

Figure 3 - Assignment of the logo on photo

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4 Cão Azul is a Portuguese online store of t-shirts known by the humour and social satire used in their products.
5 Available at http://t-lab.caoazul.com/loja/font-color000000dekafont-c-219.html?language=en

Figures 4 and 5 - Illustrations for Cão Azul

The project was also presented on art exhibitions and galleries, and for these interventions the art project became analogical, as the illustrations were drawned directly on wood skateboarding decks.

Figure 6 - Illustrations for "Dia D" and "Laissez Faire" exhibitions

In parallel with these activities, a Facebook page was created, regularly updated with news about the project, skateboarding and art related matters. We also developed music Podcast, mixed with illustration and skateboarding. We invited skaters to develop a short list of songs that they thought appropriate to the practice of skateboarding and later illustrate the cover of this podcast according to the choice of music and the skater in matter. We also had the collaboration of the artists Chuaga and Birita with occasional illustrations dedicated to skateboard theme.
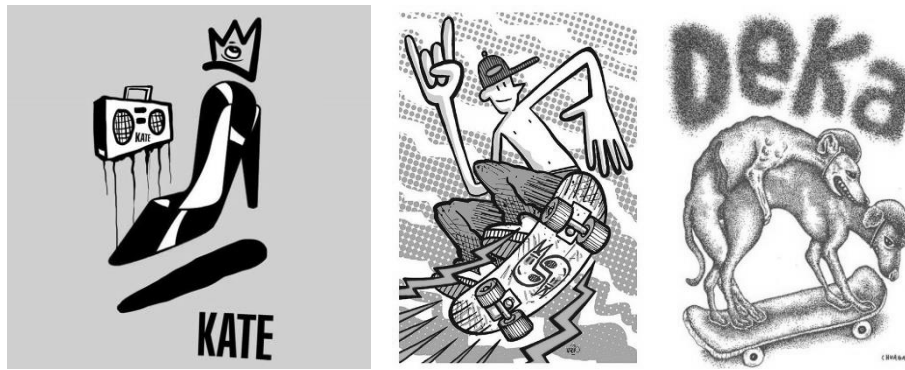
Figure 7 - Kate Skateshop Podcast cover; Birita and Chuaga illustrations

DEKALHÕES

Through the study of various case studies, we decided to implement the project on a music and urban culture festival. Since we had a short time to plan, we determined that it would interesting to "infiltrate" in a already existing festival which didn't relied on our overall organization, but that could take part. The first option was "Milhões de Festa" in Barcelos, a festival organized by the record label "Lovers & Lollypops" that fits into the urban culture scene, which is connected to this project. For the physical space of our event we choose "Lugar dos Poetas". It is an area usually frequented by skaters from Barcelos for the qualities of the pavement, appropriated to the practice of skateboarding. The name "Dekalhões" arose from the mesh-up between "deka" and "milhões".

Initially we contacted the principal mentor of the record label and event, Joaquim Durães, and expressed our interest in collaborating on the event "Milhões de Festa" by boosting a space that embraces skateboarding, illustration and music in a relaxed environment in order to promote the practice of skateboarding and art. After we get a positive response to our interest to cooperate, we scheduled a meeting to introduce ourselves personally, explain the context of the research project and its practical component, expose our ideas for the event, place and answer questions.

Established contact and approved the proposal by the local skate community and the City Council, we moved to the preparation and implementation of Dekalhões event. We conduct research on structures to skate, what materials used, different construction methods, and from this information we prepared a document with the structures projects required for the event – measures, materials and quantities – which was later handed over the municipaly workshops.

Finalized the structures, we invited illustrators Birita, Chuaga, HeyMikel, Laro Lagosta and Joel Torres to create an illustration for each structure that addressed the theme of skateboarding. The aim was to create structures that would serve as an exhibitor piece while serving their skateboarding function. Thus, the illustrations assume an ephemeral character caused by wear from the practice of skateboarding on structures.

Figure 8 - HeyMikel, Laro Lagosta and Artur Escarlate illustrations

At this stage, we registered Deka on Youtube (Deka Tube) 6, a website that lets you upload and share videos in digital format, in order to publish promotional videos about the event, and the creation of new Deka videos, providing an online video library. For the event, we published a promotional video, a video preview showing some work in progress and a post event video that summarizes the best moments of Dekalhões.

The event lasted 3 days and activities happened between 2:00 and 7:00 p.m. We rely on the presence of several festival goers, bands and artists who performed live in public space in Praça dos Poetas, as well as the participation of several skaters from Barcelos and other regions of the country. On the first day performed "Spacin"7, a psychedelic rock band with influences from the lo-fi panorama and garage rock that came from Philadelphia. On the second day it was "Robotic Sessions"8 turn, a duo Dj that animated the afternoon for several hours, putting songs from Rock, Indie, Electronic and Hip-Hop. Later performed a one man Grindcore band "Anal Penetration"9 originated from the Netherlands. Roel Nijdam, the only element of this band produces the rhythm of his music through digital means, which subsequently adds the dimension of voice and guitar solo. During the afternoon we also proposed a skate contest, where we assign prizes for the best tricks. In the third and final day we had the presence of "Camera"10, a band from Berlin composed by Franz Bargmann, Drummer Michael and Timm Brockmann which, by invitation of Videoteca Bodyspace in partnership with Milhões de Festa, held a short concert to end the first edition of Dekalhões.

Closing remarks

The practice of skateboarding is an activity related to the sense of freedom, creativity and some irreverence that, throughout its evolution, was acquired as identity. These features are

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[6] Website oficial do Deka Tube http://www.youtube.com/channel/UC9H0lihLGxl1UlOCw72n1Bg/

[7] Website oficial da banda http://spacin.bandcamp.com/

[8] Facebook oficial da dupla https://www.facebook.com/RoboticSessions

[9] Website oficial da banda http://analpenetration.bandcamp.com/

[10] Facebook oficial dos Camera https://www.facebook.com/wearecamera

easily transported and related to the creative process, an artistic and cultural context, inspiring and spontaneously influencing their various audiences. To develop the project, framed in this area, required the research of skateboarding culture background and framework, the intrinsic social and cultural phenomena, and even personal and individual relationship with the environment.

Action research was the methodology that validated this research process, from studies carried and adapted to the practice of the present case, the authors favored the involvement in the activities in question through experimentation. From the first moment, illustration was enhanced with skate culture, assuming an original, creative and artistic character, making a new vehicle for artistic expression.

Experimentation and exploration of design and illustration, as a creative methodology, built up a significant amount of work that graphically frame the study. The exploration of graphic design and digital media allowed to explore and to understand different areas of study, while acting in the field and interacting with the different audiences that support it. Through this experimentation was possible to build a solid proposal on the skateboard scene in Portugal, where illustration and art work converge with it.

The next steps of Deka will include new concepts and new ways of relating skateboarding and illustration. This project, assuming the relationship between skateboarding and art, allows an intense interaction between authors and communities, in a do-it-yourself attitude that sets ground for the skateboarding pleasure and reveals new possibilities for engagement.

Figure 9 - Dekalhões photos by Nuno Figueiredo

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4.9. *Social media is the new punk.* User experience, social music and diy culture

Giovanni Prattichizzo[1]

Abstract

In the digital convergence culture (Jenkins, 2006) and in the network society (Castells, 1996) the theories of personal branding, social identity, and the two-step flow of communication have become intertwined to create a model through which individuals and musicians share and embrace music.

This paper examines the rise of social network for music involving both the practices of use and consumption and those of creation, sharing and distribution of innovative and independents musical reality. Social media have introduced radical changes in social and musical practices increasing the ability of creation from the bottom in contrast to mainstream. Moreover, thanks to performativity, collaboration and participation offering by Web 2.0, fit fully in culture "DIY 2.0" offering an interesting chance for the emerging underground music.

Keywords: social music, DIY culture, social media, neo-tribalism, consumer engagement

Introduction

Music is an active and essential ingredient in the composition of social and identity experience. The alliance between social network and music, as underlined by Digital Music Report 2013, proves itself more and more successful: music, with the Tv programs and cinema, are among the most discussed topics on Facebook and Twitter and, according to some research, shows that 9 out of 10 figure followed on Facebook are music artists. In this field comes true the so-called *Remediation* so music is rewritten, reproduced, socialized and shared in the new digital format and communicative (Bolter & Grusin, 1999).

This article aims to place two analytic issues on the agenda for cultural sociology and cultural studies. The first issue concerns the ways which some applications allow audience to consume, to make partecipative experience of musical underground practices and to create new creative contents turning in media and distributors. The question here is how Web 2.0 applications are enabling a reconfiguration of the relations and organization of music culture and user experience.

The second issue concerns some case studies of social network that represent an interesting chance for the emerging underground bands and to promote music groups unknown or new talent.

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Cultural practices and users experience in the Social Network Society

«If you do not care about the networks, the networks will care about you, anyway. For as long as you want to live in society, at this time and in this place, you will have to deal with the network society. Because we live in the Internet Galaxy» (Castells, 2001, p. 13). In the twenty century the *Social Network Society* takes the place of mass society and is formed by individuals whose relationships are not exhausted in face to face, but they are in the network new spaces community and participatory which are distinguished from those organic and traditional (Van Dijk, 1999).

At the base of the *Social Network Theory* (Barnes, 1954; Milgram's, 1967; Granovetter,1973) there is the possibility to study a social system through the network of relationships of which the social system is formed. The value of a social network is established so not so much from the extension of its ramifications, as by the way in which the interaction between multiple individuals unable to shape or modify the relation and the behavior. The theoreticians of the network society say, therefore, that «a growing number of social, political and economic practices of institutions and relations are organized around the figure of the network» (Barney, 2004, p. 27). Within a decade the network has become the «dominant cultural logic» (Varnelis, 2008, p. 145) and the networks of the network society tend to be completely global, relational and social.

We are opposite a new paradigm that redraws fully the technological context and the social and cultural practices, in which the same idea of network is not a simple metaphoric representation of the current time, but it appears as the keystone, the pivot around which rotates the entire society characterized by nodes, connections, shares and ties. We live fully immersed in the social and cultural system different than in the past (even the recent past) in which the dynamics of creation, dissemination, consumption and sharing of cultural products, based on potentiality evolutionary, fluid, reticular and informal of networks, triumph. Therefore the attention is increasingly focused on the processes of social networking and on spread of communicative practices that derive from (*downloading, uploading, UGC, peer to peer, crowdsourcing*).

This digital revolution, in its impact with structures and social practices, clearly involves also the production, creation, storage and distribution of cultural products and services and causes an intense change in the cultural industries (Garnham, 1990) that represent both a vehicle that an addressee of the profound redefinition of medial scenarios. At the same time, there is a change in the ways of production and circulation of symbolic, mythical and cultural forms of society. A digital Renaissance that pervades the horizon of co-evolution between the media system and society (Boccia Artieri, 2008) leading to a *world-media* (Boccia Artieri, 2004). In this sense, media are no longer only technologies, but become environments: are characterized as real "places" in which to experience daily and structure new social relations, territories of production and trading of languages and of symbolic forms, contexts for the construction of meanings, individual and collective, places of cognitive and body dwelling.

Web 2.0, then, has represented a social and technological innovation and a real discontinuity in the processes of human communication whose main innovation is to be a medium in which «the most evident feature are the people» (Bennato, 2011, p. IX). The Web appears, therefore, as a *social liquid ecosystem*, iridescent and changeable, in which the users are "social migrants" in search of sharing of meaning and sense, as part of the construction of their identity that includes the entire production of the self. Web 2.0 is like a *collective*

allotment (Gauntlett, 2011) at the center of which there is the idea that web sites and online services become more powerful if they accept a network of potential collaborators.

First, through the network the same consumption turns into a collective process, implemented by its culture of participation.

Secondly, the social value of the web is characterized by the personal profile and from the interaction with the other manifesting its own presence. This means that spread new models of sociality, or as Simmel said, of *sociability*: «Togetherness, the sheer pleasure of the company of others» (1945). The profound transformations caused by these forms of cultural production lead in the existence of new social spaces, created by the interaction between grassroots media and corporations, between producers and consumers. A time these spaces were limited to the virtual communities analyzed by Rheingold through a metaphor that sees their development compared to the traditional communities, which live the transformation from small agricultural centers in modern society, where within take form new economies and new ways of sharing and participation (Rheingold, 1993). Today blogs, social networking, and other platforms of the web 2.0 create opportunities for sharing and common coexistence. The community become «networks of interpersonal ties that provide sociability, support, information, a sense of belonging, and social identity» (Wellman, 2001, p.18).

Social media, produced by a *software culture* (Manovich, 2008), represent an umbrella term that encompasses all applications that allow for sharing of user generated content. These are tools that encourage communication, collaboration and participation of the users, have no particular barriers that restrict access, facilitating the formation of community and are connected to each other (Mayfield, 2008, p. 5). According to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) we can define them as «a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allows the creation and exchange of User-generated content» (ibid., p. 61).

«The web is more a social innovation that a technical innovation» (Berners Lee, 1999, p. 84) and social media aren't merely technological but make a change of perspective that involves many dimensions of life and of human society, inaugurating a new way of thinking about the relationships in the world (Colombo, 2013) and to consider the communicative reality of our lives.
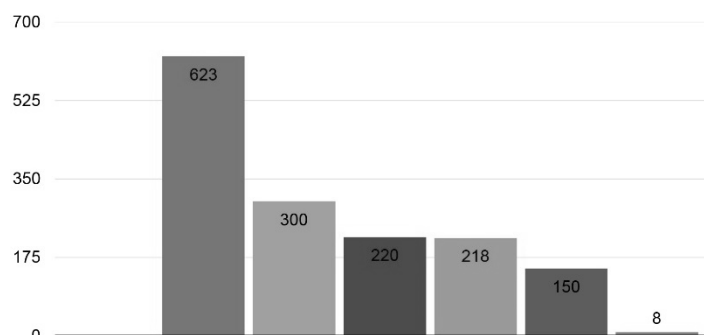
Figure 1 - Social Media in the World 2014
Source: vincos.it

Data in the report "Social, Digital and Mobile in Europe 2014" emphasizes the spread of the online world in everyday life by implementing a constant reference between real and virtual and canceling any opposition between online and offline. In Europe there are 293 million active users on social media. The Internet penetration in Italy is 58% while the social network is 42%.

As regards the time spent on social media, Italy is one of the countries in Europe where you spend more time, more or less 2 hours, about half an hour more a day than the European average.
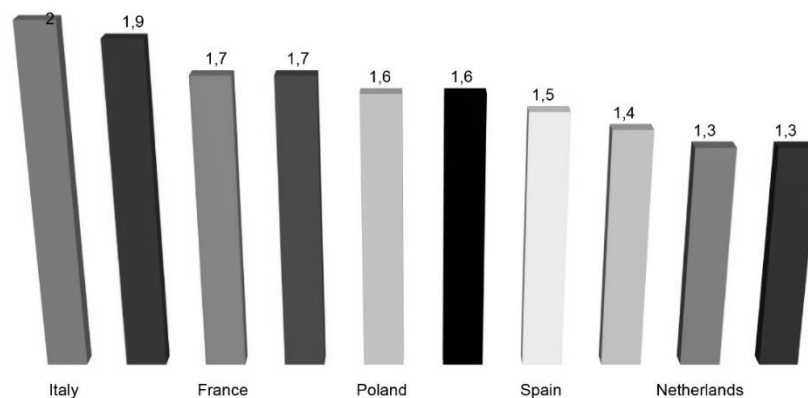
Figure 2 - Time spent on Social media in Europe
Source: Social, Digital & Mobile in 2014

Between social networking sites, Facebook boasts a today a billion of users active in the world and in Italy is used by 82% of individuals. In this sense, represents a tool "transversal" both from the viewpoint of the user, as under the contents.
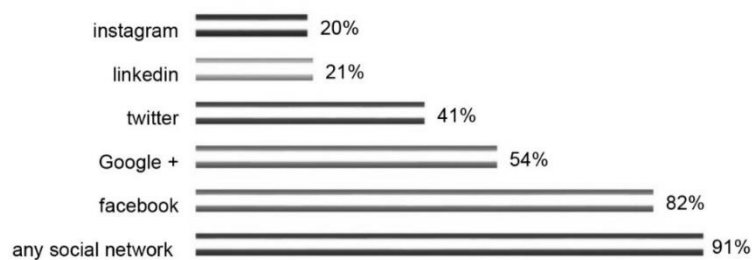
Figure 3 - Use of social media in Italy
Source: Social, Digital & Mobile in 2014

According to data of Report Istat "Citizens and ICT 2011", 53.8% of Internet users consult a wiki to gather information, 48.1% creates a user profile, send messages, or other on Facebook, Twitter. Social network are not only used as a tool to maintain relationships in their network of friends, but also as a tool for information and communication on social, musical or political issues (22.8%). Smaller shares are recorded for those who use the web to

participate in consultations or voting on social or political issues, such as signing a petition (8.6%), and to participate in professional networks such as LinkedIn and Xing (8.3%).

Almost all the internet users aged 6 and over can use a search engine (94,2%) and a very high share can send an email whit attachments. Over half of the Internet users can send messages via chat, newsgroup o blog (52,7%) and 41,3% is able to post texts, games, pictures, illustrations, films or music, onto social networking websites.
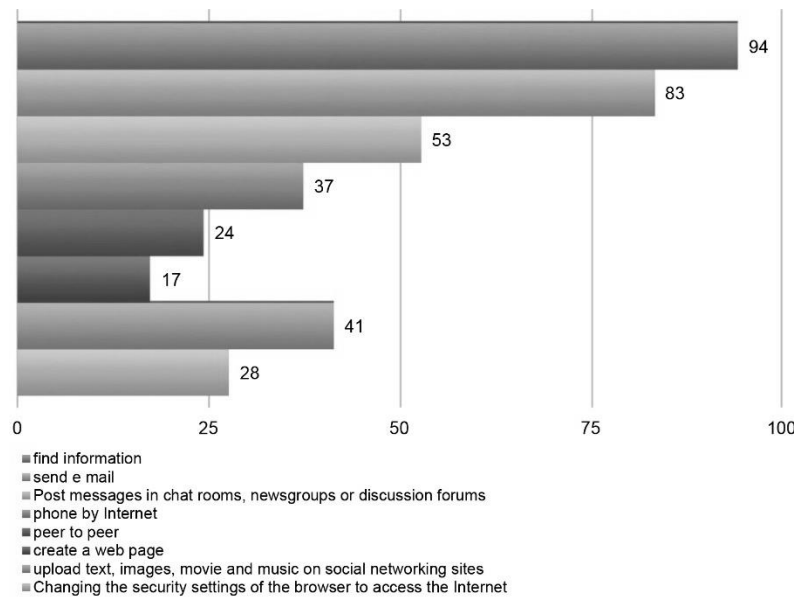
Figure 4 - Reasons of use of Web and social network in Italy
Source: Istat 2011

These data demonstrates a maturity of the network capable of becoming social and cultural environment; a place able to re-mediate not only the technical features of earlier social media (Bolter & Grusin, 1999) but also our identity, our personalities, and codes of production and cultural consumption. Social network, therefore, become the condominiums of the network and the individual is absolute protagonist of *reticular creatives theaters*. If it's true that social networking multiply and innovate the occasions of production and reproduction of social capital, the subject brings more and more tactics of resistance with which revolutionizes objects and code, and take possession of the space and the use in its own way (De Certau, 1980). User, through social practices in network, is more active, creative and involved. Not only participatory culture, not only prosumers who create contents and placing them in the digital flow rather than individuals, that Bruns calls *produser* (2008), which incorporate media objects (video, images, music, etc) in their own lives in the very way in which they share, associate them to another object medial, modify them.

Social network are, by now, storytelling of our lives by extending the opportunity to be *anytime and anywhere*: perpetually *connected audience*. Finally, social media, immersing ourselves in a culture of making, build and share, modify the idea of creativity to be considered as totally as a process. It says a new creativity restless of the *sailors/artists*, consumed *bricolaeur,* nomads, which produce inexhaustible forms of mash-up artistic and pass through the many media territories, increasingly expanded, without owning never one; more and more

by tenants. Therefore, develop new routes and new ways to preside over the cultural sense and observe and share musical practices in multiple and relational perspectives.

Underground music plays in social media

Music is a substantial dimension for experimentation of cultural practices through which new generations are formed, live experience of cultural elaboration and production of social reality. Music is culture (Merriam, 1977, p. 204) and *counterculture*, total social fact (Mauss, 1923-1924), able to manifest those crucial moments of the daily experience that, in their becoming, involve the plurality overall of social levels. Therefore, the question is not only *what* music makes users, but also what users make *to music and with music.* Music is, then, active and dynamic force able to construct paths and lifestyles.

In particular, in the network society practices of creation, promotion and musical consumption tend to new and original convergence. The spheres of the ideation music, through the potential permitted from the "digital revolution", offer the possibility to create the *your own independent music* through users generated contents which have led to a crisis industrial practices consolidated. Moments of aggregation and collective socialization are multiplied favoring, at the same time, new dimensions of enjoyment and cultural private production that, from the domestic sphere transfer in the public arena. There is a possibility, for anyone, to heard their *digital musical voice.*

The creative and expressive potentiality of the artistic productions and the ways of musical use have undergone significant changes with the introduction of digital technologies and social media. For example, for many consumers search for music, inquire, possibly by probing the opinions of other lovers, taste it (with the "pre-listen to") and to buy it, have become interconnected operations within a continuous, constant and collaborative process. In the past newsgroups and forums have represented the first significant models of instruments for interaction focused on music and for the formation of transnational music communities. The storytelling of the experience of media consumption plays an increasingly important role: connected audience aggregate around a particular theme music and exchange, through *reflective communities* (Beck, Giddens, Lash, 1994), their music menu and use them to connect with other user-portals.

In general, music has always played a leading role in the diffusion of communication technologies and locates in social media its *raison d'etre* as it was born to be consumed, exchanged and shared. The same file-sharing disseminated thanks to compression format mp3, specially designed for the exchange of music files: activities of *prosumerismo* pre-digital can be traced in the creation of personal compilations by the user. The remix isn't born with the digital but, without a doubt, the network allows an extension of the sphere of producers and consumers by putting them in faster and more immediate dialogic relations. Each subject, today, is followed by its own "cloud music" capable to gather content, media and software tools which we can access at any time and from any place without hindrance going well beyond the channels of free use of music and music videos, such as Youtube.

The users are increasingly performative and use applications 2.0 that expand the possibilities of interaction and cooperation between users. Therefore, the networks become spaces not only in which exchange, share and buy music without constraints materials, but also co-production environments, implementing the collaborative dimension with the contents generation. It enjoys music without passing through the commercial filters of industry: there is a real *disintermediation* «the formal logic by which new media refashion and improve prior

media forms, and prior media refashion themselves to respond to the challenges of new media» (Bolter & Grusin 1999, p.15).

Once	Now
Audience	Users
Computer	Co-creations
Listeners	Contributors
Customers	Peers
Purchase	Production / Promotion

Table 1 - Digital Ecosystem of music
Source: Gianni Sibilla 2012

Let's look at some of these applications. *Mog* is one of the most popular social network focused on music. His slogan sets out clearly: *discover people through music and music through people.* The platform allows you to publish a profile with your own preferences, and their audience (by means of software that tracks the music available and heard on your computer) to receive news and tips based on such information, to upload and share songs and music videos accompanied by user reviews and comments, to find *moggers* with similar taste and know what they are listening to.
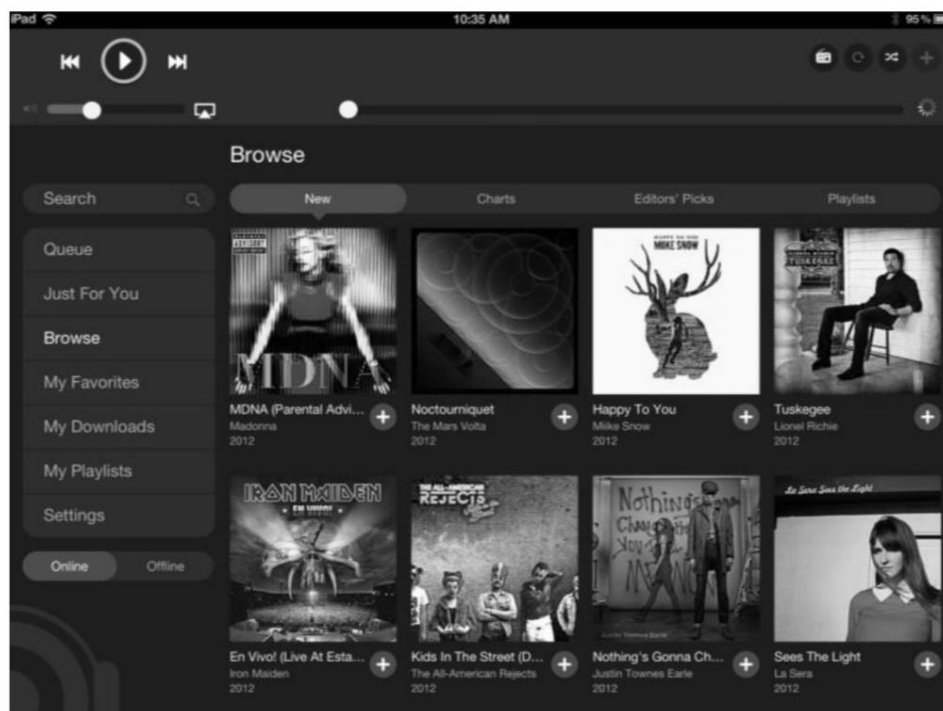
Figure 5 - Mog
Source: www.mog.com

Lately Let's Loop has arrived on the italian scene of social network devoted to music. The british web site, created by Richard Deans and Chris McEldowney, promises to become popular on the international scene as an integrated platform able to provide the user a listening experience streaming to 360 degrees, totally free, even for non-members. *Discover. Music. Together.* This is the slogan of this social network in which, once registered, you can create a true music profile online, with favorite artists, publishing and sharing Loop (which may include songs, albums, artists, link content, playlists), and following, as well as on Twitter, people who share the same taste in music.

The most striking feature is the centrality that music takes in every field of the experience: you can buy songs by means of iTunes at any time, or to continue to listen to music through a player outside, to allow you to surf at the same time on other pages. A virtual place wholly focused on music in which follow the events of favorite singers, listen to custom radio, peep between the pages of each artist with photos, reviews and events (thanks to Songklick). The social aspect, on the other hand, doesn't seem to pass over the limits of reserve, with settings that can be easily adjusted by the user. A further aspect of Let's Loop concerns the existence of rankings for songs, artists, users, events that everyone can help update constantly giving your affirmative or negative vote with a simple click.
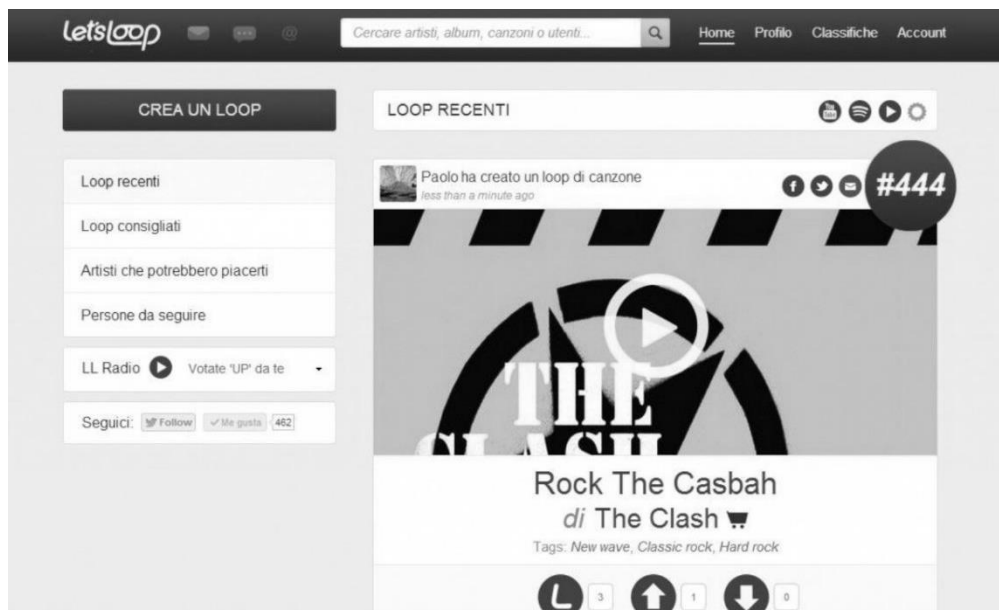
Figure 6 - Let's Loop
Source: www.letsloop.com

Last.fm, then, represents a sort of fusion between an information portal of customized music and social network in which the user is guided in the discovery of a new music based on their tastes. Allows you to tag your music heard, associating it freely to other keywords and thus creating new *folk* taxonomies shareable by other users. From this Web page you can also create a Web radio station, to find information about musicians and see what our friends are listening to.

Figure 7 - Last.Fm
Source: www.lastfm.it

Pandora was born in 2000 in the United States and is based on the *Music Genome Project*, an initiative brought to baptism by a group of artists and technicians to create a project that would allow to reproduce music as close as possible to the preferences of the listener. Pandora can be, in fact, defined a system of music "DIY": by means of a registration, the user enters a song, that is cataloged in the Pandora's archive. From here, through an algorithm, the system gives life to a playlist of songs in line with the tastes of who is using the system. Songs that can be listened to like radio or managed by the user. One of the advantages of Pandora is that cannot be assimilated to a online radio station, that "passes" the most popular songs of the moment. The system is able to find songs less popular or tracks emerging groups. Of course, all songs are transmitted through licensing agreements with the authors.

With the clouding, in essence, the dematerialization of the music comes to total realization: from music "solid" of LP, passing by the "liquidity" of mp3, to arrive, finally, to a state "gas", in *the cloud*. Other players of this era are the *net labels*, i.e. record labels DIY that have begun to produce discs, ep, often distributed only in liquid form on the internet, in mp3, with Creative Commons license.

At the same time, social network are becoming increasingly central to know groups and emerging artists and the realities related to underground music. The forerunner was MySpace: the famous "a place for friends", created in 2003 by Tom Anderson and characterized by the interconnection of personal profiles, the ability to enter comments and contents, public lists of contacts, allowed users to listen to and download free music, and musicians to reach fans and promote the concerts (Boyd, 2007), but especially to know them through self-promotion. Creating a social place accessible to any musician, MySpace has provided an appropriate tool not only to/from users in search of visibility but also to/from professionals that have scouting activities. The entire underground music is from there.

Then, with the advent and explosion of the other social network, the situation for Myspace crashed dramatically: in a short time was literally wiped out from the competitors more "armed" of capital and functionality. Even if its experience has served for spread of new platforms dedicated to creation, self-generation and self-promotion music.

An interesting case is Soundcloud, born in 2008 by Alex Ljung and Eric Wahlforss, is today the largest and most important community of artists, bands, podcasters and musicians of the world. Everyone can upload and spread its audio material or even collaborate with other musicians around the planet. It is also possible to publish sounds of various kinds (also from objects daily use) to increase acoustic database for the benefit of other musicians. The site's social features include options to like, repost, and share tracks. Its groups feature allows users with specialized interests the opportunity to share tracks and collaborate on sound creation in a dedicated space. SoundCloud provides a secure, collaborative and (in the paying version) customizable platform on which users can upload and share audio, access listener statistics, and receive commentary from the SoundCloud community. Thanks to its embeddable players and integration with social media sites like Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, and Pinterest, one need not be on the SoundCloud website to engage with its users' content.
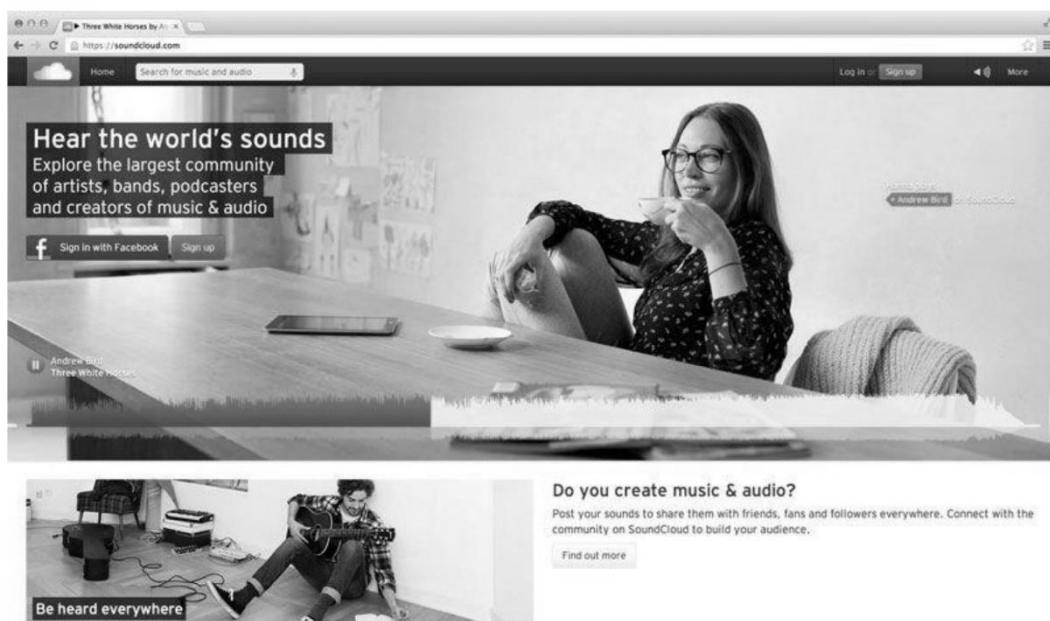
Figure 8 - SoundCloud
Source: www.soundcloud.com

With regard to the underground music scene there is Jamyourself, social network for band and artists, press offices, record labels and clubs that operate within the emerging and independent discography. The its objective is to spread in a single space various protagonists of the scene, offering them an experience of sharing unique in its kind. Through an important editorial activities, Jamyourself allows the artists, labels, agencies and the fans of emerging bands to advertise and spread their music to a public online vast and continuous research of new proposals and innovative sounds. A social experience that points to the enhancement of links web between users to increase their visibility and increase their audience totally free.

Figure 9 - JamYourSelf
Source: www.jamyourself.com

An interesting virtual community of people interested in music is represented by Bancamusica, a social network designed by Luigi Caliva. A platform of social music that give the possibility to relate young independent artists, record companies and press offices specialized.

Figure 10 - Bancamusica
Source: www.bancamusica.com

Artists use these digital tools, of production and spread, as "places of independence". The digital showcase is able to exploit musicians and musical genres in the past unknown. The network, therefore, puts itself as a true space of underground resistance and social network represent with force places of autogeneration and musical creation from the bottom in contrast to mainstream and the logic of traditional distribution.

To emphasize how many potentiality yet unexplored there are in the role played by social network in favor of creativity DIY as a widespread practice there is to report the debut online, in September 2014, of DIYSCO (D. I. Y. Discover), a social network self-produced dedicated to independent music.

Figure 11 - DIYSCO
Source: www.diysco.com

In practice, the web 2.0, through social networking sites, has rediscovered and brought to the fore the ethics of the *Do It Yourself* from the origins punk. The "DIY" means all those small or large manual tasks that people do for a hobby and for personal satisfaction. What passes through the digital culture is of nature more ethics and has seen the light in the years '70- '80 thanks to different cultures underground, including mainly the "punk", and was then inherited by other subcultures, such as this ecologist and vegetarian, that of "ravers" and that connected to electronic music.

By the countercultural punk movement, from 1977, that was seeking new spaces expressive asking from the bottom a "gripping the stage" to digital counterculture of network society: thanks to new technologies widespread and cheap, the world of electronics, of creation and music spread has become the new frontier of DIY movement, and was chosen as the primary means for the production and transmission of various forms of material, from artistic to information.

The digital future will allow the creation of new underground music through social network and will provide a different way to experience music. Web platforms will give to indie musicians much more power to go direct to the user and viceversa. Because making is connecting. A new subject "public" is born: that produces, create, invent, distributes, and consumes in cooperative and participatory environment.

Conclusion

Social network, then, represent the showcase and the *convivial space* (Illich, 1973) in which coexist *corporate* and *grassroots* convergence in which the independent musical cultures can get to know implementing processes of cross medial sharing that go from the *hic et nunc* of concerts to remix of network. At the same time, user creates and chooses actively custom community according to their own interests and passions responding essentially to the logic

of *privatisation of the sociability* that Castells considers prevalent in contemporary society (2001, p. 127).

Digital networks, therefore, constitute a new powerful way to renew the dynamics of production spaces that feeds the years Zero music. Anderson, in this regard, elaborates the thesis of the "long tail" (2006) as a new economic model for cultural industries, based on the transition «from the mass market to a mass of markets». The set of many niches that sell a little - the long tail - constitutes a much larger market than the one of the few successes of earth. Therefore, the digital media change the dynamics of market combining infinite space of the exhibition, ubiquity of access and killing of distribution costs.

Paradoxically, those ideas of freedom, opposition to the dominant system, counterculture, which were the main values of punk and underground movements, seem to find here new strength and contamination. The punk and underground music raised their voice to be heard, to create from the bottom, communicate and connect. The same goes for social media. Today, the fundamental desire of every indie musician is to be known, gain visibility, share and remix critical cultural meanings: a *quiet noise* that crosses social and cross-medial networks.

Punk	Social Media
Voice	Digital Voice
Notice	Visibility
Representation	Share and Remix

Table 2 - Social media and punk

Source: by author

"Niche" Cultures, mosaic, characterized by *digital subcultures,* in which the cultural and social capital is increasingly localized in neo tribalism (Maffesoli, 1996), and in social and creative fragmentation. Therefore, social networks are *forces of resistance* (Thornton, 1995, p. 213) as the cultures punk were in the past: open environments that infect their connected audience with the passion and the pervasiveness of their creators and can to grow and spread in a sustainable and viral way. Community music, timeless and spaceless, will continue to make revolution with music thanks to technological innovations: *social network* of today as the *punk* of yesterday; underground DIY music cultures such as participatory, creative and identity postmodern rituals. Passion and participation, keywords of Punk, are today the main features of social media and convergence culture of Social Network Society.

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PART 5 | Musical production, mediation, consumption and fruition in the contemporaneity

5.1. Musicality, culture and sociology of artistic-musical production of Ceará Blues

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze the "cultural movement" of the blues music genre in the city of Fortaleza. Its indications for reflection discourse among agents that disseminate the style in the city from the Circuit House of Blues, as well as the evaluative elements that constitute the formation of the public. From the methodological point of view was conducted fieldwork consisted of: a) observation of events and concerts promoted by blues bands in public and private spaces of the city, complemented by semi-structured interviews, b) uptake of audiovisual records, and c) notes in a field diary. From the theoretical point of view, by analyzing such categories as "musical rationality" present in Max Weber, the concept of the art world of Howard Becker and that field in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, it was possible to understand the processes of identity formation and symbols of distinction with musicality as a substrate for the combination of these concepts.

Keywords: Blues; anthropology, art, city of Fortaleza- Ceará- Brasil.

Musicality aesthetic and rationality: an analysis of the blues from the sociology of art

In sociology, some authors were pioneers in social analysis from musical elements. We can cite Max Weber (1995) that the work the rational and sociological foundations of music, examined the history of Western music and relate it to the process of rationalization of capitalism in a conceptual and historical perspective.

Thus, Weber emphasizes a relationship between individual artistic creation and use of technical means used for this purpose. There in his analysis, a search on how a device (or technical means) favors and / or limited to artistic creation. However, Weber does not affirm the existence of a causal relationship between the technical means and the artistic field. Rather, it is a relationship of interdependence between these factors.

Therefore, sociology of art or music lies not only in its aesthetic character may be conducted through the analysis of the technical means used for expression of art. Thus, for Weber, the empirical analysis of art is related to the study of means of expression; this would be their contribution to sociology of art. Max Weber analyzes the artistic field in a rather peculiar way, because in their view, a sociological research that showed only the enjoyment or artistic expression, would diverge from the empirical field. With this, the author proposes a "segmentation" between sociology of art sociology and aesthetics, which would be subject

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to value judgments on artistic production. However, the artistic sphere, in the musical case is formed by the interaction of aesthetic, political, cultural values, etc..

Regarding the musical sphere of blues in Fortaleza, I had to adapt to a different sound from my original context ; I needed to appreciate the blues catch it não apenas como uma mistura de ritmo e melodia (ou o que está sendo dito), mas sim, atentar para o modo como os três elementos citados se articulam na composição musical. A isto os *bluesmen*, a exemplo de um dos integrantes da banda Blues Label, o tecladista Leonardo Vasconcelos, denomina de *Feeeling Blues (sentimento blues)*.

> The Blues is simple. Few notes. But what defines the magic of the blues is the "how" little notes on the musician can spend a feeling loaded.. this is where it becomes difficult to Blues and personal, therein lies the identity of the musician. Never the same song sounds the same. Will depend on how the musician wants to express, and this relates to the state of mind himself at the time. (Leonardo Vasconcelos, keyboardist of the band Blues Label)

During the research, I tried to settle me conceptually that blues feeling. In this context, only the perception of a " sound - art sublimation " tend to be superficial, given that the size of the aesthetic pleasure as only emphasizes the individuality of the being. In contrast, the sociological perspective argues that the conception of an artistic and cultural movement goes by the interaction of many factors both objective order (instruments, distribution networks, media, art etc..) And specifically the role of subjectivity in the artistic field.

In the proposal formulated by Howard Becker (1977) there is a logical operation of the art world that shows how it is organized. This is how Becker proposes their understanding of the art world, thinking the relationship with the collective constraints of the artwork. Moral and Soares (2000) complement the research through an understanding of the concept of art world Becker:

> In other words, the art world - ie artists, support staff, media distribution and dissemination, public - operates from conventions (an important concept in the application schema Becker). It is from the conventions that assigns the role of the artist to a certain member of the cooperative chain and others facilitating role, as is established between artist and audience (MORAL; SOARES, 2000).

There are several academic papers on the formation of notional networks linking pleasure, taste, creativity and identity, which directly relate to the analysis of the object in question. To João Freire Filho (2006), the important element in this group of fans and critics, the spatial perspective of the music scene was appropriate - more systematically by sociologists and anthropologists interested in describing and analyzing circumscribed spaces of cultural production and consumption (especially music).

> The so-called "spatial turn" in research on the diverse musical cultures is in line with the renewed conceptualisation of urban space is a strategic field of articulation of cultural and civic political emphasis (How to use the available space? By whom? For whereas) and increment of regional cultural production, either as a sphere of everyday life which thrive multiple activities, cultural representations and numerous processes of sociability, constituted and affected both by local circumstances as per demands and desires translocal (Stahl 2004: 51-53 apud Freire Filho, 2005, p.4-5)

Therefore, according to Freire Filho, the notion of musical scene involves identifying a specific type of urban cultural context and practice of spatial coding. Therefore, the use of this "identification" imply the apprehension of networks, affiliations, tessitura that reveal the cultural practices and identity dynamics of groups in the context of contemporary urban

spaces, and offer thoughtful features to the sociological understanding of the formation of alliances affective for certain groups.

The identification of cultural training from musicality

It can be argued that the dynamics of emergence of local aesthetic values may indicate universal aspirations. The political and cultural significance of the scenes would be defined by the degree of articulation of common interests (defined by tastes and pleasures). The artistic scenes can thus interfere with the way in which the urban aspects are organized, viewed and experienced.

In the course of this article I talk with authors who understand the strategies of valuation that subjects and social groups put into practice, developing for both, quality criteria that distinguish the experiences of hearing music while providing information about the formations of musical groups.

The music (blues), in the context of Fortaleza, through successive identifications undertaken by individuals and groups, featuring the formation of cultural groups and the hierarchy of tastes process. Thus, social groups arise, communicate and bring the public their affinities and shared tastes. Trotta raises questions that are valid for the understanding of this musical genre, since the aesthetic quality is a recurring point in the testimony of the public and blues musicians:

> Talk about quality means refer to the hierarchical processes produced by individuals and social groups to enhance their practices over others. Such processes are the result of intense clashes (...). Entire debate on popular music is crossed by the question of taste, ie, by individual and collective choices that result from the construction of affinity and musical identities, revealing shared feelings are always involved in high emotional charge (TROTTA 2007, p.1-2).

The level of aesthetic legitimacy of these reviews varies by social agents that conduct. Judgments or legitimacy acquire greater relevance in that settle socially shared by the common sense hierarchies. In this sense, the musical experience presents certain complementarity between individual and society, since they are produced in the interaction between related traits through affirmation of a shared style. Accordingly, according to Frith:

> The pleasure that pop music is a pleasure to produce identification - with the music we like, with its artists, with other people who like it. It is important to note that the production of identity is also a production of non-identity - is a process of inclusion and exclusion. This is one of the most striking aspects of musical taste. People just do not know what they like, they also have a fairly clear idea of what they like and do not have a very aggressive way of declaring this dislike (FRITH cited TROTTA, 2007, p. 5).

For its part, the work of Pierre Bourdieu (2002) offer valuable resources for analytical understanding of the phenomenon studied. Consider the concept of habitus of these features providing elements for analyzing cross-cutting issues that shape the practical rationality that underlies the artistic phenomena. According to Bourdieu:

> The habitus is indeed generative principle of objectively classifiable practices and at the same time, the classification system (principiumdivisionis) of such practices. The relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, ie the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, plus the ability to differentiate and appreciate these practices and these products (taste), is that the social world is represented, ie the space of lifestyles' (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 162).

Considering this as a time of exploratory empirical field, mediated by interviews with public frequenter of the event, the question was raised of blues music to be considered a "quality", which manifests itself in the creation of groups with different "styles" that confront cultural standardization exists in the City. The music in this context shall confer a symbolic status as much space as the audience, redefining the recurrence of sociocultural identifications.

Final considerations

Through research in spaces intended for presentations blues (both public and private, like the Dragão do Mar Center of Art and Culture) could get closer to the sociocultural perspective that formed the musical performances.Nesse contexto, a *performance*[2] musical é identificada nos diferentes agrupamentos humanos como um universal means of communication, not necessarily characterized by a unique set pattern, assuming various meanings that are constituted according to the codes of each cultural context (Queiroz, 2003).

Therefore, the analysis of the cultural movement of the blues in Fortaleza Ceará shows that musical aesthetic manifestations have different structural characteristics (eg, through the musical bands or his audience), revealing different uses and functions, expressing the particularities of each context occurring. In these presentations, I noticed that the complexity involved in music ethnography employed spaces.

Earlier research my camera recorded only Blues bands on stage, their dress, their language, their musical styles ; but these aspects have become repetitive surface and after some time. I had to listen to other sounds that were not only coming from the stage as the audience also related to my " object of study " and with these spaces. This local knowledge (Geertz, 1989) could only be raised to the extent that all the related aspects of musical performances.

Given the various ways of conceptualizing the blues in the city of Fortaleza, craved discuss these senses, hoping to foster discussion of topics such as IDs, taste, social spaces, public education, musical scenes and forms of cultural distinction mediated music.

The work of Pierre Bourdieu is analyzed based on the concepts of social reproduction and domination. One of his analysis lies in trying to discover the reasons why certain models of taste become "naturally " superior to others.

The taste expresses how these symbolic contests are carried out ; because the various social groups seeking to distinguish themselves from one another in an attempt to enforce social rules and manners that are so unique, aiming prestige, recognition and social distinction. The participating public is also part of legitimating particular art form, either by adhering to the style, or the creation of peculiar symbols that constitute IDs that define the limits, even if temporary, of the whole group:

> What is noticed When Investigating cultural expressions in the music world is even que Individuals and social groups have que's not exactly a political schedule (eg, clubbers and funkers) end up Promoting "political experience" (Gilbert and Pearson, 2003), identity, ie merge a sense of community "(Frith, 2006), Establishing strategies of social distinction (Herschmann, 2007, p. 57).

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[2] According to Turner (1988), the notion of performance "reflects" or "express" the social system or the cultural setting of a particular society. Musical practices in their different hues in the urban context reveals particularities of these manifestations, as well as broader dimensions of the cultural universe of the city, such as styles, customs, concepts, behaviors and other sociocultural aspects.

Therefore, the universe of culture (in this case, music) is not interpreted as an area of "natural" aesthetic enjoyment, but as a locus of segmentations, barriers, segregation and struggle for power. Thus, the cultural movement of the blues in Fortaleza, sharing a "cultural identity" that reinvents itself from contact with other experiences helped form the peculiar artistic expressions of cultural policies.

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5.2. Dodging the middleman: Insights on disintermediation in the independent music sector

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Abstract

The paper presents the findings of an exploratory study[2] on how the disintermediation phenomenon is occurring in the music industry and how it is affecting the business models and professional practices of independent and DIY (Do-It-Yourself) music artists. The empirical findings emerge from a multiple-case study in which seven independent music artists and professionals have been selected and analysed, based on the strategic approach they take in business and in the evolutive career path they are pursuing. The paper provides a discussion on how independent artists seem to be adjusting their professional practices, concerning funding, distribution, promotion and management, as well as the use they give current technologies in order to fulfil project needs, supported by theoretical concepts around disintermediation.

Keywords: Music industry, Disintermediation, Independent Music Artists, DIY

Introduction

With the advent of the digital revolution and the Internet, business models and success factors of the traditional players within the music industry's landscape have suffered a significant change. In this reality afforded by easy access to networked global communications, and with the maturation of Web technologies, disintermediation effects are succeeding (Chircu & Kauffman, 1999). Major record labels, which created and developed a lucrative business model and have been the main driver of the industry in the last decades, have been severely hit (Young & Collins, 2010). They are now retracting in investment, by cutting costs and laying off staff and artists – they are signing fewer and fewer artists, mostly investing in the ones who first prove themselves in the independent circuit (Dahl, 2009).

In their practices, independent artists are making extensive use of home studios and tools and platforms available online. These platforms are continuously emerging with open and decentralized new business models that take advantage of social networks and community resources (Benkler, 2006). They can potentially provide the independent and 'Do-It-Yourself' (DIY) music producer with access to essential resources for key components of their business: financing, collaboration, management, marketing, distribution, and direct communication with fans. By encompassing these functions and other affordances that typically integrate the value chains of traditional industry agents (record labels, distributors, record promoters, radio stations, etc.), these new platforms may constitute a viable alternative to support an

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[2] This paper is an abridged version of the author's master thesis (Bernardo, 2013), written between September 2012 and September 2013 at Portuguese Catholic University, Porto.

autonomous and independent approach from the artist to his creative and business management activities, as well as a more direct and successful relation between him and the consumer of his music.

This paper dissertation aims to contribute with insights to the reality around independent music artists. It examines the available literature on independent music artists and on economic theories around disintermediation, in order to set up a theoretical framework for analysis of the empirical findings. The methodology for the empirical study is here summarized. Finally, empirical findings drawn from the study are presented and discussed within the given framework, focusing on uncovering the business practices and strategies and the motivations behind them.

The independent music sector

Within the contemporary and popular music industry context, the term 'independent' or 'indie' is aplied to agents that have no ties to a major record corporation,. It derives from the industrial organization behind it, the independent record company (Hesmondhalgh, 1999). According to Hibbett (2005), the indie music movement emerged from the evolution of punk and anarchist ideals of democratization, decentralization and free access to the music market,. It "demonstrates the principles and politics of a 'superior' art" in which "obscurity becomes a positive feature, while exclusion is embraced as the necessary consequence of the majority's lack of 'taste'" (Hibbett, 2005, p. 34). Indie stands as both trendy and exclusive, acquiring meaning from the opposition to mainstream, in a perpetual construction that seeks and encompasses novelty. Indie correlates to artistic integrity, aesthetic quality and to the cutting edge.

Hesmondhalgh (1999) analysed two cases of emblematic independent labels, One Little Indian[3] and Creation[4], on the causes and consequences that lead independent record companies to practices of professionalization and partnerships with major corporations. The author characterized the conditions of working in the music industry, a high-pressure business with several strains:

- the permanent conflict between surviving bankruptcy, and overriding ideals and selling out;
- the thin line between leisure and work, between public and private life which are often so diluted;
- the relations with co-workers, many times friends, that suffer with the strains derived from the different roles required to be performed.

Further, given the political background of the independent scene, profissionalization was seen as a dilution of principles, in what it meant establishing a compromise with comercial success and pecuniary rewards, in detriment of purism and idealism. According to Hracs (2012), in the pre-digital revolution, "traditional independent production was really an ad hoc system with inherent limitations" (ibid, 2012, p. 454); money and specialized professionals were required even for basic productions and distribution was limited to the streets and after-

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[3] One Little Indian. (n.d.) Retrieved August 8, 2013 from http://www.indian.co.uk
[4] Creation. (n.d.) Retrieved August 8, 2013 from http://www.creation-records.com

shows. These circumstances led independants into professionalization in order to cope with the industry's needs, while driving many others, musicians and staff, out of the industry (Hesmondhalgh, 1999).

With the digital revolution, the industry has been consequently restructured, and the independent music production has evolved from niche market position to the mainstream model. Independent musicians began to have full autonomy and creative control over their music, but are now required to perform a wider variety of activities. The set of activities contemplated in this model ranges between technical, business, performance and musicianship aspects of the business, which demand organization, careful planning and management of time and energy (Hracs, 2012).

Independent artists seem to be leveraging on contemporary networks for its structural arrangement, technological, creative and connective affordances they provide. Wendel (2008) provides several illustrative examples of music artists and practices that highlight potentials in establishing autonomy and independence from the mainstream industry, leveraging on both offline and online networks. The author examines the structure and affordances of the networks around UK-based record label Rough Trade[5] and MySpace[6], focusing on the way similarities and differences have affected independent artists practices. Valladares (2011) explored the landscape that web-based and social media tools have provided for independent music producers. Production, promotion, and distribution have been identified as areas where the Internet is having a significant impact. Independent music producers seem to be using a diversified and flexible approach to online social networking platforms and web-based tools, and to the communication strategy employed in their use.

Disintermediation

In economics, an intermediary offers intermediation services between two trading parties, a supplier and a costumer, or between other intermediaries. The intermediary acts as a conduit for goods or services offered by the supplier, providing added value to the transaction, either by transformation (e.g. manufacturing) or transfer in time (e.g. speculation) or space (e.g. trade) Bailey and Bakos (1997). Disintermediation, also known as "cutting out the middleman", occurs when intermediaries are removed from the supply chain (Chircu & Kauffman, 1999). This phenomenon is typically assigned to several factors such as the supplier's internalization of activities traditionally performed by intermediaries (Sarkar et al., 2006) and the degree of market transparency which leads to the buyer's increased knowledge of supply pricing (Picot & Bortenlanger, 2006).

Benjamin and Wigand (1995) argue that within an ubiquitous communication network, such as the Internet, the ability to support direct exchanges efficiently would be beneficial for both producer and consumer: the manufacturers would be able to retain more surplus value or profits that are generated, while the consumers would benefit from both a larger choice and lower prices. According to Whinston, Stahl and Choi (1997) the emergence of technologies for electronic commerce on the Internet allows new ways of interaction between the players in a market. In fact, the use of an information technology (IT) infrastructure shortens the supply chain, cutting costs, optimizing operations, and allowing the consequent higher captures of value and profit redistribution along the value system.

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[5] Rough Trade – UK based record label (1978 – 1991)
[6] Myspace.com – Contemporary social network (2003 – present)

In the beginnings of the dot com boom, between 1995 and 2000, electronic commerce was seen as a tool of disintermediation given that the Internet would allow consumers to purchase products directly from producers. What actually happened, however, was that new intermediaries appeared in the digital landscape (Sarkar et al., 2006). This phenomenon is called reintermediation, which takes place with the reintroduction of an intermediary between supplier and consumer, whenever disintermediation has occurred first (Chircu & Kauffman, 1999). Carr (1999) defines reintermediation as the reformulation, realignment and pruning of intermediaries but without total elimination. In the context of electronic commerce, reintermediation occurs due to problems associated with the e-commerce activity, and to the technical knowledge and extensive resources that are inherently required. Sarkar et al. (2006) state that the roles of intermediaries can be multifaceted and cover a set of functions that are not easily assumed by producers, arguing that intermediation will remain a structural feature of electronic marketplaces. On the other hand, by aggregating transactions and creating economies of scale and scope, intermediaries can increase the efficiency of the exchange process.

Chircu and Kauffman (1999) address the three phenomena in the changes occurring in the market interaction in terms of a cycle of intermediation, disintermediation and reintermediation (IDR) stages. This cycle may occur repeatedly, with the introduction of new technological innovations. The authors provide a series of cases of the IDR cycle, using the structure for the music industry retail market as one illustrative example, with traditional intermediaries (e.g., Tower Records, wholesalers) and electronic-commerce-only (EC-Only) intermediaries (CDNow.com, Musicboulevard.com).

Handke (2010) addresses disintermediation as one of two phenomena (along with amateurisation) that, among other hypothetical causes such as the deliberate use of the Internet as a promotion tool, suggest an increase of market competitiveness of 'indies'. In his empirical study of the German music sector, Handke focused on determining the market context and significance of self-issuers[7], among amateurs and more conventional record companies. According to empirical results from Handke's study, and comparing to other types of independents, self-issuers appear to be smaller, both in number of individuals in their staff and in terms of turnover. Self-issuers are also less dependent on the primary market for sound-recordings than conventional record companies, since creators benefit directly from complementary markets such as that for live performances. Despite that half of the market is accounted to more conventional "indie" record companies, the market share of self-issuers may has raised over recent years. According to Handke, there seems to be a "trend that more creators set up record companies rather than record companies picking creators to cooperate with", with an observable sustained upward trend in the period of 1994 and 2004. This is suggested as possible explanation to the apparent boom among small, independent record companies in the middle of a recession in the record industry.

Methodology

In order to explore how the disintermediation phenomenon is affecting business models and practices of independent artists, an empirical study has been conducted. The research

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[7] A self-issuer "predominantly commercialises sound recordings by composers or performers who also work in another function in the firm or who own the firm at least in part" (Handke, 2010, p.345)

approach taken was case study, more suitable for a study with a descriptive and exploratory nature (Yin, 2003), and more specifically, a multiple-case study, which facilitates the exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources (Baxter & Jack, 2008). In this case, its use leads to a better understanding of the motivations, the influence of the context and its impact on the business decisions of the independent music artist. This approach also converged with the approaches of similar studies on independent music artists and music industry (Wendel, 2008, Valladares, 2011, Ahrens et al., 2012). Therefore, our study is based on the content analysis of primary data, obtained from five interviews conducted in 2013 to five Portuguese music artists and professionals, and of secondary data of two international independent artists.

The independent artists that comprise the sample were selected based on the diversity of organizational structure, business models and approaches (Table 1). The spectrum of subjects ranges from the minimal structure (one-person band) and full DIY approach, to the independent band that managed to successfully deploy its global distribution infrastructure with a professional team. In the middle, stands a set of independent Portuguese artists that are employing innovative and technological approaches to business, music professionals that work in the independent music sector and that accumulate different roles such as managers, agents, and executives at indie labels. These artists are mainly identified as independent and participate in a variety of music genres, including electronic music, alternative rock and pop.

Case	Projects/Professional Services	
Bruno Miguel	:Papercutz	http://www.papercutzed.com
Joaquim Durães	Lovers&Lollypops	http://www.loversandlollypops.net
	Milhões de Festa	http://www.milhoesdefesta.com
Luís Fernandes	The Astroboy	http://pad-online.com/category/the-astroboy
	Peixe:Avião	http://pad-online.com/category/peixe-aviao
	PAD records	http://pad-online.com/
Luís Raimundo	The Poppers	http://thepoppers.pt
	Keep Razors Sharp	https://pt-pt.facebook.com/KeepRazorsSharp
Nuno Saraiva	SCL Agency	http://scl-agency.com
	La Maquina	http://lamaquina.com.pt
	AMAEI	http://amaei.pt
Emily Haines, James Shaw & Matt Drouin	METRIC	http://ilovemetric.com
Zoë Keating	Zoë Keating	http://music.zoekeating.com

Table 1. Selected Samples

Interviews were conducted in places of convenience to the participants, which agreed to speak openly and in personal name. Participants were inquired regarding the business strategies and practices that they have been using regarding financing, distribution, promotion

and management, and the role and importance that technology takes in their actions. The interviews lasted an average of 93 minutes and were audio/video recorded with the consent of the participants. Hired contractors which were instructed to transcribe the interviews following a denaturalistic approach (Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005). These interview transcriptions provided the primary data set, supporting this study by enabling content analysis against our theoretical framework (Figure 1). The data set has been made available to the academic community for further studies (Bernardo, 2013).
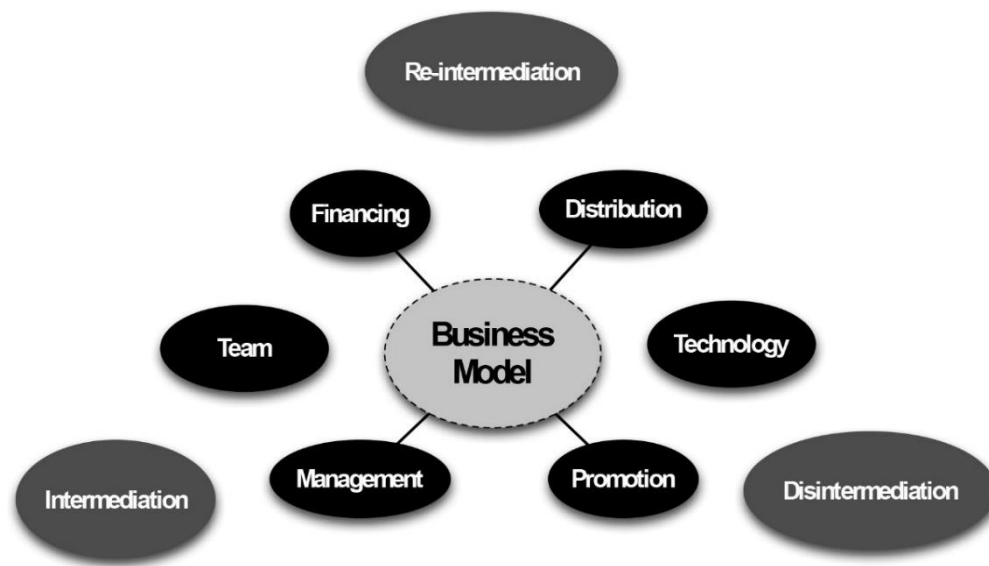
Figure 1 - Analysis framework

This study also uses several sources and types of secondary data, such as industry reports, specialized press articles, blog entries, and conference videos. Secondary data has been used to build up the cases of Metric and Zoe Keating. The main source of information about Metric has been a video-recorded interview that the band and their manager gave to the 2011 Rethink Conference (Rethink Music 2011). For the case of Zoe Keating, several dispersed items were consulted mainly from specialized blogs, and Keating's online presence, such as her website and one Google spread sheet that Keating has publicly shared herself.

Another important source of secondary data considered for this study is the Artist Revenue Streams (ARS) project and the reports generated from its database. This research initiative, which is led by the Future of Music Coalition (FMC), aims to assess the earning capacity of individual musicians concerning the diversity and dynamics of revenue streams (Future of Music Coalition, n.d.). The ARS project consists of a multi-method, cross-genre examination of US-based musicians which used three data collection methods: in person interviews with about 80 different musicians and composers, case studies based on the detailed financial data from 10 different individual musicians, and on-line survey data from 5,371 US-based musicians and composers.

Findings: perspectives on independent music artists' business models

Financing

Advances and recoupment are the most usual mechanisms of financing amidst musicians and record labels. Yet, it is appears that independent artists have been considering and using several other funding alternatives for their projects.

A common ground to the interviewed artists has been going through an initial self-financing stage, in which they manage to release their first works on their own. This is typically a DIY stage, in which the success of those works and all the efforts to potentiate it provide the opportunity to gather funding for a next step. Some acts, given their specific configuration, stay in this model; the ones who have the opportunity to step-up, eventually do it, either through independent labels or private investors backing. In this second stage, artists seem to use the traditional model of funding, assigned in the form of an advance by an indie label, with the subsequent recoupment of royalties from sales.

Despite that the number of financing possibilities has been seemingly increasing, the fact is that many of them have specific benefits and disadvantages, and most of them, significant constraints to the beginning artist. Discarding direct donations and public funding as atypical, such is the case of sponsorship, private investment agreement, and even crowdfunding for different reasons. For crowdfunding to work at its best, an extended fan base is required, which is unlikely for a minor artist. Other alternatives depend on past achievements and involve risk taking.

Labels are the private investors that have deeper business knowledge and thus, the least averse to invest in worthy cases. This general assumption can be extendable from the smallest indie labels to majors, attending always to the scale of agreements and power positioning that is involved. Labels keep the capital and funding muscle, and that is an important part of their competitive advantage; their positioning as an established intermediary keeps strong.

Even so, some illustrative signs of readjustment provided by some interviewees, such as the renegotiation of contracts, the adoption of other models in which artists keeping control of copyright and licensing the album only, P&D deals, the all-inclusive 360° deals, and the lessening of investment in certain traditional business functions. According to its definition, these adjustments may be seen as reintermediation, in which the traditional intermediary is refining or changing its model due to changes in its economical context. On the other hand, the results of qualitative analysis indicate that the use of self-financing at a more advanced level seems to be a trend among independent artists. This entails financial discipline and audacity for the independent artist and his management structure, but it does happen at different career levels, and with artists with distinct projection levels. These cases configure instances of full disintermediation, as labels may be fully circumvented as intermediaries.

Distribution

The early days of a music project, which coincide with a DIY stage, show specific settings in what regards distribution. In the physical domain, initial releases have limited editions with limited physical distribution in concerts sales, or on consignment in a limited set of retail outlets. In an advanced scenario, the artist or his label actually get an agreement with a distributor, and physical distribution is settled. In a furthermore advanced scenario, there are several territories to cover, and more agreements to make. These are the fundamentals for

physical distribution that, apart from issues regarding the decline of record sales, are the most desirable for any artist. Disintermediation would occur here if an artist or his management structure were to establish direct agreements with the distributor, by circumventing labels as middlemen. Yet, under these assumptions, physical distributors remain undisputed middlemen. The issues arise with considerations associated to the digital domain. The emergence of the digital online retail outlets, streaming services and mobile retailers, gave way to new intermediaries such as digital aggregators.

Thus, if one goes all the way to consider the extinction of physical sales, or a complete shift to exclusively digital releases, disintermediation of the traditional distributors becomes a possibility, as distribution would depend exclusively of aggregators. Nonetheless, digital aggregators have been, until now, a necessary condition for artists to reach the major online retailers.

Going on with analysis of qualitative data, there are instances of artists already circumventing digital aggregators and reaching these markets on their own. Together with the use of direct-to-fan services like Bandcamp, or MySpace, or SoundCloud and more recently with iTunes, they configure instances of full disintermediation. This brings the artists the premise that the value chain can be configured to exclude traditionally necessary pieces that do not deliver value, and thus optimize their revenue streams.

In all the cases, distribution clearly stands as one area in which disintermediation and re-intermediation has been taking a more evident and clear effect. First of all, digital aggregators are a strong example of new intermediation, according to its definition, by taking control of digital distribution channels. Secondly, the disintermediation initiated by artists must be taken significantly in account. There are several instances that show the awareness and effort that artists take, while striving to optimize revenues streams, to cut off the middleman both in the physical and digital domain. They also range from the micro scale level to the macro level, from very localized efforts of tuning revenues through disintermediation, through to the major strategic decisions that imply assembling a global distribution network. In the former case, we have the instance of Zoe Keating; she took advantage of a change in iTunes' affordances, which turned a market that was only reachable through the intermediation of aggregators, to a directly reachable market through the use of label accounts. On the other end of the spectrum stands Metric and Drouin, who fundamentally believe in the need to cut off the middlemen, as way to reduce costs and make more money in the long run and implemented a global distribution operation based on that premise. In the middle, stand all the artists that take advantage of platforms like Bandcamp to perform the distribution on their own, without intermediaries and with increased revenues.

Marketing and promotion

In general, finding point to the clear separation of concerns between traditional and new media. There is a general agreement between cases that both media are important, for different reasons, having different intrinsic challenges and different people to be assigned as their managers. Typically, the online media promotion is assigned to artists, and managed on their own, in order to take advantage of and to grow the artist-fan connection. It is also the most immediate promotional medium used in the early days any act.

With the gradual development of the act, the need for traditional media increases and well as for professional support in these areas. At this point all the acts refer to the use of professional specialized help in the form of contracted freelancers, or services provided by the

labels. The most off-the-beat positioning is from Metric and Zoe Keating. Drouin seems to dismiss the importance of radio against a database of direct fan contacts, in particular for independent and non-mainstream acts. Metric was already a high status act in the context he mentions, though. For Zoe Keating no information has been found that confirms or refutes her positioning, except for the general information that points to a DIY and exclusive use of online promotion.

As for promotion, the initial stage for a music artist, contemplates several efforts using the DIY approach. Typically, musicians would have to put most of their efforts on the live performance circuit and with that find new fans for their music. These efforts would consist of localized actions that would bring them a limited reach.

Today, audience building and fan communication have become both easier and affordable, as artist have been given access to a huge set of tools and services to build audiences and promote their work. Furthermore, the tools build on networks and social components that allow them a global reach. Thus, artists have been leveraging on these tools and platforms to engage with fans and collaborators, by enhancing direct relationships and developing dedicated networks. It has been observed that artists have a very flexible and organic approach to these tools in order to successfully connect with their fans and followers.

However, despite of the digital and online domain being recognized as very efficient for promotion purposes, artists still feel the need to embrace traditional media to emerge from the crowd and effectively promote their music. And this is another league, in which the DIY approach acknowledgedly appears to fall short. In remaining DIY they may be undermining their projects and themselves concerning creative availability and evolution. Here, the specific business knowledge and contact networks provide an explicit competitive advantage, which most artists may not have on their own. Thus, they must either acquire it externally, either from specialized independent professionals or record labels.

Looking through the disintermediation lens, it is somewhat evident that music artists may prescind from promotional services and reach an interesting activity level on their own. The online platforms, as new intermediaries, have provided a great margin of action and empowerment to the artists. Moreover, on an advanced level, an artist might consider a specialized marketing and promotional team operating in his own structure.

However, the labels traditionally possess core competencies in this field and have no hurdle in taking advantage of them. Therefore, concerning promotion, reintermediation is the most obvious, given that traditional intermediaries maintain a strong positioning in the market and appear to be adjusting their competencies. Nonetheless, concerning the artist-label power relationship, there is a different stand for both parties. Promotional power is a core competency of labels that would most willingly be used by artists, but today there is much more margin for negotiation.

Technology, team and management

The general attitude of the interviewees towards technology reveals that it is considered very important for them to manage the overall business functions. Some of these technologies, like email, Google Drive, Facebook, YouTube and Bandcamp, have become indispensable for the all the interviewees. Findings indicate a use that highly concentrates around these technologies. This is confirmed, in general, by an evident attitude of resistance or lack of interest to try new platforms, or to acquire more advanced or specialized ones, when the

essential functions are already granted. This seems to indicate that business-supporting technology is approached as means to an end, and on a need-only basis.

The interviewees' testimonials are convergent with the main conclusions of ARS report on the impact of emerging technology on the careers of musicians and composers. In general, ARS participants demonstrated good levels of awareness and comfort in making effective use of technology. "50 to 70 per cent of respondents were 'very comfortable' or 'somewhat comfortable' using technologies for common musician-related activities" (Thomson, 2012). The report concludes that emerging technology has had a measurable impact on the careers of musicians and composers, empowering them and leveling the playing field. Concerning the impact of studio technologies, ARS survey participants generally answered that "they have made them more efficient, and able to produce top quality work in their own studios" (Thomson, 2012). Regarding promotional and sales supporting technologies, a significant amount of survey respondents agreed to become more self-sufficient, as technology allows them to communicate directly with fans, to collaborate with other musicians, and to self-manage their careers.

One ARS report focuses on the impact of the team and partnerships on the artist's revenues. ARS Director Kristin Thomson referred to this data in her article to the Music Business Journal. Thomson (2012) draws a parallel between the DIY artist that leverages on current technologies to perform every task, and the musician that has a team of specialized professionals and partnerships. The goal is to access the impact in the musician's income and expose some of the tradeoffs involved in both situations. For that, Thomson went through the main roles that a musician may have, support this analysis on the different US copyright-based revenue categories and business practices: composer/songwriter, recording artist and performer.

For the composer/songwriter first role, the report examines the publishing income and the impact of having a publisher on the team. It shows that income derived by compositions accounted for 6% of our survey respondents. However, respondents who "had a paid/contracted relationship with a publisher, or an attorney, or a record label were deriving twice to three times as much income from compositions".

Concerning the recording artist role, income from sound recordings made up about 6% of overall respondents' income. But for those with a record label or web-master, that percentage is doubled. The report addresses the team members that had the greatest impact on income earned from performances. Booking agent leads the ranking, with a significant margin in income from live performances over those who do not have one.

One could infer from the analysis of the interviewees' discourse, that when an artist achieves a certain initial growth, the DIY path appears to become more distant and uninteresting, or perhaps even risky. Jack Conté, from Pomplamoose band, issued a very comprehensive statement regarding this issue:

> "We did a really good job taking it from zero to 50% and then I think we got paralyzed, and we needed to be better leaders and to have a cabinet of smart people around us to help us take it from 50 to 100, and instead I think we just kind of stopped at 50. Now we're a decent, well-known band. You know, we play 600-person venues and that's awesome but I think we could have gone much higher had we been better business people. But at the same time, we also wanted to be artists. We didn't want to be in it for the money. We didn't want to try and grow the brand. We wanted to make songs, you know? I spend my days in the recording studio. I'm very, very careful about how much time I spend doing business and how much time I spend doing music, and I want to be making music all of my time and so I'm willing to

sacrifice certain business ventures because I'd rather be playing songs." (Conté, cited by Sptiz and Bylin, 2012)

Considering this testimony, should an artist reach at determined stage of success, it appears he will have two choices; either signing up with a label, or by following a strict independent path, contract a manager that helps him building his own structure and professional team.

One trend that appears to proliferate in the music industry is the shift to the management model, in which the guiding party takes a minor percentage of every revenue stream generated by the artist. Labels are also appropriating this model through the 360° contracts. In this model, managers will be part of the record label. The alternatives are either recurring to the services of freelance management, or to the most recent approach, à-la-carte management services. In any of these alternatives the artist does not have to consider working with a label, but in case he does, the manager will be working in close conjunction with it.

Conclusion

The empirical study contributed with a perspective over the business reality and context of a meaningful sample of independent music artists. Findings indicate that artists seem to be increasingly business aware and self-sufficient. The most common pathway for independents appears to be taking an initial DIY approach, later followed by a flexible and mixed business approach that depends on team structure, business knowledge and financial availability. They appear to be configuring the use of intermediaries and professional services in their business models, in order to optimize revenues and workload.

Independent musicians have been leveraging on currently available online platforms and web tools. Their efficacy makes them invaluable as they increase productivity and facilitate the execution of major business functions. Further, these tools leverage direct access to market and are fundamental in enhancing the engagement between artist and fan. Although new media seems to stand as an alternative to traditional media and intermediaries, it has a specific and limited reach, and does not seem to replace the need of professional services. Furthermore, technology is not the center; music artists rather focus on creativity.

This study indicates that the effects of disintermediation, resulting from a technological paradigm shift, are mostly observable in the way independent artists are becoming self-sufficient. Business functions, such as management, funding, distribution and promotion, seem to have different levels of incidence in what concern disintermediation. This appears to emerge from the inherent difficulties of the self-issuing artists, and from the power that record labels still maintain over financing and promotion. In the evolutionary path of an independent artist, the need for a professional structure is evident and may grow along the way. This structure maybe provided either by a record label, by assembling a professional team or resorting to independent services.

The consequences of disintermediation may also relate to signs of readjustment by the record labels, observed in the renegotiation and adoption of distinct contract models, and in the lessening of investment in certain traditional business functions. Furthermore, the bargaining power of artists has increased, granting them more control over their career direction, over the development of their brand, and most importantly, over their creativity.

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5.3. Materialities of the new: processes of destruction and construction in the work of Einstürzende Neubauten

Sandra Bettencourt[1]

Abstract

My aim is to reflect on the concept of materiality as artistic process based on the theoretical work of Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno. Concepts such as 'ruin' and 'destruction' (Benjamin) and the concepts 'negativity ' and 'new' (Adorno) of shall be privileged. As a case study for the possibility of convergent and/or divergent contemporary reading of these authors, I analyze the work of the German band Einstürzende Neubauten. It interests me to anchor my reflection in Neubauten since their heterogeneous production enables an update of the theoretical issues mentioned at several levels: Cultural-historical (The German context of the twentieth century, before and after reunification); aesthetic (the dichotomies between noise and silence; construction and destruction; form and content; performance, language and speech); and technological (DIY musical instruments; processes of composition and recording). The categorization of Neubauten's music is difficult due to the break with prior musical practices and the creation of new sonic experiences, which bring us the concept of 'avantgarde' that occupied both the thinking of Benjamin and Adorno. The critique of such concept enriches and informs the reflection on the materiality of culture.

Keywords: Einstürzende Neubauten; Ruin; Destruction; Negativity; New

Einstürzende Neubauten

In his essay from 1931, "Der Destruktive Charakter" ("The Destructive Character"), Walter Benjamin defines such character as the one who creates space for transformation by ways of destruction:

> The destructive character knows only one watchword: make room. And only one activity: clearing away. (...) The destructive character is young and cheerful. For destroying rejuvenate, because it clears away the traces of our own age; it cheers, because everything cleared away means to the destroyer a complete reduction, indeed a rooting out, out of his own condition. (Benjamin, 2011)

In the 1960's, Theodor Adorno in his posthumous work *Ästhetische Theorie* (*Aesthetic Theory*) defines the notion of the new as the absolute negativity of the collapse, being that the major artistic utopia:

A cryptogram of the new is the image of collapse; only by virtue of the absolute negativity of collapse does art enunciate the unspeakable: Utopia. In this image of collapse all the stigmata of the repulsive and loathsome in modern art gather." (Adorno, 2002, pp. 32-33).

In 1981, the band Einsturzende Neubauten, which name means Collapsing New Buildings, launch their first album, *Kollaps*. Some of the songs are "NegativNein" ("NegativNo"), "Draußen ist feindlich" ("Outside is Hostile"); "Vorm Krieg" ("War Front"). These titles manifest a proximity between the band's identity and those seminal concepts presented by Benjamin e Adorno. In the fragments collected in the documentary about the group, *Liebeslieder*, it is even possible see and hear the vocalist Blixa Bargeld, stating that: "My idea of destructivity corresponds with Walter Benjamin's. He wrote an essay titled 'The Destructive character 'in which he said,' the destructive character is cheerful and friendly and knows only one motto: Make Room'" (Maeck & Schenkel, 2005).

Einstürzende Neubauten is formed in 1980, in West Berlin, by Blixa Bargeld (voice) and N.U. Unruh, FM Einheit (percurssion), being later joined by Alexander Hacke (guitar) and Mark Chung (bass guitar). Einheit and Chung, leave the group in the middle 1990's. By that time, the drummer Rudolf Moser and the guitar player Jochen Arbeit join the group until today.

They start playing in a very specific cultural and social context. The city is divided by the Berlin Wall, the Cold War is present and the effects of the Second World War are still felt and evident in the ruins and reconstruction projects all over the city. The Neubau (meaning new buildings of the post-war, opposed to the Altbau, the buildings from the pre-war) are a symbol of such conditions with their weak construction, leading to many building collapses, such as the case of the Kongresshalle, Berlin's cultural center and symbol of the relationship between Germany and the United States of America, which collapsed in 1980. An event that underlines the critical discourse envisioned in the group's name.

The architectonic, social and cultural turmoil made way to an increasing squat movement, attracting many foreigner artists to Berlin and feeding hetrogeneous subcultural movements, artistic works, and social manifestions, many in the form of riots in protest against emergent capitalist liberal politics and the difficult situations lived in a daily basis. It was in this environment that Einstürzende Neubauten began to produce their sounds, always surrounded by a general disenchantment, by the ruins and the lack of future prospects. Their work expressed such sense of decay and apocalypse, filled with the noise of an imposible, but desired, reconstruction of the city.

Thus, this generation does not share the hopes and convictions of the prior generation of the student movements of 1968. The indignation of the generation of 68 was based on the refusal of an identification with the past and the recent history, as well as a critique of the silence that govern the generation of their parents towards their involvement in National Socialism; they also struggled against academic conservatism; and as opposition to the war in Vietnam; while maintaining the belief in a positive and tranformed future. The latter generation later was alienated from this luminous conviction. The uprisings were not against their past nor a future requirement, bu vindications to, and in the, present. However, this present time is not ahistorical and the relationship with the past is also established but different from the idealism of the movement of 68. Their aim was no longer to identify and speak to the past, but to summon it in order to exorcise and build a different present.

In this context, Neubauten wants to occupy such wounds, that is the historical, social and cultural ruins. They start to do it by singing in German language (while the majority of bands sang in English, influenced by Anglophone rock, and as a way to conquer foreign audiences),

and by composing completly different soundscapes: corrupting the silence about the recent past with musical discourses filled with noise, produced with street found and D.I.Y.materials and objects (shopping carts, jackhammers, concrete mixers, saws, anvils, steel drums...), accompanied by screams, whispers and vocalized non-sintagmatic sounds. The group's attempt to break with the artistic and contemporary cultural reality while creating a space of difference. They establish an intense relation with material and social spaces, evident in their choice of unconventional recording and concert venues: *Stahlmusik* (*Music of Steel*), was recorded on tape in the interior of a pillar of a freeway bridge (being the oxygen measured by a flickering flame of a candle); they performed and recorded in highways, watertowers, and even in the Mojave desert; many of their gigs were marked by the high level of destruction, since Neubauten used to explore building structures as new sonic mediums and devices. They also incorporate sound recordings of everyday life - riots, conversations among acquaintances, sounds of city life and elements of nature such as fire and sand. And even conventional instruments such as the guitar and bass are played in subversive ways:

> The thing is, I [Blixa] have always looked at the outside techniques of what is considered "normal" use of an instrument. (...) This is how I play, using this zig-zag strategy to make music that nobody would expect whatsoever. (...) I could still play guitar without actually playing it in any conventional way. I approached singing in the exact same manner. If you don't do the "normal thing", you are free to make discoveries, like finding I could scream while sucking in air to get a much more powerful sound to come out. (Bargeld, 2013)

Einstürzende Neubauten has fourteen studio albums; a series of recordings composed by 8 discs, limited edition by subscription, the *Musterhaus Series*, comprising the more experimental work of the band; and a set of four compilation albums, significantly entitled *Architecture Strategies Against I*, *II*, *III* and *IV*; among soundtracks, singles and maxi-singles, live albums and side projects. Although, they always try to create something different in each work, the year 1993 represents the most striking change in their sound with the release of *Tabula Rasa*. This is the first album released after the fall of the Berlin Wall and points for a seeking for a softness avoided until then, giving way to more melodic environments and for insights about beauty. Beauty will lead to explorations about the possibility of silence in music, with *Silence is Sexy* (2000). Still, when their music seems to follow a less jarring, less subversive way, is in the forms of production that it is more pointedly present. The new forms of production gave rise to albums *SUPPORTERS'ALBUM # 1* (2000) *Alles Wieder Offen* and (2007), the result Supporters Project, and *The Jewels* (2008), a experimental, collaborative work on improvisation.

As we can see, the contradictory flow between construction, destruction, failure, nihilism and transformative capacity experienced in the 1980s in Berlin, enroll consecutively, albeit in different forms, in the course of over 30 years of Einstürzende Neubauten career, always guided by elements of chaos, order, noise, silence, improvisation and method.

Destruction and ruin. Walter Benjamin

The image of the benjaminan destructive character proves to be a productive approach to think about the work of Einstürzende Neubauten. Even more so when related with another seminal figure of Benjamin's critique, that of the angel of history. The joy and agressiveness of the destructive character invokes, in a way, the angelic face of the melancholic face of Benjamin's allegory of history:

His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress. (Benjamin 2007, pp., 262-263)

His constructive destruction is always a process, never crystallized in ideologies, and his interventions are located in a more than present chronotope, the *Jetztseit* - or the now-time: "History is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous, empty time, but time filled by, the presence of the now [Jetztzeit]" (Benjamin 2007: 261). The angel presents the destruction of the aura of the past, becoming the eye of the collective conscience, building a dialectic and critical relation with its representation: this dissonance of his own image as well as his revolutionary positioning is what permits to regard history in an critical and alternative way, avoiding tragic repetitions. In "Die Genaue Zeit" ("Exact Time"), the las song of *Zeichnungen des Patienten O.T.* ("The Drawings of Patient O.T") (1983), Eintürzende Neubauten question this continuous, flat and perennial power and its harmonious movement, as observed by the angel of history:

> Power is a non-stop tape
> and my ears are wounds.
> It's so flat here.
> Muzak for morgues and new buildings
> pleasantly humming
> leaving no traces
> chord scars
> in my face.
> (...)
> What time could it be?
> It's so flat here.
> Between 33 and 45
> or in a 2-hour rhythm
> It's a question of volume
> and they're all the same, the same.

The song is marked by constant feedback, obtained by the oscillation of a microphone swinging from left to right, creating a sense of anxiety in a vertigo effect. Guided by distortions and the rhythmic voice, this is the sound experience of the sameness. The non-interruption by the now time creates harmful disorientation. Without the awareness of the difference (traces and scars), such critical approach of the angel of history is impossible and impeding to see take consciousness of the "catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet." (Benjamin, 2007, p. 257)

Such disorientation, which is temporal ("What time could it be?") leads to the threat of historical repetition: "Between 33 and 45", the period of Nazism. The same danger to which Benjamin warned concerning political aestheticization: a threat that can only be identified and countered by the unorthodox destructive character. In "Die Genaue Zeit" the microphone, a resource of technological mediation exemplary of the different band techniques employed throughout their work, amplifies the sound in an heterodox way. Its conventional meaning is destroyed and space for a critical perception is created, opening pathways to social inclusion: it impels an interrogative action, an update of the present that must be radically different.

"Hospitalistische Kinder - Engel der Vernichtung" ("Children Hospitalized - Angel of Destruction"), from the same album, is a song that creates an apocalyptic environment

introduced by a children's choir that gives rise to Blixa Bargeld's disconcerting whimper, underlined by the sounds of jackhammers, the percussion of metal objects and debris. The lyrics speak of children who are pushed towards a future contaminated by the winds of the past. These children are awaiting the arrival of a new angel that will release them from their dying condition and that, together, can abolish the deities:

> *locked inside dormitory dreams*
> *praying to the new angel*
> *which still my angel remains*
> *like a shadow floating over me*
> *aroused by the sound of weaponry*
> *my angel and I shall abolish the deity*
> *… and I no longer want to wait*
> *until God's infinite scrotum*
> *finally goes up in flames*
> *exterminating angel*

The sound created from a past dominated by mythology (deities) evokes the pile of rubble that the angel of history sees. Also, these children hope for redemption, but that is only possible by extermination, the purification by fire of that powerful and divine totality. Children, young and gay, occupy places of destruction creating new possibilities and different ways, as the destroyer.

The decay and processing death is evident in the allegory of the album *Halber Mensch*, an oppressed person who should enter into decomposition: an half-man opposed to the Nazi appropriation of Nietzsche's "Uber Mensch", whose physical ruin accompanies this desire for a twilight of gods and witnesses the humanistic crisis and decadence ("they'll finish you off/ a sight fit for the gods/ the reaper sends kind regards,/ sickle be not!/De-compose"). In the eighth thesis on the Philosophy of History, Walter Benjamin warns of the importance of a state of emergency as a form of resistance and criticism:

> The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the "state of emergency" in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is in keeping with this insight. Then we shall clearly realize that it is our task to bring about a real state of emergency, and this will improve our position in the struggle against Fascism. (Benjamin, 2007, p. 257).

The material and bodily ruin, that of the impending catastrophe that crosses *Halber Mensch* with references to diseases, infections and death, but also the dissonance of sounds of instruments and voice, express that urgent emergency. A state of destruction on which reconstruction is possible, as in "ZNS" (Zentralnervensystem), the collapse of the central nervous system ("Say goodbye to the nervous system!"), followed in the order on the album, by the destruction of the soul in "Seele brennt" ("Soul Burning"):

> *every day costs me wounds*
> *though I'm now already*
> *wrecked and festooned with blood*
>
> *(...) I will be dead within two years*
> *consuming these amounts*
> *all idols have to die (laughter)*
>
> *…my soul is burning*
> *I go and hide, sit in my hole*

These are sonic, material and lyric symptoms of an urgency for material transformation and harmony corruption. Such internal and external contructions and destructions of their music demolish fixed structures and conventions, making room for new possibilities.

The concept of ruin, as presented by Benjamin (Benjamin, 1984), relates the material condition of the object of destruction with its own dynamics and aesthetic value. Ruin is presented as a process of corruption of the mythic power of the symbol. The ruin allows for an approximation to the historical truth through painful dynamics of reduction, and of a dialectics of present and past time. The ruin is the corrosion of romantic universality and operates by ways of the mutation of the object into fragment, which subverts the unity of the structure.

In Einstürzende Neubauten it is possible to recognize such disharmony and complex relationship between the subject and the different historical temporalities that relate in the time of a dystopian utopia - the now time of the fragmaent and the ruin:

> On this disc [*Musterhaus 5*, 2006] we have compiled some of these recordings, some in their original form: "Décomposition d'un Placard" is the memorable event of N.U. taking a wardrobe apart in his Paris hotel room in order to support his mattress; the "Eisengrau All-Stars" was recorded in one day in my shop in Berlin, with whoever came and went. [...]"Diverse Lokationen" consists of recording expeditions (Watertower, street objects / inner city railway guerrilla performance / bathtub and so on...) EN did between 1980 and 1983, mixed with other recordings from the EN archive [...]. Around 1984, cassette based answering machines became available in Germany and were greeted happily by some of us, the detritus of those cassettes can be heard here as well. (Bargeld, http://neubauten.org/musterhaus-5)

This paradoxical temporality combines a redemptive impulse with the melancholy evident in the appearance of the material thing – the ruin – and its ability to enchant without fascination. It is a relationship of this order that the group develops with the objects with which they work; with the spaces they occupy; and with the historical evidences on which they rely: as the sampling of children's voices, riots, the quotations, to the invocation of places: "Steh auf Berlin" ("Rise Up Berlin"), from the first album, and one of the most disturbing songs of their discography, begins with the sound of the drilling of a wall, a direct inclusion of space in music composition, which moreover happens at different times of their work. Thus Eintürzende Neubauten never presents a tragedy but intrinsically and visually dialectic apocalypses in their processes of construction and destruction. As destructive characters they relate directly to the notion of space and complex time in engagement with the material on which are inscribed the dynamic actions. They perform constructive destructions - it is not the quest for meaning but an experience of something that depends on the encounter with the substance. Their performances are always an interruption and mediation of paradoxes (destruction, construction, silence, noise, convention, subversion,...) which leaves no place for harmonious buildings, but establishes itself as working on ruins.

It can be argued that this unfinished process resembles the negative dialectical thought as presented by Theodor Adorno, on the basis of which resides a critique to ideology through the exercise of negative dialectics.

Negativity and new - Theodor Adorno

For Adorno, identity is the first form of ideology, since the identity thinking subdues the entity to prior, fixed and dominant conceptualizations. In this sense, the non-identical dialectical thinking is revealed as the possibility of exceeding the norms of identity. However, Adorno

rejects any binary thinking, he does not propose the opposition of non-identical and identity. Moreover, Adorno does not reject one over the other, which would imply an amputation of the non totalitarian complex reality that he wants to highlight. To ostracize the identity of non-identical thinking itself, would mean a surrendering to a new ideology. Being such negativity constituted by processes and never by binomials, the focus is on the building mechanisms that invoke a precedence of the material object for the reflection, rescuing materiality in the development of critical exercise. This rescue is not totalitarian, as has been observed, and can only be negative, that is a construction designed as destruction:

> Its logic is one of disintegration. [...] From philosophy we can obtain nothing positive that would be identical with its construction. In the process of demythologization, positivity must be denied all the way down to the reason that is the instrument of demythologization. The idea of reconcilement forbids the positive positing of reconcilement as a concept. (Adorno, 1990, p. 145.)

> [...] the nonidentical would be the thing's own identity against its identifications. (Adorno, 1990, p. 161.)

What is valued in this ontological rebellion against false identity is the experience that goes beyond objectification and subjectivity, surpassing it through negative dialectics. This methodology allows an approach to the subject which subverts the conceptual and a priori constraints imposed by society, as well as it conveys an attention to the transience to which the entities are subjected, evident in the historical process. That is, negative dialectics promotes the experience of the difference.

In Einstürzende Neubauten's work the presentation of non-identical and negativity has its most obvious representationt in songs like "NegativNein" ("NegativNo"), a cry of negativity and disintegration in contradiction.

> Negative No!
> life is not colourful amassed we go to ruin [...] what matters:
> Negative No!
> Negative No!
> with a scream it goes to ruin

The contradiction "negative no" is presented in the musical composition with the integration of liquid and repetitive sounds, like a mantra in contrast to the brutality of noise of the objects and the voice. But also in "Kein Bestandteil Sein" ("To Be No Part of It") in which the black and whispery voice accompanies a continuous melodic dissonance interrupted by guitar and metallic percussion. This song puts in action the tensions of a building in which deconstruction exposes itself over the non-identical and negative thinking. Non submission to categorizations and overtaking binomials is mandatory:

> Want to be no part of it
> no part of it
> not of that which was, it was nothing
> not of that which soon is coming
> not of none of that
> not of that which is, by all means no, not of that
> [...]
> no particle in the net
> no dust...

The complexity of the fragmentary and changeable identity of their compositions is presented by the cacophony, the rhythm changes and the inclusion of non-musical objects. Just as in live performances, in which the stage looks like a workshop in which materials dialectically play with their conceptual and material identities (a drill pierces; a microphone amplifies sound, a guitar is played, a hammer hammers) and their non-identity (by carrying out those socially established actions while making music they produce the difference).

Always with the recent past of Nazism on the horizon of memory, Adorno claims the presence of suffering in dialectical thinking, laying bare the dangers of integration and pure identity – the historical and social harmony that prevents the historical approach against the grain defended by Benjamin:

> Perennial suffering has as much right to expression as a tortured man has to scream (Adorno, 1990, pp. 362-63.)

> The physical moment tells our knowledge that suffering ought not to be, that things should be different "Woe speaks: 'Go.'" Hence the convergence of specific materialism with criticism, with social change in practice. (Adorno, 1990, p. 203)

The relationship that Einstürzende Neubauten develop with the historical and sonic materiality embodies that suffering, that updates and transforms the object itself as a form of resistance to totalitarian conformism. The call to "Schmerzen Hören" ("Listen with Pain") of *Kollaps* is an example of the exercise of a physical perception of the difficulty of living, in which the only possibility is suffering and artistic dissonance. That is the unpleasantness of the materiality of sound that communicates with the body and senses of the listener. It is the physical confrontation, not opposed to a mental confrontation but that implies it, which allows an inscription in a social conscience and criticism.

Thus, the defense of autonomous art proposed by Adorno is not a call for an overall "art for art's sake", but a negative autonomy – it rejects what it integrates. These are always relations of negation, of rejection and of fragmentary rupture. So that the social character of art is to be the antithesis of social art:

> The identity of the artwork with existing reality is also that of the work's gravitational force, which gathers around itself, its *membra disjecta*, traces of the existing. The artwork is related to the world by the principle that contrasts it with the world. (Adorno, 2002, p. 7)

> This darkness must be interpreted, not replaced by the clarity of meaning. (Adorno, 2002, p. 27)

Art constitutes itself as a dark art, which deals with the opacity and the repressed, and which has its more creative action in the performance of implosion than in that of the explosion, as in the case of Einsturzende Neubauten's work. For the band, as for Adorno, art recreates the destruction, it is not a reference as a form of protest, but destruction is embodied as an artistic agency. The annihilation of the real is the assertion of an anti-art, a non-identical, critical and negative form of art:

> If i could find that one sentence, we could bring the energy point to a stage high enough to bring it to a state of KOLLAPS, a final implosion to create black holes. That is my SEHNSUCHT, my longing. That´s the TANZ DEBIL [Disability Dance] in me." (Bargeld, neubauten.org/kollaps)

By abstraction and autonomy, the artwork becomes constructive, mediating the historical-temporal relations, with a "now time ". It is in this clashing temporality that the possibility of

the "new" takes form. But the condition of the "new" is to not survive in time: its constitution can only be incomplete, an always changing fragment, as the embodiment of a desire in process without a final form. As in the words of Adorno, "[t]he new is the longing for the new, not the new itself." (Adorno, 2002, p. 32) – the new in its condition of ruin.

The avant-garde art is thus condemned to a performance of a radical desire for the new. An art which addresses for the future can only truly be a self-destructing anti-art, which creates self-implosion. In their eagerness to make a difference, to create music as anti-music and with a critical relation with the historical space, Einstürzende Neubauten is assumed to produce an art of desire. "Sehnsucht" ("Desire", "Longing") is their only possibility:

> Sehnsucht" ("Desire"/"Longing")
> Desire
> desire
> comes out of chaos
> desire
> desire
> is the only energy

This energy is never settled, it is a desire that allows the transmutations of path that the band has built on its repulsion and absolute denial of conventions. As a kind of ritual which they follow and deny at the same time, accentuating the non-identical and the urgency of the dark art. With the awareness of the risk that their work can be commodified, Einstürzende Neubauten condemn themselves to an continuous destruction of false consciousness or false aesthetic content: a dystopian utopia that is embodied in the act of composition and decomposition. The avant-garde experience, in this sense, is that of the performance of erasure and innovation as collapse. Because the collapse is the image of a rupture with historical, cultural and artistic models, critically integrating them on their heterogeneous materiality, which is the ruin and the fragment. Never constituted as a totality, the new only survives as an incomplete process of melancholic desire, that "cryptogram of the new as the image of collapse", in the words of Adorno. Einstürzende Neubauten establish a dialogue between autonomous and negative art and socially committed and technically reproducible art exposed by Benjamin. Thus, Einstürzende Neubauten show the importance of avant-garde experience in its ontological, epistemological and historical diversity, enriched by the updated readings of Benjamin and Adorno.

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5.4. Isolation: towards the politics of new music: reflections on the momentum of new music in Portuguese cultural policy

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Abstract

The increasing gap between musicians and publics has, in the last decades, been raising questions about the artistic significance of contemporary high art music. Recent literature points out the necessity of enriching the debate with particular cases, in order to build up guidelines and recommendations for future educational and state policies. The present work aims at contributing to a better understanding of current trends in cultural policies, with special focus on those concerning music. We shall start by twigging recent transformations in Portugal, as means of grasping inner specificities, but also common grounds. The overarching goal, then, is to reflect on the momentum of *new music* within the context of Portuguese cultural policy, starting from a general portrayal of public support to musical creation. Such an analysis, due to obvious formal limitations, can only come as a partial contribution, yet we seek to cater an early base for forthcoming discussions.

Keywords: new music contemporary cultural policy.

Introduction

Cultural policy, though a recent area of public policy-making in Western European states, suffered significant transformations in the last decades. Conceived in the post-war context, most cultural policy programs, in their genesis, reified the opposition between legitimate and non-legitimate art forms, most generally consisting of a tripartite core of action, including "historical heritage, support of professional artists, and traditional cultural institutions" (Dubois, 2014: 5). Public debates later came to question hierarchical conceptions of art and culture, claiming for the promotion of diversity in contemporary public policies. Thus being, cultural policy regimes progressively started to encompass a wide array of activities in which youth and local cultures — among others — play a major role, intertwining art and entertainment, as creative industries take the lead (Silva *et al.*, 2012). Underlying such changes are different notions of culture itself, with concrete implications. As a widespread tendency, Donnat (2003) mentions a move towards non-cultural purposes in cultural policies from 1980 onwards, namely social integration and economic development. Public expenditure on culture, therefore, becomes all the more defined according to economic rather than aesthetic rationales, i.e. cultural institutions are envisioned qua investments with economic impacts. Far from meaning the end of legitimist approaches, such shift points to a growing complexity in contemporary policy practices, in which contradictory logics and objectives coexist (Gomes &

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Lourenço, 2009). In times of severe financial crisis, it is with no surprise that the public funding of elite culture manifestations — especially contemporary high art music and experimental music[2] — ends up facing critiques for hardly meeting the demands of general audiences (Dubois, 2011).

An outlook of Portuguese cultural policy

The Portuguese case matches, in general terms, the evolution of Western European cultural policy, though a handful of idiosyncrasies can be found. Culture was, at a faster or slower pace, the driving force of complex structural changes in the Portuguese society — most of these transformations happening with a lag of decades, yet in a flaming manner. The strict notion of culture that underlay the trilogy of early cultural policy goals — decentralization, democratization and education for art (Anico, 2009) — later gave place to a wider understanding, as alternative forms were legitimized, but also crossover manifestations (Gomes & Lourenço, 2009). New modes of appropriation and cultural participation came into being, "associated to the processes of schooling, tertiarisation, urbanisation and reduction of inequalities between men and women" (Silva *et al.*, 2012: 14), resulting in a broader, heterogeneous demand for culture. Portuguese cultural policy, thus, developed around a complex pattern of action, in which national and local strategies intertwine, i.e. a process of decentralization of cultural institutions and a concomitant concentration of power.

Since the establishment of democracy in Portugal, cultural policy-making embraced the Malrucian project (Dubois, 2011).[3] Despite slight differences in the way it was regarded, democratization was a crosscutting goal in the numerous government programs. Be they left or right-winged, Portuguese political parties seem to consider culture to be an essential area of public policies. One need not say, however, that inherent strategies, priorities and scopes of action tend to follow social and economic backdrops, but facts point to a general consensus as to the importance of cultural policy. All things considered, this may have to do with fund allocations to culture — usually below 1% of the overall budget — being insufficient, leaving few space for ambitious policy-making (Gomes & Lourenço, 2009). The accent on cultural infrastructures was particularly evident in the late 1980s, coinciding with the country's adherence to the European Economic Community and consequent access to designated funding opportunities. Together with the activity of the municipalities, this boosted territorial spreading of public cultural facilities in Portugal (Silva *et al.*, 2012).

From the mid-1990s onwards, though, there was a clear shift. After the Ministry of Culture was created,[4] public strategies towards cultural matters started taking advantage of massive events and celebrations — e.g. *Expo '98* and the European Capitals of Culture (Lisbon, in 1994, and Porto, 2001) —, side by side with the professionalization of private and independent

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[2] Such classifications, to a certain extent, perpetuate hierarchical distinctions that we seek to overcome. For the remainder of the present work, we shall adhere to the term new music.

[3] For the purposes of the present analysis, we shall overlook what could be regarded as the first public strategies concerning culture, dating from the decades of fascism. It might be important simply to notice that culture responded to the regime's ideological interests.

[4] Manuel Maria Carrilho (member of the Socialist Party) served as Minister of Culture, during the XIII Constitutional Government (1995-1999).

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spheres of culture.[5] This meant, for the first time, looking at culture in terms of its economic revenue and transferring symbolic rationales to the economic field. In other words, culture and creativity became central to economic growth and international reputation (Santos, 2003). Due differences aside, there is an obvious parallelism with Lang's *médiatico-spectaculaire* agenda (Donnat, 2003: 8). To sum it up, the first stage of Portuguese cultural policy had to do with the democratization of *supply*, via territorial distribution of cultural infrastructures, support to itinerancy, as well as popular culture, amateurship and cultural advertisement in the media. Later, democratization strategies meant acting on the realm of *demand*, through education programs[6] — among others —, as means of widening cultural participation to lower social strata (Gomes & Lourenço, 2009). This does not mean, again, that early strategies were discontinued, but rather complemented by somehow more inclusive policy programs, in which culture was assessed in its multiple dimensions. Notwithstanding, there is still a considerable gap between the goals mentioned in the various government programs and tangible policy-making. In fact, the very reiteration of such priorities suggests an endless postponing of effective solutions. Despite obvious transformations, the widening of (informed) cultural fruition is, for the time being, still far from accomplished (Gomes & Lourenço, 2009).

The role of municipalities

Until now, we have stressed the (delayed) correspondence between the Portuguese case and other Western European cultural policy regimes, more specifically those concerning France. We could not, however, go without mentioning its distinctive features as well — the unambiguous importance of local action, namely the role of municipalities. Since the adherence to the (now-called) European Union, culture became a nuclear concern for local decision-makers, leading to a close articulation and interdependency between national and local policy levels (Silva, 2007). Far from being an exclusive feature, authors (e.g. Dubois, 2014) refer to such functional differentiation as a widespread tendency, yet this seems to be particularly conspicuous in the Portuguese case, partially due to the "excessive dispersion that characterises the administrative organisation of Portugal" (Silva *et al.*, 2012: 6). With no regional level of organization, state institutions tend to focus on the aesthetic concerns of elite cultural forms, whereas local authorities intervene within the domain of popular manifestations. If one thing becomes clear, it is the impossibility of analyzing Portuguese cultural policy without assessing the structures of the local political system.

Likewise the national level, facts point to an overall consensus in terms of local cultural policy. Though minor divergences in political discourse can be found, local action does not seem to vary considerably. If right-winged municipalities tend to stress the importance of culture as local identity marker, and left-winged ones more likely highlight cultural diversity and the need for infrastructures, that does not end up overruling the relative homogeneity in local strategies (Silva *et al.*, 2012; Gomes & Lourenço, 2009).

Local political players, it follows, seem to focus on short-term policy-making, often by complying with the logics of the electoral competition, i.e. a need to advertise the deeds of

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[5] Lima dos Santos (2007) mentions the strong transformations at work in the cultural field, from 1991 to 2001, though still far from EU standards. Employment in the cultural sector, for instance, increased 34% and featured the highest education rate, in national terms.

[6] Implying some degree of articulation between the Ministries of Culture and Education (Lima dos Santos, 2007).

municipalities, namely those concerning infrastructures, as means of earning public recognition and political trust. Long-term action and bottom-up strategies — via collaboration with, and endowment of, local institutions and relevant cultural agents —, thus, find little space at the local level of cultural policy (Silva *et al.*, 2012).

Although there are numerous cases of innovative approaches to local policy-making — appealing to younger, more educated audiences, taking advantage of creative industries, and eager to explore complicitous, but also scathing relationships between cultural spheres —, the administrative structure of Portugal, along with the economic frailty that characterizes most of the municipalities, seems to be "hampering the activity of a critical mass to implement cultural policies that extend beyond the small world of each local environment, and of the rules of legitimacy and political competition within these environments" (Silva *et al.*, 2012: 6).

Often serving as mere recipients of national decision-making, local authorities, nevertheless, play a decisive role in the context of Portuguese cultural policy. Far from contradictory, these two levels intertwine and complement one another, so as to enhance political action — the municipalities intervening in areas of activity where the state fails to provide for (Silva *et al.*, 2012).

In a context of "weakening of public policies and improvement of markets, entrepreneurship and civil society" (Silva *et al.*, 2012: 15), the changes in cultural policy-making become all the more significant. As the *creative-economy* reasoning — reified in concepts such as 'creativity' and 'innovation' — colonizes the political *status quo* in the EU context, small and medium-sized countries, Portugal included, struggle to reconcile economic competitiveness and cultural participation, in the quest for a full citizenship (Lima dos Santos, 2007). If the welfare state initially held sway over elite cultural forms, namely the aforementioned trilogy of early goals, governance issues now force states to readjust public strategies towards culture. The critical point, however, is the extent to which these transformations mirror "defence strategies", by fitting to new realities, or simply veil liberal rhetoric for the "denial or decrease" of its role (Silva *et al.*, 2012).

The political context

In a context of severe financial crisis, such as ours, cultural policy inevitably comes under the spotlight. Due to present constraints, but also because of neoliberal tendencies, a shift in cultural policy-making seems to be at work. The ever-present impetus of democratization that guided recent developments became now a clear sign of governmental backdown, making European cultural policy regimes come closer to the U.S. model — of partnership between state cultural institutions and the private sector. Though far from meaning the eclipse of European cultural policies, these are strong changes that can only be analyzed within the overall context of redefinition of the welfare state (Dubois, 2014).

For this reason, it is vital to look at current instruments of support to artistic creation, production and promotion. As austerity measures became the standard response to the European crisis, it is decisive to trace ensuing impacts on the funding of cultural activities, by thoroughly examining the extent to which such imposition of economic rationales affected public investment in art and culture. Did government withdrawal lead to a closer articulation with private institutions? What kind of transformations in terms of politico-aesthetic programs came into being? And did recent transformations produce changes in the nature of cooperation strategies between the state and local authorities?

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In order to grasp the current state of affairs, our choice was to analyze a chief instrument of support to art and culture — *Apoio às Artes*, managed by the *Direção-Geral das Artes*[7] — and, so, draw conclusions on decision-making processes at the national level. Accordingly, a time frame ranging from 2009 until present days was defined, thus making use of the considerable amount of data at hand. But, most importantly, the choice had to do with two relevant aspects, one being the time period of the last state legislatures, encompassing the political action of both Portuguese governments involved in the EU/IMF financial assistance program, as well as the entry into force of the decree-law 196/2008 and subsequent changes in regulatory framework of the supports granted by the Ministry of Culture.

But let us start by looking at both government programs. Though recognizing the limitations of a simple reading of these documents, they nevertheless serve as an interpretive guide by giving valuable hints on the patterns of political action. These two do exactly so. The political guidelines of the XVIII Constitutional Government,[8] for instance, mention three overarching goals, in terms of cultural policy: 1) reinforcing the operational budget for culture; 2) promoting the articulation of state institutions relevant to cultural matters; and 3) diversifying cultural participation, by supporting creation and education for art, as means of valuing the contribution of contemporary artistic creation to the country's development.

Here, we find traces of a cultural policy-making akin to late cultural policy regimes, i.e. combining classic protection of 'spiritual assets' with support to creative and culture industries. On one side, there is an obvious will to build education programs for to sensitize young audiences to culture, together with a focus on the professionalization of the artistic field, by reviewing legal frameworks and recognizing the need to protect certain areas from the logic of the markets. On the other, we can also find a clear-cut purpose of promoting the internationalization of Portuguese culture, rethinking copyright laws, and a strategy of close articulation between national and local levels of action.

If, as mentioned above, culture seemed to be one of the main priorities, featuring as the second area of political action, among eight in the government program, the case appears to be different in the present legislature. Although some goals are shared, the current government program reveals a sharp turn in the way culture was regarded. To start with, the Ministry of Culture was transformed into a Secretary of State, decisively reducing its scope of action — expressed in the will to reorganize and simplify its structure in the name of public interest. By itself, such symbolic shrinkage would be meaningful, but, again, let us look at the political guidelines.

Culture, then, shows up in the last pages of the government program. Among the strategic goals mentioned, there is a clear inclination towards the reassessment of the state's role in cultural life — the 'freeing' of artistic creation, given that the state is not a producer of culture. The will to support digital business platforms, the strengthening of copyright laws,[9] a focus on the sustainability and economic value of creative industries, among others, stand out from the political program. For instance, public support to cinema, it is stated, should take into account box-office figures of applicants, as means of promoting communication with the audiences.

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[7] Here forth referred to as DGA.

[8] Gabriela Canavilhas served as Minister of Culture during the XVIII Constitutional Government of Portugal (2009-2011).

[9] For instance, by suggesting the need to increase the number of courts dedicated to intellectual property.

Even when education for art is mentioned, it implies collaboration between public and private institutions.

The combination of cultural and non-cultural purposes in public policies during the two years of the previous government was, thus, replaced by a strategy more clearly based on the latter ones. Subjacent to it was the belief that state intervention in culture should be reduced to a minimum, emphasizing its role as lever of development, employment and quality of life — leading to the country's international prestige. So understood, cultural policy-making takes a decisive step in the process of redefinition of the welfare state, changing from "intrinsic" (at least partially) to "instrumental" (Orr, 2008 *apud* Dubois, 2014: 14).

Thus being, the decree-law 196/2008[10] and the ordinance 58/2012 refer to each of these moments and point to the different political strategies. The former, in general terms, consisted of a regulatory framework of public support to artistic creation, production and promotion, but also of the strategies concerning networks of cultural infrastructures. The goal was to capitalize recent improvements in infrastructures and, so, promote cultural decentralization, via regular programming with emphasis on education and artistic residencies. For to do so, new policy instruments were defined, namely the tripartite agreements — aiming at a close articulation between the Ministry of Culture, the municipalities and cultural institutions — but also protocols between the Ministry and the private sector.

The latter, in its turn, and in accordance with the government program, emphasized innovation, entrepreneurship and the internationalization of Portuguese economy, as means of widening artistic markets. So being, a new form of public support was created, specifically directed at the internationalization of Portuguese artists and cultural institutions.

This is how the big picture can be described, as a brief look at DGA's website[11] will readily confirm. Its main program of support to art and culture, thus, seeks to promote cultural activities that project creativity and artistic innovation, both at the national and international levels, while developing sensibility and critical thinking among the population — i.e. highlighting social cohesion and economic development as the utmost objectives.

General remarks on the support to art and culture

With this political background in mind, it is time to take a first glance at the data. Contrary to the previous government program, namely the goal of reinforcing national endowment for culture, DGA's funding decreased significantly. Starting from 2009, a clear reduction in the total amount of support to the arts can be identified — especially until 2012 —, though, as a general tendency, the number of subsidies increased (table 1). Given the economic backdrop, this seems to point to a strategy of attributing smaller payments and, so, being able to support a wider number of institutions or artists, possibly as means of encouraging collaboration with the private sector in the funding of cultural activities.

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[10] Combined with the ordinance 1189-A/2010.

[11] DGA (http//www.dgartes.pt) - visited on June 15th, 2014.

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Year	Amount	Subsidies
2009	20.793.978,59 €	210
2010	20.702.716,24 €	235
2011	16.646.569,80 €	251
2012	11.774.808,64 €	202
2013	14.516.375,69 €	249 (3)[12]
2014	11.336.670,92 €[13]	145

Table 1 - Total amount of support and number of subsidies per year
Source: DGA.

From 2013 onwards, however, there is a somewhat paradoxical budget increase, all the more if we bear in mind the political guidelines of the XIX Constitutional Government, and its clear focus on austerity measures. In fact, and even if we consider the new emphasis on the funding of internationalization processes, the results of 2012 show a substantial decrease. All things considered, this may have to do — we dare to speculate — with a channeling of structural supports to the realm of DGA, as we will have chance to analyze later on.

By looking at the figures of DGA's endowment per region, the image of a highly unbalanced country, in cultural terms, springs up (table 2). In some cases, the region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley, by itself, gets — it should be emphasized — roughly the same amount of support as all the other regions together. Though recognizing the functional differentiation between the state and local authorities, and the known role of the latters in attenuating concentration of cultural activities, it becomes clear that few steps were taken in the process of decentralization that accompanied cultural policy-making since its early stages.

By the same token, the support distribution per artistic area shows accentuated differences, a situation that does not seem to vary significantly along the years (table 3). Among the areas endorsed the most, theater stands out — by far with the biggest percentage —, as well as cross-disciplinary cultural activities, music and dance — with more or less equivalent amounts. On the opposite side, we find plastic arts and photography — significantly less supported —, but also architecture, design and digital arts — these last three not always showing up in DGA's data.

Once this brief outline of the artistic areas covered by DGA's support to art and culture was done, we are now in conditions to proceed to a more detailed approach of the data concerning music.

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[12] In 2013, DGA anticipated 3 payments of pluri-annual agreements — a total amount of 32.746,08 €.
[13] The amount showed here does not include ongoing application processes. According to DGA, the total amount of supports granted in 2014 will come close to 15.025 million euros.

Region	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Lisbon & T.V.	10.355.960	10.380.805	8.595.154	5.967.729	6.033.400	5.330.790
North	4.230.292	4.135.774	3.381.365	2.135.230	3.848.662	3.151.708
Center	3.552.975	3.511.635	2.654.603	1.742.435	2.279.757	1.684.084
Alentejo	2.073.290	2.090.958	1.522.533	1.027.926	826.782	834.978
Algarve	581.461	583.544	492.914	313.351	937.785	335.110
International	-	-	-	588.136	589.990	-

Table 2 - Amount of support per region
Source: DGA.

Areas	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Theater	12.000.437	11.644.166	9.359.830	6.862.758	6.106.188	5.838.513
Cross-disc.	4.035.259	3.931.032	3.116.708	2.315.164	2.968.672	2.654.916
Music	2.191.127	2.466.628	1.896.240	1.254.535	3.188.456*	1.348.218
Dance	2.148.379	2.116.456	1.653.792	1.134.625	1.524.536	1.239.962
Plastic Arts	209.734	42.694	430.144	107.942	334.254	150.693
Photography	145.429	93.757	86.086	36.426	185.161	93.740
Architecture	-	50.000	27.886	23.252	159.109	10.630
Digital Arts	30.000	30.000	15.000	-	50.000	-
Design	33.612	27.984	60.885	40.107	-	-

Table 3 - Amount of support per artistic area
Source: DGA.

The music case

For to make sense of the available data, a typology of musical activities was designed, based on the assumptions developed along the present paper. It goes without saying, given the lack of important information, that such a process involves taking considerable risks, making it more of a speculative exercise. There is no way, for instance, of knowing, according to DGA's data, the exact purpose of a given support, or, more commonly, certain supports can easily fit into more than one category. Surely the type of institution/artist subsidized provides hints on the kind of cultural activity at stake, but the error margin is, nonetheless, significant. Regardless of such obstacles, the results achieved provide a valid base for forthcoming discussions.

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The choice, then, was to go for a typology consisting of seven areas of musical activity: 1) music conservatories, academies and other education services; 2) cultural associations, support to popular/traditional music, wind orchestras and amateurship; 3) production of events, cultural animation and competitions; 4) orchestras, choirs and chamber music groups; 5) jazz, creative industries and intermediate cultural forms; 6) contemporary and experimental music; 7) libraries and music publishing; and 8) others.

The first results, despite minor incongruences, are consistent with the theoretical background. On one hand, there is a highly centralized pattern of state action, favoring elite musical forms, i.e. supporting orchestras, choirs and chamber music groups, as well as contemporary and experimental music ensembles, with a clear focus on musical education and training. On the other, we find areas of support that typically fall within the realm of local authorities, especially the municipalities — such as traditional and amateur music, wind orchestras and cultural associations, but also the production of events, cultural animation and intermediate forms —, with considerably less state support (table 4).

Here, too, there is evidence of a strong governmental backdown in late years. If we take into consideration the period between 2009 and 2012, the decrease in DGA's endowment for all the areas of musical activity becomes plain. In 2013, however, there was a surprising increase in support to orchestras, choirs and chamber music groups (table 4). Given the political guidelines of the current government, this can only be seen as a somewhat paradoxical situation. By analyzing the data, though, it becomes clear that such an increase had to do with three abnormal payments to the regional orchestras,[14] implying a possible change in strategy. One can only speculate that this may be due to a channeling of structural funds for regional orchestras — typically managed by other state institutions — to DGA's scope of action, meaning that no actual increase in public funding came into being. This is consistent with 2014's data, in which public endowment for regional orchestras was, then, separated from the list of supports to music.

Likewise, if we look at the average amount of support, namely the time frame ranging from 2009 until 2012, a strong decrease in nearly every area of musical activity can be confirmed, as the average value went down roughly 30 %. From then on, there was an obvious shift in DGA's strategy of support to art and culture — though recognizing the incompleteness of the data concerning 2014 (table 5). Due to our formal limitations, we cannot go as far as to dissect this apparent budget increase, but it should be signaled that further work on the subject is of the utmost pertinence.

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[14] Associação Norte Cultural, 411.873,42 €; Associação Musical das Beiras, 498.570,96 €; Associação Musical do Algarve, 562.674,58 €.

Music. Activity	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Conserv/Acad/Educ	607.702	539.527	440.333	334.386	301.193	296.764
Assoc/Trad/Amateur	215.333	255.336	175.308	89.660	351.002	208.703
Events/Anim/Compet	175.000	207.338	178.426	72.446	215.538	182.308
Orch/Choir/Chamber	498.136	662.107	419.213	291.798	1.888.872*	343.469
Jazz/Intermediate Forms	159.165	189.092	185.148	106.066	152.668	100.861
Contemp/Experiment	444.109	501.911	442.248	309.808	209.285	167.602
Libraries/Publishing	37.102	15.787	12.484	10.052	10.576	10.576
Others	54.580	95.530	43.081	40.318	59.320	37.926

Table 4 - Amount of support per musical activity
Source: DGA.

Music. Activity	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Conserv/Acad/Educ	50.642	49.048	33.872	30.399	27.381	37.095
Assoc/Trad/Amateur	30.762	25.534	19.479	14.943	31.909	69.568
Events/Anim/Compet	35.000	29.620	29.738	36.223	43.108	60.769
Orch/Chamber/Choir	55.348	82.763	41.921	41.686	125.925	68.694
Jazz/Intermediate Forms	39.791	37.818	37.030	35.355	38.167	50.431
Contemp/Experiment	74.018	83.652	55.281	61.962	41.857	55.867
Libraries/Publishing	18.551	15.787	12.484	10.052	10.576	10.576
Others	27.290	23.883	21.541	13.439	19.773	37.926
Overall	**46.620**	**46.541**	**35.116**	**33.014**	**57.972**	**51.855**

Table 5 - Average amount of support per musical activity
Source: DGA.

The momentum of new music

Given our starting point, we could not help but feel struck by the percentage of support granted by DGA to contemporary and experimental music. Contrary to our early expectations, available data points to a significant support, in comparative terms, and a steady featuring among the top three areas of musical activity with the largest endowments — again, if we dismiss the last two years (table 6).

Regardless of the decrease in public expenditure on culture, the percentage of support given to *new music* grew consistently in the first four years — ranging from 20.27 %, in 2009, and 24.70 % of the total amount of support to music, in 2012. In fact, *new music* was the area of musical activity to receive the largest overall endowment, in 2011, surpassing both support to education and high art music-making (table 6).

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From 2013 onwards, however, the more or less stable pattern of support changes, mostly due to the said payments to regional orchestras, as public endowment to orchestras, choirs and chamber music groups raised up to nearly 60 % of DGA's budget for music. Still, and even considering the ongoing application process, it becomes clear that the majority of areas kept an equivalent percentage of support — if we compare 2012 with 2014 —, whereas *new music* gets reduced to half the percentage (table 6).

Although an early analysis may lead to the idea that contemporary music is significantly supported, such numbers should be deconstructed and rather taken as a sign of its precarious, unstable situation. Contrary to other areas of musical activity, *new music*, lacks a structure of state-controlled cultural institutions[15] — the indispensable base for every cultural activity, with DGA, then, working as the main instrument of support.

But let us now turn to the territorial distribution of the supports (table 7). The image of a centralized country is, again, clear-cut. The region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley received, by far, the biggest number of supports — being the only region with regular support —, followed by the North of Portugal. Alentejo benefited from three one-time supports, with minimal endowments, and a two-year support, while the Center region received a mere one-time support. Algarve received no funding at all during this period (table 7).

Music. Activity	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Conserv/Acad/Educ	27.73	21.87	23.22	26.65	9.45	22.01
Assoc/Trad/Amateur	9.83	10.35	9.25	7.15	11.01	15.48
Events/Anim/Compet	7.99	8.41	9.41	5.77	6.76	13.52
Orch/Choir/Chamber	22.74	26.84	21.11	23.26	59.24	25.48
Jazz/Intermediate Forms	7.26	7.67	9.76	8.45	4.79	7.48
Contemp/Experiment	20.27	20.35	23.32	24.70	6.56	12.43
Libraries/Publishing	1.69	0.64	0.66	0.80	0.33	0.78
Others	2.49	3.87	2.27	3.23	1.86	2.81

Table 6 - Percentage of support per area musical activity
Source: DGA.

In addition, it should be emphasized that two endowments were attributed to the Northern region (in 2011 and 2013), though the cultural institutions belong to Lisbon, possibly due to a support to artistic itinerancy — accentuating the uneven territorial distribution.

Such an unbalanced situation is also clear if we confront the total amount of support per region of the country (table 8). Regardless of the year, the region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley received more than all other areas together.

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[15] Though established in close articulation between the state and the private sector, Casa da Música, namely the work of the Remix Ensemble, could be seen as an exception to the situation, by assuming an important role within the national context.

But more: if we look at the amount of support given to each project, it becomes clear that, in at least 3 years,[16] the cultural institution receiving the largest endowment of all areas of musical activity was *Miso Music Portugal*, known for its important work in the field of contemporary and experimental music — emphasizing the idea that DGA's support, in this case, might be of structural significance.

Region	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Lisbon & T.V.	4	4	5	4	2	2
North	1	1	2 (1*)	1	1*	-
Center	-	-	-	-	1	-
Alentejo	1	1	1	-	1	1
Algarve	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 7 - Number of supports to contemporary and experimental music per region
Source: DGA.

Region	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Lisbon & T.V.	360.506	419.144	347.126	259.551	143.524	140.492
North	73.603	72.767	75.122	48.257	30.295	-
Center	-	-	-	-	15.000	-
Alentejo	10.000	10.000	20.000	-	20.466	27.109
Algarve	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 8 - Total amount of support to contemporary and experimental music per region
Source: DGA.

Final considerations

Portuguese cultural policy, ergo, seems to be at a turning point. The relative balance between cultural and non-cultural purposes in public policy-making decisively shifted towards the latters, making the Portuguese case come closer to a model of partnership with the private sector, as shown by recent government programs. In this overall process of readjustment of the welfare state, the municipalities assumed an important role, leading to a close articulation and interdependency between national and local policy levels — seeking to overcome the problems of the administrative organization in Portugal. Though some overlapping can be identified, state-controlled institutions tend to focus on elite culture, whereas local authorities more likely intervene for the promotion of traditional and popular cultural forms.

While looking at DGA's support to art and culture, it is possible to find a match with the pattern of Portuguese cultural policy, as defined at the national level, i.e. functional

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[16] If we dismiss the support given to the regional orchestras, Miso Music Portugal would be the cultural institution with the largest endowment of DGA's budget for music in 2013 as well.

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differentiation and uneven territorial distribution. This is particularly evident in the budget for music: 1) orchestras, choirs and chamber music groups, 2) contemporary music ensembles, and 3) musical education, then, seem to be the main areas of support, while favoring primarily the region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley, followed by the northern area. Given our starting point, we were somehow surprised by the relative allowance of *new music* within the context of DGA's program. Though we could not go as far as to aptly dissect the issue — due to said formal limitations, but also because of the known insufficiencies in available data —, this should be taken as a sign of its precarious situation, especially if we compare with public support to orchestras.

Lastly, it should be emphasized that our aim was never to draw definite conclusions, but rather to cater an early base for debate and, thus, promote a better understanding of contemporary cultural policy-making, namely the momentum of *new music*. So being, the present paper is no more than a partial contribution, hoping to be scrutinized in the near future. If we bear in mind the upcoming changes in public strategies towards culture,[17] it becomes even more pertinent to ensue thorough assessment of the current state of affairs in Portuguese cultural policy.

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[17] E.g. Programa Cultura 2020 — promoted by J. Barreto Xavier, current Secretary of State for Culture.

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5.5. "This is it!": peak music experiences in the Brisbane indie music scene

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Abstract

A popular topic among music fans is the phenomenon of peak music experiences: particular experiences involving music that are especially memorable and even pivotal for the people involved. These epiphanies with music are sought, remembered and discussed, becoming important in the ongoing construction of taste and identity. They are therefore useful windows for research into music scenes. A case study of musicians, organisers and fans in the DIY/'indie' scene of Brisbane, Australia, finds that peak music experiences are central to their biographical narratives of inspiration, taste and motivation. They describe moments in which distinct meanings are realised and felt with an intensity that leaves an imprint, affecting future interactions. The peak music experience stories of these scene participants reveal that the core values of the Brisbane indie music scene, and the roles these values play in the construction of identities, are inseparable from the embodied pleasures of music listening.

Keywords: Brisbane, indie, peak music experiences

Introduction

One of the ways music fans talk about their relationship to music is by telling stories about specific experiences with music, which stand out from general experience as important. Certain experiences with music are remembered, for example, as especially representative, revelatory or influential. I call these "peak music experiences" and they are significant to the study of music scenes in two ways. Firstly, examining music in terms of specific experiences allows due consideration of the contextual aspects of musical practice and meaning. In this sense, peak music experiences are particularly visible instances of the continual production and reproduction of musical meanings and deeper values from moment to moment within scenes. Secondly, peak music experiences are by definition considered special, memorable and worth talking about, all of which are judgments based on cultural values. Indeed, the circulation of peak music experience stories is one way in which those values are reproduced and negotiated. Accordingly, peak music experiences offer insight, for research purposes, into the values of a scene and the means by which the scene endures and develops.

This paper looks at what the lens of peak music experiences can tell us about the indie music scene in Brisbane, Australia. A case study with participants in the scene finds that they credit particular experiences as the inspiration and ongoing motivation for their activities within the scene. Analysis of these peak music experience stories reveals cultural priorities that are largely consistent with those described in the existing literature about indie music,

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including the significance of live music, otherness, continual exploration and intimate community. However, the peak music experience stories also challenge any view of these judgments as dispassionate or merely outward signifiers of symbolic capital, "removed from the innocuous pleasures of listening" (Hibbett, 2005, p. 57). Instead, they remind us of the central importance of embodied experience, including strong feelings of pleasure, surprise and communality, to cultural association and practice. In this case at least, the pleasures of listening are far from innocuous.

Before presenting the case study, I will discuss briefly how its approach fits with existing work on experience within scenes and indie music.

Scenes, experience and indie music

The study of music scenes has focused increasingly on the lived experience of the people comprising them, recognising the variety and complexity of influences involved and the awareness and agency that people have in relation to them. The academic concept of "scenes" arose in response to the relative inflexibility of subcultures, and was distinguished from older notions of musical community partly by its capacity for internal variance and change (Straw, 1991; Bennett, 2004). At around the same time, work like Cohen's (1991) study of amateur rock bands in Liverpool introduced ethnography as a complement to the text-based forms of analysis that had previously dominated popular music studies. The "experience-near" (Cavicchi, 1998) studies that followed have challenged a number of assumptions about the interaction between music and everyday life. Music's meanings and effects are not inherent, but contingent and contested; likewise, people's musical tastes and associations are not pre-determined but evolve over a lifetime, not without awareness and effort. A scene therefore comprises a disparate but entwined bundle of individual and collective trajectories. Some recent work demonstrates the utility of focusing on particular trajectories, such as hardcore fans learning and earning cultural capital through embodied experience (Driver, 2011) and ageing music fans consciously revising their scene-oriented practices over time (Tsitsos, 2012; Bennett, 2013). These stories show vividly how music scenes make and are made by their members. At this level of detail, some compelling research questions include: why and how did these people became involved in this scene? What keeps them interested? When, why and how have they changed? What else has changed as a result?

One way in which people answer such biographical questions, for themselves and for others including researchers, is by talking about epiphanies: interactional moments and experiences which leave marks on their lives (Denzin, 1989). Epiphanies allow people to concretise otherwise abstract aspects of their self-narratives. Peak music experiences can be seen as epiphanies with music and, as such, they provide opportunities for research into music-oriented sociality. Since epiphanies are always grounded in cultural expectations and references, they can be a window into such cultural priorities and the processes that reproduce and develop them. This paper presents a case study that seeks to use peak music experiences as windows into the Brisbane indie music scene.

Indie as a category of music is "positioned at the intersection of various aesthetic, social and commercial phenomena" (Hibbett, 2005) and encompasses a "mixed bag of practical, historical and aesthetic ideologies" (Rogers, 2008). As the name derived from "independent" suggests, it is partly defined in opposition to the economic, political and aesthetic values of a perceived mainstream. This means that indie is an evolving genre. As with punk, the term has

become associated with some specific stylistic choices, such as "jangly" guitars and overtly amateur production values, but especially in this century it has been defined partly by eclecticism, embracing exotic, often non-Western musics and even commercial pop with "varying degrees of irony and revision" (Rogers, 2008).

Indie's conscious otherness and its consequent fluidity have drawn criticism and parody. In one formulation, the imagined indie music "expert" is desperate to present him or herself as possessing arcane knowledge, effortless embodied cool and prescient taste, and consequently loses or even shuns the simple (and therefore "authentic") pleasures of music. For example, a character in online comic strip *Questionable Content* asks, "What's the best way to piss off an indie rock snob?" The answer is, "Actually enjoy music" (Jacques, undated). Based on such representations, Hibbett (2005) focuses on how indie rock "opens up vast space for the management of power and the manufacturing of identities: purposes far removed from the innocuous pleasures of listening" (p. 57). He compares indie rock to Bourdieu's formulation of high art, as a field of knowledge that distinguishes itself from mass culture. Other studies, however, have drawn from ethnographic data to conclude that this is not the whole or even the main story; pleasure and, more broadly, emotion are central to indie music. Fonarow's (2006) study in England finds that indie "valorizes emotion as the wellspring of meaning" (p. 196), and its obsession with opposition actually stems from a central focus on "how an audience can have the purest possible experience of music" (p. 30). The Brisbane indie music scene is described by Rogers (2008, p. 645) as "a small, informal but close-knit network of people motivated first and foremost by the desire for intensified leisure". Based on his ethnographic work with "hobbyist" musicians, Rogers finds that the drive for distinction emphasised by Hibbett (2005) is only an aspect of their more fundamental quest for feelings of meaning and belonging. The scene provides them with opportunities for "pleasurable engagements with music as a creative canon … and as a social binding agent" (ibid, p. 646).

Case study: peak music experiences in the Brisbane indie scene

When the present study was conducted in late 2012, the Brisbane indie music scene was recognisable as that described by Rogers; while only three of the eight venues named in that study still exist, alternative venues have continued to open in both licensed premises and DIY spaces. This case study comprised in-depth interviews with five amateur/part-time musicians who were (and at the time of writing this paper remain) active within the scene. The participants varied in their stylistic preferences, as set out along with other details in the table below, and these variations arguably are matched by subtly differing attitudes towards the broader music industry. For example, Dan[2] plays the most radio-friendly music and has made the most traditional career moves (such as retaining a manager and using professional recording studios), as well as working in one of the city's larger venues and in artist management. By way of contrast, Pete makes post-rock, which he self-records, and has operated a DIY venue in his spare time from his office-based career.

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[2] The names of study participants have been changed for this publication.

Name, m/f, age	Education	Employment	Main scene activities
Dan, M, 26	University (drama); TAFE (music business)	Music venue bookings manager; artist manager; public service clerical (part-time)	Solo guitarist/singer (acoustic/country) Artist manager Venue bookings manager
Martin, M, 33	University (arts/law)	Coffee shop barista	Guitarist/backing singer in indie band (AOR)
Nick, M, 26	University (arts)	High-school teacher	Singer/guitarist in indie band (grunge/rock) Solo singer/guitarist (lo-fi)
Pete, M, 34	University	Office work (community sector)	Guitarist/singer in indie band (post-rock) Recording/mixing engineer Label/venue manager
Sally, F, 30	University (psych/law)	Office work (community sector)	Keyboard player/singer/drummer in indie band (noise/experimental/rock)

Table 1 - Case study participants

"Getting involved": peak music experiences as inspiration

The research interviews fell naturally into a biographical format, prompted by such funnelling questions as, "Do you remember when you became as interested in music as you are today?" Each of the participants separated their introduction to the practical side of music-making, such as learning to play an instrument under the influence of family or friends, from a strongly felt aspiration to "get involved" in music or the scene, which usually came later.

> Pete: [G]etting more involved in music probably means that I had an idea of what that would be like, and I'd seen, I'd been to gigs and I'd seen people who were involved in music, and they, like there was just, I think there was a sense of going "Oh that's my crew, you know that's, it resonates, that's sort of what I wanna… wanna be doing."

> Sally: …it was just like really sort of going to see other bands perform and thinking, I wanna, I wanna make music too and I wanna be part of this process.

An outcome of this burgeoning desire was a shift in social networks, as new bandmates and friends were found. Entries into scene relationships and scene practices sometimes involved separations from previous networks, as illustrated in Sally's description of her band's first public performance in Brisbane:

> …[a music promoter wrote on our] Myspace page at the time and he wrote, you know, "How come we've never met?" *(laughs)* […] and he put on a show for us, and also a bunch of other bands, and we just all of a sudden met all of these other people in Brisbane involved in music and art, we had no idea existed. Before that time it was just you know the four of us […] we were just like, pretty mind-blown by the fact that there was that kind of scene in Brisbane *(laughs)*. […] We invited all of our friends to that first show, and I remember I looked up and, they just looked horrified. It was really harsh noise. Like ear-bleeding kind of stuff.

Friends could be sources of cultural knowledge, for example by recommending new bands, but the reverse is also true as cultural preferences drove the search for new relationships with "like minded people".

> Nick: Yeah, I mean, for me mostly it's, um, it's been goin' to shows and becoming more a part of a music community as well. […] And that's been… I think, maybe, for me, something that,

um, music was an avenue to, as well. So, it's like, um, to find like minded people, who enjoy that experience who can talk – you know wanna talk about that kinda thing, as well as hearing the music.

The study participants wanted to get involved with the indie music scene because they believed that its values resonated, which at a practical level meant that it would be a place to find like minded people. There may be countless ways in which discourse in and around the scene communicates these values. However, in some cases the study participants pinpoint their attraction to peak music experiences, which "set off my musical tangent" (Dan), "blew my young mind" (Martin), "changed my life" (Sally) or were a "big kick-along" (Nick).

> Nick: …and when I saw 'em [the Pixies at the V Festival 2007] I was like, (whispered) 'Whoa', like, this is, this is it! After that I was like, 'I love this and I wanna, like, get involved in that and do this', yeah. […] I might have been talking about it but I don't think I was actually playing at that time. It was definitely one of the big… kick-alongs to get myself organised and get into it.

> Dan: …when I picked up the guitar and started writing music was when I first saw John Butler, of all people. So, um, so that – I always remember that moment as being a big, like, seeing him at um, I think Woodford Folk Festival. When I was about 15? 16?... And it just… set off my musical tangent. […] That was when I first said, 'Okay I wanna learn the guitar'.

At least in retrospect, these memorable experiences have become iconic of the no doubt longer and more subtle processes of attraction and motivation. They are moments in which values seem to have been revealed, recognised and strongly felt. Examining these musical epiphanies can reveal to us what is valued by these people and the culture with which they identify, which is the Brisbane indie music scene (as they understand it). The following sections consider some of the priorities that emerge from these various peak music experience stories.

"That sense of passion": the importance of live music

Many of the peak music experiences described by the participants in this study take place in the live setting. A number of their youthful memories are set in music festivals, which are one of the few "all-ages" rock music performance spaces. Martin provides a vivid description of a festival experience to which he attributed his drive to form his first band:

> Tumbleweed were like a revelation. I remember watching them, the crowd was just *seething*. People, there were people *moshing*, I'd never really seen a proper… rock band before. […] But um, their frontman - you know? – he was so cool, just sort of, this goofy dance that he did shamelessly. […] Yeah, the fact that he was sort of dancing and singing, and were just sort of tight and sort of rocked. There was like this light show that it had. And it was just sort of, the whole thing like sort of – it seemed sort of more like a 60s, 70s rock show than the other stuff. […] Like yeah, it was exciting to be in the crowd and, ah, jumping along and stuff. And the crowd was big.

Here the actions of both the performers and the audience were crucial. Martin's reference to "jumping along" with the seething crowd exemplifies a factor common to many of the participants' peak music experience stories: communality; literally being a part of something. The references to traditional "rock show" performance values may seem at odds with the well-known indie values of unpretentious authenticity and unmediated self-expression (Hibbett, 2005, Fonarow 2006). Martin did go on to explain that Tumbleweed were an early gateway band whose "dumb riffs" he moved beyond as he investigated what he called the "indie canon" (for example, The Go-Betweens), and this path was a common one among the

study participants. However, the significance of showmanship may be that it actually emphasised the "realness" of the event, by making it more than just a recitation of songs:

> Dan: …[John Butler's performance] wasn't that standard, punk band – I'd seen so many punk bands over the years they'd come out and play their songs and they'd walk back off stage. There was a big element in his music of improvisation and, you know, using different instruments and they'd always have like some big drum jam in the middle of their set. […] And it was, it wasn't just some guy walking on, or some four guys walking on stage and playing, playing their songs and walking off again you know, like, um, it was kind of like I guess it was more considered than a lot of the music I'd seen and it was sort of more intricate, and it was more – and like, I dunno, I guess it appealed to me. And it was always, like, in those days as well, still now, like it was very emotional.

Accordingly, stagecraft and musicianship are not necessarily contrasted with authenticity. Instead, demonstrative performers, as opposed to those who simply play their songs and "walk back off", might be seen to possess the crucial emotional presence described by Fonarow as "beingness" (2006, p. 192).

In these formative concert experiences, cultural values were acted out in exaggerated ways by both performers and audiences, making them revelatory for the young participants and providing an opportunity to become, literally, involved. Through these interactions, the participants learnt to associate particular values with certain music and learnt ways of acting them out, showing how a single experience can have a significant, enduring effect. Nick expressly acknowledged this process of learning through experience:

> It's definitely, um, for me, when you go to, the live shows. And that – you get that sense of passion I suppose that you don't get when you listen to it on, ah, recorded. I feel that if you see a band live, and then you come home and listen to them afterwards, you get much more of a feel for it, for what it's kinda about. So once I started going to see live shows that's when I got into music a lot more.

These peak music experiences were described in ways that emphasised the intense feelings associated with them, with references to excitement, passion and emotion. As Ahmed (2004) notes, it is through intensifications of feeling that people recognise and attribute meaning to objects, people and themselves, so that meaning is mediated by feeling. Accordingly, it may be that these peak music experiences are memorable and their meanings endure because they are associated with the strongest feelings.

"From a place that none of the other bands were from": the feeling of difference

All of the participants talked about moving on from their early indie-related tastes, with bands acting as gateways to more obscure or specific music. Pete recalled a peak music experience that revealed to him how his "crew" was partly defined by difference, when he saw Sonic Youth perform at the Livid Festival in 1998:

> [There were] a lot of people there but it was an interesting kind of experience because, you know a third of them were just having their minds blown and I was in that third but another, you know, another third were wishing that they'd play something from *Goo* [1990, Sonic Youth's first major-label album and a commercial high-point], and then another third were just there for a look and were just going, 'What the fuck is going on?', because it was this sort of, amazing, like my feeling from that was just going, 'I have no idea what they're doing'. Like it was just like, just, it was, I'm sure the acid was helping but it just seemed like they were

kind of from a place that none of the other bands at that festival were from […] I think that at a certain point, that difference was what I came to really value as a criteri[on] in music.

This story bears out the academic definition of indie as an oppositional culture that consciously styles itself as an "other". However, in talking about their peak music experiences, the study participants spoke of their affinities for different music not as coldly calculated, but as strongly felt. Pete found the Sonic Youth performance bewildering and therefore "amazing", demonstrating Barthes' concept of *jouissance*, an unsettling experience (used by Laing (1985) to explain the shock value of punk rock). His visceral experience of difference continued when the community radio station 4zzzfm, heard in the cab home, played more of Sonic Youth's music:

> Pete: "Anagrama"? Yeah, those kind of, SYR [record label, used by the band to self-release a series of experimental works] kind of um, yeah lengthy noise improvisations, and I was just, still sort of buzzing along, and I got out of the cab and sat in my car, for like an hour, just having this really intimate kind of experience of noise, really, for the first time. Yeah I think that evening was really pivotal in a lot of ways to the way that I, what I became hungry for, and what I enjoyed, and, you know I think that came into – I guess it was like moving away from form and, you know, pop writing and song structure, and getting more into texture.

Sally emphasised, more than any other participant, her youthful (and continuing) desire to "explore music and…get to the outer limits of what was out there". She told a story in which a malfunctioning playback of an already outré piece of music, in a youthful context of friends and drug use, created a pleasurable experience:

> I remember one time um, we were in Byron Bay and we'd gone, like – it was in 2002, and we went down to, um, Splendour in the Grass [music festival] *(laughs)* and um, we were, we were taking ecstasy as well as um, as marijuana *(laughs)* and um, we were hanging in the hotel room and we'd just smoked like, a lot, and we were actually listening to *Bitches Brew* by Miles Davis *(laughs)* funnily enough. And then after about an hour, or maybe more, we realised *(laughs)* the CD had been skipping and it was playing the same one minute, like *(laughs)* it had been, like we were just like… I dunno, you know, we just kinda thought it was *(laughs)* an amazing one minute of music.

Through these stories, the participants show that their appreciation comes naturally for music that some would find "difficult". Such comfort with high art concepts can be a marker of cultural capital. Importantly, however, the appreciation the participants evince is not cool and intellectual, but associated with direct and embodied pleasure. Their stories emphasise feelings of surprise, bewilderment, awe and enthusiasm, as opposed to critical distance and reason-based judgment, in the appraisal of this music. The telling of peak music experience stories in ways that highlight these feelings shows that for these music fans in the Brisbane indie music scene, the value of "difference" is not divorced from the pleasures of listening. Rather, for them, music's meaning and value are inseparable from the embodied experience of music, even in the case of music that involves high art methods like formal experimentation. Scene members become aware of their affinity for scene values like "difference", and thus their belonging to the scene, through the strong feelings produced by musical experiences.

"A thing that I've been missing out on": exploration and openness

Know that the coolest indie rock band is someone nobody has heard of and is on a label that doesn't even exist yet.
- "Soyouwanna Fake Being an Indie Rock Expert?", quoted in Hibbett (2005)

A much-parodied aspect of indie music culture is the privileging of the new and unknown, with the constant acquisition of new music betraying the shallowness of the indie fan's connection to music generally. It is suggested that the real motivation is not to enjoy listening to the music, but to display symbolic capital. Some of the study participants' comments are consistent with the view of indie rock as a field of knowledge. For example, Pete recalled buying two "gateway" indie albums in his teens (by Pavement and Gaslight Radio) after reading reviews that "in hindsight sounded like something I wanted to like", and Martin wondered whether he was "triggered" by Tumbleweed and not the headline act, the Hoodoo Gurus, because the former had "more cool cachet".

However, the peak music experience stories of the study participants show that for them, seeking out new music is not (just) a search for distinction but, to a large extent, a search for transcendent experience:

> Interviewer: What do you think it is about hearing something new and different that you haven't heard before that you like?
> Sally: Um, well yeah, it's kind of exciting, it's you know it's adrenaline or something.

By way of example, Sally told of getting into "Hindustani classical stuff… like Bhimsen Joshi", and a trip to Indonesia in which she witnessed "all-night gamelan jams" by "old masters", which was "totally incredible". Like Pete, she valued the feeling of bewilderment:

> …they all have this repertoire of hundreds of songs and they're all kind of scored but, they can just make it up and change it, and the pace, the tempo will speed up and slow down and, you have no idea like, it's very hard to follow what's going on.

The study participants revealed that they would sometimes go to great lengths in seeking particular kinds of musical experience. This is what Hennion (2001) calls "setting up the correct passivity" for a particular experience. He demonstrates this concept using both music listeners and drug users, on the basis that both seek particular outcomes from their engagements with objects and use special settings, rituals and modes of attention to create the best chance of achieving the desired result. On that basis it is unsurprising that in the present study, the active search for transcendent musical experience is demonstrated most clearly in anecdotes about using drugs with music. An influential experience recalled by Pete is:

> …driving around in my mate's Datsun Stanza listening to OK Computer [Radiohead, 1997, "within a week or two of its release"] on acid. Um, taking turns to drive so you know, the other two of us could be in the back, sort of heads on the speakers and… I think that sort of connected pretty deeply too.

The aim of such elaborate set-ups was to "listen to how far we can hear into this music", which is quite the opposite of the shallow, appearance-based connection that the parodied indie hipster has with music. The search for embodied pleasure from music is also revealed in those stories told by the participants in which they had a peak music experience by chance, which challenged their preconceptions and opened new avenues for their search. These

chance moments in the participants' taste trajectories stand in contrast to the tortuous aesthetic guidelines followed by the parodied indie hipster:

> Martin: I remember in [my housemate] Ed's bedroom one time, he had like, um, he had *Loveless* [1991, by Irish guitar band My Bloody Valentine] playing super loud, and… I'd never really listened to it before, kind of thought it sounded a little bit tinny and noisy when I'd previously heard it. So I never gave it the time. But he just, he had it cranked in his room, and it was a nice day, and his bay windows were open, and um, it was just – yeah I just thought that sounded amazing, and um, it sort of changed my sensibility a bit straight away. Just by opening my ears to harsher sounds that can also be really immersive and beautiful.

Thus a chance encounter with music in a particular context changed Martin's sensibility and opened his ears to that music, even though he had heard it before and was aware of the high critical esteem in which the album was held ("if anything it just gave me more of a belief in music writers as taste-makers"). Similarly, it was a chance experience dependent very much on its context that led Nick, who had previously held a song's lyrics to be essential to his enjoyment, to appreciate instrumental music like violin-led band The Dirty Three:

> Nick: …we were driving down to Sydney and Melbourne, to play there last, we were driving along this road and, you know, it's kinda like the same style of road and, you know just, limitless plains kinda thing, and we listened to um… Water Music? I'm not sure -
>
> Interviewer: Oh um, *Ocean Songs*?
>
> Nick: *Ocean Songs*. From The Dirty Three, as the sun was setting, and it's like, you know, here's something that I've never experienced before and it was like 'Whoa', you know, um, this is a whole kind of thing that I haven't been listening to that I've been missing out on and it's a- it's amazing, so I can remember at that exact point when the sun was setting in this landscape and it was like, it just summed up the landscape it was amazing. And then so I've been listening to a bit more of that and, and really getting into it.

Among other things, this experience led Nick to become a fan of a Brisbane instrumental band with a similar aesthetic to the Dirty Three. These stories of growing through experience are consistent with Driver's (2011) findings about hardcore fans learning and earning cultural capital through embodied experience such as their presence at gigs. However, the focus here is not on amassing the symbolic capital associated with cultural competency but on developing techniques for deriving pleasure and insight from music.

Going to gigs: intimate communality and staying motivated

While a number of the participants' early, inspirational experiences with music occurred in the relative anonymity of festival crowds, their current practice within the Brisbane indie music scene occurs within a more intimate context.

> Nick: You could go with one friend to the Hi Fi [a large, licensed venue] and just watch the show and not talk to anyone, or you could go to something at the Waiting Room [a small, unlicensed, venue in a house] and know a whole lot of people and talk to them.

This is, in part, a necessity of music-making within the scene. As Rogers (2008, p. 644) notes, "face-to-face informal networking gatekeeps and governs the indie live circuit", or as one of his interviewees puts it: "You've got to go to gigs to get gigs". However, Nick sees this as a positive end in itself, as he enjoys "meeting the people, and um, going to the gigs, and,

you know, swappin' stories, swappin' songs". This is consistent with Fonarow's (1997, p. 364) finding that "an emotional feeling of community and connectedness" between musicians and audiences is central to indie music.

Pete, in a quote presented earlier, noted how getting involved in the scene was motivated partly by a desire to socialise with an imagined set of people. However, he later emphasised that his motivation to stay active within the scene was not social achievement but transcendent moments of pleasure:

> …with [our DIY venue] we went on a journey of going "This is *awesome*!" and then, kind of, towards the end going *(breathlessly)* "Fuuck," *(laughs)* "I'm tired, I don't wanna go!" […] and in the end, like it just seems like it always comes back full circle to those same experiences of enjoyment that you started with in, like you know as a teen, those things that, when you really enjoy playing music or putting something on like that's, that's all there is, like there's not a lot of the other aspects that you thought were gonna be there, I dunno.

> […] maybe a better way to say it is that you can lose, you can lose enjoyment in some of those pursuits of social, like of, ah, yeah, of what you thought you wanted. And the only way to kind of sustain it is to, um, come back to that feeling that you had as a kid of you know, really seeking out just what you really enjoy. […] at many stages it feels like you have to drop the things that aren't authentic and keep going back to that really fundamental… […] and it can be really hard to do that though, like sometimes you've gotta fight through, there can be barriers to getting back to that, and I think the best… the best musicians seem to be the ones who really live in that space, pretty much all the time of just loving the hell out of what they're doing.

These comments are consistent with the findings of Kahn-Harris (2004) and Tsitsos (2012) that when being an extreme metal or punk fan becomes mundane and routine, the connection to the scene can be rejuvenated by particular experiences of music through the body. These findings show sustained commitment to musical practice as more than a marker of abstract distinction; it is bound up with feeling and especially pleasure. One reason people participate in the Brisbane indie music scene is to create and recreate peak music experiences through which they feel their connection to music, feel their belonging to the scene and find out something about themselves.

Conclusion

Peak music experiences, as epiphanies, are windows into the cultural values of a scene. The case study presented here provides insight into the Brisbane indie music scene by considering the peak music experiences that the research participants credit with their own inspiration, motivation and influence. An analysis of these experiences confirms that, as reported elsewhere, indie music culture values the live setting, difference, exploration and intimate communality. However, these values are not, as suggested by parodies of "hipster" indie music fans, mere markers of distinction "removed from the innocuous pleasures of listening" (Hibbett, 2005, p. 57). Instead, the peak music experiences of the research participants reveal that the values and practices that define the Brisbane indie music scene are inseparable from the embodied pleasures of musical practice, and those pleasures are far from innocuous.

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5.6. Experimental music and the reprogramming of apparatuses

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Abstract

This paper aims to discuss the perception that an underground music scene could be articulated around experimental lutherie, hacking and bending practices, related to a network of contemporary musicians and sound artists in Brazil. A scene, thus, emerges not from a shared aesthetic as usually happens in terms of a musical genre, but a shared interest in continuous experimentation in building and modifying musical instruments, computer music systems and networks, and sound tools in general. Somewhat central to this association of artists and musicians is the notion of music and sound making as a collective and improvisational practice, in which participation plays a key role, and where the creative approach encapsulates a social agenda. It also should be noted that such musical and sound practices occupy standard performance spaces such as theatres and music venues, as well as art galleries, squats, open public spaces, and its participants usually stem from workshops and courses on abilities such as hardware hacking, circuit bending and creative coding, which also suggests a shared interest in exploring hidden possibilities both in traditional instruments and within electronic gadgets. The author examines different approaches that constitute this practice, based on concept of apparatus as described by Flusser (2000), and particularly the notion of programming and re programming of such apparatuses, which in turn relate to the concepts of lock-in according to Lanier (2010) and reprogramming according to Bourriaud (2002).

Keywords: apparatus, experimental music, hacking, DIY

Experimental music and the reprogramming of apparatuses

Don Buchla addresses a crowded room inside the Music Department building at the University of São Paulo discussing his career's accomplishments and failures, as well as his unique and somewhat maverick approach to music technology[2]. Everyone watches in awe as the inventor gives his personal account of milestones in the history of electronic music and its instruments, while making reference to iconic characters on first-name terms. The audience is quite diverse, comprised as expected of graduate and undergraduate students, but also of musicians of different styles without academic bonds, synthesizer enthusiasts and a few amateur synth builders. And even though Buchla is known to have composed some music and played in a vast number of performances over his life, people are here to see Buchla the innovator, the man behind the gear, which makes one wonder if ever a room full of violinists gathered to see a luthier tell the history of his life and instruments.

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[1] University of São Paulo, Brazil.

[2] Buchla's visit to the music department at USP took place on June, 13th, 2011.

Over the course of a weekend, a group of people gathers in the workshops and meeting rooms of the Pompéia unit of SESC[3] and at the nearby music venue Serralheria (http://escapeserralheria.org/) – both located in the west side of São Paulo City – sharing their time between debates, short courses and performances as part of an event called **Ciclo Hack**[4], organized by Giuliano Obici. Guest speakers and performers include hackers standing at different points of the software / hardware spectrum – such as digital artists Jarbas Jácome (http://jarbasjacome.wordpress.com/) and Jeraman (http://jeraman.info/), the Gambiólogos[5] hardware-hacking collective and "voltage artisan" Glerm Soares (http://glerm.devolts.org/) - and discussions range from the relative ease of building a cracklebox[6] or mantaining hacklabs active, to ambitious projects such as developing programming languages entirely based on Inca mathematics.

Inside a nondescript room, which in former times could have been a residential dining room as well as an office space overlooking a small porch, a crowd of about fifty people is gathered to watch as trio of musicians run through their set[7]. All three brandish different versions of the same instrument, from which they coax a variety of electronic sounds: the Gatorra, a hybrid instrument that is part drum machine, part DIY synthesizer, played in standing position as one would play an electric guitar – hence its name deriving from the portuguese word *guitarra*. In the middle of the trio stands Antônio Carlos Correia de Moura, a.k.a. Tony da Gatorra, an electronic technician residing in Esteio[8], and the inventor and so far sole builder of the Gatorra. Most of his live performances consist of his own protest songs performed solo or together with other Gatorra enthusiasts[9] to audiences which tend to be fifty-percent ardent fans shouting the lyrics to old favourites such as "Meu Nome é Tony" and "Assassino", fifty-percent people staring in amazement having no idea what exactly is going on. The evening ends with a brand new Gatorra being auctioned and sold to a member of the crowd.

The sonic and musical examples heard on the three occasions mentioned above bear little resemblance to one another, except perhaps to a listener lacking the will to perceive these are very different uses of electronic resources for making sound. Should we pay attention to the attendants instead, some familiar faces begin to be noticed, discussions appear to be quite

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[3] SESC stands for Social Service of the Commerce, a non-profit organization aimed at providing leisure, entertainment, educational and sports facilities for the employees in the commerce, services and tourism sectors and their families, as well as the local community (http://www.sescsp.org.br/en/sobre-o-sesc/quem-somos/). Since the 1980s the SESC network in the city of São Paulo is known to be an important sponsor of underground and alternative music scenes.

[4] "Ciclo Hack" and "Noite Hack" took place on the 9th and 10th of July, 2011.(http://giulianobici.blogspot.com.br/2011/07/ciclo-hack.html).

[5] "Gambiólogos" would translate somewhat like "hackologists", a word coined from Gambiarra, a term in Portuguese meaning a hack or a bend in an electric installation that is used to describe any makeshift solution to practical problems, and the logos suffix.(http://www.gambiologia.net/blog/).

[6] The cracklebox is an electronic instrument originally created by dutch composer and performer Michael Waisvisz (2004).

[7] This performance took place at the Casa do Mancha venue (https://www.facebook.com/casadomancha), in August, 25th, 2013.

[8] A small town in the sprawls around Porto Alegre, capital of Brazil's southernmost state, Rio Grande do Sul.

[9] At the time of writing, Tony da Gatorra is working on Gatorras number 18 and 19, plus additional Mini-gatorras and Batucadores, a portable drum machine (http://tonydagatorra.blogspot.com.br/). Previous models have been purchased by amateurs as well as professional musicians such as Franz Ferdinand's Nick McCarthy, and CSS' Lovefoxxx. On the performance mentioned in this paper, Tony was backed up by Lulina (http://www.lulina.com.br/) and Anvil FX (https://www.youtube.com/user/anvilfx666).

similar, and maybe someone will make the effort to advertise an upcoming event for like-minded people or addressing similar topics. But the common thread linking such events is hard to pin down as a musical genre, style or even a fad. It seems equally inconclusive to try and impose the notion of a shared aesthetic project, either by analysing the end results – whether it's musical, visual or multimediatic material – or the discourse put forward by its creators.

Instead, we might want to look at the people and their tools, listen to what they're talking about and to the sounds they're making, discover where it is that they hang out. Knowing that there's not just a single way of perceiving such coincidences, I will suggest that it might be possible to look at these common points as indicators of a different sort of music scene, one that gravitates around a shared interest in the making and modifying of musical / sonic tools rather than around a specific genre of music or musical attitude. A deeper discussion about what constitutes a musical instrument and in which way a musical "instrument" is or differentiates from a musical "tool" lies beyond the scope of this paper, and I believe it will suffice for the case in hand to embrace a very broad understanding of the term "instrument".

Grouping around musical instruments is usually associated with the idea of musicians' guilds and unions, that since time immemorial have acted as chancellors of which tools are proper for music-making, and what are the correct manners in which they should be employed to such ends, amongst other things (Godlovitch, 1998, p.68-69; Théberge, 1997, p. 20-21). Also, musicians guilds have for a long time been responsible for organizing access to knowledge and training for music theory and specific instruments (Théberge, 1997, p. 132). In the last few decades, groups of musicians have also gathered and communicated based on the "user group" format, focusing on certain tools such as digital instruments and music software in a similar manner of computer users and other groups (Théberge, 1997, p. 69; 139) associated with DIY activity. In any case – be it the National Guild of Piano Teachers, your regular Musician's Union, or the local chapter of the Ableton Live User Group – gathering in these formats have a direct relationship either with the professional aspects of a musician's job, or with a specific tool and the features it encompasses.

On the other hand, this hypothetical scene is somehow "un-professional", in that its main concerns are not so much related to how a given instrument will help to forward one's presence in the marketplace, what amount of theory a practitioner is expected to know in order do properly do a job, or which of the instrument projects has more 'bang for the buck'. In a similar manner to circuit-bending and hardware-hacking circles, there's a strong emphasis in sharing information and knowledge, and the organization of courses and workshops seems to be as important a part of the scene as the organization of concerts.

The mention of circuit-bending and hardware-hacking comes in handy as a way of introducing the people involved, by means of mapping out an intersection between more established backgrounds. In terms of musical education, a fair number of participants has formal training in music to some extent, practicing a variety of popular – or perhaps highly unpopular – music genres, sometimes dabbling into traditional, contemporary or experimental concert music setups. People classifying themselves as "non-musicians" also feel comfortable to join in at concerts, workshops and jam sessions feeling that this is an inviting environment to pursue sonic investigations, an opening partially related to a noticeable participation of free

improvisers[10]. There's also a strong presence of people involved with academic research, but not to the extent that this could be considered the offspring of academic activity.

And, as expected, there are many participants who fit in more than one description, given that it's a scene where people are expected to wear many hats, as in jazz or death metal guitarrists who live coder but also tinker with analogue electronics and Arduino-laced *intonarumori*[11].

If the crowd that suggests the existence of this scene can be found at an intersection between several better-known, longer-established cultural groups, the places that host such intersection can be seen as intersections themselves. Different spaces host such activities, with different degrees of institutional affiliation. The aforementioned SESC network is a regular home to concerts, workshops and longer-term courses, which helps interfacing with a more diverse audience[12]. On a weekly basis there are performances in independent venues that also host regular courses and visual arts shows, such as Ibrasotope (http://ibrasotope.com.br/), Instituto Volusiano (http://www.institutovolusiano.blogspot.com.br/), Epicentro Cultural (http://www.epicentrocultural.com/epicentro/), and Trackertower (http://trackers.cx/). Together with Casa do Mancha and Serralharia, other venues such as Espaço Cultural Walden (https://pt-br.facebook.com/esp.cult.walden) and Puxadinho da Praça (https://pt-br.facebook.com/puxadinho.dapraca) are keen to open the doors for performances based around custom-built instruments.

Apparatuses and technological lock-in

Théberge (1997) outlines a process through which the relationship of the musician with its tools becomes one of increasing consumption of technology, more and more intertwined at each successive wave of innovations. Writing at a time posterior to the MIDI protocol introduction in 1984, Théberge points out that this paradigm shift is accentuated during the 1980s and 1990s as digital technology accomplishments are filtered into the marketplace and digital synthesizers, sequencers and workstations become more accessible, but that a longer history of musical instrument marketing should be taken into account to fully understand the complex interplay between musicians, instrument makers and media: "the conventional dividing line between production and consumption has thus become increasingly blurred [as] musicians have increasingly become *consumers* of technology" (Théberge, 1997, p. 4).

This is one of the reasons, for instance, behind the user group phenomenon witnessed clearly from the 1980s onward, but also connected with the analog synthesizer culture beginning in the 1960s in which the exchange of technical information between owners of specific pieces of hardware – and later, software – becomes an integral part of a *modus operandi* and a regular habit of a predominantly white, male and middle-class crowd. Théberge (1997, p. 140) posits that the user group is "not simply a means of exchanging

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[10] The "Orquestra Errante" free-improv group is an example of a local ensemble of improvisers that occasionally counts with the participation of players of unconventional instruments – either acoustic, electronic, or hybrid – as well as live coders, for instance (https://myspace.com/orquestraerrante).

[11] Intonarumori are noise instruments conceived and built by the italian artist Luigi Russolo in the 1910s, as a means to bring to life the ideas manifested in his essay "The art of noises" (Russolo, (1913) In: Cox, C., Warner, D. (2004)).

[12] At the time of writing, for instance, live-coding artist André Damião is running workshops on electroacoustic music and live-coding for children (http://www.sescsp.org.br/aulas/32612 MUSICA+ELETROACUSTICA+PARA+CRIANCAS).

technical information; rather, they might be a means by which consumers develop alternative definitions of their needs and new forms of satisfaction from their relationship to commodities and other consumers". This technical aspect of making music, not in terms of acquiring and developing instrumental technique by means of practice and repetition, but in terms of acquiring cognitive knowledge of how to operate such and such equipment has a significant impact on one's sense of musical style and language.

Overlapping with this period, the gradual sophistication of the electronics and microchip technology since the 1970s slowly helps to transform the electronic musical instrument in a product akin to a musical black box, in the terminology employed by Flusser (2000). This metaphor of the black box – a contraption which can only be understood in terms of input and output, but whose inner workings are shrouded in mystery – is employed to describe the concept of the apparatus, considering its embodiment in the photographic camera as a starting point.

What is key to understanding the concept of the apparatus and how it connects with music technology has to do with its *programming*, in that the possibilities contained in a given apparatus are previously determined by the shaping of its program, which could be described as a preset array of possibilities embedded in the apparatus in its conception, or "computational thinking flowing into hardware" (Flusser, 2000, p. 31). As such, the apparatus and its program are "part of a culture, consequently this culture is recognizable in them" (Flusser, 2000, p. 22).

The side effects of a given apparatus' programming could be related to technological lock-in, described by Lanier (2010) in relation to software as a process that causes designs to "get frozen into place" (Lanier, 2010, p. 7). Both Théberge (1997, p. 127) and Lanier (2010, p. 11) use the MIDI protocol as an example of how technology is able to crystallise a specific philosophy or political view in a way that will later impact not only its employment, but the very perception of reality of its user – or as is the case, his or her notions about music and music making.

Reprogramming

Fernandez (2013, p. 51) suggests that the instigation behind practices such as circuit-bending or hardware hacking could be seen as attempts to shed some light inside the Flusserian black box, eventually discussing that a black box is opened or enlightened only to reveal a multitude of other black boxes inside. However, the idea that experimental approaches in building musical instruments could be understood as a contemporary reaction to technological lock-ins seems worthwhile of investigation by other perspectives, one of which could be the concept of *reprogramming*.

Bourriaud (2005) employs the term reprogramming to describe the praxis observable in a generation of artists in activity during the 1990s, whose work seems to "respond to the proliferating chaos of global culture, which is characterized by an increase in the supply of works" (Bourriaud, 2005, p. 13). In the same manner that a DJ and a programmer have the "task of selecting cultural objects and inserting them into a new context" (Bourriaud, 2005, p. 13), artists reprogram previous works of art as well as cultural goods and references, aiming to "inscribe the work of art within a network of signs and significations" (Bourriaud, 2005, p. 14) rather than conceiving of the work of art as an autonomous entity. This represents a shift

from the idea of working with raw materials to the idea of working with data, information (Bourriaud, 2005, p. 15).

The term seems applicable to the activity being discussed, in that the practitioners seldom build their instruments starting from raw materials in the way that a conventional luthier would start a project with planks of wood or metal alloys. In its simplest form, this instrument building starts from reprogramming cultural objects both in terms of tangible, fabricated goods and of intangible source material, in the sense that the diagrams for an electronic circuit or program code are also cultural objects.

Although it is not being assumed that the notion of program that constitute a given apparatus' programming in Flusser bears a theoretical relationship to that which makes reprogramming possible according to Bourriaud, the mere coincidence in the choice of words by the two authors was enough suggest an approach to this investigation. Instead of trying to unveil the mysteries of the apparatus as a black box – being confronted with other apparatuses nesting inside each other in the manner of Russian dolls (Lima, 2013, p. 122) – practices of experimental lutherie can be understood as attempts to reprogram technical content.

Taking stock

This paper proposes that the idea of reprogramming is a useful tool to describe and understand the activities of a number of different people dealing with a broad spectrum of techniques related to sound making and instrument building. It also suggests that the interaction between these people could be understood in terms of a musical scene, albeit one that germinates from similar activities and interests rather than aesthetic identities or perhaps a specific location. This approach is rooted in the conclusions of a research work (Lima, 2013) and integrates the beginning of another research that aims to investigate the complex network of connections between some of the artists mentioned, the techniques they employ and the audience they reach.

Instruments like the Gatorra and the Toscolão (http://vimeo.com/303234) indeed can be seen as the results of reprogramming different contents in different levels – from the very concept of guitars, to start with, to the circuitry that each instrument employs – and not only technical sources, making it clearer that there really is no use in differentiating "technical" objects and content from "cultural" objects and content. To a certain extent, one could say that there's also a political attitude permeating the scene, not in terms of subscribing to established political views, but in terms of believing in the empowerment of the layman as an artist in potential, and in the idea that sharing and participation are integral to music-making. These are aspects that often surface on the work of the artists who lend themselves to this sort of activity, and help to draw themselves closer according to a few points in common: not their sound or their music *per se*, but an attitude towards music-making that encompasses the very choice of how their musical instruments will be structured.

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5.7. Music as as a way of living: the case of Sonoscopia

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Abstract

Sonoscopia is an association mainly devoted to the practice, creation and promotion of experimental music and sound art. Strongly tied to a DIY ethics (Peterson and Bennett, 2004), *Sonoscopia*'s members, with highly diverse musical and academic backgrounds, have been sharing and exchanging their knowledge, in a joint effort to accomplish new ways of living and thinking Porto's underground musical scene. This study examines in which way the individual and collective musical practices at *Sonoscopia* may provide resources for new modes of agency and forms of living (Frith, 1978, 2002; DeNora, 2004). The data used in this study was generated from interviews to members, audio and video recordings and artefacts produced within *Sonoscopia*'s work. It was found that the deep engagement of members in the activities and projects of *Sonoscopia* seems to arise from a strong sense of belonging, a feeling of collective ownership and active participation in all decisions and chosen pathways. It was also found that the DIY logic lived at the association seems to have its roots in the strong commitment of its members not only to a specific musical scene but also to the relationships that have been established among them. Findings suggest that contexts devoted to a particular musical scene may foster personal and social transformations that have a major impact in the life of its participants. In such contexts, musical practice seems to provide a space for self-worth and self-achievement and to give new meaning to individual, social and musical identities.

Keywords: musical scene, creativity, participation, transformation, DIY ethics

Introduction

Sonoscopia is an association devoted mainly to the practice, creation and promotion of experimental music and sound art. It was officially created in 2012 and one year later it had its own facilities equipped with a studio, an atelier, a rehearsal room and a larger room for concerts and presentations. *Sonoscopia*'s facilities also include a large apartment with kitchen, and a loft which is ideal for artistic residences and for housing musicians during long term events.

More importantly, *Sonoscopia* is a group of people that have been making music together for more than a decade and that:

a) Share a common interest - Experimental music;

b) Have diverse musical and academic backgrounds;

c) Has developed joint efforts to accomplish new ways of living and thinking Porto's Underground Musial Scene;

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[1] Polytechnic Institute of Porto, School of Education, Portugal.

d) Have similar understandings of the world and of the individuals.

This text describes the main purposes of this association and the work they have been developing in Porto's social and cultural life and explores the ways in which the individual and collective musical practices of *Sonoscopia* may provide resources for new modes of agency and forms of living.

It is our belief that this research will bring a fresh insight to further understand Porto's underground musical scene, from the musicians' and music lovers' perspective.

Theoretical background

Music, identity and meaning

Music has an active role in the construction of our personal and social life, which is often organized around musical practices and values (Frith, 2002; DeNora, 1999, 2003, 2004). Here we draw our attention to the aesthetic dimension of personal and social organization, focusing not only on "how music comes to be implicated in the construction of the self as an aesthetic object" (DeNora, 1999, p.31), but also on "how aesthetic materials are appropriated and used to produce social life" (DeNora, 2004, p.6). In this respect, there are two major lines of analysis we can address. On one hand, following Frith (2002), we can ask ourselves what is that "much more mysterious power of music in itself" (p.46) that we can feel but seem to fail to categorize. On the other hand, we can think of all our daily activities that are deeply connected to music, things like turning off the alarm clock in the morning and the music we listen to in our car.

The first line of analysis addresses the issue of music and emotions. Music affects us through our body and our emotions. This phenomenon is deeply related to the concept of embodiment and the way emotions and the subsequent feelings that emerge from them influence our thinking, being and acting (Bowman, 2000, 2004). The second line of analysis focuses on music as an aesthetic and active resource in the organization and definition of social life. Music materials are related to particular celebrations, particular conducts, or personal associations. Most importantly, music is part of who we are. Using the words of DeNora (2004), music is "an active ingredient" (p.5) of our self, of our identity. It is not something that we add to ourselves and to our lives. It is an active constituent of our being and of our being with others. It is a medium that provides an aesthetic way to understand and respond to the world and to others. Our interest lies in understanding "what the appropriation of cultural materials achieves *in action,* what culture does for its consumers within the contexts of their lives" (DeNora, 2004, p.6).

Together, these two lines of thought stress the dynamic relation between music and individuals, the flowing movements that occur in the diverse interactions that happen among them when human beings are listening, performing or creating music. Meanings emerge from these interactions. In this context, it is important to understand that the process of meaning making does not occur in a vacuum, but in the web of interactions that take place in the personal and social trajectories of enacting musical worlds. In this respect, Wenger (1998) clarifies that:

> By living in the world we do not just make meanings up independently of the world, but neither does the world simply impose meanings on us. The negotiation of meaning is a productive process, but negotiating meaning is not constructing it from scratch. Meaning is

not pre-existing, but neither is it simply made up. Negotiated meaning is at once both historical and dynamic, contextual and unique. (pp. 53-54)

It is, therefore, a process that transforms our identity, that changes who we are, creating new ways of becoming in the contexts where we live our lives. Accordingly, identity and participation are two concepts that live in mutuality, changing and transforming each other. In fact, identity, in the context of this theoretical approach, evolves through the ways each individual participates in the practices of a community. Through their multiple journeys of participation, individuals reconfigure their lives and their selves in collaborative musical activities that involve action and connection (DeNora, 2004; Wenger, 1998, 2006). By communicating their thoughts, feelings, ideas, and by playing together, helping each other and dialoguing, participants grow both as musicians and as individuals and social actors, transforming not only their own identity, but also the relations they establish among them and the roles they undertake outside their group or community.

Music scenes and DIY cultures

The concept of "music scene" is strongly related to concepts like "music community" and "music subculture", and is used to designate musical contexts that exist somehow apart from the mainstream music industry. Borrowed from the journalistic discourse, the concept of "scene" works as a cultural tool that allows fans of particular musical genres to create alternative identity pathways to the mainstream (Peterson & Bennett, 2004).

More recently, in the academic field, the term "music scene" has been used to refere situations music scenes have embraced situations where "performers, support facilities and fans come together to collectively create music together for their own enjoinment" (Peterson & Bennett, 2004, p.3). But, above all, what is more important to stress here is that the term "scene" acts as a cultural recourse, a metaphorical baggage that contains the core values and ways of expressions of an identity that distinguishes itself and moves away from the mainstream (Peterson & Bennett, 2004; Bennett, 2004).

Living alternative pathways in music means living, somehow, and using the words of Peter Abbs (2003), "Against the Flow". It means to live music for the music itself, rejecting its commercial, and sometimes very appealing, calls, doing the music one loves and believes to better express the thoughts and feelings of inhabiting this world in the present moment. This means looking for authenticity in art, to be honest through music. This means being a musician in a quest for meaning in life, through music (Frith, 1978; Guerra, 2013). This means having music as a way of living through a specific scene that one feels connected to. But musicians living inside these scenes do not isolate themselves from the world. In a recent study, Guerra (2013) found that most musicians belonging to Portuguese alternative rock bands have high cultural and scientific competences. And, in fact, they use these competences to promote their music: they create and write in blogs, magazines, fanzines; they use complex software and audio recording devices to record CDs; they use internet and e-mail to establish several networks with other musicians from similar scenes around the world, and also to promote among fans their concerts, performances, CD or DVD releases. They create, as Peterson and Bennett (2004) suggest, a kind of "industry that works in a Do-It-Yourself (DIY)" (p.5) ethic.

Strongly related to punk musical scenes, DIY can be characterized as an attitude that involves a desire for maintaining the authenticity of bands and musicians, rejecting large-scale marketing. It requires hard work, high levels of participation and a deep commitment toward

values such as sharing and collaborating with each other (Gosling, 2004). And, although originally related to the punk musical scene, it has been extended to:

> "(…) other cultural creations and to everyday politics, wherein participants avoid the ethico-political compromise of participation in institutions and practices they consider exploitative, doing as much as possible themselves, according to an autonomous anarchist ethos." (Nicholas, 2007, p.1)

Ryan Moore (2004) explains this ethical commitment as a reaction to the postmodern alienation of societies living under the forces of global capitalism, a reaction directed to self-sufficiency and independence from the large industrial markets. The motivations of DIY artists rely on putting forward their own ideas and projects. This involves experimentation, improvisation. They do whatever is needed in order to have the conditions to work on their ideas. They do not have aspiration for fame and fortune. They want to put in action whatever they are thinking about and they will collaborate and work hard in order to get it. It is the passion for their music that makes them try, experiment, try again, search for new means, tools, places. It is this passion that makes them move ahead.

Methodology and methods

In the specific case of this study, the researchers' social and cultural context is similar to the one of *Sonoscopia*'s members. This means that this paper is the result of a research with artists in a context where music is understood like something we share with others in different ways and as something more important than anything else. When we started this study case with *Sonoscopia*'s members, we knew that we were in a very inspiring context, guided by the intuition and creative power of its authors, and so we considered this possibility as a new challenge to analyse and understand this music world. As DeNora (2004) mentions "there are very few close studies of how music is used and works as an ordering material in social life" (p.11).

We decided to use a comprehensive methodology that allowed us to pay attention to the speech of our interviewees and to extract from it a sense that was adjusted to them. In fact:

> "(…) the comprehensive approach aims to apprehend and to set out the sense of the individual and collective social activity while realization of an intention. It is justified as the human action, essentially the expression of a conscience, the product of values, the result of motivations" (Bruyne *et al.*, 1991, p.139).

So, to be able to explain the precise sense that the actors attribute to their deep motivations and to the way they cooperate with each others to reach this objective, it is essential to privilege their speeches as well as their actions.

Since it is not possible to obtain explanations for people's actions in a system of regularities, the comprehensive methodology allows an approach of the social processes that privileges their speech as a source of explanation. On the other hand, that speech has to be interpreted on the basis of its particular context; hence, the work of interpretation must take into consideration "the possible significations (...) within the meaning lived" (Dartigues, as quoted in Bruyne *et al.,* 1991, p.78).

The importance of the central discourse for the authors of the Chicago School (Mead, Blumer and Goffman) is clear in Blumer's reference to one of the fundamental premises of symbolic interactionism: "the human being directs his actions towards things according to the

meaning he attributes to them" (Blumer, as quoted in Fernandes, 1998, p.42). In short, the purpose of the comprehensive sociology that shapes the methodological perspective of this research can be defined as the attempt to obtain a 'greater clarification of what those who live in the social world think about it' (Schutz, 1993, p.249).

Collecting and analysing data

In order to understand the origin of *Sonoscopia* and its purposes, we used participatory observation as well as semi-structured interviews to the founders (three in total) and members (six in total) of the association. As it happens with other qualitative methods, non-standardised interviews are valuable as a strategy for discovery. They are fundamental when the topic of research is already familiar to us, and also when there is no danger of meaning being lost when standard questions are asked (Gilbert, 2008, p.247). Founders and members were asked different questions with the intention of understanding both worlds: a) the world of the artists (the musicians) and the way they organize themselves as a group, their purposes and challenges; b) the way members live and participate in this association. It is necessary to say that we questioned the persons interviewed in an open way in order to gain spontaneous information. In the visits we made them, as well as in the activities in which we participated, we were able to understand that we were in the presence of a very peculiar and interesting context. All members work together, they organize shows, workshops and other activities knowing exactly what they could expect from each other. "A useful observational tactic is the cultivation of an impression of *naivité*, so that members feel obliged to explain things that seems obvious to them" (Fielding, 2008, p.267).

In this study, data was firstly coded in order to capture the "datum's primary content or essence" (Saldaña, 2009, p.3). During this phase, pieces of audio and text were labelled according to their evocative characteristics and meanings; these codes were then used to organize data in meaningful categories. It is important to refer that codes and categories were not endorsed as the same thing. Following the perspective of Saldaña (2009), our understanding is that "qualitative codes are essence-capturing and essential elements of the research story that, when clustered together accordingly to similarity and regularity – a pattern – they actively facilitate the development of categories and thus analysis of their connections"(p.8).

In the process of categorization, data was triangulated in order to clarify meaning by focusing on the participants' multiple perspectives on the specific issues that were analysed and interpreted. In this sense, triangulation was used as a differentiation process that led us to acknowledge the multiplicity and plurality of the participants' feelings, perspectives and meanings.

Findings

A living space…

"Whenever someone asks me what is Sonoscopia*, I answer: Well… it's a group of freaks!"* Miguel laughs, directs his blue eyes towards me, trying to make himself clear:

> I mean… freaks because they have the courage to challenge the world, to do things in such different ways! They keep a line of action straightly connected to what they think, to the way

> they feel it should be, and that is totally outsider[2] to everything society knows. 'Outsider' as a way of living and making music!

With these words, Miguel is stressing some of the core values and ethical commitments of all those who actively participate in *Sonoscopia.* First, and most importantly, we would say that *Sonoscopia* is a living space without hierarchies, marked by mutual respect and informal relationships. In fact, *Sonoscopia*'s members don't even like to think about their association in formal terms, as an institution with a president, a vice-president, etc. When Tiago, Manuel and Maria invited other people to create the association, they assumed, as a common ethical principle, that those they were inviting would have the same committed attitude towards *Sonoscopia* that they had. They invited new members to join them as equal partners, sharing the responsibilities of organizing concerts, cleaning, cooking, rehearsing, taking care of the materials, divulging the activities promoted by *Sonoscopia.* Moreover, as Tiago explained to me, although everyone at *Sonoscopia* is somehow related to experimental music and sound as an artistic medium, their profiles are tremendously heterogeneous. And for us, researchers, but also artists and questioning human beings living in a world that seems to have no escape from a generalized egocentric position towards the individual, this was one of the most fascinating things that we saw and heard about. At *Sonoscopia* we met punk rockers, pop rock musicians, film lovers, writers, painters, sound artists, performers, educators, musicians and other professionals doing their master and PhD degrees. Anyone of them could be found working in front of a computer, experimenting with new sounds, cleaning the house, buying food to make the dinner. This association is not related to the punk music scene, and it is important to refer here that, as was already mentioned in the literature review (Nicholas, 2007), DIY it's not exclusive to the punk movement. DIY is related to an ethical position toward life and others (Peterson and Bennett, 2004; Nicholas, 2007; Moore, 2004). And it is a reality at *Sonoscopia.* The fact that they have strongly diverse musical and academic backgrounds is seen by *Sonoscopics* (as they sometime call themselves, laughing) as something very positive. For them, everyone has something unique to share with others: a passion, a special aptitude, talent or expertise that makes that person special to the lives of those who meet at *Sonoscopia.* And that is enough.

Everything that happens at *Sonoscopia* emerges from the ethical demand of giving, respecting and sharing that is inspired on (although, as already mentioned before, not exclusive to) the libertarian model of anarchic movements, such as punk (Gosling, 2004).

As Fernando explained us:

> I don't have to tell you what you have to do, and you don't have to tell me what to do, and we respect each other, and this works, doesn't it? People may argue and discuss about their perspectives, but I think that is a healthy thing if you don't overreact and respect the person you have in front of you.

Having all this in mind, it is our belief that this spirit leads to an overall feeling of well-being that invades those that arrive at *Sonoscopia.* '*People come here and they feel this kind of… spirit… They feel that… it works, that you're cool, you're ok!*' For that reason, *Sonoscopia* has become an almost ideal place to exchange ideas in Porto, to learn with others, to share, to attend concerts and performances and to discuss freely about all this. *Sonoscopia* has become a meaningful place where persons meet, relate to each other, learn and create new things

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[2] In English, in the original.

because of music. It is this way music has an active role in these peoples' lives. From the interviews and from what we observed and heard during informal conversations we could see that the lives of Tiago, Manuel, Maria or Fernando have changed dramatically since they arrived at *Sonoscopia* (DeNora, 2003, 2004, Frith, 2002). At *Sonoscopia* their work and other aspects of life flow together, there is not a rigid separation, perhaps because their work is really a very important part of their lives, it is a way to assign new meaning to situations, to read and rewrite the world.

As a consequence, they have created a place in Porto, a scene that has changed the way other musicians and fans live and understand experimental music.

A working space…

Tiago smiles at me as he finds himself finally ready to be interviewed. After three highly demanding performances at the chapel of the house of *Serralves,* at the "Serralves em Festa" festival in Porto, *Sonoscopia*'s musicians and performers are feeling very tired. They are quite happy with the result of their work and I clearly understand that this is a moment for relaxing. I am almost giving up on interviewing Tiago, as he talks and laughs with the 'crew', drinking a beer before preparing everything for the next day. But Tiago doesn't give up on me. It is Saturday evening, on Sunday they will have another day full of performances and, on Monday, he will leave at dawn for a European tour. Very well aware of all this and knowing that his days run like a John Zorn's frenetic sax line 'improv', he kindly says: "*Let's go?*" I get up immediately, looking around so that I don't forget anything. We walk a little bit by the monumental garden of *Serralves* and we sit in a quiet place, far from the other concerts and from the crowd.

Tiago talks about *Sonoscopia* with passion and devotion. Their new space, a former nursery school that they transformed all by themselves, has become a centre, in the Porto experimental underground musical scene, for the practice, creation and promotion of experimental music and sound art. The place is huge, comfortable, and offers all kind of resources for musicians and other artists related to sound: a studio, an atelier, a room for rehearsing, two other offices, a bigger space for working in ensemble, making presentations and concerts. All these spaces are totally equipped with all kind of tools, musical and electronic material, something they accomplished, according to Tiago, as a natural consequence of their living philosophy:

> At Sonoscopia we leave totally in a DIY culture. We did everything without money, and there are amazing things like… previously we were in a room where we didn't even had a PA to rehearse, we could not hear each other, and suddenly we are in a space where we have three PAs, several columns, microphones to rehearse, you see? And this is only possible because we live and share our things. There is this spirit strongly connected to the punk aesthetics that is part of the past of many of us.

This seems to create the basic conditions for what Tiago and the other members of *Sonoscopia* have stressed again and again in their interviews: *Sonoscopia* as their own place to work, to experiment. There is, indeed, this strong sense of ownership, of owning something that is precious: the freedom to experiment, to try, to take risks. Strongly disconnected from the mainstream industries and from the capitalist way of life, they found, through music, an alternative way of being in the world. They used the aesthetic dimension of their lives to obtain an answer to the questions that pursued them, to bring meaning to their lives (DeNora, 1999, 2003, 2004; Frith, 2002; Wenger, 1998). Fernando, one of the most active members of *Sonoscopia*, explains it this way:

> The idea of a lab where you can experiment things, which otherwise you could not… Because… Well... First of all, you don't have the space or the material to do everything that comes to your mind… But here… Well… You know you have a space; it's like an oxygen balloon, where you can imagine whatever you want, try it and fly…

But this is not the only significant aspect found in *Sonoscopia's* working world. One of the most striking things seems to be knowledge exchange, the possibility of having constant feedback from other musicians, artists and a regular audience. Fernando continues explaining:

> I spent lots of time doing music alone, I missed the feedback, I missed sharing my ideas with someone, you know? And now, this is happening, and it's great! All this idea sharing, the feedback, and the audience! You have people making comments about what you do!

André, a guitar player, seems to agree with Fernando in this respect:

> I… Musicians have this tendency… I have my stuff, I am always isolated, composing, and doing my own stuff, and here I feel much better, you know? I feel… I see other musicians working! I see their work appearing, disappearing… And this is so cool, because you are here, you are feeling and you learn, you really learn.

As a working space, *Sonoscopia* is a place of encounter, a place where no one has to ask what to do, or if it can be done. *Sonoscopia* is a place where people trust each other, where musicians and performers go in order to develop their own work. Sometimes they do it alone. Sometimes they do it together. Some of them are rehearsing for a rock concert they will have the following week, some of them are working on the sound material for their PhD thesis. Some of them are building new musical instruments, others are editing a new a recording. They use each other's material. They leave the room they are working in, ask for an opinion, discuss possibilities. Someone talks about a book, a website, a recording. Someone says "*I have it here! Keep it with you!*" Someone smiles and goes back to work.

And again, and again. And tomorrow they'll see each other again.

Resonances

These two ways of appropriating the physical space of *Sonoscopia* lead to a deep engagement and a strong commitment of its participants to the specific musical scene that grows at *Sonoscopia* and to the relationships that are established among them. At the same time, these two feelings, which seem to sustain the lives of those participating in *Sonoscopia*, breath through a double pathway (Figure 1.) that characterizes their ethical and aesthetically identity: risk taking, exploratory attitude, and a set of values strongly tied to a libertarian model, to anarchy and community sharing.

Figure 1 - *Sonoscopia*'s ethical and aesthetical identity

This seems to work in a circular way, in which these strong feelings of belonging, ownership and participation support an attitude of constant risk taking and only exist due to a strong commitment and deep engagement tied to the particular ethical ethos that *Sonoscopia*'s members have towards each other and towards their work. This is making *Sonoscopia* sound louder and louder in the Portuguese artistic media. They leave their footsteps wherever they go, they have now a faithful group of followers, they have regular activities, performances and concerts, and they have been invited to participate in festivals and multidisciplinary projects and to give several workshops. We will now describe some of these activities which, we believe, are the living manifestations of *Sonoscopia*.

SROSH and DIY instruments

Manuel, one of the members we interviewed, explained the different DIY music instruments they usually make. These new musical instruments, not commercialized, are *unique* (sole instruments). They began to appear at the same time as Srosh, a project created with the support of *Casa da Música*. The goal was to create a music and artistic community in the field of experimental music and sound art. Nowadays, the Srosh ensemble creates sound sculptures, non-conventional instruments, sound interventions and installations in specific spaces. They work in the area of sound art, field recordings, acousmatic, electronic manipulation field recordings, soundscape and indeterminism. Each Srosh's member has built at least one musical instrument, and some of them were made collectively. They also do it many times in workshops with children. "*That's what I love the most*! *I think this is a huge experience for children but also for adults*", explains Manuel. For him, to build with recycled materials − like tin cans, bottles, drink straws, bamboo sticks, bottle caps, pots and pans or any other different objects − is a very interesting experience, a new vision of musical involvement. Young children can tap and bang on the cans like playground drums, they can blow up in bamboo sticks, clap, touch and feel the sound. During these workshops, *Sonoscopia* drums, maracas and xylophones, together with Manuel's music boxes, create the conditions to involve all children in activities such as music composition and improvisation. In the Portuguese music education scenario, such opportunities are 'multifaceted, diverse and heterogeneous; they extend to a wide range of activities, (…), cater to varied interests, and

include many different approaches, styles and genres (O'Neill, 2008, p.461). *Sonoscopia* represents all this in Porto.

Microvolumes

Microvolumes are a series of concerts in the field of experimental, 'improv' and electroacoustic music. They first took place in 2004 at the bar *Artes Múltiplas*, that is nowadays closed. During that year twelve editions of Microvolumes were organized and they included 28 concerts with 33 national and international musicians. The beginning of a new edition of Microvolumes happened in 2011, this time in the new working space of Srosh Ensemble. In this new edition, each concert began with a dinner, which helped to create a more cheerful ambience. Besides listening to the concert, people met, talked to each other, exchanged ideas about music, musicians, etc.

The third edition, which is still ongoing, began in 2013 in the new building of *Sonoscopia.* Two ideas remained from the previous editions: a) musicians should play at low volume; b) there should be a dinner before the concert.

Microvolumes are still happening nowadays, usually once month but sometimes twice. The main goal is to create and maintain an international web of musicians with ideological and musical conceptions similar to those of *Sonoscopia.*

Porto Sonoro

Porto Sonoro is a project that seeks to identify, catalog and understand the sonic identity of the city's historical center, using its surround sound, sound marks, located musical elements, phonetics, and phonology. This Project has theoretical and practical objectives. The theoretical objectives are:

> "To understand sound as an asset of modern day life in its most spontaneous form, this sound research aims at exposing its potential by rethinking the city and its sound basis. By recollecting and reorganizing its fragments we believe that spaces can be re-conceptualized. Sound paradigms can overcome and integrate different academic fields and the community in general, using diverse sound tools to describe soundscapes or to create new ones.
> A creative approach is also incentivized. The sound sources of a certain place may serve as a dynamical motive for transformations, instead of acting as a static phenomenon or being reduced to mere noise pollution problematic" (Magalhães & Costa, 2013, p.2).

The practical objectives are:

> "To create an online platform, open to all to access and contribute. The content of this platform can be used by the scientific community for research and analysis and by the artistic community to use in a sound design context, visual integration or music composition.
> With this expanding platform we aim at preserving and increasing the city of Porto's sonic patrimony, which contributes to the general population collective memories and imaginary through its actors and ambiences" (Magalhães & Costa, 2013, p.2).

In brief

Our research shows that *Sonoscopia* is a very special Portuguese association, an association with international recognition and that receives other musicians and bands in a regular basis. Music is a universal language that facilitates the communication, something most people enjoy and like to share. It is the kind of art that allows people to take part in it in different ways. As Zask (2001) proposes, to participate is to take part in something: to *contribute*, to *receive* and

to *benefit* as a democratic ideal. Each *Sonoscopia*'s member can do his musical scene according to his own interests and build his own identity in a mixed environment. All members can propose and challenge others to be a part or to take part in other member's projects. In spite of their financial difficulties they never gave up. They work in a social and cultural community trying to show their point of view, their *scene*, in a positive, constructive and affirmative way. They are concerned with the sustainability of the environment as well as with the cultural inheritance. As *Sonoscopia*'s members mentioned to us, to bring people together in a common project like this one does not mean to divide a community property, but to produce in common something which, later on and in various ways, can be appreciated by each participant. On one hand, all members chose freely to be a part of this group and know what they can expect and, on the other hand, they all chose music as a way of living.

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Photo given by Ondina Pires

PART 6 | Underground music scenes

6.1. Above and below ground

Will Straw[1]

Abstract

Underground musical cultures within cities have been celebrated or condemned for their visibility. They have confounded journalists and would-be members of such cultures through their invisibility and through the barriers which they pose to entry. This dual character of underground music scenes – their visibility and invisibility – is the focus of my article.

As visible expressions of taste and political identity, undergrounds contribute to the theatricality of cities. They occupy space, invite judgement, and participate in the spectacle of visual diversity which has long been one of the key features of cities. At the same time, as obscure worlds whose logics and practices often escape easy identification, musical undergrounds enhance the sense that key features of contemporary urban life are invisible, indecipherable, mysterious.

This tension between the visibility and invisibility of musical undergrounds regularly poses problems for those (journalists, tourists, critics) seeking to find and observe musical scenes. If the notion of music scene has continued usefulness in musical analysis, it is perhaps for the ways in which it joins the labour of cultural expression to the effervescence of urban sociability. The relationship between these two things is not one of simple translation. Cultural labour may be hidden behind sociability just as the making of culture may obscure the building of social links which is one of its key effects. Scenes make cultural activity visible and decipherable by rendering it public, taking it from acts of private production and consumption into public contexts of sociability, conviviality, interaction. In these public contexts, cultural activity is subject to the look which seeks to understand. Just as clearly, though, scenes make cultural activity invisible and indecipherable by 'hiding' cultural productivity behind seemingly meaningless (or indistinguishable) forms of social life.

Keywords: urban, subculture, music, visibility, scene

The main issue I want to address in this article is that of the visibility of music scenes. In doing so, I'm bringing together two of my key interests. One of those is the very notion of a musical or cultural scene, to which I have returned intermittently in my work over the last twenty years. The other, a more recent interest, is the culture of the urban night. I have recently completed a two-year team project on the urban night, and am seeking to expand this into an international network.

Let me begin by talking about where I live. I come from Montreal, in Quebec, in Canada. To say that is already to say something politically sensitive: many people in Quebec do not think of themselves as living in Canada. And many people in Montreal do not think of themselves as living in Quebec. This is symptomatic of the ways in which identification with one's city has become, for so many, a primary identification. We speak of a Montreal music scene now, but hardly at all any more of *la Musique Québécoise* or Canadian music.

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More precisely, I live in a neighbourhood of Montreal called "Mile End". Since the late 1990s, Mile End has been considered the most vital area for rock-based music in Montreal and probably in Canada. It is the home of the influential group Godspeed Ye Black Emperor, of their record label Constellation Records, of house music label Mile End Records; it is the "birthplace" of Arcade Fire, the location of Casa del Popolo, probably the most important venue for alternative rock-based forms of music in Montreal, and of the important venue Cabaret de Mile End; and it is the neighbourhood in which dozens of bands and other musical configurations started and in which some continue to live: Mozart's Sister, Grimes, Blue Hawaii, Braids, Sean Nicholas Savage, Mac DeMarco and TONSTARTSSBANDHT, Purity Ring, Doldrums. My friend Francois Mouillot will be speaking later in the conference about some of this activity.

The Mile End neighbourhood is slowly losing some of its centrality now, as musical activity moves north, in the face of ongoing gentrification. But for much of the 2000s, Mile End was considered the epicentre of Montreal and Canadian musical activity. In 2010, it was the centre of what, borrowing from Greil Marcus, people began calling the "New Weird Canada" a musical underground characterized by high levels of eccentricity (http://www.aux.tv/2012/09/the-new-weird-canada-exploring-the-emerging-music-underground/).

And so journalists came to report on the Mile End scene. The challenge they confronted, though, was that the Mile End music scene was difficult to capture in visual terms. Music consumed in dark rooms, in lofts or bars, is not particularly photogenic. This is particularly the case for music which is not particularly theatrical, and which is often marked by a cultivated casualness. In any case, darkened rooms convey little of the geography of a scene. As a result, most of the images of Mile End which circulate are images from which music is absent. Music was the cultural activity which founded the idea of Mile End as a scene, but the visual signifiers of that scene communicate little of music.

As an experiment, I typed the phrases "Mile end" and "Music scene" into Google Images. Here are the first 31.

In only 3 of these images do we see any relation to music: in one, a musician performs at the inauguration of a park; in another, a musician speaks in a seminar; in the last one, we see the logo for the Montreal house music label Mile End Records. Mostly, we see images of buildings which bear no necessary relationship to music: churches, shops, restaurants. We see streets. We don't, in fact, see many people, and those we do see are mostly in one photo of people, in the lower left, of people sitting outside the Café Olympico. This is the café which journalists typically describe as the meeting place for Mile End's hipster music scene.

I'm interested in the way in which this absence of images of music in Mile End does many things. First of all, this absence of images enhances the sense that the music here is underground music – it is underground, not only in the sense of being experimental and often transgressive, but because it is invisible. The scene does not offer itself up for easy understanding. When I first moved to Montreal, the markers of a scene were highly visible, in the ways in which punks dressed and occupied public space. In Mile End now, it is rather as if musicians are like aliens who live among us, undetectable. Secondly, because the image of Mile End focus on buildings and streets, they contributes to the sense that music here is deeply grounded in space and locality, even if music itself is almost never shown in the places in which it happens. Thirdly, and I will return to this later, the absence of images of music confirms a tendency of 21st century urban life: that cultural activity, even of the most avowedly

oppositional kind, will be absorbed within a generalize sense of lifestyle whose most visible features are the spaces of public consumption, like restaurants and cafés.

Figure 1 - Google search: "mile end" "music scene". Accessed June 30, 2014

Now, we can contrast representations of the Mile End scene with those of another "scenic" phenomenon: that is the scene around what Eric Davidson, in his very fine recent book, calls the "Gunk Punk" scene (Davidson, 2010). Basically, the Gunk Punk scene is a loosely connected scene devoted to music of the 1990s which fell, stylistically, between hard core punk and messy power pop or garage. The scene was constituted of bands like the New Bomb Turks and the Ding Dongs. If representations of Mile End's music scene are so often devoid of any pictures of music, Davidson's book is the opposite. It is full of pictures of music: every image, it seems, is of a band playing in a club, like the image on the cover. With time, all of these images come to look the same. Of course there is no other specificity to the Gunk Punk scene beyond the generic club… there were no spaces or neighbourhoods with which it was associated, no places in which the scene converged and drank coffee in the afternoon. The scene was held together by a thin line of taste which joined together, across the United States and Western Europe, those musicians who were too archival in their tastes to simply want to make hard-edged punk and too punky in their tastes to simply want to be 1960s garage band revivalists. The Gunk Punk scene was just the name of the network which formed along this line of taste. It was visible only in its moments of enactment. The Mile End scene of Montreal, on the other hand, could claim to be a community, with infrastructures for living and eating and socializing.

Let me talk more broadly now about music scenes and visibility. The question of the visibility of musical scenes and subcultures may be said to fall between two positions which were elaborated in the 1980s and 1990s. One of these is the idea that subcultures already are subject to a look: the look of surveillance, the look of power. Subcultures inhabit that look, and they seek it out. But everything they do is devoted to ensuring that the look of others does not reach at the understanding which is one of its objectives. Here is Dick Hebdige, in his 1989 book *Hiding in the Light*: "Subculture forms up in the space between surveillance and the evasion of surveillance, it translates the fact of being under scrutiny into the pleasure of being watched. It is a hiding in the light" (Hebdige, 1989, p. 35). And later: "Subcultures are both a play for attention and a refusal, once attention has been granted, to be read according to the Book" (p. 35).

Two years later, in 1991, Hakim Bey will suggest a very different kind of politics. The enemy is no longer, as with Hebdige, a marginalized underclass which must find ways of asserting its identity. Nor is the enemy a power engaged in surveillance which seeks to understand and therefore to control. Rather, the enemy is a logic of consumerism which turns every subcultural image into a cinematic commodity. Subcultures seek to undermine the Society of the Spectacle by building marginal, short-lived spaces of invisibility. In a society which transforms everything into "cinema", the radical gesture is that which fails to attract the look. For Hakim Bey, the purpose of a radical politics is to create temporary autonomous zones which leave no traces and attract no looks:

> Getting the Temporary Autonomous Zone started may involve tactics of violence and defense, but its greatest strength lies in its invisibility--the State cannot recognize it because History has no definition of it. As soon as the TAZ is named (represented, mediated), it must vanish, it *will* vanish, leaving behind it an empty husk, only to spring up again somewhere else, once again invisible because undefinable in terms of the Spectacle (Bey, 1991).

Now Hebdige and Bey are not offering different theories of the same thing. Hebdige, as we know, is talking about the long line of spectacular subcultures, which runs from the London street gangs of the 19th century through the punks of the 20th. Bey's idea of Temporary Autonomous Zones will become a key part of the ways in which rave culture in the 1990s came to theorize itself. They are talking about very different sorts of undergrounds and very different sorts of cultural politics. One way of describing the difference between them, perhaps, is to say that Hebdige is iconophilic: he sees visibility and the image as key to resistance, and conceives cultural conflict in terms of semiotic warfare. Bey, on the other hand, is iconophobic, condemning the image for its inevitable complicity with a mediatized consumer culture.

We can say many things about these two approaches to visibility, but I want to talk for a moment about their implications for the question of identities: for the question of bodies marked by race, gender and sexuality. Let me just offer two hypotheses:

1) One hypothesis is that what, for Dick Hebdige, is typical of street subcultures has long been true for racial minorities, sexual minorities and so on. The resistance of African Americans and Latinos, of transgender communities and so on has involved the claim to the right to occupy public space and to assert those visible identities where they might not be wanted. However, this occupation of public space will often include a resistance to any easy understanding. This is the classic struggle for the visibility of the oppressed and marginalized.

2) Hakim Key's fight for invisibility, on the other hand, is a refusal to fight at the level of the image. There is a history of this struggle for invisibility at the heart of black American politics, and in particular in the thinking of Ralph Ellison. To be invisible is to find places, not just of refuge, but of community and self-development. By the time Hakim Bey is writing, though, the refusal to fight at the level of the image is also a refusal to conceive of cultural struggle in terms of race, gender, sexuality –all of these things which function at the level of the visible. Hence, we have the perception of 1990s rave culture as sexless or ungendered, as implicitly white and unconcerned with a politics of social identity.

Perhaps we might say, in 2014, that neither of these positions, nor the things they describe, continue to have pertinence. We might want to say that spectacular subcultures, seeking out and resisting the gaze of power in public space, are hardly with us anymore. We might want to say, as well, that Temporary Autonomous Zones of utopic invisibility only exist in parodic forms, like the Burning Man Festival or beach parties in Ibiza. This might be the case in Western Europe and Canada and the United States, but I suspect it may be different elsewhere.

Let me now return to the Mile End scene in Montreal. In March of 2014, the newspaper the Ottawa Citizen, ran an article entitled "Day Trip: A day in Mile End, Montreal's 'hipster capital" (http://www.ottawacitizen.com/Trip+Mile+Canada+hipster+capital/9669130/story.html). What interests me about this piece, which was generally successful in its characterization of the neighbourhood, was the image which accompanied it: the image of a vintage boutique selling old clothes and other kinds of vintage objects. Images such as these now serve with increasing frequency to represent the neighbourhood. If the original center of the Mile End cultural scene was music-making, that activity was and largely remains invisible and unrepresented. There are obviously formal problems with representing music in visual terms, and it is commonplace to note that the material supports of music – records, instruments, etc. – are usually used to stand in for a substance that is sonic rather than visual. What is interesting in the case of Mile End is that imagery now quickly steps over the material supports of music to show us the non-musical material supports of a scene originally founded on music: like the objects which have accumulated and been repurposed and which now fill hipster vintage shops. Scenes generate this accumulation of material goods as one of their underlying processes; these material goods then become the visible tokens of the tastes which characterize the scene. Their relationship to the scene is kind of indexical: they point towards tastes, but express them only impartially.

The more interesting image of Mile End, in my view, one which figures among the first 31 images turned up in the Google Search which I spoke about earlier. Half of all the media pictures of Mile End seem to be pictures of people sitting outside one particular café, the Café Olympia. Journalists rush to this café as if the secrets of the Mile End music scene are contained there. When I was interviewed by a radio station once about the scene, they insisted that we record the interview there. If this is the Mile End scene, however, it is clearly not spectacular and resistant, in Hebdige's terms, seeking the light of surveillance. And it is clearly not in any way a Temporary Autonomous Zone working to produce and maintain its invisibility. Even if many of the key people in the Mile End music scene may be found there, at particular times of the day or night, the Café Olympico does not offer much more than an image of relaxed conviviality.

The idea of scene has benefitted a great deal, I think, from the recent boom in what we can call urban cultural studies, from studies of city culture. Within the study of the urban, the concept of "scene" has been able to leave the debate over subcultures and tribes, a debate which David Hesmondhalgh so expertly summarized several years ago. "Scene" now returns us to the question of visibility in urban life. Scene, as sociologist Alan Blum once argued, designates the theatricality of urban life, the ways in which part of the pleasure of the city comes from seeing people together in convivial situations (Blum, 2003).

But this image of public conviviality sits in an uneasy relationship to music or other cultural forms. Does the image of people at Café Olympico reveal the secrets of the music scene or disguise them? Scenes make cultural activity visible and decipherable by rendering it public, taking it from acts of private production and consumption into public contexts of sociability, conviviality and interaction. Seeing people who look like musicians or artists sitting together, drinking coffee, we may think we have witnessed and understood a scene. Just as clearly, though, scenes make cultural activity invisible and indecipherable by 'hiding' cultural productivity behind seemingly meaningless (or indistinguishable) forms of social life.

Five years ago, when both national and international media sent reporters to cover Montreal's high-profile Mile End cultural scene, these countervailing logics of a scene played themselves out in ways that were both revealing and amusing. Journalists hung around the two main Italian coffee shops, which were the conventional ports of entry to this scene, uncertain as to where to begin. They were unsure whether the easily observed social effervescence in these places was the scene itself or simply a set of distractions which camouflaged a real, more secret scene to which they would never find access.

It is in relationship to these ideas that I want to conclude with a number of hypotheses about the place of cultural and musical scenes in city life. Some of these are obvious, I think, others, I hope, less so.

(1) the notion of scene now is difficult to separate from a logic of gentrification.

Here is a possible definition of scene now: A scene is that cultural phenomenon which arises when any purposeful activity acquires a supplement of sociability and when that supplement of sociability becomes part of the observable effervescence of the city. This is not a complete definition, but I think every definition of scene must account for something like a supplement of sociability. If there is only cultural work and no sociability, we have little more than a network or a production centre. If there is all sociability and no underlying cultural expression, we have only leisure and consumption. In today's cities, a scene is the supplement of sociability, conviviality and effervescence which gathers around the making of culture. And, as we know, this supplement has come to be highly valued in the economic transformation of cities, within in processes we call gentrification.

(2) what were once marginal or secondary aspects of scenes – their "support" system – are now fully assimilated within ideas of creativity and innovation. The problem of cultural undergrounds now is that they are easily assimilated within official discourses of incubation and innovation. I don't want to belabour here the critique of ideas of the creative city or the creative class. But I do want to note that those things which Harold Becker once saw as part of the "support system" of an art world or scene – cafés, bars and restaurants– are now enshrined as full players in a culture of creation and innovation. "Food is the new rock," a *Washington Post* journalist suggested last year, and the displacement of music by food as the locus of creative energies is visible in a variety of places (http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/music/are-foodies-quietly-killing-rock-and-

roll/2013/05/10/632f1718-b8fb-11e2-b94c-b684dda07add story.html). It is also the case that cafes and restaurants are dominant in the visual representation of cultural scenes: we do not see, very often, images of studios or venues, but we see images of restaurants and cafés which are taken to express the same tastes as might be expressed by those studios or venues were there visibility more available or seductive.

(3) Hypothesis 3: From the 1960s through the late 1990s, music was severed from the conviviality of public eating and drinking. In the 2000s, the connection between them has been restored.

I've been interested for some time in a period which roughly begins in the 1960s, when, in Western countries at least, activities like dancing became separated from activities like eating an evening meal. In many countries, the "supper club" was a central cultural format: one sat and ate, one got up and danced, live performers played. This broke down in the 1960s with the rise of the discothèque and the dance club: one no longer went out only in couples or groups of couples; the taking of drugs to a certain extent displaced the activity of eating; and the rise of the DJ meant that one danced to unbroken sequences of records, rather than pausing between songs to return to a table. The severing of relaxed conviviality from the consumption of music in a sense freed music to move later into the night and to assume more experimental and oppositional forms.

The late night consumption of music continues, of courses, but I'm interested in the ways in which music and the conviviality of eating/drinking are now collapsing back on each other. In France, for the past several years, people have noted the rise of "Bars à ambiance musicale", and the same phenomena is noticeable in Montreal, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Bogota and other cities where I have been recently. In a bar à ambiance musicale, people eat and drink to the accompaniment of curated music, usually involving a dj. Music recedes from the centrality of live performance but moves forward from the status of unnoticed background.

There is obviously much to regret in this shift: music has been pulled back, in many cases, from its association with the deepest night, from that space/time in which, historically, the most transgressive forms of expression have been thought to unfold. The conviviality of conversation has long been considered, by musicians and others, as a stark contrast to the unsettling force of music. The bar à ambiance musicale presumes a clientele drawn in equal measure to the possibility of interesting music and convivial conversation. what was once (and still is, sometimes) a battle over transgressive noise caused by music is more and more a battle over loud street-level conversation and collective smoking.

More broadly, we can see changes in the relationship between cultural forms and spaces of conviviality. In Mexico City, repertory cinemas add restaurants or bars as appendages, to make up for the declining attraction of cinema itself and to add sociability to the consumption fo cinema. Bookstores in the same city added cafés to attract customers and increase revenues. These cafés became restaurants, with outdoor terrasses and curated music and now the bookstore is little more than a decorative backdrop to what is essentially a restaurant.

In Montreal, as in Paris and several other cities, one of the most widely perceived threats to a certain kind of culture has come with the transformation of almost every available space into a restaurant or bar. Retail book or record shops, and small music venues are dying. The restaurants which replace them are not usually corporate or obviously evil; they are very often opened by genuinely creative people for whom food and drink are full participants in the new culture of urban creativity. But here, again, many of the cultural processes we once associated with music are now taken over by food and drink. Since the 1960s, music promoters have

played a key role in repurposing older forms of urban architecture: the ballrooms of the 1930s became the psychedelic concert halls of the 1960s, ethnic social clubs became punk venues in the 1970s, abandoned industrial lofts became performance spaces in the 1980s and 1990s. Now it is restaurants who are central to this conversion, usually at the expense of small, independent retail stores which close, but whose markers of entrepreneurial authenticity are so often maintained by the owners of the restaurants which open within them.

(4) Hypothesis 4: The organization of culture follows the perception that what is scarce is sociability, not interesting cultural expression.

In the 1990s, those who theorized what is called relational aesthetics in the world of the visual arts came up with a similar idea: what art must resolve, they argued, is not an absence of meaning but an absence of interconnection. (See the various articles collected in Bishop, 2006.) Meaning was everywhere, it was claimed; sociability was scarce. And so we saw the wide variety of artworks which saw as their mission to produce new kinds of interconnection: through such things as the serving of meals in a gallery.

We might ask whether something similar is happening with music: the late night venue in which one encountered the new and the previously unheard is losing ground to the mid-evening bar à ambiance musicale. Here, one talks with friends against a background of music that is kind of interesting but demands no intensely focused attention. This is not all that is happening, of course: interesting music continues to be made and heard, late-night spaces of transgression continue, in cities around the world. But as images of convivial café life come to define important cultural scenes, like those of the neighbourhood in which I live, we need to ask the question: Have we finally found that more perfect world, in which culture settles into the routines and the intimacies of everyday life? Or is this the triumph of a soft complacency in which the divisive cultural struggle over meaning has disappeared?

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6.2. Why it makes sense to speak of emancipation: an overview of futureplaces as a current space for Punk to rise and reinvent

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We begin by positing a perplexity in this day and age: this perplexity is media-driven, and it concerns us. New media seem busy carving a paradox, one where the tacit and proclaimed promise of endless (and endlessly renewable) self-expression betrays itself in a cathedral of algorithmic determinism, a foreboding banality - while maintaining that yes, the Sky is the limit as far as one's existential promise is concerned. The allure of connectivity to the point of a saturated, hallucinatory frenzy knows no nemesis, no redemption: it hovers hostile, half-baked, as pseudo-ontological evidence, seductive bullying. Instant segments of hilarious stimulation, endorphins rather than cognition. Add the ever-expanding spiral of statistical complexity, the allure of "all is in order" in face of the sore evidence that all is not. This vertigo on steroids, this bored expectation to be blown away. This conviviality of opposites, this serene paradox, a paradox that, by virtue of overwhelming presence, no longer formulates itself as a driving existential conundrum: 2014, no less.

No wonder a benevolent anger emerges. The overwhelming, desolate hunch that somewhere, somehow, something went the wrong way… Not so much the acrobatic mantra of economic hubris, as the realisation that cultural emancipation, voided of ideological investment, has become an infantile hall of mirrors entertaining themselves and their opposite. The post-WW2 birth of the concept of Youth, and its vast landscape of possibilities: youth cultures, subcultures, counter-cultures, the will to dream harder, the ability to play harder, transgress, cultivate, reinvent from scratch. The urgency of all this, the nobility, the *gravitas*: the paradox of our times is the evidence that all of these still apply, still live and thrive as narratives, as conscious possibilities - and yet no longer act, they no longer come to be, overtaken as they are by a magical paralysis... Shoved instead to the annals of museography, the cruel status of historical footnote, the peripheral role of a meme, a cute, disengaged cliché.

Let us therefore focus on the deterministic dominance of the template that governs the dynamics of the human fabric. We speak of technological structure, and how it sets up camp in relationships and routines, providing a discreet character. We speak of the unquestioned ruling ethical assumption of how labour is processed, how survival is preserved, how elevation is treasured. We speak of how this template merges, in its birth, with the illuminist roots of science, driving (for the time being) the global scope of civilization. Yet we also speak of reason as an apparently infallible tool - when in truth, it is equally as subjected to untilateral and perverse shaping of agendas. The underlying paradigm of most contemporary algorithmic-based exercises seems to be a deep mistrust in the human. The proclaimed imperative of "smart technology" somehow implies a "dumb user", an individual unable to fulfill the premise, untrustworthy, incapable of self-transcendence if not for the gadget in question, automatism rather than pedagogy; the offer for help becomes an order of compliance.

Even if there was a viable absolute determination for our social, physical and biological complexity, and even if that determinism was applicable to human aspects that transcended circumstance, we would not escape the raw notion that reducing the field of possibilities to visible or probable ingredients corresponds to the reduction of the actual concepts of "possibility" and "future". This reduction serves objectives - ironically, often undetermined themselves. And it has consequences. The shaping of rationales operates discreetly through daily routines, using formats and procedures to produce individual hideouts in the name of collective labour ethics, of survival and elevation. But what it effectively is, is the absence of risk, an exercise of maintenance, inductive ideological immutability disguised as liberation. It's risk reduction through the algorithmic annihilation of the simple idea of possibility, the voiding of proposition, the aversion to prospection - all anchored in the structure of discrete,

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apparently inescapable elements, whose ultimate self-agenda is an evasion from the continuous and uncertain physicality of experience.

It's the condition of the constrained word, of the Human held hostage to the reduction that emanates from his/her circumstance. Design as hypnotic seduction to this perversity, science as technical authority supporting alien and indeterminate ends, a radical disappearance of agendas. Creativity a looped reiteration of reduced expectation, a rarefaction of discovery. It is this loss of the sophisticated continuity of difference that generates nausea and demands action, demands a reconsideration of words and meanings.

The exhaustion of words is equally the exhaustion of the means of expression, of social and academic apparatus, of technological devices. The reduction of vocabularies stands in inverse proportion to the field of possibilities. The growing hermeticism of professional jargon echoes the volatile abbreviation of words in social media: LOL, AFAIK, IMHO - an unsurmountable generational gap of codification. Hermeticism further parallels the severe impoverishment of metaphor in informal conversation, as language becomes an end in itself, as the brightness of its *modus operandi* outshines its instrumental condition. The hypnosis of technology has overtaken the Life is was supposed to serve, and now issues command words: magic passwords, as evidenced while overlooking the media-driven constructions of possible Revolutions, just as much as in our small private daily exercises:

Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Youtube, Twitter, Facebook. Like, Comment, Share. Like, Comment, Share. Visceral manifestations, diluted in their own media lexicon. Simultaneous decapitation and embrace, in the very same flat surface. Share. Socio-cultural circumstance sterilised in a forest of papers. Submit. Buildings that contain the city. Selfie. Youth besides the body, youth besides time. Perpetuations of the idea of rebellion or revolution, but not their hard, impactful experience. "Share" as a pure process of statistical amplification, yet perversely willing to maintain an apparent narrative of generosity at all costs. A fatal semblance of Life, an absence of the *Death that generates Life*. Life. Like.

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Futureplaces, incubation of emancipations

Futureplaces is one of the key initiatives of the UTAustin-Portugal program in digital media, and it remains an event deeply rooted in the cultural landscape of Porto. Work began very intuitively in late 2007, around the thought that rather than organizing a digital media festival according to expectations, it would be best to propose an unequivocal focus on socio-cultural impact. This was a means of territorial differentiation, but was also an acknowledgment of the purpose of a festival within an advanced R&D program joining universities, partners and entrepreneurs.

What we did not expect was the magnitude of possibilities to connect with the socio-cultural fabric, beyond the institutional framework. Social promiscuity, we learned to call it: politicians, musicians, homeless citizens, hackers, universities, graffiti writers, NGOs, tech-heads, and disabled citizens. Researchers, DJs, human rights groups, artists, museums, sexual minorities, other festivals, pirates, schools, street musicians, start-up companies, bloggers, activists, security guards, designers and cooks. Mayors, headhunters, academics, media labels, car tuning communities, radio producers, anarchists, seamstresses, entrepreneurs, immigrants, tourists, and people who just happened to pass by. All of the above were and are part of this experiment, and the unifying thread is the simple evidence that these endless crossroads raise the standard of dignity for all.

The experience of futureplaces is an intuitive antidote, a counterpoint, consciously returning to direct contact with ambivalence and the amplitude of Life. It is shock therapy for

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nausea and a training ground for possible emergency exits. It configures itself as a long-term laboratorial condition, of deliberately undefined contours: where ingredients and outputs burst as capacitation to autonomous navigation in uncertainty, as a deepening and a renewal of its own experimental factors that may improve this training, and as a focus of small, contaminating particles beyond the temporal and functional circumscription of the lab.

At futureplaces, the rigour and accuracy that are convened are of an existential and visceral nature, and it is from there that they revert to creative activity, keeping technical dexterity in its effective, instrumental place. Actions are critically directed towards circumstances and practices that make us, not with the goal of providing them with a judgment but establishing a fertile relationship with them - whether they translate as a rescuing of the residual or the apparently irrelevant, or deconstructing and provoking paradox to the point of caricature. Affectionate and heritage dimensions, epiphanies of various scales, revelations of the actual meaning of "sharing", sudden images that open up possibilities and readings of who we are. Unexpected (and improbable) convergence of talents, repertoires and sensibilities, bringing down walls that weren't there after all, accessibility of the creative act. An all-encompassing pedagogy of nothing to lose.

The actions of the Lab in its whole cultivate a complex multi-dimensionality that stems from a permanent questioning that drives the process - while feeding its own, ontological condition of mystery. A happy accident, or maybe not, that avoids premature labeling (tagging), that would signal a resignation at the core of its existence. Each practice often emerges without a clear or singular author, alchemic as it is in a dense negotiation between concept and praxis, provocation and proposition, intuition and structure, beyond system, taxonomy or category. And yet, an awareness breaks through in each participant: an awareness of their own possibilities for contribution, of the potentially tangible impact of their own intrinsic capacities. A brave and rigorous experience in the complex and indeterminate, towards effective, intimate change: incubation of emancipations.

Futureplaces is primarily a semantic territory where students and researchers challenge communities and usually end up being challenged themselves. Case at hand: October 2014. A group of non-guitarists - people with no prior experience in playing the guitar - get together one morning. They have never met before, and all know that, in 12 hours, they will be performing live, as guitar players, on a formal stage, in front of an audience. In one stroke, acoustic sensitivity is enhanced, compositional formats are shattered, the concept of a "concert" comes into question, and the notion of "experimental" itself is suddenly a question mark. Someone in the audience whispers: "I so wish I had something to join and make noise with". Meanwhile, a sound recital by 10 non-musicians proves: it is possible. And it is Punk.

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And meanwhile, this same experiment is the understandable focus of greed from particular media sectors. A seductive and exotic concept, it will sort out a few seconds of broadcasting, and the channel will once again fulfill its role of connecting with citizens: even if the price to pay is the painful orchestration of the intimate rehearsal of these guitar anti-heroes. It must be shared, disseminated, all working towards a common good.

There are warning signs. Mass communication, talent-hunting agencies, brands in search of the exotic twist of the month. All have performed its own denial as agents of a system supposedly without a face, literally a system of appropriation, of transformation of the intimate, sacred and benevolent into alien hallucinatory entrenchment.

An essential part of the calibration of the futureplaces lab and experience is played outside and inside, between the cryptic and the communicable, between itself and its public image, between intuition and legibility. In other words, futureplaces is itself a territory of conflict. This is also Punk.

Since the early days of futureplaces, back in 2007, the word "future" has ceased its function as a projective space of affirmation, and now carries the ghost of imminent dissolution. We may of course extract the opposite from its operative surface: that the projection was hallucinatory, and dissolution may just be the gift of reinvention. Punk knew better than to hang around waiting for "no future" - it proclaimed the absence of a future as the actual lexical act of its own rebirth.

Johnny Rotten's worn-out jacket, held together by safety pins so it would not fall apart, became an enduring fashion statement, an anti-fluffy if there ever was one. But what matters is not only the reference of the image as emanating urgently from circumstance: at futureplaces it is often a surface of rugged exoticism, an imperative that shelters and preserves the body and its manifestations, immune to appropriation: a cathartic space of sobriety, an emotional absence of fear. It is the necessary shelter for the intimate, rigorous work that demands to be made: a proposal of forgotten introspection giving way to intimate revolutions. Even in this text, what is hereby described somehow breaks apart: somewhere along the way, and in face of the inevitability to share the research, a dense, seven-year-old-and-counting fabric of actions risks reduction, through the desire and the faith of its communicability. And this is Punk.

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It is therefore the time to be viscerally aristocratic: not entitlement, but courage; not abandonment, but wisdom; not mannerism, but precision; not mindless connectivity, but generous self-exaction. Futureplaces aims at this throughout its seven-year stream, under the belief that new media are still extraordinary in their potential, yet only able to fulfill their promise in direct relation with our own visceral aristocracy. It seems we're finally getting the hang of it: this is why the word "festival" was dropped - once the territory of collective epiphany, the word is now paved with self-indulgent, hyper-visible consumerism. And this is why we'd rather be a lab, even if to attempt the most celebratory rebuttal of expectations, and in the process, do exactly what needs to be done.

Project website: futureplaces.org

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6.3. 'Ironbound'? A sociospatial perspective on network diachrony in the Portuguese metal subfield

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Abstract

Integrated in an undergoing investigation – focused on a wider multidimensional, synchronic and diachronic (1980-2014) analysis of Portuguese metal (both as a cultural/artistic element and as a relational social space - a system and a network of material and symbolic transactions between its creators, publics and mediators), whose main empirical unit lies on the sphere of creation (musicians involved in currently active, on hold or split-up bands/projects linked to the multiple and distinct metal subgenres), on a national scale -, the presentation essays a critical exploration of the partial/provisional data currently collected (stemming from a more quantitatively-oriented analytical dimension of the research). The proposed delimitation of the ever-evolving Portuguese metal scene(s) derives from two main tasks. Firstly, it results from a diachronic account of the morphology/configuration of the aforementioned universe of creators (and their interconnected specific positions in the subfield of Portuguese metal), underlying the main spatial-temporal traits/processes related to: the creation, dissemination and dissolution of bands/projects; the territorial distribution/fragmentation of distinct metal subgenres; the categorization of musical outputs/releases; the creators' connections with other agents involved in the art-world of Portuguese metal music (namely, local and international record labels, events promoters and organizers); secondly, this delimitation arises from the structural analysis of the patterns, regularities and singularities that emerge from the participatory/collaborative (trans)local networks established between bands and musicians - addressing the homophily/assortativity, multiplexity, closure, propinquity and tie strength of their respective connections, the centrality of particular nodes and clusters, as well as the segmentation/cohesion processes present in this artistic subfield.

Keywords: scenes, networks, metal, Portugal

Contextualization

The present article reflects research procedures deployed within a specific dimension of a wider investigation project[2], associated to a multidimensional analysis of Portuguese Heavy Metal music (henceforth, metal) - both as an artistic creation (a myriad of sonic, visual and lyrical codes) and as a socially constructed phenomenon (a dynamic system of material and symbolic interactions/transactions between its creators, public and mediators) -, focusing on the clusters/groups/communities of metal musicians as analytical units for interpreting the (re)constructed and (re)negotiationed identities, affiliations and appropriations *of* and *within*

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this *milieu* (Webb, 2007) - scene and subfield[3] - of Portuguese rock. Based on secondary source analysis procedures, integrated in an exploratory stage of the research, the article essays a diachronic reconstitution of the social relational space of Portuguese metal, its morphology and configuration, by considering the networks of shared membership between bands, in relation to their territorial inscription.

Data collection derived from multiple sources; after the selection of a main secondary source and the constitution of original databases, the compiled information was cross-checked and complemented by data extracted from alternative sources, whenever deemed relevant. That main source (relating bands, their members and discography) was *Encyclopaedia Metallum: The Metal Archives*[4] (M.A.), reputedly the most reliable online metal music database, due to its comprehensive multicriterial account of global metal. Notwithstanding, two additional procedures have been deployed: a systematic articulation with primary sources (namely, the official websites and social network pages of bands[5], whenever available), seeking full substantive and temporal validity of M.A. data; several auxiliary secondary sources were consulted, filling up confirmed information gaps - especially those derived from "overzealous gatekeeping"[6], temporal distance[7] and regional omissions[8]. Still, genre inclusion in metal music and having at least one release remained central criteria for cataloging. In sum, M.A., as the main source, provided data for 1092 bands (76.4%) and the auxiliary sources contributed with the remaining 336 cases.

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[3] In an attempt to articulate, in our perspective of Portuguese metal, "long-range" theory, such as the bourdieusian conceptualization of "fields" (as a system of social positions and, more specifically, as a social arena of struggle over the appropriation of certain species of capital - cf. Bourdieu, 1993; Hilgers & Mangez, 2004) with "middle-range" contributions such as the subcultural and post-subcultural perspectives on, respectively, music-based subcultures, neo-tribes and scenes (cf. Hebdige, 1979; Maffesoli, 1998; Bennett, 1999; Bennett & Kahn-Harris, 2004; Shildrick & MacDonald, 2006; Negus, 1996), analysing metal music as a social construct and as a relational social space (Bourdieu, 1984, 1996, 1997) requires that it be referred to as a "subfield" (historically circumscribed, it still appears as fairly dependent and correlational vis-à-vis the positions and forces that permeate the broader fields of music and art production, as well as the contemporary cultural contingencies, pluralities and instabilities) – cf. Becker, 1982; Crane, 1992; Guerra, 2013:183.

[4] See: http://www.metal-archives.com.

[5] Sources: Facebook, MySpace and Bandcamp.

[6] This relates to uncatalogued (in M.A.) Portuguese bands which, although standing in some "genre-crossover" positions, are commonly associated to metal music both by fans, the specialized media and other musicians, develop their live performances mostly in metal festivals or events, and have a following significantly composed of metal fans, therefore having clear sociological affiliations to the metal subfield. The website Spirit of Metal (http://www.spirit-of-metal.com), the two most representative Portuguese online forums (Metal Underground and Irmandade Metálica), as well as the "benchmark" national specialized news sites SoundZone and Perigo de Morte, were the selected auxiliary secondary sources. Cf. http://www.metalunderground.pt/; http://irmandademetalica.forumeiros.com/; http://perigo-de-morte-new.blogspot.pt/; http://www.soundzonemagazine.com/.

[7] Being a fairly recent site (founded in 2002), the M.A. can be somewhat omissive concerning some relevant Portuguese bands from the 80s; to diminish this effect of "temporal omission", the blog Portugal 80s Metal (http://portugal80smetal.blogspot.pt/) was systematically consulted.

[8] In this instance, several auxiliary sources, dedicated to local metal scenes of some more or less peripheral portuguese regions, were relevant – Metalicídio (Azores), Vila Metal (the northern region of Trás-os-Montes) and Portalegre Core (Alto Alentejo). Cf. http://metalicidio.com/bands/lista/; http://vilametal.blogspot.pt/; http://www.portalegrecore.com.

Portuguese metal – between subfield, art world and network

Territorial(ized) traits of the structure and dynamics of the Portuguese Metal Subfield (PMS) invoke the bourdieusian perspective on the complex relations established between physical and social spaces: just as physical space is defined by the mutual externality of parts (with a central perception of difference at the basis of the very notion of space, i.e., a set of distinct and coexisting positions which are exterior to one another and are defined in relation to one another through relations of proximity, vicinity, or distance, as well as through order relations, such as above, below and between), so is social space defined by the mutual exclusion (or distinction) of positions which constitute it, as a structure of juxtaposition of social positions (1996: 11-12).

Following this notion, the social space of the PMS is based on an a set of relationships which tends to retranslate itself, more or less directly, into physical space in the form of a definite distribution arrangement of agents and properties, just as much as the produced physical distinctions resonate in the appropriated social space. As "subfield", Portuguese metal *milieu* has its own set of particular and relatively autonomous *enjeux*, its own stakes and interests, which motivate and give consistency to a permanent relational kinesis of struggle for the monopoly of the imposition of legitimate categories of perception and appreciation, within a space of objective relations between positions defined by their rank in the distribution of competing powers or species of capital; PMS can also be viewed as a field of forces, where underlying objective relations structure manifest social relationships, tending either to orthodoxy (by agents standing in dominant positions in terms of detention and imposition of the specific capitals – or combination of capitals – most valued in the field, therefore deploying "preservation strategies") or to heterodoxy (by agents in dominated positions, which tend to develop ""subversive strategies", intended to transform the power relations within that arena) - cf. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Guerra, 2013: 82-89.

However, relating the PMS, the bourdieusian overview of fields requires articulation with other theoretical perspectives - namely, Becker's view on "art worlds"[9] (1982) and Social Network Analysis (SNA). Two main aspects justify this articulation:

- Firstly, to reconstruct the real connections established between structures and interactions in this subfield, since in Bourdieu, the concept of "objective relations" (that compose the fields) seems somewhat irrevocably divorced from concrete social relationships. Interaction itself (via processes of mutual adjustment and the sharing of information, networks of agents actively converge on lifestyles, transforming prior aspects of their lifestyles to unify practices – Bottero, 2010) must be reappraised as a central component in the reproduction and transformation of the fields, questioning an undisputed primacy of social structure over any reference to the actions of people doing things together which create those structures;
- Secondly, to complement the bourdieusian permanently conflictual focus on (material and symbolic) power struggles and relations with a not less relevant assessment of cooperation (rather than focussing solely on the question of who dominates who, using

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[9] "Art Worlds", as "the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produce(s) the kind of art works that art world is noted for" (Becker, 1982) – or as Sarah Thornton puts it, "a loose network of overlapping subcultures held together by a belief in art" (2008:43).

what strategies and resources, with what results, it discerns who is doing what with who that affects the resulting work of art (Becker, 1982).

Applied to the PMS, these 'articulations' will be essayed on contemplating one of the three key analytical vertices of "art worlds"[10]: Networks.

Portuguese metal and the difference(s) time (re)makes...

Sociospatial differentiation in PMS maintains no neutral bond with time itself. In fact, it can only be fully comprehended in the light of temporal (re)arrangements of the sets of relations and (dis)positions that characterize it in specific periods (*Table 3*). Agreeing with Mayer & Timberlake (2004) in the assumption that metal music is, in most cases, included in a decentralized political-cultural system of diffusion (as it mainly involves individual - or clusters of - decentralized non-institutional actors - namely, bands, fans and non-central mediators - and, due to its often accentuated distance from more marketable mainstream music genres, presents no more than residual economic motivations) (cf. Wejnert, 2002; Cushman, 1991), PMS evolution – amidst innumerous regional adaptations, and specific connections between emergent local scenes and emergent subgenres (Kahn-Harris, 2000, 2002; Lucas, Deeks, Spracklen, 2011; Shank, 1994) – displays many of the major traits depicted in the Rogers' Curve of Innovation and Adoption[11] (CIA) - applying the different categories of adopters to distinct regional frameworks. Hence, the transitions between "Pioneer/Innovator"[12], Early-Adoption[13], Early-Majority[14], Late-Majority[15] and "Laggard"[16] stages project a prominent structural trait of the subfield: its firm correlation to the territorial idiosyncrasies of the urban system development in the last decades. Not only are "Late-Adopter" and "Laggard" regions predominantly typified by the combined presence of "*Very Small Dimension*" and "*Small Dimension Urban Areas*" (Classes 1 and 2) with comparatively rarer case presence of "*Medium-Sized-and-Intermediately-Dynamic-Urban-Areas*" (Class 3), the "Pioneer" and "Early-Adopter" areas also display the antipodal prevalence of "*Metropolitan Centres*", "*Large-Sized, Highly Dynamic Urban Centres with high Population and Employment Densities*" and "*Medium-Sized Highly Dynamic Urban Areas*" (Classes 7, 6 and 5, respectively) – basically

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[10] The triangular connection between "resources", "conventions" and "networks (of interaction)" is based on the fact that "conventions" – i.e. earlier set agreements that have become customary in a specific art world – display a basic framework for action and strategy coordination between actors; "networks (of interaction)" derive from and permit the collective action involved in artistic production – i.e., they facilitate the emergence and diffusion of conventions, while being bounded by them (art worlds' networks only extend and endure to a point where acceptance and adherence of conventions are maintained); resources (material or symbolic) depend on networks to flow / circulate - whilst defining their boundaries (networks only extend and endure to the point where exchange of adequate or relevant resources is maintained) and be exchanged in the process of artistic (inter)activity (Becker; 1982).

[11] Everett Rogers (2003) defines an adopter category as a classification of individuals within a social system on the basis of innovativeness, suggesting a total of five categories of adopters in order to standardize the usage of adopter categories in diffusion research, and stating that the adoption of an innovation follows an S curve when plotted over a length of time – cf. Fischer, 1971.

[12] Maps 1,-2,-3.

[13] Maps 1,-2,-4.

[14] Maps 1,-2,-5.

[15] Maps 1,-2,-6,-7.

[16] Maps 1,-2,-8.

corresponding to the more attractive and dynamic regions in terms of the demographic, economic and employment structures[17].

Map 1 – Portugal (continental and insular) – NUTS III Division[18]

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[17] Cf. the 7 Levelled Typology of Urban Areas in the Portuguese Urban System (Marques, 2004; Marques & Ferrão, 2003).

[18] The territorial division is based on the consideration of a NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units fos Statistics) III level as the preferable geocode standard for referencing the countries' subdivisions for the present article, which points out to the existence of 30 distinct NUTS III regions in continental and insular Portugal.
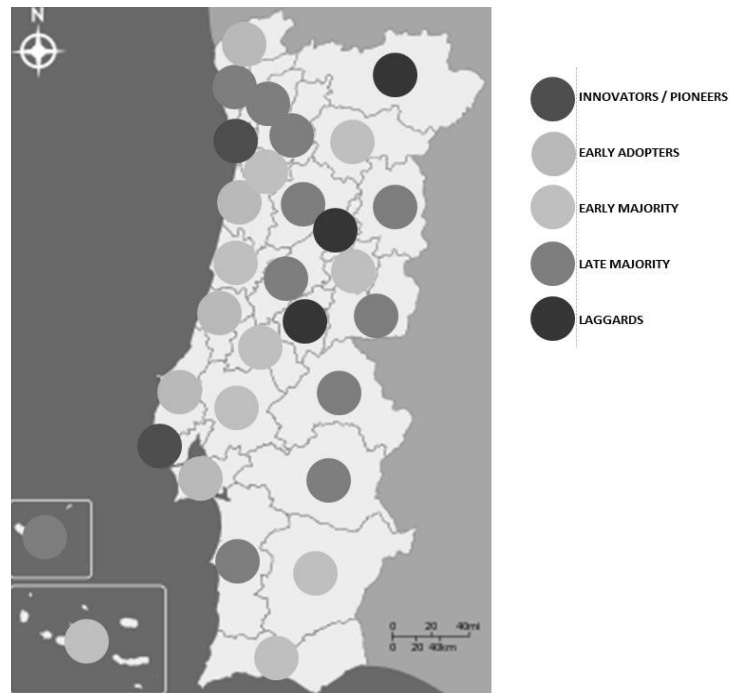
Map 2 – Portugal (continental and insular) – NUTS III / Type of Region

Pionner Stage main features:
Marked by the pivotal role of the two largest urban areas of the country , with the **Greater Lisbon** and **Greater Porto** regions as the only territorial pinpoints of the still fairly embryonic national metal scene in the pre-80s era
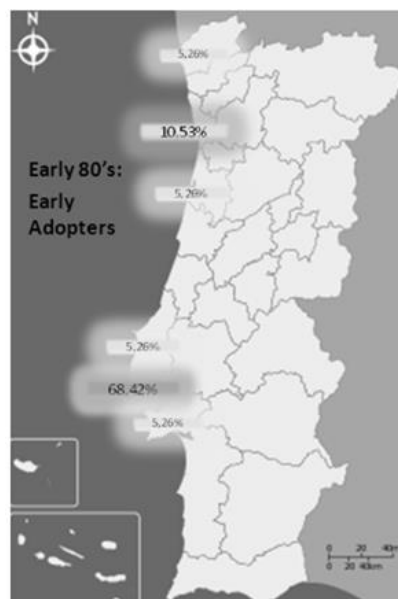
Early Adopter main features:
Anchored in a pattern of **urban periphery diffusion**, with this stage preserving its dissemination logics throughout the mid 80s, yielding the emergence of small local metal scenes in a slightly larger geographical scope, albeit maintaining a pattern of utter **concentration in the coastal areas**
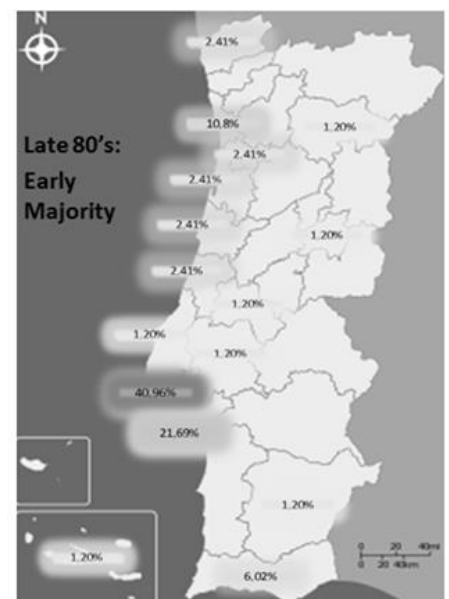
Early Majority main features:
Four main fluxes can be discriminated, with diffusion to: almost all coastal regions; the adjacent areas of coastal regions with previously established local metal scenes - as we can see in the cases of the **Lezíria do Tejo** and **Entre Douro e Vouga** regions; to inland regions; to an islander context, with the first bands appearing in the **Azores** Archipelago

Map 3 – Metal Bands in the Pre 80s   Map 4 – Metal Bands in the Early 80s   Map 5 – Metal Bands in the Late 80s

Map 6, 7 – Metal Bands in the Early and Mid 90s
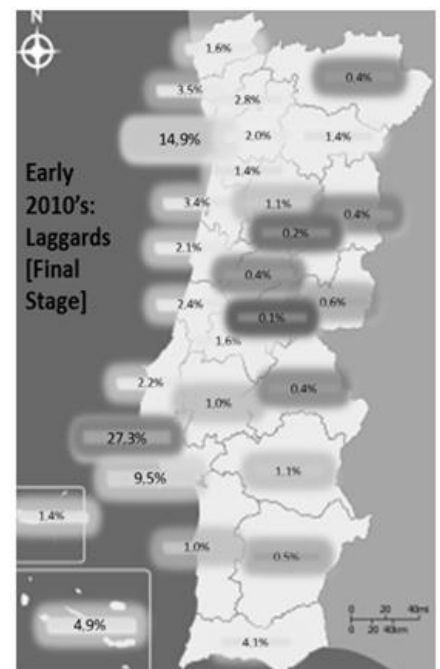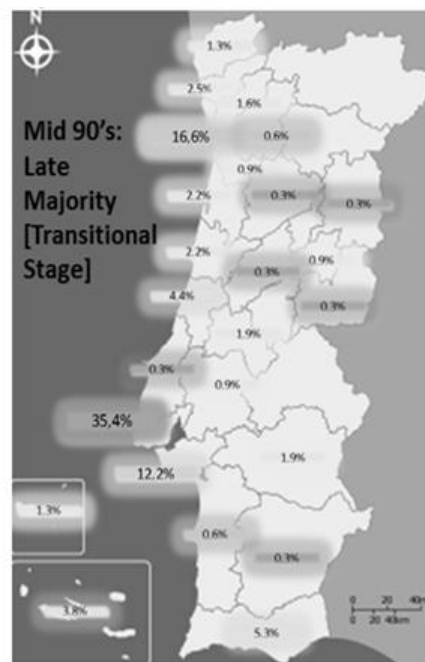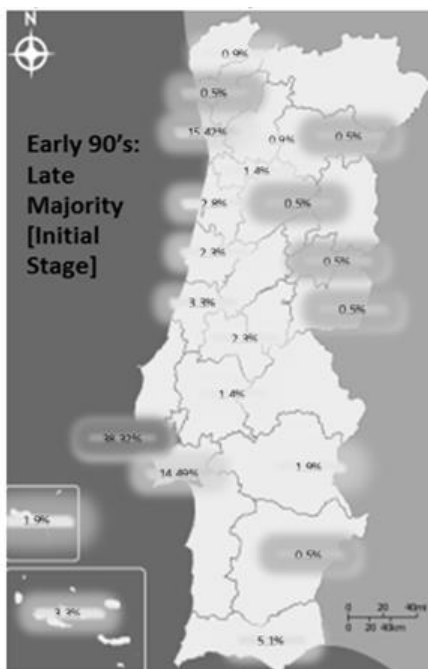
Late Majority main features:
A profoundly expansionist period - cf. Dico, 2013; Almeida, 2010 -, in the Early 90s, consisting of four main diffusion fluxes, moving to: some of the, at the time, more **isolated and ruralized inland areas**; several **regions adjacent to the coastal regions**; a full **completion of the shoreline coverage**; **full islander dissemination** - Madeira Autonomous Region

Map 8 – Metal Bands in the Early 2010s

"Laggard" stage main features:
Starting in the Late 90s and only achieving full completion in the Early 2010's (the first time in which all NUTSIII began displaying local scenes), mainly involving **some of the most isolated regions in Portugal**, with a structural peripheral position in the country's urban system (Alto Trás-os-Montes, Serra da Estrela and Pinhal Interior Sul regions)

Figure 1 – Curve of Innovation/ Adoption (CIA) in Portuguese Metal

Current Activity Status	N	%
Active	781	54,69%
Changed Name	65	4,55%
On Hold	37	2,59%
Split-Up	465	32,56%
Unknown	80	5,60%
Total	**1428**	**100,00%**

Table 1 – Bands by Current Activity Status (June 2014)

NUTS III	Active	Changed Name	On Hold	Split-Up	Unknown	Total	Weight in Total Number of Bands [%]	Activity Rate [%]
Açores	39	2	1	22	4	68	4,76%	57,35%
Alentejo Central	9			6	2	17	1,19%	52,94%
Alentejo Litoral	8		2	2	1	13	0,91%	61,54%
Algarve	28	4	3	16	6	57	3,99%	49,12%
Alto Alentejo	3				1	4	0,28%	75,00%
Alto Trás-os-Montes	3			3		6	0,42%	50,00%
Ave	21	2	1	14		38	2,66%	55,26%
Baixo Alentejo	3		1	4		8	0,56%	37,50%
Baixo Mondego	18	3		11	1	33	2,31%	54,55%
Baixo Vouga	27	1		14	3	45	3,15%	60,00%
Beira Interior Norte	4					4	0,28%	100,00%
Beira Interior Sul	6			1		7	0,49%	85,71%
Cávado	28	3		15	1	47	3,29%	59,57%
Cova da Beira	16			2	1	19	1,33%	84,21%
Dão-Lafões	10			3		13	0,91%	76,92%
Douro	10	2		7	1	20	1,40%	50,00%
Entre Douro e Vouga	13			5		18	1,26%	72,22%
Grande Lisboa	218	20	11	147	20	416	29,13%	52,40%
Grande Porto	117	15	8	64	9	213	14,92%	54,93%
Lezíria do Tejo	8			6		14	0,98%	57,14%
Madeira	12	1		8	1	22	1,54%	54,55%
Médio Tejo	13		1	9		23	1,61%	56,52%
Minho-Lima	10		2	6	1	19	1,33%	52,63%
Oeste	20	1		7	2	30	2,10%	50,00%
Península de Setúbal	70	7	1	59	12	149	10,43%	100,00%
Pinhal Interior Norte	2		1	1		4	0,28%	44,19%
Pinhal Interior Sul	1					1	0,07%	50,00%
Pinhal Litoral	19	3	1	18	2	43	3,01%	66,67%
Serra da Estrela	1				1	2	0,14%	57,14%
Tâmega	14		1	4	2	21	1,47%	50,00%
Multiple International Affiliation	4	1	1	1		7	0,49%	66,67%
Multiple National Affiliation	2		1	1		4	0,28%	46,98%
Unknown / Non Identified	24	1	1	9	8	43	3,01%	55,81%
Total [PT]	**781**	**65**	**37**	**465**	**80**	**1428**	**100,00%**	**54,69%**

Table 2 – Bands by Activity Status and NUTS III

NUTS III	Pre-80s	Early 80s	Mid 80s	Late 80s	Early 90s	Mid 90s	Late 90s	Early 2000s	Mid 2000s	Late 2000s	Early 2010s	Since 2014	Timing
Grande Lisboa	66,7%	68,4%	58,6%	41,0%	38,3%	35,4%	33,4%	28,7%	27,7%	27,2%	27,3%	28,0%	Innovators
Grande Porto	33,3%	10,5%	17,2%	10,8%	15,4%	16,6%	14,0%	12,9%	14,8%	14,3%	14,9%	15,0%	Innovators
Oeste		5,3%		1,2%		0,3%	0,5%	1,8%	2,0%	2,3%	2,2%	2,5%	Early Adopters
Baixo Vouga		5,3%	3,4%	2,4%	2,8%	2,2%	2,3%	2,2%	3,2%	3,8%	3,4%	3,4%	Early Adopters
Minho-Lima		5,3%	6,9%	2,4%	0,9%	1,3%	1,6%	0,8%	0,8%	0,8%	1,6%	1,3%	Early Adopters
Peninsula de Setúbal		5,3%	10,3%	21,7%	14,5%	12,2%	11,4%	11,5%	10,4%	9,8%	9,5%	9,3%	Early Adopters
Pinhal Litoral			3,4%	2,4%	3,3%	4,4%	4,4%	3,2%	2,8%	2,7%	2,4%	2,3%	Early Adopters
Baixo Mondego				2,4%	2,3%	2,2%	3,6%	2,6%	1,7%	2,3%	2,1%	2,1%	Early Majority
Douro				1,2%	0,5%		0,8%	2,0%	1,8%	1,6%	1,4%	4,8%	Early Majority
Açores				1,2%	3,3%	3,8%	4,7%	5,1%	5,2%	5,5%	4,9%	4,2%	Early Majority
Algarve				6,0%	5,1%	5,3%	5,2%	4,8%	4,6%	4,1%	4,1%	1,9%	Early Majority
Cova da Beira				1,2%	0,5%	0,9%	1,8%	2,0%	1,8%	1,6%	1,7%	1,6%	Early Majority
Entre Douro e Vouga				2,4%	1,4%	0,9%	0,5%	1,2%	1,4%	1,3%	1,4%	1,2%	Early Majority
Médio Tejo				1,2%	2,3%	1,9%	0,8%	1,8%	1,5%	1,6%	1,6%	1,5%	Early Majority
Lezíria do Tejo				1,2%	1,4%	0,9%	0,5%	1,0%	0,9%	1,1%	1,0%	0,9%	Early Majority
Baixo Alentejo				1,2%	0,5%	0,3%	0,3%	1,0%	0,9%	0,7%	0,5%	0,4%	Early Majority
Alentejo Central					1,9%	1,9%	1,6%	1,4%	1,5%	1,3%	1,1%	1,2%	Late Majority
Alto Alentejo					0,5%		0,2%	0,3%	0,3%	0,2%	0,4%	0,4%	Late Majority
Madeira					1,9%	1,3%	0,8%	1,4%	1,7%	1,5%	1,4%	1,3%	Late Majority
Cávado					0,5%	2,5%	3,1%	3,4%	3,2%	3,6%	3,5%	3,2%	Late Majority
Tâmega					0,9%	0,6%	1,6%	1,4%	1,8%	1,8%	2,0%	1,9%	Late Majority
Dão-Lafões					0,5%	0,3%	0,8%	1,0%	0,8%	1,0%	1,1%	1,1%	Late Majority
Beira Interior Sul					0,5%	0,3%	0,3%	0,6%	0,9%	0,8%	0,6%	0,7%	Late Majority
Ave						1,6%	2,3%	2,2%	2,8%	2,9%	2,8%	2,5%	Late Majority
Pinhal Interior Norte						0,3%				0,4%	0,3%	1,1%	Late Majority
Alentejo Litoral						0,6%	0,8%	1,0%	1,1%	1,0%	1,0%	0,4%	Late Majority
Beira Interior Norte						0,3%	0,5%	0,6%	0,5%	0,4%	0,4%	0,2%	Late Majority
Alto Trás-os-Montes							0,5%	0,4%	0,5%	0,5%	0,4%	0,3%	Laggards
Serra da Estrela									0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%	Laggards
Pinhal Interior Sul											0,1%	0,1%	Laggards
Unknown / Non Identified					0,5%	1,3%	1,8%	3,0%	2,8%	2,7%	3,5%	3,8%	
Multiple International Affiliation					0,5%	0,3%	0,3%	0,2%	0,5%	0,5%	0,5%	0,6%	
Multiple National Affiliation								0,2%	0,3%	0,3%	0,4%	0,3%	
Total [PT]	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	

Table 3 – Relative Weight (%) of Active Bands by NUTS III and Period
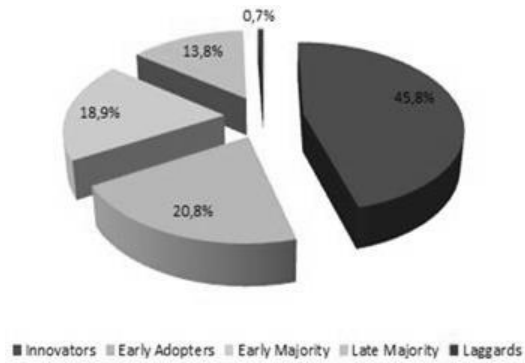
Graph 1 – Distribution (%) of Bands by Types of Regions (CIA Position)
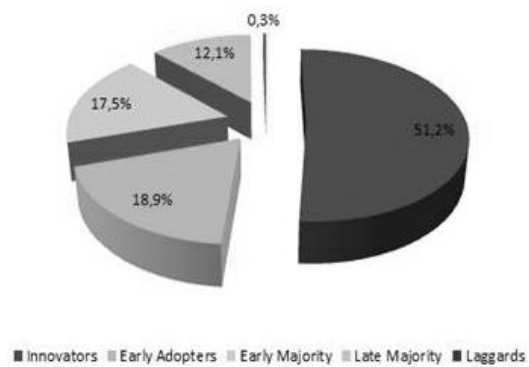
Graph 2 – Distribution (%) of Total Releases by Types of Regions (CIA Positions)
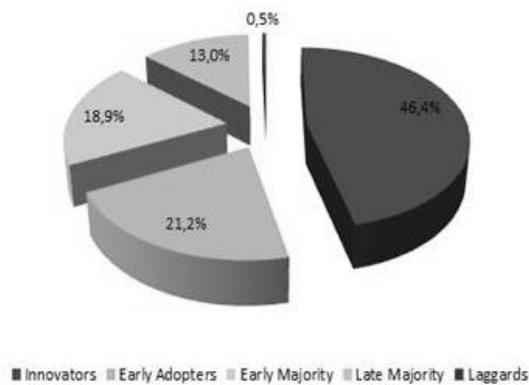
Graph 3 – Distribution (%) of Musician Participations by Types of Regions (CIA Positions)in the Late 80s
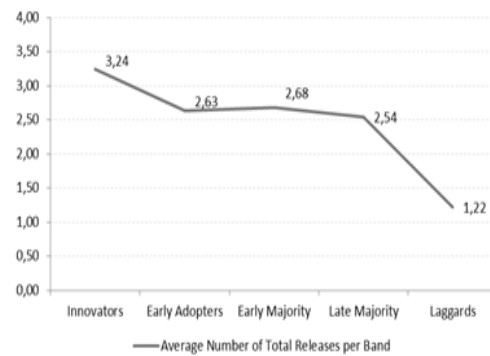
Graph 4 – Average Number of Releases within Types of Regions (CIA Positions)
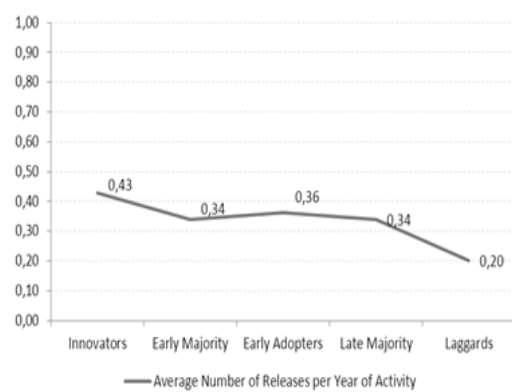
Graph 5 – Average Number of Releases per Year of Activity
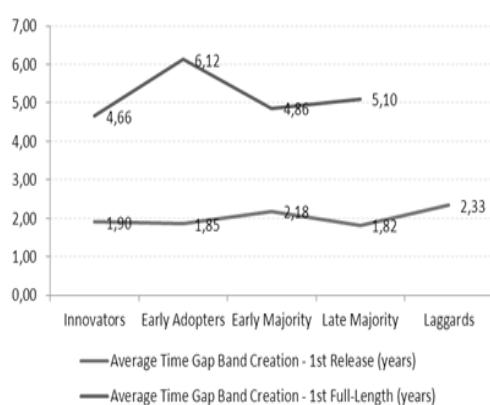
Graph 6 – Time Gaps (years) between Band Creation/ 1st Release/ 1st Full-Length

PMS Networks and the Difference(s) Ties (re)make(s)…

Amidst the beckerian triangle, we shall solely focus in one of its vertices: *Networks*. "*Resources*" (relating this, it must suffice to say that resource inequalities project a very strong correlation with the time-space coordinates of Portuguese metal diffusion: be it in terms of the number of bands and participations – *Table 3*, *Graphs 1* and *3* -, or outputs released and specific conditions in which these occur - *Graphs 2*, *4*, *5* and *6*; resources distribution stresses very clear distinctions between the "constraints" and "possibilities" associated to CIA positions) and "*Conventions*" (taking subgenre differentiation as the main artistic convention in metal music's Artistic Classification System - Weinstein, 1991a, 1991b; Walser, 1993; DiMaggio, 1987 -, it must suffice to say that, either by means of a distinct conjugation of subgenres, miscegenating more overtly orthodox or heterodox inscriptions in the subfield's canons, or via idiosyncratic appropriations of some of these very same subgenres, marked by the introduction of specific local(ized) nuances in their output , the participation of Portuguese metal bands in the "game of subgenre conventions" largely encompasses their capacity to get recognized, noticed and admitted, and so to win a place in the social order of the subfield – cf. Bourdieu, 1984; in this case, conventions seem to be more attached to a dimension of "field possibilities" than to its structural constraints) will then be put aside.

Despite the differences between Social Network Analysis (SNA) and more "conventional" approaches and perspectives in Social Sciences (a major one being that SNA focuses on the relations among actors, and not individual actors and their attributes – Hansen et al., 2011; Wasserman & Faust, 1994 – i.e., its focus is *between*, not *within* actors), SNA has been, in recent years, widely used as a tool of theoretical and empirical enrichment in a growing number of academic fields and scientific researches (Crossley, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Haythornthwaite, 1996; Buda & Jarynowsky, 2011), complementing methods that focus more narrowly on individuals, adding a critical dimension that captures the connective tissue of societies and other complex interdependencies.

Applied to PMS, SNA can be used to point out multiple ways in which networks create opportunities and constraints for (inter)actors which affect their (inter)actions, articulating the extraction of "structures", "positions" and "relations" between "positions" (Bourdieu), and the empirical connections of joint action and cooperation (Becker). This allows "*world*" analysis to address the issues of *field* analysis, without sacrificing its strengths or succumbing to the problems of field analysis (Bottero & Crossley, 2011).

We shall try to capture these dimensions of constraints and opportunities in four different dimensions of the networks: general connectedness; territorial distribution of ties; diachronic patterns of networks and their structure; and individual positioning (with)in networks.

General connectedness

Considering the most basic condition of metal bands in regard to networks - their general connectedness (i.e., having or not established current or past liaisons with other bands, following a criterion of common membership cases) -, three quarters of the 1428 bands (1074, 75.2%) that constitute PMS since 1980 to the present day sustain connections to other bands, which means that 354 bands (24.8%) are/were unconnected. In average, each Portuguese metal band holds currently active links to 2.73 other bands and past/inactive links to 3.73 bands, summing up to a total of 6.46 other bands with which each metal band has shared, in a given moment of their careers, common members.

Connectedness of bands has steadily increased throughout time; ever since 1980 until the Early-2000s (when it reached its highest point 81.6% of the bands with confirmed activity between the years 2000 and 2003 had at least one link of common membership with at least one other band), this growth trend was uninterrupted. Since then, the block of active bands with no reported connections of shared membership with others has slightly increased.

The territorialized distribution of overall connectedness (Graph 8) correlates, yet again, to the specific positions occupied by the ideal-type CIA regions. The two extremes – "Innovator" and "Laggard" regions – present, respectively, the highest and lowest percentage of connected bands (78.9% and 66.7%), a pattern complemented by a relatively clear decreasing tendency as we move towards areas with a shorter track record on PMS[19]. However, a finer look, considering the internal distribution (in each type of region) of connectedness within time periods, marks a considerable progression in the availability of this particular resource – shared memberships – in the subfield, especially in the "Laggard" regions.
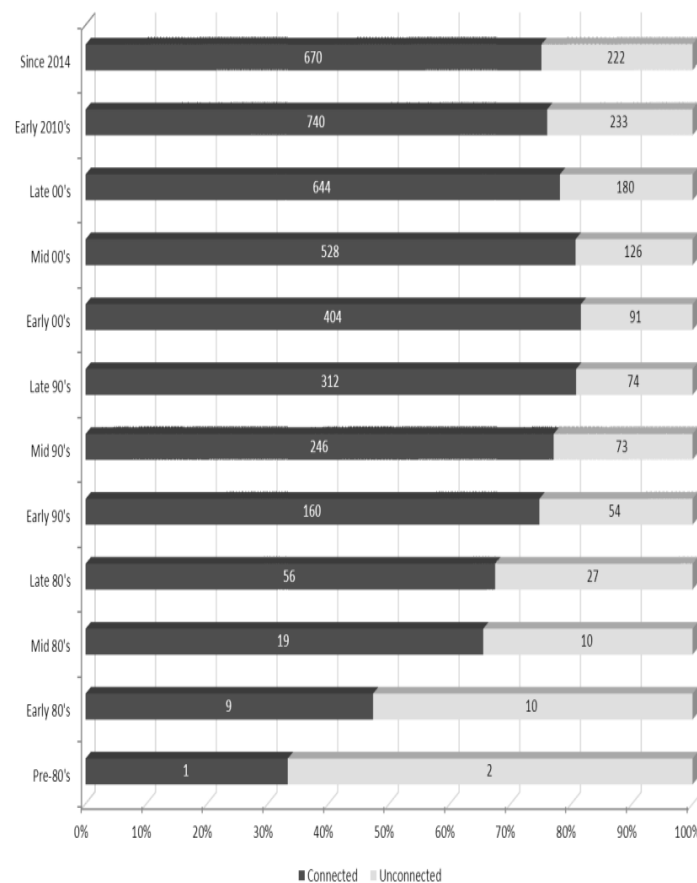
Graph 7 – Global (Un)Connectedness of Bands within Periods of Activity

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[19] When considering the connectedness levels within the ranks of active bands at the end of 2013, and with the exception of the "Laggard" regions – which display an 85.7% (6 out of 7 active bands) rate – this pattern becomes even clearer, as we move from the "Pioneer" regions to the "Late-Majority" areas, via the "Early-Adopter" and "Early-Majority" territories (with a decreasing curve of 80.7%, 77.4%, 76.5% and 71.3%, respectively).
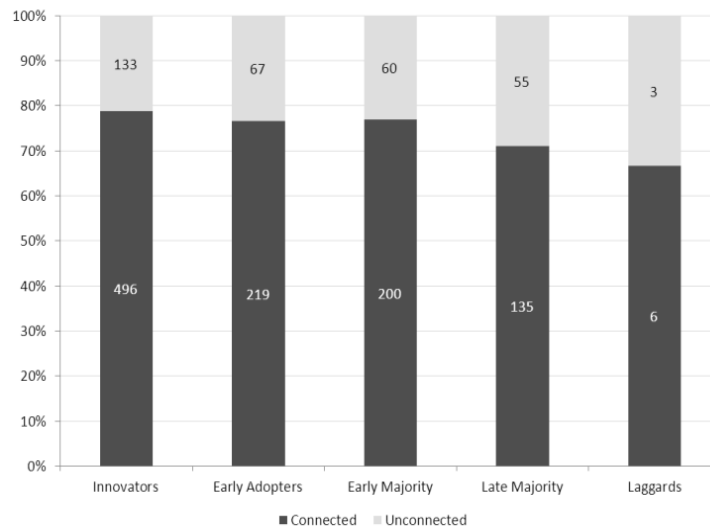
Graph 8 – Global (Un)Connectedness by Types of Regions
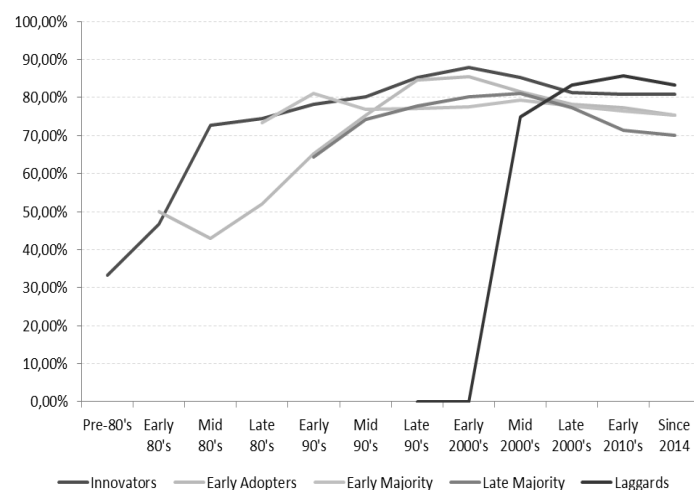
Graph 9 – Connectedness (Internal % Distribution) of Active Bands within Time Periods by Types of Regions

Territorial distribution of ties

An overview of the global network of bands highlights a total of 4907 connections (ties, edges or links, based on the single criterion of past or present emergence of common membership cases) between nodes - bands which share(d) one or several individual[20] members, since 1980 to June 2014. Concerning tie activity, 947 edges (19.3%) are currently active[21] and 3960

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[20] Overall, each of the 5723 individual participants in Portuguese metal bands generates an average of 0.86 links of shared membership/participation between bands.

[21] Cases in which a musician is a current member or a live/session musician in both nodes (s)he connects.

(80.7%[22] of all ties) of them are presently inactive[23]. Here again, the CIA position (CIAP) has significant impact in the way bands establish ties; in terms of CIAP homogamy/heterogamy, out of 4317 classifiable[24] cases, 839 are active ties, 75.8% of which (636) are established between homogamous bands (pertaining to the regions with the same CIAP). Subfield prevalence of Innovator regions is reconfirmed: active ties between bands included in this CIAP represent more than 41% of the total currently active ties (clearly standing out as the most significant homogamous combination) - Table 4; additionally, if we consider the sum of cases in which at least one of the connected bands is associated to this CIAP, Innovator territories represent more than 63% of all established active ties[25].

Homogamy / Heterogamy	Regions (Band 1_Band 2)	Active	Inactive	Total	%(within Total of Active Ties)	%(within Total of Inactive Ties)	%(within Total of Ties)
Homogamy	Innovators_Innovators	349	1523	1872	41,60%	43,79%	43,36%
Homogamy	Early Adopters_Early Adopters	136	504	640	16,21%	14,49%	14,83%
Homogamy	Early Majority_Early Majority	116	367	483	13,83%	10,55%	11,19%
Heterogamy	Innovators_Early Adopters	112	498	610	13,35%	14,32%	14,13%
Heterogamy	Innovators_Early Majority	44	168	212	5,24%	4,83%	4,91%
Homogamy	Late Majority_Late Majority	35	200	235	4,17%	5,75%	5,44%
Heterogamy	Innovators_Late Majority	24	103	127	2,86%	2,96%	2,94%
Heterogamy	Early Majority_Late Majority	12	16	28	1,43%	0,46%	0,65%
Heterogamy	Early Adopters_Early Majority	9	53	62	1,07%	1,52%	1,44%
Heterogamy	Innovators_Laggards	2	0	2	0,24%	0,00%	0,05%
Heterogamy	Early Adopters_Late Majority	0	40	40	0,00%	1,15%	0,93%
Heterogamy	Early Adopters_Laggards	0	1	1	0,00%	0,03%	0,02%
Heterogamy	Early Majority_Laggards	0	1	1	0,00%	0,03%	0,02%
Heterogamy	Late Majority_Laggards	0	0	0	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
Homogamy	Laggards_Laggards	0	4	4	0,00%	0,12%	0,09%
		839	3478	4317	100%	100%	100%

Table 4 – Ties (Active/ Inactive) between Ideal-Type Regions, according to their CIA Homogamy/ Heterogamy

Ideal-Type Regions	Active	Inactive	Total	%(within 839 Active Ties)	%(within 3478 Inactive Ties)	%(within 4317 Ties)
Innovators	531	2292	2823	63,29%	65,90%	65,39%
Early Adopters	257	1096	1353	30,63%	31,51%	31,34%
Early Majority	181	605	786	21,57%	17,40%	18,21%
Late Majority	71	359	430	8,46%	10,32%	9,96%
Laggards	2	6	8	0,24%	0,17%	0,19%

Table 5 – Ideal Type Region Involvement in Active/ Inactive Tie establishment (within Region or with other CIA Regions)

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[22] 34 years of accumulated history in terms of the musicians' trajectories within and between bands are being considered.

[23] Reflecting cases in which a musician is no longer part of the current line-up or a present live/session musician in one or the two bands linked.

[24] Cases of singular bands with multiple national affiliations involving more than one ideal-type region have been excluded. International ties have, of course, also been excluded.

[25] Table 5 also demonstrates the impact of CIAP on the bands' networks, as a clear decreasing pattern of the percentage weight emerges as we move to the areas with more recently established local metal scenes (in terms of Active, Inactive and Total Ties).

Only the Innovator regions have presently established ties with all other types of regions[26], consolidating a general effect of subfield dominance both in terms of maintaining the highest rate of "within position" active ties – i.e., having more than 65% of its total currently established active ties located within its internal scope (see *Graph 10*) – and, naturally, sustaining the highest percentage of active ties with regions that have "adopted" metal later.
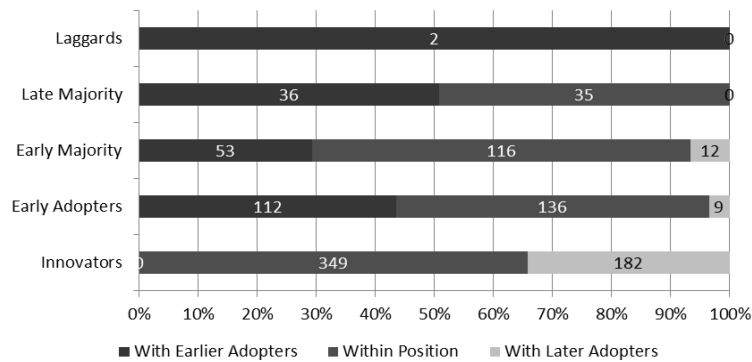
Graph 10 – Distribution of Active Ties in Ideal Type Regions (within Region or with other CIA Regions)

Regional distribution of active ties – *Table 6*, *Maps 9* and *10* - confirms its prominence in PMS structuration and network dynamics. Edges between bands from the same region account for 72.5% of all active ties, with a clear quantitative predominance associated to the coastal line of the country as well as to the Pioneer and Early-Majority areas – the Greater-Lisbon, Greater-Porto and Setúbal-Peninsula regions concentrate 45.7% of all active ties and almost 63% of all currently shared memberships within the same region, whereas 10 NUTSIII display no current intra-regional activity in terms of shared memberships (Map 9), a situation that is felt in only 4 regions in terms of inter-regionally established ties (all areas that accumulate this absence of active ties on both intra and inter-regional scales have "Laggard" and "Late-Majority" CIAPs). The Greater Lisbon-Setúbal-Peninsula axis stands out head and shoulders above all other inter-regional liaisons. The Greater-Lisbon–Greater-Porto connection, in spite of their PMS dominance[27], is composed of 11 active ties, making it only the third most representative inter-regional tie (the second one being the Greater-Porto–Cova-da-Beira link). Nevertheless, the predominance of these regions in networks of shared membership is overwhelming: connections with Greater-Lisbon account for 64.5%, links with the Setúbal-Peninsula represent 42.9%, and edges involving Greater-Porto constitute 23.8% of active ties between regions. More than 8 out of every 10 active inter-regional links presently established in Portugal involve at least one of these three regions (80.5%).

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[26] Bands from the Early-Adopter areas only maintain active links with bands from Innovator and Early Majority territories; Early-Majority groups have current ties with bands from Innovator, Early-Adopter and Late-Majority regions; Late-Majority bands have no present connections with Early-Adopter and Laggard regions' bands; finally, the bands involved in local metal scenes of the Laggard areas only sustain active connections with Innovator regions (no currently shared memberships within Laggard areas).

[27] Greater-Lisbon and Greater-Porto areas are the only ones who sustain active ties with more than 10 NUTS III (16 and 13 other regions, respectively).

Regional Scale	Tie	Number of Tie	%
Within Region	Grande Lisboa	238	28,37%
Within Region	Grande Porto	100	11,92%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Península de Setúbal	93	11,08%
Within Region	Açores	49	5,84%
Within Region	Península de Setúbal	45	5,36%
Within Region	Cova da Beira	42	5,01%
Within Region	Baixo Vouga	35	4,17%
Within Region	Oeste	28	3,34%
Inter-Regional	Cova da Beira_Grande Porto	14	1,67%
Within Region	Algarve	12	1,43%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Grande Porto	11	1,31%
Within Region	Minho-Lima	10	1,19%
Within Region	Pinhal Litoral	9	1,07%
Inter-Regional	Cávado_Grande Porto	9	1,07%
Inter-Regional	Oeste_Pinhal Litoral	9	1,07%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Médio Tejo	8	0,95%
Within Region	Ave	7	0,83%
Within Region	Madeira	6	0,72%
Inter-Regional	Cova da Beira_Grande Lisboa	6	0,72%
Within Region	Beira Interior Norte	6	0,72%
Inter-Regional	Alentejo Litoral_Grande Lisboa	6	0,72%
Within Region	Médio Tejo	5	0,60%
Within Region	Tâmega	5	0,60%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Vouga_Grande Lisboa	5	0,60%
Within Region	Cávado	4	0,48%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Mondego_Baixo Mondego	4	0,48%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Alentejo_Grande Lisboa	4	0,48%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Pinhal Litoral	3	0,36%
Inter-Regional	Ave_Grande Porto	3	0,36%
Inter-Regional	Douro_Grande Porto	3	0,36%
Within Region	Alentejo Central	3	0,36%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Minho-Lima	3	0,36%
Inter-Regional	Cávado_Douro	3	0,36%
Inter-Regional	Cávado_Cova da Beira	3	0,36%
Inter-Regional	Grande Porto_Oeste	3	0,36%
Within Region	Douro	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Lezíria do Tejo	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Lezíria do Tejo_Lezíria do Tejo	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Entre Douro e Vouga_Grande Porto	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Grande Porto_Península de Setúbal	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Grande Porto_Tâmega	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Ave_Douro	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Mondego_Grande Porto	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Vouga_Grande Porto	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Beira Interior Sul_Grande Lisboa	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Cova da Beira_Península de Setúbal	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Cova da Beira_Pinhal Litoral	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Pinhal Interior Sul	2	0,24%
Inter-Regional	Algarve_Grande Lisboa	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Oeste	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Mondego_Baixo Vouga	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Lezíria do Tejo_Península de Setúbal	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Algarve_Grande Porto	1	0,12%
Within Region	Alentejo Litoral	1	0,12%
Within Region	Beira Interior Sul	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Vouga_Entre Douro e Vouga	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Grande Lisboa_Baixo Mondego	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Mondego_Península de Setúbal	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Beira Interior Norte_Grande Porto	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Alto Alentejo_Grande Lisboa	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Cávado_Ave	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Baixo Mondego_Pinhal Interior Norte	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Cávado_Baixo Mondego	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Madeira_Ave	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Médio Tejo_Baixo Vouga	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Tâmega_Douro	1	0,12%
Inter-Regional	Tâmega_Entre Douro e Vouga	1	0,12%
		839	100,00%

Table 6 – Distribution of Active Ties (within Regions and Inter-Regional)
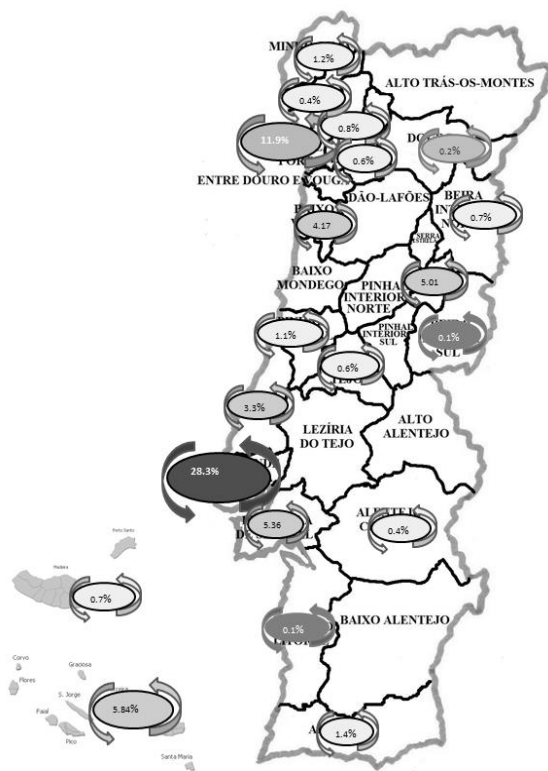
Map 9 – Active Ties within Regions (NUTS III)

Map 10 – Active Ties (Inter-Regional)

Network structures

For a global overview of the myriad of PMS networks, we shall focus only on active links, (shared memberships between active bands in specific time periods, excluding inactive link cases[28]). Therefore, the analysis will be set on full/complete networks (Stork & Richards, 1992) of active bands. Including only one type of vertex or node (active bands within periods) and a single type of edge or tie (shared memberships), these networks are therefore unimodal and uniplex (Hansen et al., 2011; Scott, 2000), respectively, and composed of symmetric / undirected edges.

A network structure analysis of PMS brings forth two major transformation processes: within *networks as a whole* (reflecting correlated dynamics of "*growth*" and "*differentiation*"); within their *specific groups/clusters* (reflecting simultaneous and polarized dynamics of "*macro-aggregation*" and "*micro-insularization*").

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[28] For the specific purposes of this article, this basic decision presents two main advantages: it enhances the visual comprehension of graphic representations (which would be incommensurably more difficult if the past connections were included); it provides a more accurate "real picture" of concrete links in each time period, eliminating residual data relating other time periods.

Period	Number of Bands Connected to Networks	Potencial Number of Edges / Ties	Number of Unique Edges / Ties	Network Density	Connected Components	Modularity	Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	Average Geodesic Distance
Early 80's	5	10	4	40,0%	1	0,000	2	1,28
Mid 80's	19	171	21	12,3%	3	0,502	4	1,96
Late 80's	42	861	43	5,0%	7	0,732	6	2,72
Early 90's	125	7750	190	2,5%	14	0,726	13	4,48
Mid 90's	186	17205	306	1,8%	11	0,718	13	5,32
Late 90's	245	29890	493	1,6%	14	0,660	12	4,61
Early 2000's	333	55278	786	1,4%	18	0,640	12	4,54
Mid 2000's	447	99681	1160	1,2%	25	0,650	13	4,56
Late 2000's	578	166753	1557	0,9%	39	0,652	14	4,71
Early 2010's	661	218130	1858	0,9%	42	0,653	14	4,71
Since 2014	599	179101	1686	0,9%	39	0,650	13	4,73

Table 7 – Aggregate Networks Metrics within Time Period

Growth relates, firstly, to the sheer *size* of networks. *Table 7* shows that active networks have undergone a process of considerable size enlargement[29], from 5 (Early-80s) to 661 bands (end- of-2013). Not dwelling on critical mass theory[30] intricacies, it seems clear that the gathering of a segment of adopters/creators of metal music that was sufficient and expansive enough to provide for PMS self-sustenance and continuous growth was instrumental, especially in the 80s and 90s; PMS configuration as an almost invariably underground subfield of Portuguese rock made it a form of collective action highly sensitive to (and, to a certain extent, critically dependant of) a minimum number of adherent nodes to the networks[31].

Still relating to growth dynamics, *network-density*[32] is of paramount importance; from the 80s (when it was at its peak – 0.4, indicating that 4 out 10 possible edges were established) onwards, this particular measure displays continuous decrease[33]. Notwithstanding, denser networks in the formative years of the metal scene have been seminal to the generation of social capital, the construction of effective and aggregative reputation mechanisms (Crossley, 2009), the maximization of contexts, spaces and places of trust and cooperation, and the achievement of relatively agile, simple and efficient information, support and resources exchange circuits, globally contributing to an equilibrium between brokerage and closure within the networks, as well as to the sedimentation of a sense of identity, commitment,

[29] Exponential growth rates as high as 280% (from the Early 80s to the Mid 80s), 121% (from the Mid-80s to the Late-80s) and 198% (from the Late-80s to the Early-90s) mark the years of subfield emergence and early consolidation, and comparatively lower but steady and continuous growth since then.

[30] Cf. Rogers, 2003; Olson, 1971; Krauth, 2011; Markus, 1987; Oliver et al., 1985; Crossley, 2007,2008a; Kim & Bearman, 1997.

[31] As Nick Crossley states: "Size is important because collective action involves 'costs' (broadly defined) which may prove prohibitive if they cannot be sufficiently distributed, and because the required work may exceed that possible for a small group. Moreover, claims to credibility and legitimacy often invoke size (would we be prepared to call a single band with three fans a 'scene' or a 'movement'?)"-(2008b: 101).

[32] An aggregate network metric used to describe the level of interconnectedness of vertices. Density counts the number of relationships observed to be present in a network divided by the total number of possible relationships that could be present – a quantitative way to capture important sociological ideas like cohesion, solidarity and membership (Hansen et al., 2011:40).

[33] Reflecting a general principle that states that densities tend to vary in inverse proportion to the size of networks or groups.

distinctiveness and autonomy, all of which indicators of subcultural substance – Hodkinson, 2002, 2004; Coleman, 1990; Burt, 2005.
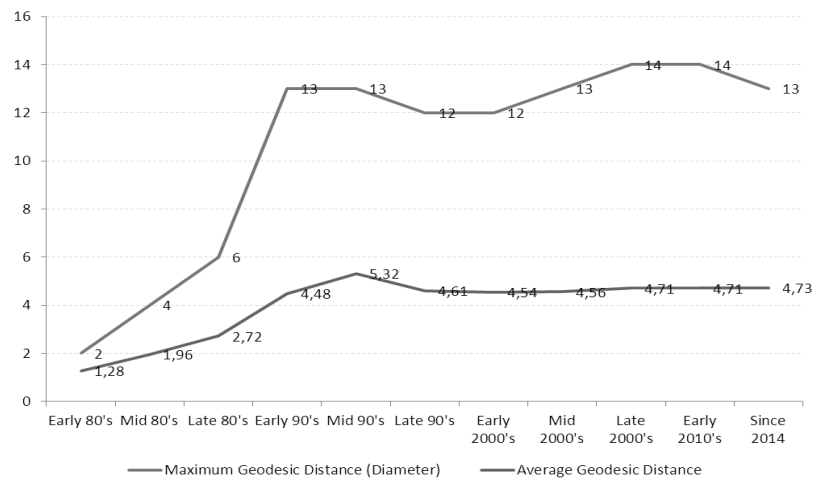
Graph 11 – Diameter and Average Geodesic Distance within Time Periods

Equally relevant are distance measures: both the *diameter* (the shortest path between the two vertices that are farthest from each other, estimated by the degree - number of intermediary connections - that stands between those vertices) and the *average-geodesic-distance* among all vertex pairs display a process by which, as the whole network grows, bands tend to become less adjacent to others.

Nevertheless, the smaller diameters average geodesic distances in the 80s have been vital for the emergence, diffusion and consolidation of PMS subcultural codes, symbols, references and practices, making it easier to spread them with relative celerity and consistency and to avoid distortion and adulteration elements that often arise when longer paths between actors have to be followed (Crossley,-2008b). Both measures exponentially rise during the-90s, yet remained fairly stable since then; in spite of slight variations in diameter analogous change hasn't manifested in terms of the average distance values (unlike diameter, that recently reached a peak during the Late-2000s/Early-2010s, average distance was never as high as it was during the Mid-90s).
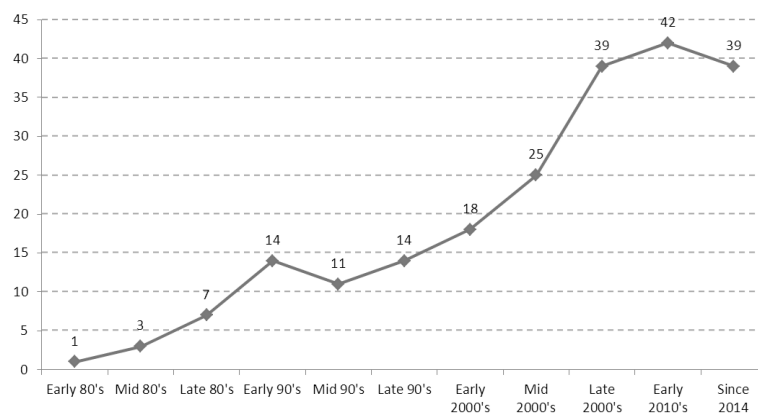
Graph 12 – Number of Components within Time Periods

Besides growth, *differentiation* is another main trait of PMS evolution, deriving, firstly, from an increasing number of connected *components*[34].

Graph 12 evidences the steady course of component multiplication, an overall rise in the number of self-sufficient and isolated clusters of shared membership, especially in the passage to the Early-90s and the last two thirds of the 2000s (in which 31.6% of the 1428 bands were founded, pointing out to a rejuvenation of the metal scene and the musicians' contingent alike, with the massive introduction of a 'new generation' of actors with limited or inexistent previous experience in previously established networks, tendentially generating new components).

Similarly, differentiation within the community structure of PMS networks concerns the emergence of densely connected clusters of bands, with much rarer tie-establishment between clusters (Danon et al., 2005; Newman, 2004).

Hence, *modularity*[35] ascends uninterruptedly from the Early-80s (no modularity at all, since all bands were tied in the same component) until the Late-80s (peaking at a 0.732 value), and from then on found a pattern of slight decrease, stabilizing in values lower than 0.7 ever since the Late-90s. Modularity being a measure of the "quality" of the grouping within a network, and networks with high modularity tending to project dense connections among the nodes within the same group and sparse connections among vertices in different groups, these values are congruent with the patterns of PMS dissemination, *firstly* by establishing new, fairly autonomous and inwards-structured clusters of bands within newborn local scenes (especially in Early-Adopter and Early-Majority regions) and emerging patterns of inter-regional connections, and *afterwards*, from the Early-90s onwards, by experimenting and consolidating inter-cluster ties (a process mostly led by bands from Innovator regions), therefore compensating for the effect of component multiplication and generating a trend of modularity decrease/stabilization.

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[34] A connected component is a cluster of vertices that are connected to each other but not to the rest of the graph, almost like disconnected pieces within a single network – Hansen et al., 2011.

[35] A measure of the structure of networks or graphs, designed to evaluate the strength of division of a network into modules (also called groups, clusters or communities), calculated as the fraction of the edges that fall within the given groups minus the expected such fraction if edges were distributed at random – cf. Reichardt & Bornholdt, 2006; Newman, 2006.
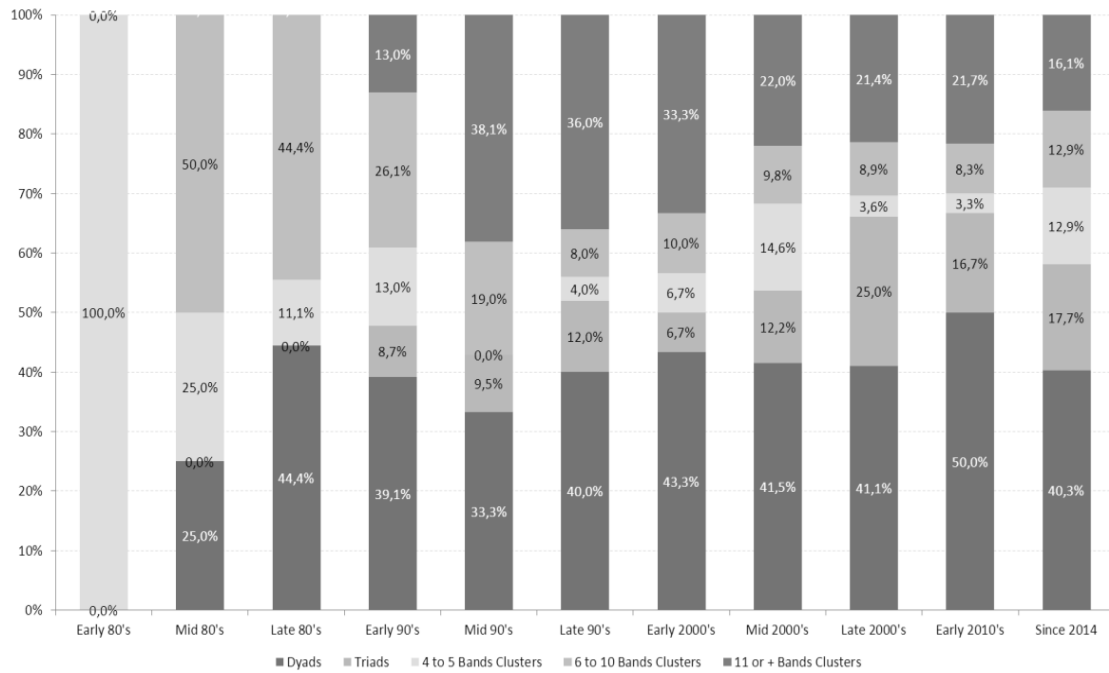
Graph 13 – Percentage of Groups/ Clusters by Cluster Size/ Dimension within Time Periods
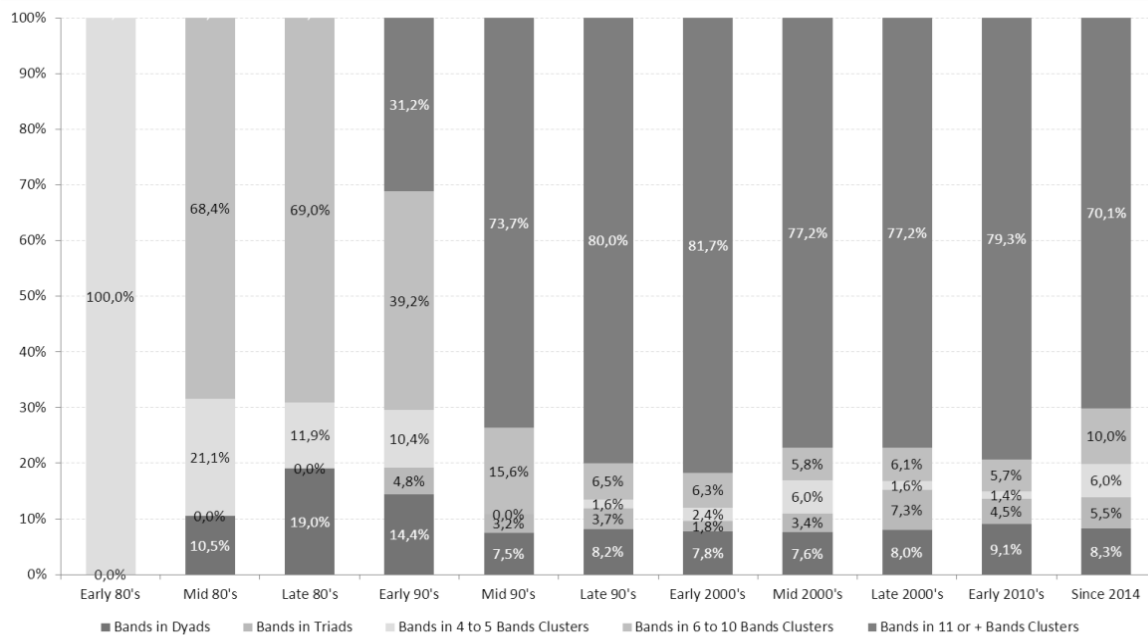
Graph 14 – Percentage of Bands involved in differently sized Clusters within Time Periods

Focusing the structural analysis of PMS networks mainly on the way they are internally organized in "sub-structures" (Newman, 2006), these divisions of bands into clusters/groups/sub-structures stand out as a key-aspect of the social structuration of PMS network as a whole.

Graphs 13 and 14 emphasize the simultaneous processes of macro-aggregation (particular sub-networks in the metal scene become increasingly connected within their very boundaries,

having larger quantities of bands involved in them and forming an expanding diversity of community structures) and *micro-insularization* (with a growing number of small groups/clusters detached from other groups). Becoming clear that small groups of bands (dyads or triads) diachronically correspond to successively higher percentages in relation to the total number of clusters (Graph 13), representing 67% of all groups of actively shared memberships in the Early-2010s (indicating an "*insularization*" effect, i.e., the production of "islands of habitats", that allows for very small clusters of bands – mostly, newcomers or more recent bands – to develop their interchange of musicians in micro-community environments/components, insulated from larger and wider membership share circuits), Graph 14 evidences, on the other hand, that, in a macro-scale, these insulated micro-communities represent an increasingly residual parcel of active bands. Again, as a "*macro-aggregation*" effect affirms its influence, more and more bands get involved in more extended dense clusters (namely those who aggregate 11 or more bands in their ranks), regardless of their specific (central/peripheral) position within those sub-structures.

Period	Mean	Std. Deviation	Maximum Edges
Early 80's	1.60	1.34	4
Mid 80's	2.21	1.81	7
Late 80's	2.05	1.39	7
Early 90's	3.04	2.16	17
Mid 90's	3.29	3.09	23
Late 90's	4.02	4.33	29
Early 2000's	4.72	5.35	42
Mid 2000's	5.19	5.50	46
Late 2000's	5.38	5.88	51
Early 2010's	5.62	6.34	56
Since 2014	5.62	6.34	49

Table 8 – Mean, Standard-Deviation and Maximum Edges of Networks within Time Periods

The articulation of these two processes seems clear in some basic descriptive statistics. The steady rise in terms of mean degree (the number of ties established by any given band) would, if read superficially, encourage the assumption that networks have become increasingly well integrated, theoretically maximizing both the potential benefits (solidarity, resource exchange) and the potential constraints (less opportunities for brokerage, accentuation of peer-pressure and control, diminished margin for innovation, etc.). However, as standard-deviations also seem to be consistently high, and the maximum edges established within the networks associated to the several periods farther the distance between the truly highly connected bands and the large majority of others (the median degree in the Early-80s was 1, only rising up to 3 in the Early-2010s), the real impact of this dual flow of "*aggregation*" and "*insularization*" is thus felt.

Individual positions in networks

Besides the aggregate networks metrics, a distinct set of metrics focusses on individual units/actors, in terms of their positions within a network, assessing how particular vertices occupy a central or a peripheral place in it. These centrality measures (Marsden, 2002) can serve different purposes, evaluating an actor's position by comparing the total number of edges that are linked to him with the analogous degree values that characterize other actors

in the network (Degree Centrality - DC) – Bonacich (1987), by measuring how often this particular node lies on the shortest path between two other vertices (Betweenness Centrality - BC) – Freeman, 1977 -, by capturing the average distance between this actor and every other vertex in the network (Closeness Centrality - CC) –Freeman, 1979; Opsahl *et al.*, 2010, Wasserman & Faust, 1994 -, or by acknowledging that even if an actor has few connections, if these few connections are themselves very well connected, then this actor can potentially benefit from this scarce but "high-value" connections more than he would from more yet relatively disconnected nodes (Eigenvector Centrality - EC) (Hansen et al., 2011). Combining these elements, and determining its overall relative importance in networks, a PageRank[36] measure can be attained. To illustrate this, and some other topics relating the diachrony of PMS, the whole networks associated to the entire 80s decade, the Early-90s and the period since January-2014 shall be briefly discussed.

Diachronic transitions in PMS networks display the aforementioned structural traits: small and tightly-knit, *highly-densed networks* in the formative years (Graph N1), topographic diffusion and spatial differentiation (Graphs N2 and N3), *macro-aggregation* in large clusters, *micro-insularization* in small groups, *component multiplication* and *intense clusterization* (Graph N4). From the Early-90s on, most of these processes have been consolidated, fully expressing the development of increasingly complex and diversified network configurations, involving all the country's regions (in Graph N5, even the "Laggard" areas - such as Serra-da-Estrela ("Estr") and Pinhal-Interior-Sul (Pi-Int-Sul) -, enhancing the number of components, dyads and triads while simultaneously concentrating increasingly larger quantities of bands in clusters with 11 or more actors internally involved[37].

What PMS diachrony also brings is the renewal of network protagonists – emergent centralities occupied by new nodes, most of them directly connected to PMS transformations regarding the rise and fall, in popularity, of subgenre conventions.

Nonetheless, it should be stressed that, despite network complexity, diversity and polymorphism, all these dynamic processes of transformation and development have come to fruition without losing touch with the general traits laid out by the specific CIA regional positions – in fact, ever since the end of the 80s (a decade in which only the Innovator, Early-Adopter and Early-Majority regions established any ties between bands), CIA position has consistently maintained significant correlations[38] with the measures of Degree, Betweenness, Closeness and Eigenvector Centralities, as well as with PageRank, suggesting that, even amidst

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[36] PageRank is a link analysis algorithm and it assigns a numerical weighting to each element of a hyperlinked set of documents, such as the World Wide Web, with the purpose of "measuring" its relative importance within the set; the same principle is here applied to the assessment of the relative importance of specific actors / nodes within a given network – cf. Grolmusz, 2012.

[37] For instance, in Graph N5, Group 1 – dark blue – presents 106 vertices and 305 unique edges, and Group 2 – light blue – accounts for 103 nodes and 386 ties.

[38] A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between the position (POS) of the different regions in the CIA and the measures of Degree (DC), Betweenness (BC), Closeness (CC), Eigenvector (EC) Centralities and PageRank (Rank), in the several time periods of metal music diffusion. To illustrate these procedures, two cases shall be presented. In the Early-90s, with n=125, there were positive correlations between POS-DC (r=0.304, p=0.001) and POS–EC (r=0.379, p=0.000) – both significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) -, POS–BC (r=0.208, p=0.001) - significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) -, and a negative correlation between POS–CC (r=-0.371, p=0.000) - significant at the 0.01 level. In the Early-2010's, with n=661, there were positive correlations, all of which significant at the 0.01 level, between POS–DC (r=0.240, p=0.000), POS–BC (r=0.119, p=0.002), POS–EC (r=0.248, p=0.000) and POS–Rank (r=0.149, p=0.000), and a negative correlation, significant at the 0.01 level, between POS–CC (r=-0.113, p=0.002).

general transformation trends that incorporate more and more translocal and inter-regional processes and dynamics, territorial precedence and accumulated subfield predominance in the Portuguese metal scene are still factors whose weight has to be reckoned with. "Elites" may vary individually in PMS networks, but they invariably come from the same dominant blocks.

Conclusion – networks: dual space(s) of "constraint" and "possibility"

We have tried, in the present article, to avoid basic theoretical antinomies relating the impact of spatial structures/variables on the diachronic evolution of PMS (not overrating them as an underlying infrastructure of the subfield itself, determining all its inertias and dynamisms; not underrating them as mere vapid representation schemes). We have essayed, additionally, to demonstrate how SNA may be useful in terms of comple(men)ting bordieusian and beckerian perspectives on "fields" and "art worlds", without aiming to replace them.

Theorized as subfield, the Portuguese Metal scene is transversed by structural inequalities and constraints, consolidated in spatiotemporal flows of field construction/expansion, especially in terms of *resources* distribution. Seen as a more cooperative "art world", it encounters a dimension of possibility *ouverture*, mainly within a beckerian vertex of *convention* flexibility and subgenre heterodoxy/innovation.

Nevertheless, the "beckerian third vertex" of networks does not provide definitive stances on the overall constraintness/openness of its evolution; nor should it, in a way, since SNA perspectives are most fruitful at pointing out empirical patterns for other middle-range approaches to interpret more thoroughly.

The global (un)connectedness of agents, while not rupturing established regional dominance exhorted by the historical epicentres of PMS, seems to, at the very least, indicate a more recent track of network democratization.

Territorialized distribution of ties reaffirms the prevalence of hegemonic physical/social locations of the subfield, imprinting a gravitational effect of network linkage towards the epicentres of resources.

Diachronic organization of Network Structure, conjugating whole-network dynamics of growth/differentiation and clustered polarization trends of macro-aggregation and micro-insularization, opens debate regarding the degree of constraint and opportunity brought forth by its evolution: while actors from traditionally peripheral locations in PMS have increased chances to participate in ever growing groups of creators, breaking previous isolation barriers, they do so mostly by partaking in them from relatively peripheral positions; whole-network and cluster protagonisms are mostly shared in elite propinquity and circularity associated to dominant physical/social spaces of PMS. On the other hand, the emergence of a growing number of (apparently) self-sufficient clusters (by agents linked to both central and peripheral regions) does not necessarily signify "subdued/ostracized isolation", as it may bear an additional "insularized" degree of agency liberty and autonomy, favouring the usage of subgenre innovation.

As for individual positions in networks, although actors autochthonous of dominant regions still concentrate in themselves a large majority of established ties (especially, "high-value" ones) and the ability to interconnect (to) other agents, a fair amount of emergent polymorphisms and clique-building processes seem to proliferate in traditionally peripheral quadrants. Moreover, "centrality"/"periphery" elements do not represent, *per se*, monolithic

(dis)advantages: "central actors" may enjoy higher degrees of influence and easiness to mobilize whole segments/clusters/components of networks (with likely increased access to central resources) but they may simultaneously experience enhanced pressure due to a much larger number of solicitations they have to attend to, as a collateral effect of their position; inversely, more "peripheral" players, although deprived of those high-levels of connected influence, can discover other types of opportunities in terms of diminished peer-pressure and the development of fresher approaches on what Portuguese metal *is* and what it *can be* (a prominent property in terms of convention negotiation). And as network centralities and peripheries maintain a relatively tight connection to physical territorialities, the analysis of their correlative ratio between constraints and possibilities should not be depleted of its particular spatial arrangements.

Our main conclusion is that, much like social and physical space, networks do make a difference in the *enjeux* and positions that (in)form the subfield. Either by stressing overall structural frameworks in which, as Hannerz (1988:6) puts it, "*the centre essentially talks, and peripheries essentially listen, without replying*", or by alternatively evidencing (otherwise opaque) spaces of possibility, subversion and transformation - compatible with Kahn-Harris's (2007) assertion that metal stands out as a translocal subculture in which local tastes and specific conditions can *interact with* and *alter* a global metal culture.

Network Features:

In the Early 80s, the metal network was, of course, at a very initial stage of its development, with shared membership geographically circumscribed to the Greater Lisbon (Lx) region, and only 5 bands forming it. Since there is only one component (aggregating Low Valley, Devil Across, Valium, Sepulcro and Atomic Mushrooms, all of them lisbonese Heavy Metal bands – therefore, generating total internal homophily in terms of subgenres), modularity is not accounted for.

In a "star network" - consisting of a central node, to which all other nodes are connected; this central node provides a common connection point for all nodes (Roberts & Wessler, 1970) -, Low Valley stands out as a central node, accumulating the highest position in terms of Degree Centrality (DC; 4 connections, in a total average of 1.60), Betweenness Centrality (BC; for 6 times, the band stands in the shortest path between pairs of other bands), Closeness Centrality (CC; 0.25 value, compared to 0.14 for all the other bands), Eigenvector Centrality (EC; in this case, all 5 bands equal at a 0.2 score), and PageRank (Rank; being the node with the highest relative importance rate – 2.38 vs. 0.65 of all the other bands – in this network)

Graph Metric	Value
Graph Type	Undirected
Vertices	5
Unique Edges	4
Edges With Duplicates	0
Total Edges	4
Self-Loops	0
Reciprocated Vertex Pair Ratio	Not Applicable
Reciprocated Edge Ratio	Not Applicable
Connected Components	1
Single-Vertex Connected Components	0
Maximum Vertices in a Connected Component	5
Maximum Edges in a Connected Component	4
Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	2
Average Geodesic Distance	1.28
Graph Density	0,4
Modularity	0
NodeXL Version	1.0.1.245

Graph N1 – Network of between Active Bands (Early 80s)

Graph Metric	Value
Graph Type	Undirected
Vertices	19
Unique Edges	21
Edges With Duplicates	0
Total Edges	21
Self-Loops	0
Reciprocated Vertex Pair Ratio	Not Applicable
Reciprocated Edge Ratio	Not Applicable
Connected Components	3
Single-Vertex Connected Components	0
Maximum Vertices in a Connected Component	13
Maximum Edges in a Connected Component	17
Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	4
Average Geodesic Distance	1,957672
Graph Density	0,122807018
Modularity	0,502268
NodeXL Version	1.0.1.245

Graph N2 – Network of between Active Bands (Mid 80s)

The Graphs are related to active networks in the Mid and Late 80s; they evidence, first of all, the topographic diffusion and differentiation of metal in Portugal – not only is there the emergence of distinct components (3 and 7, respectively) and clusters (4 and 9 groups, respectively), but also a clear spatial dissemination of the networks themselves: in the Mid 80s, even though the network only extends to the "Innovator" regions, the first autonomous sub-structure (component) outside the Greater Lisbon area arises : in the Greater Porto (Por, in the graphs) region (with Mac Zac, Tarantula, Xeque-Mate and Web, bands connected to different metal subgenres). In the capital city, new clusters of bands bring new protagonists (like STS Paranoid), the first materializations of inter-regional networks (with the inclusion of Ibéria, from the Setúbal Peninsula region – Set) and a very first autonomous dyad (formed by Lisbon's Cruise and Satan's Saints); the Late 80s deepen these trends, namely in terms of the overall presence of dyads, the appearance of local autonomous scenes in Early Adopter Regions (Algarve and Setúbal Peninsula areas), or the inclusion of bands from those regions in inter-regional networks (bands from Entre Douro e Vouga – EDV – in Greater Porto dominated networks). Low Valley and STS Paranoid maintain the highest centrality values.

Graph N3 – Network of between Active Bands (Late 80s)

Network Features:

The Early 90s (Graph N4) stretch the trends of cross-regional membership share, involving bands pertaining to the Early and Late Majority in local and translocal networks, enhancing an early "macro-aggregation" effect in and around the most prominent clusters and their cliques (along with a notorious growth in their size), diversifying the subgenre cross-pollination in and between groups of bands, introducing the first autonomous triads, increasing the number of dyads (pointing out to the process of "micro-scale insularization"), surpassing the borders of Continental Portugal (with the inclusion of Madeira and Azores bands in specific clusters) and creating centrality dominance around newcomer protagonists, many of them connected to the emergent and so-called "extreme" (Kahn-Harris, 2007) subgenres (mostly Black Metal, Death Metal or Grindcore). The first autonomous four-nodes cliques are formed in the Algarve and Setúbal Peninsula regions (Early Adopters), and, in the form of triad, in Médio-Tejo (an Early Majority region). The number of connected components has a significant rise (doubling it, when compared to the previous period). Sacred Sin (Lx) [DC; BC; EC; Rank], Filii Nigrantium Infernalium (Lx) [DC; EC; Rank], Disaffected (Lx) [DC; BC; Rank]; Extreme Unction (Lx) [BC], and MindSnare (Entre Douro e Vouga) [BC] stand out as new protagonists in terms of networks centralities.

Graph Metric	Value
Graph Type	Undirected
Vertices	125
Unique Edges	190
Edges With Duplicates	0
Total Edges	190
Self-Loops	0
Reciprocated Vertex Pair Ratio	Not Applicable
Reciprocated Edge Ratio	Not Applicable
Connected Components	14
Single-Vertex Connected Components	0
Maximum Vertices in a Connected Component	92
Maximum Edges in a Connected Component	165
Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	13
Average Geodesic Distance	4,483
Graph Density	0,02451629
Modularity	0,725803
NodeXL Version	1.0.1.245

Graph N4 – Network of between Active Bands (Early 90s)

Graph N5 – Network of between Active Bands (since 2014)

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6.4. Ideology and identity in underground circuits

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Abstract

In this essay we seek to approach the possible ideological and identitary unity amongst several music circuits, such as noise, near-silence, free-jazz, creole rap, improvisation, electronic and pop or rock lo-fi. We aim to reflect on the different or equal relations between musician networks, critics, curators, enthusiasts and specialized audiences and the political and economical dimensions of artistic movements associated with these underground or counterculture circuits. We will try to deliver an argument aiming to justify the existence of a broader notion of contemporary underground. As previously discussed by Baudrillard and Debord, we will use the concepts of consumption and spectacle to approach an economical dimension of counterculture. Hence we will raise questions on the connection between artistic and political dimension through an historic study of artistic vanguards. Ultimately we will analyse Rancière's words to comprehend the emancipation through DIY culture.

Keywords: ideology, identity, underground, lisbon musical circuit

> *"We believe that the supreme task of art in our epoch is to take part actively and consciously in the preparation of the revolution".*
> André Breton & Leon Trotski

Is there a communisation based ideology and identity unity in Lisbon's underground music circuits? That's the question that will lead this whole theoretic communication.

In order to try to verify this hypothesis, we'll distinguish underground artistic expressions from the others through spectacular system (in Debord's words). Although entangled amongst several heterogenic artistic circuits overlapped in an intricate cluster of distinct realities, we believe it is possible to identify what we consider to be underground. Another fundamental concept to understand them will be "communisation", which Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen defines as "the direct destruction of the capitalist production relations and a rejection of the identities of the spectacle, including 'worker', 'artist' or 'writer'". We'll also differentiate ideology and identity from reputation, criticizing Richard Florida's idea of creative cities. There are other authors who criticize Florida but we're particularly interested in ideas from scholars and artists such as Martha Rosler, which writes about a place of critic claims for artists besides "neo-bohemian" cultural consumption and gentrification dynamics presented by Florida.

To fully understand local and translocal musical circuits in the twentieth-first century Lisbon we also need to study artistic autonomy and DIY, which we'll compare to Rancière's notions of emancipation. In this case, what we call "artistic autonomy" is related to artistic production. The people in the circuits we propose to study have been cutting the middlemen, being the

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same person, for example, responsible for the entire artistic process (in the musical case: recording, editing, disseminating, performing, etc.). That emancipation is possible due to a technological evolution but we believe that might also be an ideological-identity element associated with these postmodernists practices; heirs to an anarchist punk culture.

One of the fundamental concepts to understand the underground music circuits is the "spectacle". It is an ever-present conception in the realms of art and politics, as we'll discuss.

Guy Debord's spectacle is an agent of seduction and distraction of the spectator towards the contemplated object. The author considers that this is how the alienation expresses itself: "the more he contemplates, the less he lives; the more readily he recognizes his own needs in the images of need proposed by the dominant system, the less he understands his own existence and his own desires" (Debord, 1994). Capitalism, in its golden years, could have been referred as "an immense accumulation of commodities" (Palmieri Jr., 2012). With the increased massification of commodities, Debord alleges about "an immense accumulation of spectacles". And he continues, saying that "[t]he present stage, in which social life is completely taken over by the accumulated products of the economy, entails a generalized shift from having to appearing: all effective 'having' must now derive both its immediate prestige and its ultimate raison d'etre from appearances. At the same time all individual reality, being directly dependent on social power and completely shaped by that power, has assumed a social character. Indeed, it is only inasmuch as individual reality is not that it is allowed to appear" (Debord, 1994).

Jean Baudrillard also addresses these questions affirming that this phenomenon is deeper than just the logic of commodities (which dwells in all areas of social life). The author of The Consumer Society claims that everything becomes consumable symbolic patterns.

Studying Baudrillard, Palmieri Júnior claims that "nowadays lifestyles are a production and consumption of signs as well as the establishment or maintenance of a hierarchical order of values, which characterizes the universe of consumption as a reality that goes beyond the economic frontier" (Palmieiri Jr., 2012). This notion goes further deeper than the idea of the adulation of commodities as consumable goods. Most social activities takes the form of commodity, whether or not they are material goods. "It is the quantity of labor incorporated in these objects, rather than their concrete qualities, which defines their fate, and this quantity is always reflected in a sum of money. The products created by man thus take on a life of their own, ruled by the laws of money and its accumulation in capital." (Anselm Jappe, 2009)

Lipovetsky also wrote about these ideas, criticizing theories about a post-consumerism. He claims that "this is the post-modern society: not beyond consumption, but its apotheosis, its extension to the private sphere" (Lipovetsky, 2007: 11). And Anselme Japp goes further in his analyses:

> There is a profound idiosyncrasy that connects the entertainment industry with capitalism's drive towards infantilization and narcissism. The material economy is extensively linked to the new forms of the "psychological and libidinous economy". (Anselm Jappe, 2009)

There is a strict relationship between consumption, identities and values (Debord, 1994). If capitalism sells itself with the spectacle, than identity is the tool for a "circular process of isolation"[2]. As Debord, who claims that consumerism is the cause of individualization,

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[2] "The reigning economic system is founded on isolation; at the same time it is a circular process designed to produce isolation. Isolation underpins technology, and technology isolates in its turn; all goods proposed by the spectacular system, from cars to televisions, also serve as weapons for that system as it

Lipoversky affirms that that individualization culminated because of consumerism: "the right of individuals to be absolutely themselves, to enjoy the most of life inseparable from a society that erected the free individual in principal amount and not merely a last manifestation of individualistic ideology; but it was the transformation of lifestyles associated with the consumer revolution that allowed this development" (Lipovetsky, 2007: 9). He also argues that the individual becomes a project and a process choosing amongst a wide range of options which define himself. Consumerism's ideology and marketing promote the belief that one can buy lifestyles and, somehow, identities. If someone wants to be something he would buy and consume that something. This is an helpful idea in order to understand distinct cultural identities. Identity and consumerism are, therefore, strongly linked in the post-modern world. So, one can argue that consumption is avowed as the subject's intention to adhere to certain values (Palmieri Jr., 2012).

There is an overvaluation of individual choice and the individual is put at the center of issues, giving him the right to be "himself and unique", which also reveals a major trend towards personalization in social and even economic relations. As individualism, customization process refers to the rupture towards a system of rigid socialization and the development of a flexible society based on desires' stimulation, spectacle fomentation, sensibility and an alleged authenticity and individual freedom (Lipovetsky, 2007).

Stuart Hall considers that identity becomes a "moving celebration": formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or challenged in the cultural systems that surround us (Hall, 2006).

Taking this into account it will be easier to realize why Baudrillard believes that "it's vital for the system to control not only the production apparatus, but the consumer demand; not only prices but the demand at such prices. The overall effect of what's before and after production itself (surveys, market studies and later advertising, marketing, conditioning) is to steal from the buyer the power of decision and transfer it to the company, where you can be manipulated" (Baudrillard, 1995).

Individualism, while it is an apparent manifestation of freedom, waves a dark side. In his *Liquid Modernity*, Zygmunt Bauman compares this spectacle driven and controlled by consumerism to the false freedom of Aldous Huxley dystopia in *Brave New World*.[3]

Like all other commodities, culture (massified by cultural industries[4]) is a symbolic object par excellence. Cultural consumerism brings together many of the essential conditions for studying these issues.

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strives to reinforce the isolation of "the lonely crowd." The spectacle is continually rediscovering its own basic assumptions -- and each time in a more concrete manner". (Debord, 1994)

[3] "Much like those thinking men of another time, Aristotle and Plato, who could not imagine a good or bad society without slaves, Huxley and Orwell could not conceive of a society, whether a happy or a miserable one, without managers, designers and supervisors who jointly wrote the script for others to follow, staged the performance, put the lines in the actors' mouths and fired or locked in dungeons everyone who would improvise their own texts. They could not visualize a world without controlling towers and controlling desks. The fears of their time, much as its hopes and dreams, hovered around Supreme Command Offices." (Bauman, 2006: 58)

[4] "O efeito tecnológico tem o seu modelo na publicidade omnipresente, na estética das mercadorias do mercado mundial. A ideia de conteúdo não possui qualquer existência própria; ela está à partida ao serviço de uma coisa que lhe é exterior e por isso ela é também casual, tornada irreal de modo formalista e abafada no mero efeito. É justamente para esta dimensão da estética das mercadorias que Adorno e Horkheimer apontam já em 1944, na fase final da totalização do design publicitário no mundo da vida: «A cultura é uma mercadoria paradoxal. Ela está tão completamente submetida à lei da troca que não é mais trocada. Ela se confunde tão cegamente com o uso que não se pode mais usá-la. É por isso que ela

Despite all its controversy and complexity we can try to define underground and counterculture, simplistically, as opposed to the mainstream and against the dominant culture and politics.

In a brief analysis through the past Alexandre Melo observed that the relationship between art and the official institutions (contemporary politics and culture) has had different modalities. (Melo, 2012: 22). But these clashes between the avant-gardes and the cultural-politic canon did not permute a mentality for another, "coexisting [several mentalities] in an internally contradicting complex network" (Melo, 2012: 22). Those historical clashes have had consequences in today's underground, which is entangled amongst several heterogenic artistic circuits overlapped in an intricate cluster of distinct realities. Melo also states that "a first scenario to consider is, roughly speaking, the passage from 'academic art' to 'modern art'. (...) The modern or, later, avant-garde art, emerges as an unofficial art, against the academic and official art, creating their own mechanisms of legitimation within the global society" (Melo, 2012: 22).

The classic Sociology of Art author, Howard Becker, also writes about political concerns of art:

> "[Political and administrative leaders] own aesthetic beliefs lead them to view what supports their own political interests as great art or beautiful, and to see what might undermine their interests as bad art, or not even art, mere trash. The merging of politics and aesthetics thus affects what can be counted as art at all, the reputations of whole genres and media as well as those of individual artists. The interests of states vary, and their interests in art vary accordingly. An industrialized society's government may prize order and harmony over discord and «anarchy»" (Becker, 1982: 166)

Due to this increasing complexity we opted for the use the concept of "underground" in order to involve a whole network of people. Later on we'll specify and differentiate deeper, but we understand to be underground not mainstream artistic manifestations, united by a sense of common self conscience[5], with personal mechanisms of legitimation and a subversive and transgressive approach to official institutions[6].

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se funde com a publicidade… A publicidade é seu elixir da vida. (O seu) produto… acaba por coincidir com a publicidade de que precisa por ser intragável»." (Kurz, 2012)

[5] Recently the Lisbon record store Trem Azul, which, for lack of "necessary conditions", had been prohibited by health and security police to perform concerts, formal and legally reopened as a bar and concert hall. Speaking at the (re)opening, the president of the company that owns three specialized record companies beyond the store/bar/venue, referred to some "we" that overflowed the shop workers or the hard core artists more interconnected to the label, his "we" was referring to an entire network of musicians, critics, programmers, enthusiasts and the public - a self-conscious of its network identity. Although reopened with all the bureaucratic- legal formalities, the store took a very interesting decision on entry to the concerts: the entry will cost 5€, but this is only 3€ for "musicians". There's no order of musicians, so this ticket policy means that there is a network associated to some musical trends, where often the audience is almost exclusively composed by other musicians and friends/enthusiasts.

[6] "The victims of the rationalisation of bourgeois society, which standardises and categorises human life and marginalises mankind's spontaneous creativity, are given a voice and awoken to life in art, which in this way, according to Marcuse, functions as a refuge or a waste dump for marginalised experiences and modes of expression. Modern art thus possesses a subversive potential in Marcuse's view." (Rasmussen, 2012: 230)
"If rulers refuse to consider poems as crimes, then someone must commit crimes that serve the function of poetry, or texts that possess the resonance of terrorism. At any cost re-connect poetry to the body. Not crimes against bodies, but against Ideas (& Ideas-in-things) which are deadly & suffocating. Not stupid libertinage but exemplary crimes, aesthetic crimes, crimes for love." (Bey, 1991: 13)

The artist has turned into something like an entrepreneur capable of create profit, despite the historic avant-garde's revolutions (Rasmussen, 2012, Melo, 2012). "The British artist Damien Hirst is of course the most obvious and perhaps most extreme example of this development, where art ends up as nothing but a financial transaction, and the artist cynically overidentifies with capitalism. In the aftermath of Hirst's vulgar diamondstudded skull, For the Love of God, the idea of the revolutionary power of art no longer plays any major role in art; whether in visual art, on the stage or in literature. When revolution does finally appear as a reference or theme in art, it is almost always as a historical reference, not as a future possibility" (Rasmussen, 2012: 233).

"Today neither the image nor the word seems particularly antagonistic towards the prevailing order; neither is apparently capable of dissent, not to speak of more extensive subversion", continues Ramussen to argue. "The very limited endeavours of relational aesthetics are a telling indication of this. Here the desire of the avant-gardes for another world has been replaced by the production of 'social interstices'" (Rasmussen, 2012: 233-234). And Matteo Pasquinelli asks the ultimate question to understand what kind of underground culture is possible in a time of spectacular economy:

> "This issue is related once again to the question: what kind of underground culture is possible in a time of spectacular economy? What looks like a nostalgic question points in other ways to the political autonomy of the 'social factory' of culture and to new coordinates for cultural agency that may be more effective on the economic ground. The hypothesis advanced here is that the contemporary form of 'underground' has to be found along the new chain of value accumulation — along the new ruins of financial crisis. The good old underground has become part of the cultural industries and the spectacular economy, as well as our life has been incorporate by a more general biopolitical production (that is the whole of our social life has been put to work)." (Pasquinelli, 2010)

There's a particular underground we're interesting in study, which defines himself against some of the ideas worked in the previous chapter, such as spectacle and consumption.

These underground movements have been quarreling with the dominant forms of mass consumerism and spectacle. The alienation that Guy Debord claims to be a result of the spectacle gathers in the same category both entertainment mainstream and underground culture. However, it's the same notion of spectacle that assists us in this matter. Debord states that the spectacle is broad enough to include what opposes it (Debord, 1994). So, even the underground art claims will adopt mainstream formats, although it sometimes might have a different approach to entertainment. While Debord denounces the divestiture of the entertainment spectacle, our counterculture precludes it as something that is not intended to entertain but rather to disturb[7], something that does not appeal to distraction but to concentration. The whole notion of society of spectacle is therefore something central to distinguish underground from mainstream. Even though sometimes they both share the same aspect, they differ in attitude.

In a radical approach, (anarchist) Hakim Bey's idea on Art Sabotage is one example of how this can be perceived:

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[7] "A arte de vanguarda, praticada nos extremos mais radicais, surge totalmente dissociada dos gostos e da mentalidade dominantes na opinião pública - «as pessoas não percebem», «para as pessoas aquilo não é arte» - e incapaz de se afirmar e sobreviver no mercado" (Melo, 2012: 23-24). In English: "Vanguard art doesn't have a connection to dominant tastes or mentalities - «people don't understand», «it's not art» - and cannot thrive and survive in the market".

> Art Sabotage is (...) creation- through-destruction--but it cannot serve any Party, nor any nihilism, nor even art itself (...) Art Sabotage serves only consciousness, attentiveness, awakeness. A-S goes beyond paranoia, beyond deconstruction--the ultimate criticism-- physical attack on offensive art-- aesthetic jihad. The slightest taint of petty ego-icity or even of personal taste spoils its purity & vitiates its force. A-S can never seek power--only release it. (Bey, 1991: 8-9)

Richard Florida came out with the concept of Creative Cities, an economic perspective on how the creative classes (artists, designers, architects, etc.) are an engine of territorial development. But Florida seems to harbor no interest in the potential of the creative class for liberation[8] (Rosler, 2010, Pasquinelli, 2010), so we'll need to reinterpret his words in order to understand fully the extent of Identity and Ideology in underground circuits.

As Rosler points out, in Florida's vision "the concentration on taste classes and lifestyle generally evades questions of labor organization and political control. Richard Lloyd, in *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Postindustrial City* (2006), more pointedly finds that artists and hipsters are not only complicit in the realm of consumption but also serve capital quite well in their role as casual labor ('useful labor' in Lloyd's terms), whether, say, as service workers or engaged in freelance design" (Rosler, 2010) . One can easily see the resemblance between these ideas and the ones from the Situationists or Henri Lefebvre, who theorized the role of the cultured classes in facilitating the elite management of both labour and urban change[9].

If we keep on dissecting Florida's words, we might understand that it is like a "gospel of creativity [that] offers something for mayors and urban planners to hang onto — a new episteme if you will. Florida's thesis also finds support in management sectors in the art world that seek support from municipal and foundation sources" (Rosler, 2010). Besides the glamorous cover, it doesn't matter if the bohemian index is good or bad for urban growth.

If the creative cities don't represent an underground ideology and identity, we need to try to define it differently. The concept that might help us to understand what is happening is "communisation". The term is one of the fundamental ideas expressed in *The Coming Insurrection* by The Invisible Committee, an anonymous French group of free thinkers. Mikkel Bolt Rasmussen wrote an helpful essay on how to understand this ideas entitled "Art, Revolution and Communisation". "The Invisible Committee and the milieu around the now dissolved periodical Tiqqun build further on the radical part of the avant-garde's critique of everyday life in the direction of what they call 'communisation', which is the direct destruction of the capitalist production relations and a rejection of the identities of the spectacle, including 'worker', 'artist' or 'writer'. This is an attempt to transcend art with revolutionary activity in which theory and praxis are united" (Rasmussen, 2012: 235 - 236).

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[8] "The name of this newborn chimera is 'creative cities' — an asymmetrical chimera, as the mask of culture is used to cover the hydra of concrete and real-estate speculation. The chimera of cultural cities is a complex machine, no longer based on the opposition between high and low culture that was central to the Frankfurt School canon of the culture industry. Specifically, culture production is today a biopolitical machine where all aspects of life are integrated and put to work, where new lifestyles become commodities, where culture is considered an economic flow like any other and where, in particular, the collective production of imaginary is quickly hijacked to increase the profits of corporate business." (Pasquinelli, 2010)

[9] "Our domain is thus the urban network, the natural expression of a collective creativity capable of understanding the creative forces being released with the decline of a culture based on individualism. To our way of thinking, the traditional arts will no longer be able to play a role in the creation of the new evinroment in which we want to live." (Nieuwenhuys, 1998)

In the Surrealist Manifesto of 1924, the surrealists made clear that they intuitively rejected capitalism's division of life into work and daily life, art and science. Later, the situacionists also rejected the "framed" art institution and urged to set creativity free in everyday life combining at the same time these ideas with the revolutionary tradition's critique of modern capitalist society, state and work[10]. "The Situationists could draw on the intuitive forecasting by Surrealism of a different kind of daily life, to show that the revolution had nothing whatsoever to do with a group of armed men turning up in front of parliament, seizing state power and announcing that something new will now happen. The revolution is not this kind of separate political event based on seizure of power and a planned route to a different society" (Rasmussen, 2012: 236).

It is now important to reflect about the emancipation in order to complete the underground culture analyses. Jacques Rancière, in his Emancipated Spectator, refers that the emancipation "begins when we dismiss the opposition between looking and acting and understand that the distribution of the visible itself is part of the configuration of domination and subjection. It starts when we realize that looking also is an action which confirms or modifies that distribution, and that 'interpreting the world' is already a means of transforming it, of reconfiguring it. The spectator is active, as the student or the scientist: he observes, he selects, compares, and interprets. He ties up what he observes with many other things that he has observed on other stages, in other kind of spaces. He makes his poem with the poem that is performed in front of him. She participates in the performance if she is able to tell her own story about the story which is in front of her. (...) They are distant viewers and interpreters of what is performed in front of them. They pay attention to the performance to the extent that they are distant" (Rancière, 2007). Although the author refers essentially to the spectator of artistic performances, we can easily associate this idea to a broader notion of spectacle. As Debord claims: "the spectacle is presented at the same time as society itself" (Debord, 2010: 8).

As it were a performance, Debord says that "All that once was directly lived has become mere representation". The spectacle is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images and an objectified vision of the world (Debord, 2010). The process that leads to emancipation in performances is the same needed to interpret of the spectacular world and, that way, reconfigure it. Rancière itself uses Debord as a reference, claiming that "The more man contemplates, the less he is" (Rancière, 2007). This statement is also a reference to Plato's idea of simulacrum[11].

Emancipation in a spectacular consumerist capitalist society might have a lot of consequences[12]. If society is based in simulacrum, as Debord and Rancière claim, the simple

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[10] "'The only useful work that remains to be done is to rebuild society and life on an altogether different foundation.' For the Situationists the revolution had to bid farewell to all the separate spheres and identities, as well as to wage labour and the commodified ways in which we live." (Rasmussen, 2012: 236)

[11] See also Gilles Deleuze text "Platão e o Simulacro" in Lógica do Sentido (2000).

[12] "Art was a subversive force, in so far as it was no longer rooted in the art institution. To be true to itself, art had to negate itself and the art institution and take part in an all-encompassing overhaul of bourgeois capitalist society. This was why inter-war avant-garde groups like Dada and the Surrealists were involved in attempts to challenge the art institution; all the challenges took place with a view to permitting the creativity with which the artist had been furnished – as part of the constitution of art as an autonomous sphere – to seep out into everyday life. This was why the avant-gardes ridiculed the role and identity of the artist and tried to abolish it in favour of an activation of the viewer, who otherwise only stood passively contemplating the leavings of the artist, and who thus both pointed towards another

act of seeing beyond that could have radical results. But many see this with cepticism. Zygmunt Bauman, about emancipation, argues that we're probably "a generation with greater critical predisposition and whose criticism is more daring and uncompromising than ever", but adds that this criticism is "toothless" and "unable to affect our choices" (Bauman, 2006: 23).

Even the concepts of what is art and how should it be consumed or appreciated might take some conscious and critical groups to question themselves. DIY cultural expressions (but not only) thus arise from the idea that anyone can be an artist and that art should not be a canonical idea[13]. It is born than a culture of fanzines, poetry slam, lo-fi music, performances, graffiti, small budget independent cinema, etc.

As a consequence of spectacular emancipation is the creation of circuits, groups and informal venues. Underground expressions of counterculture where, in a DIY logic, happens revolutionary art.

"But the autonomy of art is both a blessing and a curse", adds Rasmussen, "thanks to it, the artist is on the one hand not subject to externally formulated rules or prescriptions; on the other hand this autonomy also has a built-in limitation, since it means that artistic praxis in reality has limited social impact" (Rasmussen, 2012: 229).

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society and a cohesive existence, but at the same time confirmed the established order and its divisions into 'work' and 'art'". (Rasmussen, 2012: 230)

[13] "There is nothing more annoying than those museums that become «teaching institutions» and seek to make «culture» «accessible» to the «common people» with a series of explanations on the walls and by means of the headphones that tell everyone precisely what they should feel about the work, videos, interactive games, museum shops, sneakers. . . It is claimed that this makes it possible for culture and history to be enjoyed by the non-bourgeois strata, too (as if today's bourgeoisie were cultured). To me, it is just this user-friendly approach that seems to be the pinnacle of arrogance regarding the popular strata, concerning whom it is supposed that they are by definition insensible to culture, which they can appreciate only if it is presented in the most frivolous and infantile manner possible. This also signals the end of that pleasant, somewhat dusty atmosphere of the museums of the past; pleasant because it seemed that one entered a separate world, where one could relax away from the tornado of activities that always surrounds us, and this was to some extent true because these museums were seldom visited." (Jappe, 2009)

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6.5. Grito Rock Festival: from do it yourself to do it together

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Abstract

The paper aims to identify the social practices and to discuss the cultural actions related to the Grito Rock Festival, which is considered the largest integrated event in the world based on the Do It Yourself principle. The paper aims to identify how the festival that occurs in hundreds of cities around the world simultaneously asserts the national identity through many live concerts that include not just Rock, as the name would suggest, but also diverse aspects of Brazilian culture. This project analyzes the organization of the Grito Rock festival in different cities. The aim is to determine whether it is possible to create a network of producers that could integrate these currently independent events: from do it yourself to do it together.

Keywords: Festival - Grito Rock - Do It Yourself - Do It Together - Music

Reconfiguring the music industry and the rise of independent festivals

In recent years, several researchers from the music industry have pointed to the emergence of new business models for the dissemination and distribution so that the players in this market will adapt to the reconfiguring of production, circulation, and consumption patterns (Herschmann, 2013; Sá, 2006; De Marchi, 2005) that have been occurring in the industry.

After a transition period, the music industry is reaching a level of restructuring, and what is happening is the emergence of a new music industry (Herschmann, 2012), in which there is a gradual appreciation of live music performances, often arranged in the form of festivals. This occurs once festivals emerge as the space where an artist shows his work, achievements, and close relationship with his audience, besides being one of the most favorable opportunities to sell CDs and promotional products. It creates an experience with new patterns of sociability.

Different music festivals have been independently put together in various states of the country, organized by local producers motivated to create cultural options in their cities. It can be confirmed that through these festivals, these cultural agents are creatively and successfully building new circuits of production, distribution and cultural consumption (Herschmann, 2010b), giving their work the power of distinction (Bordieu, 2007). It is precisely within this context that, in 2002, Grito Rock, the largest integrated independent festival in the world and is the object of this work, emerged. With this study we seek to map its main features, identifying existing social practices and forms of interaction that occur among its agents; understand the symbolic struggles that emerge in connecting to various local cultural identities

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and organizing a national identity; and finally, investigate the possible existence of a global network of culture.

The Grito Rock Festival and new social practices

The Grito Rock Festival began on February 2002 in Cuiabá, designed by the cultural collective Cubo Mágico, which sought to create an event with performances by local and regional artists as an alternative to Carnival. In 2006, members of the same group - which has been renamed as simply Cube - met with cultural producers, members of collectives in Uberlândia (Goma), Londrina (Demo Sul), and Acre (Scull), also independent festival organizers and promoters of local culture to form the circuit Fora do Eixo, a network of cultural agents whose activities consist of "powerful laboratory experiments of the new dynamics of work and subjectivities" (Bentes, 2011, online[2]).

Since February 2007, the Grito Rock Festival has been jointly held by all of the collective belonging to the circuit. The Festival grew with the growth of the network and started to be held by partner producers in various cities and continents as well. The 2014 festival was held in 400 cities in 30 countries (Figure 1).

Figure 1 - Map of Grito Rock Festival

Grito Rock is considered the largest integrated event in the world because it occurs in hundreds of cities simultaneously, and each local producer has the autonomy to manage the event according to the particularities of his region, ownership, and disputes. The Festival is

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[2] Available at: http://www.trezentos.blog.br/?p=6056. Accessed on 15/02/2014.

known for its collaborative aspect that allows an environment of circulation at festivals for dozens of Brazilian and international cities, which together form a large circuit.

The advent of independent festivals such as Grito Rock led to "the emergence of new social practices that suggest alternatives to the restructuring of the music industry" (Herschmann, 2012, p. 1). On this aspect, the same researcher highlights the relationship between the production of these festivals and new digital media communications in shaping these new social practices related to the world of music:

> It breaks away from the assumption that social practices that are related to organizing new independent festivals reveals a new way for artists to engage with their audience, increasingly employing new information and communication technologies. It is increasingly possible to find multimedia platforms on the Internet that encourage artists and consumers to initiate their production and exchange content and information. (HERSCHMANN, 2012, pg. 10)

It is therefore a new method of production, as explained by Martin-Barbero who points out that technological revolution introduces into our society a new way of producing, confusingly associated with a new way of communicating, transforms knowledge into a direct productive force (Martin-Barbero, 2006).

The members of the Fora do Eixo circuit stimulate connection among cultural agents from more than 30 countries to hold a joint festival in which the producer of each branch should follow a few guidelines for conformity but also has various aspects of freedom (such as fundraising). The guidelines are organized by a team from the Circuit and are sent to registered producers in a guide format.

Producers usually join in one of three different ways: (1) by signing up online at the site Toque no Brasil[3] during the registration period (which usually occurs in January); (2) over the phone or online (emails and social networks) promoted by the managers of the Fora do Eixo circuit who present the project and invite the producer to participate and register on the site; or (3) through direct, personal contact.

Whereas in the first two hypotheses social interactions occur in cyberspace[4] (Lévy, 2000), the third option happens through personal contact, generally facilitated during the "Colunas Fora do Eixo" which are trips taken by members of the Circuit to share experience, according to the description on the site: "Fora do Eixo agents circulating in Brazil and other Latin American countries are sharing social technologies and network information. Those "Colunas

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[3] The Toque no Brasil site (http://tnb.art.br/) was launched on January 5, 2010, as a collaborative platform with the aim of using the internet to approach bands and event producers for free. The platform was the result of the collective work of the Fora do Eixo circuit (mainly represented by members of the Amerê collective from São Paulo), Casas Associadas, ABRAFIN, and BMA. According to the current description on the aforementioned site, Toque no Brasil is "a network of opportunities that is intended to streamline and strengthen the bond between the links in the chain of value of music, facilitating the meeting between music makers and those who hire musicians and bands, that is, serving as a work tool. On TNB, artists of any style can create their profile and sign up for various opportunities such as live performances (shows, festivals, tours), publicity (advertising, jingles, soundtracks), and brand interaction (sponsorship, competitions, contests). These opportunities are open in notice format, where the talent seeker to manage and release the results online, all within the site. Still, this is all done with the logic of a social network, where each user has a fully customizable profile where you can upload files and interact with others."

[4] As conceived by Pierre Lévy (2000, pgs. 92 and 93), cyberspace "is the new medium of communications that arose through the global interconnection of computers. The term refers not only to to the material infrastructure of digital communications but to the oceanic universe of informations it holds, as well as the human beings who navigate and nourish that infrastructure."

Fora do Eixo" articulate new relationships and establish more partner points, beside providing a consultancy specializing in collective training" (Figures 2 and 3).[5]

Figures 2 and 3 - "Colunas Fora do Eixo" Flyers

These trips often occur by car within states in order to meet new cultural agents who are interested in participating in the network's activities. This collaboration with the network includes associative actions such as the formation of a cultural collective or organizing the Grito Rock Festival in your city. After this first contact, the interested producers shall do the registration via Toque no Brazil. The producers shall participate in the collective construction of the Festival.

The main method of communication between the managers of the Circuit and the associated producers is mediated through computers: After the registration period, all producers are included in an email group (on the Google Groups platform). That way, subscribers receive all of the information and can even get in touch with producers in other cities to organize joint activities such as systematizing circulation routes or exchanging products and services in solidarity.

Besides the aforementioned group, meetings are held on Skype, in chat rooms (IRC), and even on social networks like Facebook[6] and Twitter[7].

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[5] Available at: http://foradoeixo.org.br/glossario-out-of-eixes/

[6] The Facebook "works through profiles and communities. It is possible to add app modules (games, tools, etc.) to your profile. The system is often perceived as more private than other social networking sites, because only users in the same network can see each other's profiles." (Recuero, 2009, p. 171).

[7] According to Raquel Recuero: "Twitter is a site popularly deemed a microblogging service (...), structured with followers and people to follow, where each user can choose whom they want to follow and be followed by others. There is also the possibility of sending private messages to other users. The individual timeline of each user therefore contains all public messages posted by those individuals whom they follow." (Recuero, 2009, p. 173).

Through these digital platforms, it is possible to ask questions, exchange contact information, share experiences, and encourage producers to follow guidelines and to adhere to suggested campaigns, which are divided into the areas of promotion (Promote your Grito, Record your Grito, ExpoGrito, Grito Doc, Grito Live, Collaborative Media, and Grito Photography); training (Grito Kids, Organize Your Campus and Grito Gay); circulation of languages (Stage Grito, Grito Routes, OrFel, Compacto.Cine, Camelô 2.0, and Grito Hip Hop); and sustainability (Capture Your Grito, Mount your Compacto.tec, Host Culture, Green Grito, Collective Grito, and Pitch Your Coin at Grito Rock).

As can be seen, the leading social practices applied by cultural collectives in planning the Grito Rock Festival is based on association[8], in cyberculture[9] and solidarity economy[10]. These practices relate to the realization of what Castells has defined as "network society": "social structure which is characterized by networked communications technologies and information processing. This includes such social phenomena as economic interdependence among nations as well as globalization and social movements related to individual identity" (1999, p. 20).

Even by following Pierre Lévy's concept it is possible to see the formation of a virtual community dedicated to the execution of Grito Rock. This community is built on the affinities of interests and knowledge and mutual projects in a process of cooperation or exchanges, all independent of geographical proximity and international affiliations (Lévy, 1999).

It is interesting to note that Jenkins, in "Convergence Culture," highlights, upon analyzing Lévy's studies, the power of collective intelligence evidenced by the author:

> On the Internet, argues Pierre Lévy, people subordinate their individual expertise to common goals and purposes. 'No one knows everything. All knowledge resides in humanity.' Collective intelligence refers to the ability of virtual communities to leverage the combined expertise of its members. What we cannot do alone, we can now do collectively. (Jenkins, 2006, p. 56).

On this point it is worth stressing that during the entirety of the Festival production the managers from the Fora do Eixo circuit share files collaborating with the execution of the event, such as explanatory spreadsheets to achieve control and accountability, releases, publicity photos, press kits, and presentations to assist in fundraising. All this material is made available in online directories (mainly Google Drive).

This kind of attitude dialogues directly with Pierre Lévy's notes, whereas in his understanding, cyberspace's is the main channel of communication of and memory support for humanity from the next century (2000).

Regarding face-to-face contact, it deserves to be emphasized that during the execution of the Grito Rock Festival there is often exchange among collective agents of the circuit and also among associated producers to participate in other cities' events. This occurs in many ways

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[8] According to Brazilian Micro and Small Business Support Service, the "concept of association is related to the adoption of work methods that promote trust, mutual aid, and strengthening human capital, among other factors." Available at: http://arquivopdf.sebrae.com.br/customizado/desenvolvimento-territorial/temas-relacionados/associativismo-e-cooperativismo

[9] According to Pierre Lévy, cyberculture "is the set of technologies (material and intellectual), practices, attitudes, modes of thought, and values developed along with the growth of cyberspace" (Lévy, 1999, p. 15).

[10] In this article we consider the concept of Paul Singer, who defines solidarity economy as "another means of production, whose basic principles are collective or associated capital property and the right to individual freedom. Application of these principles unites all those who produce in a single class of workers who possess capital equally in each economic cooperative or society." (Singer, 2002, p. 2)

but mainly through artist, production team, collaborative media, and speaker/training workshop host circulation.

From the above, it is clear how the Fora do Eixo Circuit resorts to new social practices to organize the Grito Rock Festival and that they occur mainly through digital media, although there is still a relevant *offline* liaison.

Based on this first aspect of understanding how to train a "virtual community"[11] (Lemos, 2002, p. 93) to plan the Festival, it now remains to analyze how each city's events relate to the cultural identities of they places where they are held, as examined in the next section.

Local cultural identities in the Grito Rock Festival

Considering territories as spaces in construction full of disputes and negotiations, it is interesting to try to understand the connection between local cultural identities while planning the Grito Rock Festival. After all, independent festivals exercise an important role in the reconfiguration of the music industry once they emerge as arenas of disputes of symbolic struggles.

This aspect can be seen in Grito Rock from the time that the festival is born in Brazil, in an environment outside of the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo hub, from a growing demand for cultural options. The first wave of expansion of the event was to other cities outside the traditional circulation route: Londrina (PR), Rio Branco (AC), and Uberlândia (MG).

That is, local producers felt excluded from the usual cultural circuit and through the festival sought to intermediate a new relationship with their territories in order to encourage new public policies and promote a transformation in the local cultural environment. This reconfiguration process is consistent with the disputes over attribution of meaning to the geographical spaces the Ana Enne highlights in her studies:

> Historically, the symbolic struggle for the significance of social and geographic spaces involves classification systems that generate procedures of exclusion and inclusion that, although dynamic, mark "fences" and "bridges" and define Mary Douglas (2006) to talk about goods and their social uses. In this sense, forms of (de)valuation of urban areas, in their multiple perspectives, involve a number of agents and situations, including public policies of occupation, tactics of appropriation, and use of space by multiple specific subjects in which they travel and the media representations of places, among other possible extents. We face, therefore, an intense and everyday dispute over the attribution of meaning around the space, in its transformation into a significant place" (ENNE, 2012, p. 27).

Grito Rock is a festival full of associative activities that have various embodiments because each producer can organize it in the way that is most adapted to their local situation. That is, although in Rio de Janeiro the Festival occurs in the Circo Voador with popular prices, in Macapá (in the north of Brazil) the festival is held in a square with free admission (Figures 4 and 5). Some events have the support of local governments; others are produced by only private campaigns. The number of artists varies as much as the range of the public and media.

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[11] Virtual communities "are aggregations around common interests independent of fixed boundaries or territorial limits" (Lemos, 2002, p.93).

Figures 4 and 5 - Rio de Janeiro and Macapá editions

For these characteristics, the relationship between the festival and the territory is often magnified in proportion to the size of the reach of the festival to the size of the city where it is held and if it really fits the cultural needs of that locality. Thus, cultural producers use the social practices described in Topic 2 of this paper to give a new way to operating through which they "reappropriate the space organised by techniques of sociocultural production" (Certeau, 2002, p. 41). These ways of operating are "ruses of other interests and desires" (Certeau, 2002, p. 41).

Thus, we can understand that through the collective experience of assigning new meaning to the territories where Grito Rock events are held is a process of formation of a cultural identity, following the assertion of Thompson that "when some men, as a result of common experience (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs (Thompson, 2001, p. 10).

In fact, it is worth noting that the existing feeling among producers who plan Grito Rock is belonging to a network, based on associative practices, which form a collective identity of the event while keeping up local individual cultural identities, respected throughout the planning process.

It is important to note that the construction of this collective identity does not presuppose that there is unanimity only during the production of Grito Rock. Rather, there is an intense exchange of emails and in-person meetings and online through which associated producers question, debate, disagree, and come in line for running the event in accordance with the reality of their territories. This characteristic approaches the understanding of Stuart Hall that it is "impossible to think the construction of identities as resulting only in commonalities of common points or establishment of contrasts and oppositions. The production of identity as a process must contain the two axes or vectors, as he calls it" (Enne and Lacerda, 2011, p. 8).

One of the major targets of discussions between the film makers at the festival was precisely the question of rock.

With a completion date scheduled for the carnival, the initial proposal was to take advantage of the festival to showcase what was promoted by the carnival festivities to consolidate and targeted those who had no interest in samba alternative rocker, acting in this way as a practice "of resistance to these hegemonic impositions of taste "(ENNE, 2012, p. 10).

However, over the past few years, the agreed direction (after extensive debate) is that a more plural selection, which turned Grito Rock shows into having a large Brazilian cultural diversity and includes varied artistic styles (in both music and language), not just rock.

Of course, there are cities that maintain the rocker tradition, but a growing number is opting to diversify musical genres. Hip hop, for example, is the object of a specific campaign - Grito Hip Hop - which aims to promote the hip hop culture during the Festival[12](Figure 6).
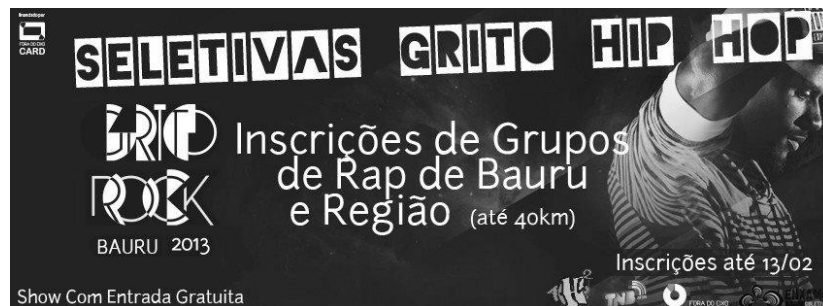

Figure 6 - Flyer of Grito Hip Hop

This measure combines the interests of farmers. For a few years, the festival has directed its efforts to form a national cultural identity in the sphere of Brazilian independent music between hundreds of local identities. On the concept of national identity, Nercolini clarifies that "*is no longer seen as a natural attribute acquired by the subject to belong to a given nation. We are not born with a national identity; it is formed and processed according to the representations we acquire and create.*" (Nercolini, 2006, p. 125).

Grito Rock collaborates with the creation of a national identity while going in the only direction that it has toward the movement of artist copyright. Each edition of the Festival must receive at least one artist from out of town, and all artists should present their own productions.

Through this model the festival promotes, between February and March, the biggest exchange period for independent artists in the country. Many bands are articulated to organize tours at this time, so make the most of the amount of vacancies.

And so, with events that include several local bands and still promote the movement of others, Grito Rock forms a connection between local and national identities.

The creation of a global network of culture

Accompanying the growth of the network it is possible to notice that Grito Rock experiences a new step with the expansion of its internationalization process. While in 2014 there were events in 400 cities of 40 countries, the goal for 2015 is to cover 500 cities in 50 countries (i.e., increasing the festival is projected worldwide).

Given the social practices developed in implementing the festival, it is possible to note a concern of the Festival in collaboration with the global construction of a more fluid and less closed Brazilian identity by encouraging the exchange of cultural agents and artists representative of our musical diversity in foreign events.

Plus, you can also see an effort to expand the boundaries ordained by the idea of multiculturalism as an effect of globalization that can generate a relevant cultural hybridization

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[12] Available at: http://gritorock.com.br/produtores/guia-do-produtor/.

of a global scope in the future. Martin-Barbero explains these terms: "Globalization does not mean a greater diffusion of products but the rearticulation of the relations among countries through an off-centering mechanism that concentrates power, and an uprooting process that hybridizes cultures" (2006, p. 63-64).

About how hybridization occurs, Canclini points out that these are processes in *which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separated form are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices. It is clear that the discrete structures called were the result of hybridizations; reason cannot be considered clean sources.* " (2001, p. 19).

Based on these points, it is possible to understand Grito Rock as an event that can enhance a cultural hybridization through new digital technologies and by its widely associative character, configuring it as a legitimizing institution, disclosing and mainly organizing high volumes of current musical production (Queiroz, 2010, p. 7).

Finally, we conclude that the expansion of Grito Rock can be considered an important step toward the creation of a global network of culture marked by an intense and constant process of cultural hybridization.

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6.6. Developing tourism locally through a heavy metal music festival: an attempt to maximize resources and tourist services in Viana do Castelo, Portugal

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Abstract

Tourism is one of the main sectors of international trade. It is also noted that touristic development is usually associated with benefit for countries, regions or localities. Preferably, under the yearnings of sustainable tourism concept. To achieve sustainability through tourism it becomes imperative to reach a compromise which can only be possible when, from the process of planning, the community is seen as a partner and co-responsible. Cultural events, including festivals, can help achieve these goals, as events are an essential tool in the tourism process, since they allow an entire drive in the tourism production chain. Given the absence of a common or unique feature to the totality of events and festivals, because each has its own peculiarities, this study reflects some specific features of a specific heavy metal music festival, which, due to its size and socio-economic dynamics, enables the existing specific relationship with tourism, including involvement and partnerships. From data collection and analyzes, as well as from perceptions and concrete observations by this festival organization, a first attempt at designing tourist programs involving existing resources and tourist services in the city of Viana do Castelo, Portugal, was made. Once implemented, the goals are to maximize the tourist potential offered by the dynamics created by the festival, promote the region as a tourist destination and boost the local economy as much as possible. The adoption or reinforcement of this kind of procedures taken by organizations of festivals with identical characteristics, or not, in other Portuguese regions is desirable.

Keywords: tourism, local development, partnerships, festivals, heavy metal.

Tourism

By implying a complex network of economical activities involved in providing tourists accommodation, food and beverages, transport, entertainment and other services, tourism is a structuring element of the economy (UNWTO, 2013).

In Portugal, and according to the 2010 Sustainability Report elaborated by the entity Turismo de Portugal, the tourism sector concurs, in a significant way, to wealth generation for national - local and regional - economy, and, additionally, promotes the creation of direct and indirect jobs. On the 2011 Sustainability Report, also by Turismo de Portugal, tourism continued to consolidate its significance to the Portuguese economy, having developed in all activity indicators.

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It is a fact that there are multiple reasons for the tourism to be an economic development engine, and several authors mention that on one hand, tourism leads to capital and income movements of regions and causes the export of goods and services through the visitors' purchasing of products from the receiving region, as well as their own expenditure in the places - export that would not occur any other way. On the other hand, this activity implies investment which, in the beginning, focuses on the rehabilitation and construction of touristic infrastructures, and then widen to other equipments. These, namely infrastructures and social equipments, which would hardly be built under circumstances not involving the touristic development of the area (namely due to dimension issues), favor local population and enable the installation of other activities which extend to local production (Cunha, 1997; Vogeler, R. & Hernández, A., 1997; Gómez, B., 2001 *cit in* Vareiro, 2008).

Still, tourism is much more than an economic phenomenon; it has replications on the cultural basis (intercultural dialogues, social hospitality relationships), starts from a historical inheritance (architectural and historic heritage) and develops in a specific environment (ecological and environmental effects on the natural landscape). Hence, besides economic effects generated by tourism, one should consider socio-cultural and environmental effects (Milani, 2002 *apud* Vareiro, 2008).

Events

Following what has been mentioned in the previous paragraph, and according to Zottis (2006), events are a fundamental instrument in the touristic process, and their contribution does not confine to the increase of the number of visitors, generating income and business, but also enables a drive in the tourism productive chain. The author also indicates that it is necessary that they are planned, arranged, carried out and assessed under the same complex and multifaceted perspective conducted when approaching hospitality.

For an event to take place, it needs a great number of professionals and suitable infrastructures, thus bearing social and economic profits to the local community and, depending on its dimension, to the whole country. Suitable infrastructures are needed, such as basic (sanitation, treated water, sewage treatment and network), support (transport, hospitals, public security), or touristic (accommodation, restaurants, travel agencies). Holding events in a municipality can, therefore, stimulate the improvement of those urban services and, accordingly, bring improvement to the inhabitants' life quality (Oliveira & Januário, 2007).

Howsoever, local entities (both public and private), conscious of the impossibility to maintain artistic performances throughout the year, choose to concentrate those initiatives and performances in certain periods of the year, providing to citizens a cultural offer adequate to large metropolitan areas (Getz, 1991; Hernández, G. *et al.*, 2003; Gratton & Taylor, 1995 *apud* Pardellas de Blas, X., Fabeiro, C., Vareiro, L. & Ribeiro, J., 2005, p. 64).

Nevertheless, the effects of tourism seasonality can be reduced by holding events, as they stimulate flows of people in periods of the year when the demand is usually lower (Oliveira & Januário, 2007, p. 56).

Still, on the other hand and in order to monetize investments, it is important to incorporate events (often too concentrated in terms of time) in the global touristic offer in the municipality/region in question (Pardo, 2001 *cit in* Pardellas de Blas, X., Fabeiro, C., Vareiro, L. & Ribeiro, J., 2005, p. 66). Events can also encourage people to visit a place more than once (Richards & Wilson, 2004).

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Therefore, so that events are crucial in terms of local development, it is necessary that residents have profit, but, above all, take an active part in the process (André *et al.*, 2003 *cit in* Pardellas de Blas, X., Fabeiro, C., Vareiro, L. & Ribeiro, J., 2005, p. 72). Indeed, on the basis of its success lies the participation of the local population, required to collaborate in event holding, supporting them by volunteering and considering them local happenings (Getz, 1991).

It becomes imperative to achieve a compromise which can only be possible when, since the process of planning the event, the community is seen as a partner and co-responsible (Zottis, 2006, p. 4). This direct intervention of residents, particularly when there is a special focus on visitors, is an unquestionably significant factor of touristic attraction, since it reinforces the authenticity and the identity of the place where the event is held (André *et al.*, 2003 *cit in* Pardellas de Blas, X., Fabeiro, C., Vareiro, L. & Ribeiro, J., 2005, p. 72).

On the other hand, tourists may have a significant role in the community development giving residents the possibility to obtain additional income (Richards, 2005 *cit in* Fernandes, 2011, p. 103).

Thus, a well-succeeded strategy of events is reflected in the creation of an institutional framework, involving businessmen, commerce, services sector and public power, emphasizing the promotion of associations and entrepreneurship (Melo Neto, 2001 *cit in* Zottis, 2006, p. 4).

The significance of events, therefore, is also reflected in the idea advocated by Hamam (2004 *cit in* Zottis, 2006, p. 4), considering that an event is a product and, from the premise that there being an activity designed to, directly or indirectly, generate profit to everyone involved, it is easy to conclude it is a product of high value and should be explored and offered to a public eager for information, knowledge, technological innovations, releases related to their area of operation, entertainment, and all that can be represented as new experiences and emotions.

Cultural events have lately shown a rather dynamic "touristic product", concerning both demand and offer. According to Getz (1991), cultural events, namely festivals, can help to achieve these goals, in that: they meet the local needs of local leisure, reducing the desire to seek other destinations; they keep traditions authentic, which might attract tourists more sensible to endogenous resources; they improve the relationships between residents and tourists, favoring understanding and a greater exchange of mutual benefits; contribute to the preservation of natural, historic and cultural heritage; and, lastly, they encourage local organizational development, leadership and cooperation between all involved agents, which is crucial if one intends a touristic development based on the community. This last role can be, perhaps, the most important one concerning this kind of events.

Festivals

In modern society, performing arts are a complex phenomenon of economic analysis, as they usually involve aspects related with hobbies, modes of personal expression, entertainment, social status and even public policy. However, in all these manifestations there is always a unifying theme: arts consume resources amenable to alternative uses, and therefore susceptible to economic analysis. As in any other economic activity, at market level, art production and consumption is reflected in offer and demand, regardless of the markets being more or less developed and/or competitive (CETRAD, 2004, p. 6).

The increasing dynamics tendency of live performances reflects socio-cultural changes which have occurred in our country over the past decades and have casted culture to the centre of political, social and even economic rings. In fact, the scope of public musical performance has been expanding, assuming an intensely diversified character, being organized at changeable scales, developing in spaces and formats more and more heterogeneous, and, although presentation and performance circuits are already organized at national or international levels, they always depend on time, space, operators and local or localized consumers in specific places (Abreu, 2004).

But there is not a common or unique characteristic to all the events and festivals, as each of them has its own peculiarities. There are festivals designed for profit and others for no profit at all, with local, regional, national or international approach, an entertaining or an educative goal, etc, but most of them share intangibility, convergence in time and place, as well as their frailty (Rivero, 2009, p. 13). Yet, one can say that the essence of a festival is its public orientation and the feeling of shared values it bears (Jafari, 2000 *cit in* Rivero, 2009, p. 13).

After having studied in depth the festivals theme, Bowen & Daniels (2005 *cit in* Rivero, 2009, p. 13) have defined music festivals as events which, contrary to other concerts, are manifestations in which music is part of culture. Moreover, music festivals often include other activities beyond music itself, usually deeply related to the theme adopted by the festival.

Heavy metal subculture

And music while universal art goes beyond geographic barriers, and any person, from any part of the world, can feel as a member of that community (Silva, H., 2010).

Heavy Metal, one of Rock subgenres with greater longevity, transcends the purely musical sphere, showing several aspects which characterize it as a subculture disseminated in several countries (Silva, J., 2007).

And it matters to be promptly aware of the subculture concept presented by Gelder (2005 *cit in* Silva, H., 2010): *"Subcultures are groups of people somehow represented as non-normative and/or marginal through their interests and particular practices, what they are, what they do and where they do it"*.

Nevertheless, Heavy Metal community and the music style which distinguishes it do not show as something against rules or as a radical counterculture directly contesting. While extreme and alternative in its origin, the fact is that, inserted in their mother-culture, which one consider to be the music industry, many music groups of this type have directly entered the top of charts worldwide. Heavy Metal, despite its contesting and rupture characteristics, is completely ingrained in music industry, in spite of being socially marginal (Silva, H., 2010).

This kind of subcultures intends to distinguish from mass cultures, seeking a more individual voice which tends to be set aside by global communities, more standardized, whose primary logics is of production and consume, deleting individuality in the process (Gelder, 2005 *cit in* Silva, H., 2010). This community, by its visual and sound aesthetics, moves in a world apart, in a more limited group of individuals, in search for individuality, apart from massification of cultural processes (Silva, H., 2010).

In spite of its style being aggressive, insurgent and somehow marginal, Heavy Metal has never been totally ostracized or even taken lightly. Mainstream media have never ceased to pay attention, one way or another, or even to bring to limelight news related to the style, even

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at the beginning. Although this music style has never been truly globalized, *key players* have always considered it had something to say (Laaksonen, L. *et al.*, 2010, p. 6).

Thus, even briefly it is important to know the origins and essence of Heavy Metal. The expression *heavy metal* firstly emerged, as directly related to music, in the lyrics of *Born to be Wild*, by Steppenwolf (USA), in 1968, which state "*I like smoke and lightning, heavy metal thunder*", and became the expression used to identify the music genre one could hear in Black Sabbath's seminal albums, a band from the industrial suburbs of Birmingham (England) who gave start to Heavy Metal movement, together with Led Zeppelin and Deep Purple. The expression *heavy metal* is also a literary reference from the 1964 novel *Nova Express*, by William S. Burroughs, and recovered by Black Sabbath's critic and defender Lester Bangs, in his music critics. Character *Uranium Willy*, literally *Heavy Metal Boy*, was the reference used to define Black Sabbath's music. Together with Steppenwolf's verse, the expression gave origin to the music genre (Christe, 2005 *cit in* Silva, H., 2010).

Distinguished by a strong sound of guitars and percussion, heavy Metal has been a controversial issue since its creation in the 1960s. As the popularity of the music genre raised, an increasing number of fans developed into a new youth subculture (Gross, 1990, p. 1).

The major differences between Heavy Metal and other music forms lie in four areas: music structure and elements of recording production, lyrics, public performances by the artists, and the subculture which has joined the genre (Gross, 1990, p. 2).

By the characteristics assumed by Heavy Metal one can identify this subculture as a market niche. According to Novelli (2005) we can speak of a market niche as a more limited group in which its individuals are identifiable by the same needs or specialized interests. The size of a market niche may vary considerably, but effectively needs to be balanced between being large enough to create business in a significant way and small enough to be forgotten by competitors.

Concerning the approaches previously described, the music festival dedicated to Heavy Metal genre, which takes place in Barroselas (Viana do Castelo, Portugal), can be framed in Kottler's idea (2003 *cit in* Machado, R., 2006) when he mentions a touristic product as *"something that might be offered in a market, to be appreciated, acquired or consumed, and includes physical objects, services, personalities, places, organizations or ideas, which contributes to meet a need or desire."*

Barroselas, locality and festival

Steel Warriors Rebellion (SWR) Barroselas Metalfest, a very Do It Yourself (DIY) festival, took place for the first time in 1998 and in 2014 it was its 17th edition, always in Barroselas. A small town from the municipality of Viana do Castelo, in the North of Portugal.

The main economic activities in the place are locksmiths, metalworking, wood processing, textile industry, civil construction, commerce and small farming (Câmara Municipal de Viana do Castelo). According to National Statistics Institute (INE) - Censuses 2011, the population consists of 3.927 individuals, but Barroselas totally transfigures itself when population almost doubles during the festival.

According to the organization, the festival always takes place in April, to avoid competition and take advantage of the lower prices of some services and equipments prevailing at that time of year. The budget covering the structure and artists` cachets needed to the 2014 edition was about €150.000 (one thousand and fifty euros). Concerning human resources, the

organization had specialized staff, such as sound and light technicians, stage managers, runners, security guards and electrician. Globally, the staff was composed by 100 people, hired and volunteers.

Adding to this, the 2014 SWR festival edition had around 50 bands from more than 20 countries, as it is happening in the last years.

In 2013, a study conducted by Coelho, J. & Brázio, M. (2014) assessed the economic impacts of the event. After using a specific model, suggested by Crompton, J.; Seokho, L. and Shuster, T. (2001) they reached significant and important numbers and information; In 4 days of festival the total direct impact of visitors' spending (the effective money spent, not including tickets) was €51.466,40; With the tourism multiplier coefficients the impact on sales was €87.492,84; The impact on the community`s income was €3.087,96; The economic dynamics helps to maintain the employment on some local companies.

Partnerships in tourism as a natural step

From the factual event evolution and development, at many levels, and also from the assessment and analysis of perceptions, needs and evidence collected and observed, concerning both visitors (demand for accommodation, feeding and extra activities outside the festival area) and festival organizers (need to expand and improve supply, as well as the need to provide an integrated supply), the establishment of partnerships with local tourism and leisure businesses has become a natural step.

Tourism is widely regarded as a means to achieve development in destination areas (Sharpley e Telfer, 2002) and the success of tourism development is always the result of partnerships between various stakeholders (Ignarra, 2003). So, according to Rocha (2006) partnerships between sectors is very important for the proper development of tourism projects from any locatity.

In that way, partnerships are increasingly used in the tourism sector, in order to achieve business goals (CTC, 2003). Thus, the success of touristic development is always the result of partnerships between various agents of tourism, from public and private sectors, who are able to meet consumer demands (Ignarra, 2003).

But, it is important to note that partnership opportunities are not only with or through organizations traditionally seen as being part of the tourism sector. Organizations are beginning to think in a creative way about partnership opportunities with non-traditional sectors (CTC, 2003). Partnership between sectors is rather important for the proper development of tourism projects of any location (Rocha, 2006).

The underlying impulse to partners, or the key-motive for cooperation, is that all partners, whether private or in the public sector, are benefited with the alignment of resources and aims. And partnerships are indeed created due to a variety of reasons. They can be formed in order to create new products or services, to achieve higher levels of efficiency or scale economies, to open markets previously inaccessible, or simply to gather financial and/or human resources (CTC, 2003).

The economic consequences of partnerships between public and private sectors will be considered, directly and indirectly, from the increase in touristic flow, and can be reversed in improvements concerning infrastructures, development of industries associated to the sector (feeding, transport, etc.) and increase in demand for local products, among others (Barreto, 1995 *cit in* Vernaglia e Goulart, 2003).

6.6. Developing tourism locally through a heavy metal music festival: an attempt to maximize resources and tourist services in Viana do Castelo, Portugal

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In Barroselas, and at this level, the existing partnerships between public and private sectors are between the festival organizations and Viana do Castelo City Council, União de Freguesias de Barroselas e Carvoeiro and the Instituto Português do Desporto e Juventude (Portuguese Sports and Youth Institute).

In order to face interests and needs previously mentioned, which come from visitors and event organizers, but also recognizing the importance of partnerships as a means of potentiating better and greater economic dynamics, partnerships have been established with small companies related to tourism, hospitality and leisure in the area surrounding the place where the festival is held, namely in Viana do Castelo.

From the contacts made, there were created partnerships with eleven accommodation units[2], three restaurants[3], a touristic and leisure activities company[4] and a travel agency[5]. The latter was carried out so that all offer that had been made, with special prices, around SWR Barroselas Metalfest could be marketed. That offer became integrated and more complete that the one previously provided by the event, what was in fact the objective. Promotion of the created offer was done locally, regionally, nationally and internationally.

An important fact is that one could note interest from companies in keeping partnership agreements with the festival organization in the future. This is extremely positive, as it allows us to assess the openness in attitudes towards the dynamics created by a subculture such as Heavy Metal.

Conclusions

It is noted that touristic development is usually associated with benefit of countries or destination regions, also contributing to the creation of opportunities to develop rural areas, as is the case of Barroselas.

Holding a music festival, despite associated to a subculture, has proved an opportunity, recognizing the community's individual and collective efforts, which is in its essence music as universal art that goes beyond geographical barrier, thus creating enough motivation, giving place to multiculturalism, approaching generations and stirring local development.

Despite having some problems of acceptance by the local community in the early years, the festival organization has now the support of public and private entities. A fact that provides the continuity of the event.

The whole dynamics associated with the SWR Barroselas Metalfest, the Heavy Metal subculture and the Do It Yourself culture proves that with effort and dedication it is also possible the development of localities and regions, namely in the creation of opportunities to develop rural areas, as is the case of Barroselas.

Since considering that Barroselas is not a touristic destination, the truth is that the town is located at about 15kms from the municipality of Viana do Castelo - admittedly a prominent place and city in the national touristic panorama – and because of that, it is expected a raise in the tourists flow in both places.

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[2] Hotel Viana Sol, Hotel Rali, Pensão O Laranjeira, Absoluto Design Hotel, Hotel Jardim, Hotel do Parque, Pensão Dolce Vianna, Hotel A Ponte, Hotel Calatrava, Pousada da Juventude, Hostel Ó Meu Amor
[3] O Laranjeira, Casa Primavera, Dolce Vianna
[4] Vivexperiência
[5] Viprecepcion

In practice, partnerships have been established to carry on touristic programs with cultural and leisure elements, taking advantage of the interest perceived among all who have visited the event, benefiting from the attractiveness and source of natural, patrimonial, symbolic and creative resources that exist in Viana do Castelo.

Hereupon, one can remark the significance of this event, also with effects on the reduction of seasonality in the touristic area where it is inserted, as well as its relevance to touristic and thus economic, sustainability of the destination.

In a certain manner, the way that this event is planned, organized and developed can be an example for other organizations or localities.

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6.7. The disturbing voice of the lower-class: from eighteenth century "Gracioso" to punk rock

Isabel Pinto[1]

Abstract

As the "gracioso" presented himself/herself as a dismissive servant, always trying to survive his/her hunger, and also the love entanglements of the master, his/her subversive role in eighteenth-century mainstream public theatre has been acknowledged (e.g. Pereira, 1985; Santos, 1993; Dacanal, 2011). Based on the idea that a "necessity of history" (Miura, 2010, p. 77) sometimes determines the replacement of universalism by the "rhetoric of identity", we have found similarities between the "gracioso", and what he/she stands for, and the punk rock ideology, mainly in what concerns the refusal of hierarchy, and class, and an unruly attitude towards authority in general. Therefore, we will prove that although distant in time the "gracioso", following an ethics of say-it-yourself, and a band like Crass, with its do-it-yourself, have something in common, despite the fact that eighteenth century opera, unlike punk rock, had no drum.

Keywords: eighteenth century; opera; subversive role; "gracioso"; punk rock.

In the eighteenth century, opera was the most flourishing performance genre in Portugal, and also in Europe in general. Opera was a court entertainment, involving considerable amounts of money: the sceneries were luxurious, the costumes were rich and refined, and opera was in its whole an exquisite show, addressing an intellectual and aesthetic demanding audience (Brito, 1989).

But in the first half of the century, more precisely throughout the decades of 1730s and 1740s, in Mouraria and Bairro Alto Theatres, opera was also being staged in a puppet show version (Braga, 1871), with plays from authors like António José da Silva (1705-1739) and Alexandre António de Lima (1699-1760). These shows introduced a particular type of servant, the "gracioso", a subversive character that despite his/her ambiguous and ironic comments also took part in the singing highlights, alone or in duet, usually with the master or with another "gracioso". The singing takes his/her defying attitude further, as he/she approaches it as a golden opportunity for extensive mocking of the events of the plot, making use of a plain and crude language. So, amidst love entanglements between princes and princesses from distant and exotic reigns, drawn from mythological narratives, the "gracioso" claims the vanity of it all, adding his unique tone to it and, at the same time, testing the aesthetic limits of the opera genre (Barone, 2012).

Taking the study on the "gracioso" as a starting point, we will try to develop a comparative approach on the subversive role played by this character and punk music in their respective societies. Therefore, in this article, we will draw insofar as possible a parallelism between the core values enacted by the "gracioso", in the first half of the eighteenth-century, and those

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pursued by British punk rock, trying, at the same time, to engage punk on its own terms. With that in mind, we will take into consideration the main ideological features of both, namely in the speech of "gracioso", in the opera *Anfitrião ou Júpiter e Alcmena* [*Amphitryon or, Jupiter and Alcmene*] (1736)[2] by António José da Silva (1705-1739)[3], and *Adolónimo em Sidónia*[4] [*Adolonymus in Sidon*], by Alexandre António de Lima (1699-1760)[5], and in punk lyrics by emblematic bands such as the Sex Pistols and Crass.

The "Gracioso"

The "gracioso" has allegedly a Spanish origin, aiming at enjoying the public through lively and witty performances. On the one hand, the plot can almost unveil without him/her, but on the other hand almost all the comic effects rely on the enactment he/she is capable of. The "gracioso" adds to the concept of theatrical character to the extent that he specifically comments on the genre that situates him/her, frequently in quite dismissive terms. Therefore the "gracioso" addresses the theatrical phenomenon in two different and contrasting modes. One can directly pose the question "How does he/she do it?" The answer lies in always knowing what to say and whom to address.

Regarding the Spanish origin of the "gracioso", we believe that it overshadows the true belonging of the character to a universal tradition of comic characters, ranging from the servants of Ancient Roman comedy to entertainment professionals of nowadays like Paul Birch, hired by the British Airways as "corporate jester" (Otto, 2001). This group of historical characters dedicated to laugh, entertainment, and creativity goes back to Plautus' and Terence's comedies, and is to be found both in Western and Oriental theatre. Otto (2001, p. 268) traces their origin from Ancient Rome to our days, and lists their dominant features: "[…] they challenge without threatening, act as confidants, ease tensions, advise and question, and are given the license to think outside that proverbial box." She contends that this type of character is universal by nature, therefore refusing to associate it with a particular culture or historical period:

> The crux of this work is that the jester was a universal phenomenon, not the product of a particular culture or era. […]
> Jesters in China, Europe, the Middle East, and India aimed their humorous arrows at the same targets – religion and its representatives, self-important scholars, venal officials and nobles,

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[2] We are using the following edition: Teatro Cómico Português ou Colecção das Óperas Portuguesas, Vol. I. Lisboa: oficina patriarcal de Francisco Luís Ameno, 1759.

[3] António José da Silva or, The Jew, as he was commonly known, composed a total of eight operas: Vida do D. Quixote de La Mancha [Life of Don Quixote of La Mancha] (1733), Esopaida ou Vida de Esopo [Esopaida or, Life of Aesop] (1734), Os Encantos de Medeia [Medea's Enchantments] (1735), Anfitrião ou Júpiter e Alcmena [Amphitryon or, Jupiter and Alcmene] (1736), Labirinto de Creta [The Labyrinth of Crete] (1736), Guerras do Alecrim e Mangerona [Wars between Alecrim and Manjerona] (1737), Variedades de Proteu [Proteus' Variety] (1737), Precipício de Faetonte [Phaethon's Ruin] (1738).

[4] We are using de following edition: Teatro Cómico Português ou Colecção das Óperas Portuguesas, Vol. III. Lisboa: oficina patriarcal de Francisco Luís Ameno, 1760.

[5] Alexandre António de Lima, besides his poetic works, wrote the following operas: Adolónimo em Sidónia [Adolonymus in Sidon], A Ninfa Siringa ou Os Amores de Pan e Siringa [The Ninphe Siringa or, The Love Affair between Pan and Siringa] (1741), Novos Encantos de Amor [Love's New Enchantments], Adriano em Síria [Adrianus in Syria], Filinto Perseguido e Exaltado [Filinto Persecuted and Disturbed], Os Encantos de Circe [Circe's Enchantments], Semiramis em Babilónia [Semiramis in Babylon] (1741), Os Encantos de Merlim [Merlin's Enchantments] (1741).

and erring, corrupt, or lazy rulers, together with anything deemed sacrosanct. (Otto, 2001, XXIII)

Regarding specifically the "gracioso", several studies mainly consider how the character is approached by famous classical authors such as Pedro Calderón de la Barca (e.g. Güntert, 1980; Barone, 2012) and António José da Silva (e.g. Pereira, 1985; Dacanal, 2011). To this respect, it must be added that the plays by Alexandre António de Lima have not yet been an object of scholar interest, with the exception of Santos (1993). This study also considers the use of the "gracioso" in Alexandre António de Lima's plays. In particular, it situates his use of the "gracioso" within a specific trend, the popular one, of eighteenth century Portuguese theatre.

Brito (1989, pp. 20-21) argues that António José da Silva's operas "are somewhat akin to the French *opéra-comique* or to the German *singspiel*, for they sometimes start with a *sinfonia*, and include recitatives, arias, vocal minuets, duets, trios and other choruses, as well as choirs, alternating with spoken dialogues, with an average of twenty-one musical numbers in each opera." The "gracioso" played a big role in all this musical variety, since despite his/her condition as servant he/she was not excluded from any of these numbers. Thus, as we shall further demonstrate, his/her musical and verbal versatility were the means to state an ideological position towards a world where he/she barely fitted.

Punk rock

Also a number of studies have been dedicated to punk, whether focusing on the careers of the main bands, and their influence (e.g. Savage, 1992; Cross, 2010), on its main ideological features (e.g. Laing, 1978; Miura, 2010), or on the survival of punk as a very particular subculture (e.g. Clark, 2003; Moran, 2010). The beginning of punk rock is linked to the need for a political stand in England during the late 1970s:

> The First Wave of the punk subculture was intertwined with making a political statement, and it is generally accepted that the punk movement became involved with politics in England. Jim explains how the major economic depression that occurred in the United Kingdom during the late 1970s left an entire generation on welfare, without hope for steady employment. The British class system, institutionalized poverty, and unemployment, acted as fuel for bands like the Sex Pistols and the Clash. (Moran, 2010, p. 64)

Punk lyrics reflected the most striking issues of the time, addressing unemployment, political decay, etc., and disseminated an attitude of general rebellion against the status quo (Laing, 1978). In particular, the origins of punk rock can also be traced in strong class tensions. The working class was, in fact, greatly affected by economic recession, and punk rock was also assumed as its unrestrained voice.

Important marks in punk rock in England were the release of *Anarchy in the UK* (1976), and *God save the queen* (1977), by the Sex Pistols, and in what concerns anarcho-punk specifically, the release of *The feeding of the 5000,* in 1978, by Crass. Another leading British punk bands include the Clash (1976-1986), the Poison Girls (1976-1987), and the Damned (1976-).

God Save the Queen was about revealing the contradictions and mischief that surrounded the monarchy in the 1970s. The lyrics presented it as something pointless and meaningless: "God save the queen/ It's a fascist regime/ They made you a moron/ A potential H-bomb// God save the queen/ She ain't no human being/ There is no future/ In England's dreaming//

Don't be told what you want/ Don't be told what you need/ There's no future, no future/ No future for you."

With the Sex Pistols ending as a group in 1978, there was a second punk turn, headed by Crass, a band from outside London (Essex) mostly linked to the trend of anarcho-punk. According to Cross (2010), one of the main contributions of Crass to the British punk scene was their ideological and ethical consistency towards rebellion and anarchy. The group defied authority as necessary means for social organization, and proposed a new social landscape based on the do-it-yourself (D.I.Y.) ethics, exposed in *Yes sir, I will* (1983): "You must learn to live with your own conscience,/ your own morality,/ your own decision,/ your own self./ You alone can do it./ There is no authority but yourself."

Crass was quite engaged in the political ideology that fuelled their music and performances, and thus assumed a key role in disseminating punk statements over what was going on in the society of the time. They used their own means to record independently, they gave concerts regularly, and a number of fanzines were distributed with opinion pieces. One of the group's main goals was to showcase life outside the mainstream. In fact, they were able to conduct their life, and make choices, outside the domain of institutionalised power, at least to a certain extent.

Clark (2003) states plainly that punk is the last subculture, the only one that managed to survive global capitalism. He claims that punk movement was able to fake its own death, in order to reinforce itself in contemporary terms. Nowadays, according to his view, punk has adopted going unnoticed as a general survival strategy, making for ways out of the mass media consumption that characterises twentieth-first century society.

Minding the (historical) gap

From "gracioso", the eighteenth century opera character, to punk rock in the late 1970s, a long time has gone by. Nevertheless, some similarities between the two are unmistakable, calling our attention for the revival of persistent cultural trends. Of course, there is little or nothing in common between the musical composition of eighteenth century opera and the style of punk music. But this should not prevent us from analysing how the "gracioso" and punk rock both question their respective social orders, emphasising rebellion against the status quo as an everyday life path. Additionally, it must be acknowledged that the "gracioso" is the first Portuguese theatrical character whose critical discourse can be allocated to class awareness, as in *Adolónimo em Sidónia* [*Adolonymus in Sidon*] (except indicated otherwise, all translations are mine), by Alexandre António de Lima:

> PIMENTÃO: Ai que estou perdido, que se queixa de amor! É possível que um cavador de enxada padeça o achaque dos que fazem a barba duas vezes na semana; que tenha forças para andar às lutas com Cupido quem todo o dia anda alagado em suor? Mas o certo é que também pegam debaixo da água as armas que amor carrega. (Lima, 1760, p.7)

> [PIMENTÃO: I am really lost, for he complains about love! Is it possible that someone who hoes the land suffers from the same harm of those that shave twice a week? That someone sweating all over still has the strength to fight Cupid? However it is still true that Cupid's arrows even fly underwater.]

"Pimentão", the "gracioso", calls for a class distinction when it comes to love affairs. According to him, only the ones that shave twice a week, and do not have to work hard, can afford to worry about Cupid. Thus, only masters have the time and disposition to indulge in

love affairs. Nevertheless, this boundary between ways of living is not presented as absolute, since it is admitted that love can make a difference whatever the circumstances might be.

Notwithstanding, we do not wish to deny that, for instance, sixteenth century Portuguese theatre is full of a number of servants discontent with their masters. Instead, we wish to point out that the social clash between servants and masters only became acute with the "gracioso", as he triggers an initial phase of political engaged theatre. It is from here that we will look into the ideological ethos of punk rock. This urge for an historical perspective is also evident in the song *Yes sir, I will* (1983), by Crass:

> *Those of us who stand out against the status quo*
> *Do so against all odds.*
> *We cling so closely together*
> *Because we have little other than ourselves.*
> *Critics say that it's just punk rock or that we're just naive anarchists.*
> *They hope to discredit us with their labels and definitions.*
> *Throughout history societies have condemned those who are later celebrated as heroes,*
> *In so many bourgeois homes Van Gogh's sunflowers radiate from the walls,*
> *Yet he lived in utter misery, condemned by those very same people.*
> *Why is it that the kind and gentle are subjected to violence and ridicule?*
> *How is it that the small and mealy-minded have gained so much power?*
> *What perversion has taken place that we are governed by fools?*

In fact, throughout history societies have tried to impose dominant models as status quo, and, along with it there have always been groups of resistance that do not comply with the institutional roles being imposed on them. The "gracioso" and punk can be addressed as representing resistance through cultural/ artistic initiatives to reenact a new social context, and to cast tradition aside.

In order to mind the historical gap between the "gracioso" and punk rock, we will address, as mentioned above, the opera *Anfitrião ou Júpiter e Alcmena* (1736) [*Amphitryon or, Jupiter and Alcmene*] by António José da Silva (1705-1739), and *Adolónimo em Sidónia* [*Adolonymus in Sidon*], by Alexandre António de Lima (1699-1760), staged as puppet shows in the first half of the eighteenth century, in Bairro Alto and Mouraria Theatres respectively. It should be added that by this time theatre ought to be considered a flourishing industry, with shows being produced on a regular basis by different companies, established in several public theatres: Teatro do Salitre [Salitre Theatre], Teatro da Rua dos Condes [Condes Theatre], Academia da Trindade [Trindade Academy], etc. As punk was produced amidst a music industry, "gracioso" was also a product of the theatre industry of the time.

In the eighteenth century, the relationship between master and servant was not meant to be questioned, i.e. it was a sort of taboo. Pereira (1985) accounting for the role of the "gracioso" in António José da Silva's operas underlines how much the character could add laugh to social criticism by using ambiguity to enhance the ideological strength of his/her discourse. According to Pereira, by doing so the "gracioso" sets free from the dominant ideology through the capacity to question tradition, and its rigid doctrine, even conveying a rebel attitude towards the master's dominance: "o resgate através do servo da submissão a que todos estão sujeitos numa sociedade injusta" (Pereira, 1985, p. 33). [It is the servant that frees all those that in an unfair society must show submission]. Furthermore, he contends that the "gracioso" is a central character in António José da Silva's politically engaged theatre, which crudely depicts a narrow minded country slowly heading towards the Age of Enlightenment. So, the "gracioso" aims at mocking submission and obedience as the traditional behaviour code of the servant. He/she manages to make it a joke literally speaking.

Much of the show relied on the "gracioso's" competence to play around with the love endeavours of his/her master by systematically opposing to them the urge to eat:

> ADOLÓNIMO: I have yet to face some desperation, because tonight, I will attend the marriage ceremony disguised, as it is allowed in this reign, and I will offer my life in sacrifice, and you shall come with me.
> PIMENTÃO: I would my lord, if I only had a life to offer.
> ADOLÓNIMO: How come you don't have it?
> PIMENTÃO: Because I am dead starving.

What the quotation exemplifies is how the "gracioso" proves that the master/ servant relationship can be subverted, through a proper amount of mockery and irony. Defying authority is then a common ground between the "gracioso" and punk music. By showing a rebellious attitude towards dominant forms of authority, and by not compelling to social hierarchy, they both try to state a new power, based on everyday life difficult experience. Life is hard as they experience it.

In the eighteenth century the servant does not have enough to eat, must attend to all the master's wishes and desires, and, at the same time, is ill-treated by him; in England, by the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, there was an increasing rate in unemployment, considerable cuts in state subsidies, additional funding to police and law and order agencies, and general expansion of state power (Cross, 2010). Both the harsh social atmosphere around the eighteenth century servant and the working class in the 1970s and 1980s originated new cultural interventions, in order to claim for a new sharper awareness regarding what was going on. The "democratic power" of the "gracioso's" acting and punk music, trying to reach a broader audience, was effective in the sense that they were both meant to be signals of alert of a situation that owe to be clearly assumed and changed.

Although in relation to punk, "the fact that politics served as the driving motive of the movement's founders has been accepted by both supporters and critics alike" (Cross, 2010, p. 4), the same does not entirely apply to the "gracioso", since one is forced to consider his/her comic endeavour side by side with his/her unruly behaviour towards the master's authority. It is undeniable that one of the fundamental features of such a character is to be funny, and overwhelming witty. Thus, the "gracioso's" acting has to be recognised as a clear contribution to a performance genre that aimed at entertaining the audience. Therefore, we must consider first, prior to any ideological survey that the "gracioso" ought to say amusing words to provoke laugh, and general delight among an eclectic audience, composed of all classes (Brito, 1989).

Despite his/her comic and loosen attitude, the "gracioso" is not to be taken for a fool or jester. He/she does not need madness to cover up for his/her bold attitude, for he/she is a servant in denial, one that does not comply with the traditional role and behaviour that society wants to impose on him/her.

Furthermore, if the key role of the "gracioso" was entertaining the audience, the operas in which he/she took part could never be political works in essence. Accordingly, although Crass contended "that all music, like all forms of art, was by definition political" (Cross, 2010, p. 6), that cannot apply to the essence of the operas by António José da Silva and Alexandre António de Lima. These plays were not driven by a political agenda, but aimed mostly at enjoying the audience. Driven by this non-political goal, provocation had to be calculated and wisely used. That is in fact the reason for the uniqueness of "gracioso" as an opera character. He/she is the only subversive and provocative character amidst a sumptuous spectacle that

was to reach consensus on the part of the audience. So, even if "At the heart of early punk was calculated anger" (Clark, 2003, p. 2), the discourse of the "gracioso" had to reflect serious thought on the most effective combination of comic lust, literary achievement, irony, self-indulgence, mockery and wittiness.

As much as punk rock showed radical opposition to the authority that denied and alienated citizens' rights (Cross, 2010), the "gracioso" had to take an alternative course of action. He/she does not refuse the system in which he/she lives in, but he/she only bears it through constant criticism. The only way in which he/she accepts to live in a system in which a servant resemblances a slave is by making every occasion suitable for a piece of criticism. In this way, he/she is systematically undermining the hand that barely feeds him/her, opposing to it from the inside. Throughout his/her discourse he/she frequently adopts an outsider point of view allowing for considerable detachment in relation to the plot he/she enacts.

Another similarity between the "gracioso" and punk music is that by engaging in provocative and creative performance, both asserted for the full potential of the common people: "Crass were attacking the cumulative oppressions of the family, church, state, police and courts and asserting the dignity, capability and creativity of 'the people' in contrast" (Cross, 2010, p. 9). By enacting the "capability and creativity" of the common people, the "gracioso" was also urging for a new social order capable of acknowledging that potential. Both the "gracioso" and punk, namely through the do-it-yourself (D.I.Y) aspect, looked for ways to achieve a society where every individual would have the opportunity to reveal, and enhance, its full potential. Consequently, the commitment to singularity characterises their course of action, as defined by Miura (2010, p. 75), "Commitment to singularity is commitment to freedom by way of making one's essence a radical difference", as he identifies singularity as a key concept in the aesthetics of punk. The argument presented by Miura traces the replacement of universalism with the "rhetoric of identity" as a "necessity of history" (p. 77). In this sense we can interpret "gracioso" and punk rock as two historical moments determined by critical social and political issues, where the demand for the "rhetoric of identity" was huge: "It is commitment to singularity that necessarily only translates the aesthetic into the political" (Miura, 2010, p. 67). By enacting singularity, the "gracioso" and punk rock promoted meaning transference from aesthetic to political realm, opposing to the too many social constraints of their time. The praise of an individual voice, and choice, and the focus on individual sovereignty, i.e. singularity, is indeed appalling both in "gracioso's" and punk performances.

How the individual can rise above the social constraints imposed on it is a recurrent subject within the performances of both the "gracioso" and punk rock, by electing self-expression as a core value. In fact, the most alluring feature of the "gracioso" is his/her constant urge for self-expression, as he/she does not stop replying to his/her master, or commenting on the plot, saying poetry, using Latin expressions, and also calling things by their right names, as "Saramago" in *Anfitrião ou Júpiter e Alcmena* (1736) [*Amphitryon or, Jupiter and Alcmene*], by António José da Silva:

> *Aria*
> *I come from the war, and I am going home.*
> *I come from the war, and I am going to the war.*
> *If there is war in the war,*
> *there is also war at home.*
> *The house of war*
> *is the home of war.*

I come from the war, and I am going to war.
I come from the war, and I am going home.
(Acting) In less than nothing, we are at the front of our house which I could barely believe I
would see again! Oh, gentleman, the hole we call home is a great thing, even if full of holes
itself, for a home with holes is more worthy than a body hit by bullets, but then they have
already gone by, and I am not gone. (Silva, 1759, pp. 365-366)

As the quotation puts in evidence, the "gracioso" goes from singing to acting in an eye's blink. He sings an aria, short, repetitive but full of ambiguity, criticising how the war influences everything negatively, spreading its setbacks to one's own home. According to "Saramago's" point of view, the war can never be left behind instead it will hunt you wherever you go.

As one can easily recognise the main instrument of the "gracioso" is the capacity to cause an impression through language. He/she plays with the double meaning of certain words to foreground his/her critical condition in a world of masters. Despite the difficulties and hardships, the "gracioso" never loses his spirits as long as he/she manages to make himself/herself heard. In this case, singularity has everything to do with self-expression. This character never gives up the right to testify, explain, comment, reply, suggest, rephrase, etc. His/her "radical difference" lies in verbal ability. By contrasting with the frequently monotonous voice of the master in love, the servant fights for the right to an independent life, quite apart from the illusions coming from the master's idleness. In this context, the "rhetoric of identity" coincides with enactment towards autonomy. Insofar the servant mirrors the vanity of the master's world, he/she detaches himself/herself from it, turning his/her back as much as possible on a world that annihilates the capacity to think and speak for oneself. The "gracioso" lives for self-expression, and he/she mostly lives by the ethics of say-it-yourself (S.I.Y), in an era where servants were supposed to have no mouth, and instead be all ears for their masters' orders and wishes. The freedom that allows for a character such as the "gracioso" is the same in which punk is based on.

Nevertheless, if it is admitted that punk gave rise to a subculture (Clark, 2003; Moran, 2010) it is difficult to assume something equivalent regarding the "gracioso". First, because we are considering different artistic levels, since a character in an opera cannot be considered an artistic or cultural movement. Punk was the result of an ideological commitment of a group of artists, and performers in a twentieth century world, already dominated by the media. The "gracioso" was a character with unique features in a mainstream show supervised by the censorship court. On the one hand, the "gracioso" could not dare being radical in any sense of the word, but on the other hand his/her trend would be even more subversive as he/she was fighting the system within the system. To this respect, there are eighteenth century testimonies that can attest the reception of the "gracioso" as a quite subversive character.

Manuel de Figueiredo (1806), an eighteenth century playwright, member of the "Arcádia Lusitana" [Lusitanian Arcadia] (1757-1774), a literary academy that aimed at renewing the national theatre, in a letter to his friend Isidoro Soares de Ataíde, gives his opinion on the role of the "gracioso" within the Portuguese theatre: "Daquele tempo para cá é que pegam os Portugueses em uma ópera de Metastásio, metem-lhe dois ou quatro graciosos, desaforados e porcos, põem-lhe por título Comédia de tal em tal parte, no gosto do teatro português, e imprimem-na" (pp. 539-540). [From that time onwards to the present time, the Portuguese grab an opera by Metastasio, they add it two or four graciosos, nasty, and with a big mouth, and then call it a Comedy, according to the Portuguese theatrical taste, and publish it.]

As one can well see, the "gracioso" does not resist the negative appreciation of an author engaged in rebuilding the national theatre according to strict moral and educational

imperatives, as this was truly the goal of the Lusitanian Arcadia. Notwithstanding, what is worth noticing is that the "gracioso" is understood by Manuel de Figueiredo as simultaneously breathing life into the comedy genre, and calling undesirable attention due to the overflow of his/her speech and obscene remarks.

In relation to the efficiency of the "gracioso" in triggering social change, one must always keep in mind that the operas by António José da Silva and Alexandre António de Lima were to be puppet shows. Although the puppets could well resemble human figures, the amount of detachment on the part of the audience in relation to what was happening on stage was surely higher when compared to a show with human performers. With this, we do not intend to say that theatrical illusion was not prevailing, but rather introduce a qualitative distinction between this kind of show, and others enacted by human performers. Even in the preface of *Teatro cómico português ou Colecção das óperas portuguesas* [*Portuguese comic theatre or Collection of Portuguese operas*] (1759) the differences, and sometimes the limitations, of this particular kind of show are acknowledged:

> … saberá discernir a dificuldade da Cómica em um Teatro, donde os representantes se animam de impulso alheio; donde os afectos e acidentes estão sepultados nas sombras do inanimado, escurecendo estas muita parte da perfeição, que nos teatros se requer, por cuja causa se faz incomparável o trabalho de compor para semelhantes interlocutores, que, como nenhum seja senhor das suas acções, não as podem executar com a perfeição que devia ser; por este motivo, surpreendido muitas vezes o discurso de quem compõe estas obras, deixa de escrever muitos lances por se não poderem executar.

> [… [one] will be able to grasp the difficulty of the comic art in a theatrical genre where actors are moved by the hands of others; where feelings and events are buried in the shadows of the inanimate, diminishing these a great amount of the perfection generally required in theatres. That is the reason why writing for these characters, none of them self-dependent, is beyond any comparison. Because they cannot enact the plot with the desired perfection, the author is frequently taken by surprise, and chooses not to write certain sequences, since they cannot be executed.]

Despite the technical disadvantages of the puppet opera, in a sense, we believe that the character of the "gracioso" might be closely related with this specific kind of show, for some speech would be more acceptable coming from the mouth of a puppet than of a real person, in particular within the censorship court's ideological framework.

The two major common features between the "gracioso" and punk rock are social and political awareness, since they both comment critically, and with lavishing irony, on the social constraints upon the individual, and the way one should not conform to the system. Both the "gracioso" and punks see themselves as outsiders, guided by a spirit of constant and restless rebellion. In this way, they wish to arouse an engaged audience that like them seeks ways to disentangle the dilemmas presented. At the same time, by rebelling against the status quo, they challenge the mainstream in which they operate. In fact, the "gracioso" mocks the same plot in which he takes part, and punk addresses "artistic excellence" in very critical terms. Barone (2012), analysing the versatile role of the "gracioso" in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's plays suggests that the character unsettles the boundary between the comic and tragic, as he/she is systematically in between reality and fiction, truth and untruth, by using such an expressive mode that pervades the very own domain of the effectiveness of theatrical make believe.

As the "gracioso" puts in question opera as legitimate fiction, Cross (2010) claims something similar regarding anarcho-punk:

> That movement proved capable of establishing not only networks for recording, distribution, publishing and organizing, but also a distinctive and well-defined sub-culture, with its own recognizable moral and political ethos. Rallying around their call, Crass and the other bands claimed to take punk's anarchist imperative seriously—to identify their ambitions as 'anarchy, peace and freedom'— and to reject mainstream punk's squalid nihilism as another act of political capitulation, an unacknowledged rehash of hippy's 'drop-out, cop-out' politics. (Cross, 2010, p. 5)

Punk music also encompasses the capacity to generate its own means of production, and dissemination. This autonomy in relation to the mainstream asserts for the importance, and invigorating dynamics of the do-it-yourself ethics as a plan of action against a system in which labour is low-paid, and, at the same time, the prices increasingly high. Punks just refuse to pay the price.

In what concerns the "gracioso", in a theatre full of people, he/she has, in fact, little to hide. The non-alignment practiced by the "gracioso" foregrounds his/her rebellious attitude towards the theatrical mainstream of the time. One can infer that the only reason why he/she accepts to be part of such a scheme is because he/she needs to support himself/herself. In this sense, the dependency of the "gracioso" does not entail submission. Accordingly, he/she accepts to be part of the mainstream but under his/her own terms. These necessarily imply opera seeing its illusory effect seriously questioned and put to proof.

Conclusion

The contradiction within the insider/ outsider approach that drove the eighteenth century "gracioso" is ultimately the same for punk movement, since its beginning to the present day. How can one be outside if, at least to a certain extent, one is living inside? We believe that the "gracioso" and punk rock contributed to an answer by defying their own performance realm. If the "gracioso" did not compel to the seriousness, or even to the legitimacy of opera genre, stressing the importance of a say-it-yourself practice, punk music, through the do-it-yourself ethics, inaugurated networks for producing music on its own terms. The rebellion towards their own art, theatre and music respectively, is the best signal of their commitment to social change.

Furthermore, we shall note that the "gracioso" and punk ultimately correspond to a "fruitful phase of ideological struggle" (Laing, 1978, p. 128) within an entertainment industry embedded in "universalism" and adopting an increasing sophistication. We can also come to the conclusion that the core values enacted by the "gracioso" and punk music are cross cultural by nature, arguing that they are based on "basic human values" (Moran, 2010, p. 64), which connect to the "rhetoric of identity" asserted by specific historical contexts (Miura, 2010).

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6.8. Counterculture in the periphery of capitalism: Raul Seixas and the Brazilian underground scene in the early 1970s

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Abstract

In 1969 Woodstock Festival galvanized insurgent feelings of young Americans. There were shouts chanted against the war in Vietnam and North American politics, mixed with an apology to drugs, pacifism and naturalism. The rock came to be core language flow that tangle of feelings that constituted the so-called counterculture. It would not take long for these ideals would spread worldwide. However, some countries have received and endorsed the countercultural feelings faced very different political situations where those formatted this rebellious ideology. One of the most interesting cases was in Brazil. While the counterculture was in its infancy in the country, in the early 1970s, a military dictatorship, established in 1964, intensified its action within civil society. It was the beginning of a nebulous outlook of censorship and persecution of political and artists. This vicissitude produced different contours the counterculture that spread throughout Brazil. Reinventions in the classic themes of the counterculture would supply the musical repertoire of the artists of that period. The main Brazilian Rocker to raise this flag was Raul Seixas. He sought to infiltrate in your musical arsenal themes related to madness, anarchism, Satanism and the occult he caused controversy in the early 1970s. The purpose of this study is to analyze the characteristics of Brazilian counterculture scene, trying to keep up with the particularities that gained depending on the state of repression established there. Concomitantly, we reflect on the musical production of Raul Seixas, as the recognized representative of the national counterculture.

Keywords: Counterculture in Brazil, Brasilian rock, Raul Seixas, Military dictatorship

Between 15 and 18 August, 1969 on a farm in the town of Bethel, in upstate New York, United States, 500,000 people gathered at a music festival that made history. The sound of the guitars of Jimi Hendrix, Santana, Joe Coker, The Who and Janis Joplin rocked the fuzzy dreams of young people who were there. "There were since they sought to conquer sexual partners who had an appointment with the Divinity. Going by that not sure if they were there or not" (Goodwin. In: Bahiana, 1983). While some sought an opportunity for contact with nature, enjoying the bucolic setting, others marked a strong political presence, "both in the partisan sense of protest, as customs, subversion" (ibid.) The event was symptomatic to typify the hippie era and the counterculture of the late 1960s. Seeds of this movement are in the 50s, "the fusion of the libertarian party rock'n'roll in discovery inner/ outer beatnik movement (…) and a few pinches of Sartre's existentialism" (Miguel. In: Bahiana, 1983). When the legendary Woodstock festival drew attention of American society, the counterculture had its ideologues rebound: Timothy Leary, Alan Watts, Jerry Rubin, Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac.

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Anyway, from Woodstock, echoes those mismatched protests gain the world. The ideology spread by the counterculture, of course, was not homogeneous and found among their own diffusers fierce criticism. However, it was unable to prevent the counterculture to expand the United States and Europe, adapting, often to regional boundaries, but even so, enlisting a legion of followers. The soundtrack quintessential counterculture – the rock – gained the world and became a profitable business with big blockbusters such as The Beatles, The Doors, Janis Joplin and others.

In the peripheries of capitalism the countercultural ideas arrived with some delay and have to accommodate that a distinct political and cultural scenario that condense the hippie scene in the United States. In Brazil, the first to import and also digest the information countercultural were Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso and the team that was devising an important renewal movement of Brazilian popular music, called Tropicalism. A sharp break in the creative intent of this group was when, in 1968, an Institutional Act downloaded by the military dictatorship, began to control and censor accurately not only the music but the entire cultural production of the country. Tropicalistas leaders were soon exiled and Brazil were the echoes of impactful movement that really rocked the national art scene.

A new artistic generation arrived in the early 1970s, trying to continue the innovative proposals that Gil and Caetano had undertaken years before and acclimating to the contours of the international counterculture Brazilian. "With the exile of MPB forefront of the season, opened up a space for rock" Brazilian, then popping "the first attempts to merge this influence with our music. If the Bahian News. Also a landmark of 'Brazilian equestrian': rock and samba, soccer and road, communities and children, vegetarianism and travel" (Miguel. In: Bahiana, 1983, p.96).

Other artists came adapting the rock in hinterland viola (*Sá, Rodrix and Guarabyra*), rock to ballad (Raul Seixas), rock the Northeastern regionalism (Fagner, Belchior and "Staff Ceará"), rock and visual elements (*Secos&Molhados*). However, some specificities of the Brazilian cultural scene have made this generation responsible for publishing the counterculture in the country, each in its own way, found a much less fertile land that existed, for example, abroad. The 1960s were rich when they witnessed the outbreak of "musical movement" that, in different ways, if communicate or rivaled. In this context, "individualism", one of the core brands of the counterculture, found great difficulty in reception from the critics. Accustomed to a musical production with certain equalities, disseminated through designative terminologies that join "similar" songs and at the same time, the differences between increase artistic groups (for example, Bossa Nova, Protest Song, Young Guard and Tropicália) journalistic criticism could not see that new generation that emerged in the '70s , some equality between the musicians and decreed the end of the great "music schools". What it must be emphasized is that this finding was already accompanied with some disbelief. The revelations of the 1970s appeared to some as a stagnation of rich artistic output of the past years. Zuenir Ventura, a renowned journalist of the time, coined in 1971, a symbolic term, called him "Cultural empty", which somehow translates well to the climate of distrust that were received in these new artists. According to Ventura:

> "Some severe symptoms are indicating that, unlike the economy, our cultural life goes bad and could get worse if not rescued in time. What are the factors that would be creating in Brazil called "cultural empty"? Responding to a distributed vision early in the year and organized with the goal of making cultural balance 1970, many intellectuals expressed their disappointment and pessimism about the recent past and worry about the future questionnaire. The conclusion revealed that Brazilian culture was in crisis. In contrast to the

vitality of the economic development process, the process of artistic creation would be completely stagnant. A dangerous "cultural empty" was taking over the country, preventing, plant growth, whose indices terrify the world, matched identical cultural development. While our gross domestic product reaches record increases, our cultural domestic product would be falling alarmingly."

Along with the symptoms, several factors were suggested cause of this creative recession, or "cultural cesspool" but two vied general preferences: Institutional Act Number 5 and censorship. Unlike the early years of the last decade, now does not show in any of the various sectors of our culture or proposed new or that creative effervescence that characterized the early 1960s, anticipating some of the moments of Brazilian culture rich in innovation and research .

The current situation, in contrast, offers a bleak outlook: the amount surpassing the quality, the disappearance of the subject of controversy and cultural controversy, the circumvention of our best brains, the exodus of artists, purging the universities, the drop in sales of newspapers, books and magazines, the mediocrity of television, the emergence of false aesthetic values, the hegemony of a culture of fetching only the easy consumption. (Ventura , 1971 , pp . 40-41)

Being an article whose sources were in a series of researches and surveys conducted by prominent journalists of the period , as Vladimir Herzog , Maria Costa Pinto, Duda Guedes, Sérgio Augusto, Maksen Luiz , Tárik de Souza and Ana Amélia Lemos, brought the conclusions by Zuenir Ventura may transpire much more than the sight of a single critical. The strength of discrediting the terms "cultural empty" or "cultural cesspool" may reflect the size of pessimism faced by new artists that scenario, often blamed for "qualitative debasement" that characterized the second part of the review, the cultural productions in the '70s. Amid comparisons with past years , marked, according to Ventura for "new proposals" and a "creative spirit", economic growth and the tightening of censorship reinforce the causes of an "aesthetic descent" which broke, he said: "the rich inventive process begun by the Bossa Nova of João Gilberto and then taken by Caetano and Gil" (Ibid , p.49) .

One of the specific brands of Brazilian and also responsible for giving natural contours, both the Brazilian counterculture, as their reception in the country, was the context of the development of new media. In the United States, Adorno and Horkheimer (1986) identified since the 1950s, a process of rationalization in the production of cultural goods, developed through an integrated industry, whose laws resembled the production of goods. When the counterculture consolidates and wins the world through rock, the country was already minimally used to see a closer relationship between cultural production and market. According to Renato Ortiz (1989), the consolidation of a rationalized cultural industry, the American model, only occurred in Brazil in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Therefore, the rock and the counterculture, the intricate relationship market emerges, in Brazil, almost like a novelty that transpires the new economic scenario of capitalist development which the country was seen immersed. The sudden spurt of growth in the Brazilian economy, in what became known as the "economic miracle", contributes effectively to scare you, suddenly the cultural productions of the country came to be governed by the laws of the market. The national music industry presented in this period, uninterrupted growth rates of about 400% per year between 1966 and 1979, leading Brazil to become the sixth largest market world records, at the end of the decade. (Vincent, 2006; Paiano, 1994)

The counterculture really came to Brazil symbolizing something quite different from that represented in their country of origin. If the United States harbored the countercultural expressions on seeds of rebellion and protest in Brazil, its features sounded so much less critical, as they portray that scenario capitalist development. The same Zuenir Ventura, matters for Vision magazine, where he finds the end of the "musical movement" says:

"Counterculture, underground, "udigrudi" or knockout, this trend has more difficulties in revealing some undeniable talent of his paintings than in exposing many of overt adherent counterfeits. The ease in attracting the same time false adherents among the young and free antipathies between the old, perhaps his greatest accomplishment. Living among the urge to receive a marginality that threatens to take his creation to a dangerous autism and the risk of being consumed by producing perhaps cease to Brazilian culture more an attitude than a work."

In his own formulation, the counterculture did not abandon critical thinking, but appears as a general protest that encompasses everything from that set: Culture, history, politics, dehumanization, pollution, moral norms etc., and proposes new attitudes toward life that can even be recovered: a certain Rousseau's return to nature, an oriental mysticism. Since society is the realm of dehumanization, is getting better each his own. Although originally marked by an unconformity, this attitude will result in a resigned objectively that the world and things can't be changed attitude. This state of mind – both critical, abstract and individualistic time – marked much of the artistic production of the new Brazilian forefront in recent years.

Creating a widespread cultural atmosphere – perhaps more properly aesthetic atmosphere than natural products – the counterculture was another way to fill the cultural vacuum, implicitly accepting the restrictions that the overall situation required the most directly facing the reality debate. (Ventura, 1973 p.63- 64)

It is visible in the speech of the journalist that the vector of the new criticism that arrived at the art scene at the beginning of the decade is not nurtured, for him, of great value. By emphasizing the individualistic, pulverized and abstract aspect of the counterculture, it is clear the opposition – and obvious inferiority – to the idea of popular unity and hope in "the day will come" (Galvão, 1976), which featured the critical part of style artistic production of past years. The way the police were seen as the first hippie communes that appeared in Brazil, gives us a good idea of how well the military regime saw as harmless, or at least much less dangerous, that class of "knockout". Veja magazine reported a hippie commune that arose in Salvador, as something harmlessly curious, which sparked an almost insignificant reaction of local police chief, who only threatened to arrest for vagrancy those young people with their "velvet pants, colores neck and ribbon in her hair".[2]

Perhaps the difficulty in receiving the counterculture from the critics, in Brazil, it gives both the hegemony that the "institution MPB" (Napolitano, 2001) was achieved from the 60s and the difficulties of acclimatization to this underground culture Brazilian contours. When the cultural and political discourse of the counterculture came to Brazil in the early 1970s, it had here a very different picture than thicken the hippie scene in the United States. The cultural and political surveillance of the military regime, especially after the AI- 5, buried the hopes of a committed ideological left and replaced the social and ironic speech by the Tropicalism an attitude of disenchantment and discouragement. Began to emerge in this context, what Paulo Henrique Brito (2003) called "night theme of post – Tropicalism rock". The classic themes of international counterculture – pacifism, psychedelia, sexual freedom and political criticism – have been replaced by songs more subjective and individualistic character, emphasizing themes such as fear, loneliness, personal defeat, exile and madness.

Brito identifies this nocturnal theme in the works of a number of new artists of that decade. In the song "Dê um role", composition de Moraes Moreira and Luiz Galvão, Brito notes that "the basic theme of Flower Power" appears in verses like "Eu sou amor da cabeça aos pés" however, "the opening lines of letter to undermine what's amazing in such a statement in the Brazilian context: '*Não se assuste, pessoa/ se eu lhe disser que a vida é boa*'". In the work of Sérgio Sampaio the theme of madness appears sometimes explicitly — "*doido meu pai/ sete*

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[2] Revista Veja. 12 \11\1969.

bocas mastigando o jantar/ sete loucos entre o bem e o mal" ("Pobre meu pai"), sometimes "through nonsense lyrics with climate nightmare, like '*Eu sou aquele que disse/ tanto limão pelo chão/ soltem cachorros nos parques/ ou não'*" ("Eu sou aquele que disse"). "The work of the Mutants set, the song "Balada do louco" (Arnaldo Baptista and Rita Lee), "says a radical way the opposition between happiness and rationality: '*Mais louco é quem me diz/ que não é feliz/ eu sou feliz'*". According to Brito, the song that best captures the mood of hopelessness national counterculture is "Vapor Barato", by Macalé and Waly Salomão, who combines exhaustion, depression and uncertainty : "*Ah, sim, eu estou tão cansado/ mas não pra dizer/ que eu estou indo embora/ talvez eu volte/ um dia eu volto/ quem sabe*"

In the works of Raul Seixas, this "theme night" can be identified in songs like, "Mosca na Sopa" (Philips, 1974) and "As Aventuras de Raul Seixas na Cidade de Thor" (Philips, 1974). The themes of loneliness and failed love are found in the songs "A Hora do Trem Passar" (Philips, 1973), "A Maçã" (Philips, 1975) and "Medo da Chuva" (Philips, 1973). The themes of fear and madness are also very common in his songs, such as "Paranóia" (Philips, 1975), "Metamorfose Ambulante" (Philips, 1973) and "Maluco Beleza" (WEA, 1977).

Even regarded as harmless to the regime and to the critics, the countercultural ideas that were coming group considerable public consumer. "The cornerstone of the 'new consciousness' was in the 'Underground' column, Luiz Carlos Maciel maintained – 68-73 – in the Quibbler." (MIGUEL. In: BAHIANA, 1983, p.96). From this pioneering venture, if proliferated in early decade dissemination vehicles such countercultural information, which soon became known as "dwarf press" or "alternative press". Newspapers such as The Quibbler , Opinion, the Brazilian version of Rolling Stone, Flower of Evil, Cable Car, The Dove, Navilouca, JA -Journal Amenities, Presence and Patata, Brazil distilled by the latest news related to rock, hippie communes, drugs psychiatry and psychiatry, literature, theater, Eastern religions, etc.. It was also common in the early imitative of the achievements of the legendary Woodstock festival. The biggest festivals of this type were: Guarapari Festival (Espírito Santo, 1971), Concerto Pirata (Rio de Janeiro, 1971), Day of Creation (Rio de Janeiro, 1972), Kohoutek Festival (São Paulo, 1973).

Understand the difficulties faced by the singer-songwriter Raul Seixas, in the early 1970s, allows us to see part of the process of legitimation of the counterculture in Brazil, which garnered some more sectarian fans, even faced immense disrepute by the criticism. Singer-songwriter Raul Seixas began to dawn on the Brazilian music scene as a solo artist in 1972. During the seventh International Song Festival, sponsored by Globo TV network, he qualified for the finals the song "Eu Sou Eu, Nicuri é o Diabo" performed by Lena Rivers, and "Let Me Sing my Rock'n roll" performed by Raul Seixas own. Like other artists who were trying to draw attention of the jury through the performative role in the presentation, Raul Seixas also used this feature and sang "Let Me Sing" dressed in jeans and leather jacket, belt gunman, starched and hair tuft posed. His frenetic dance mixed characteristic steps of the baião and imitations of Elvis Presley.

This event was the latest in a series of established festivals which began in 1965 and rocked the music scene in that decade. To Enor Paiano (1994) folk singer began to gain a status of intellectual producer in the late 1960s, when the festivals have become a new instance of consecration for musicians. So far, the weak institutionalization of the musical field increased dependency on external bodies, with greater legitimacy, located in American and European cultural centers. Bossa Nova, according Paiano, needed a performance at Carnegie Hall in 1962 to establish himself as a movement, both abroad and in Brazil. According to the author:

"festivals, with its competitive environment, its hierarquizadora feature (1st place, 2nd place) and the guarantee of a distinguished jury, said that the new generation had its biennial Your Salon of the rejected, with all media to which they were entitled." (Paiano, 1994, p. 165).

However, the VII FIC was immersed in a distinctly different scenario which established festivals in the past decade. In a way, the VII FIC opened the doors of a new decade for popular music, marked by the crunch of military censorship and the development of cultural industry. Music festivals during the 1970s, then kept the "longing" and the expectation of rich art scene who commanded these events a decade earlier. Now they found themselves immersed in a strongly consolidated economic context of a cultural industry. In the words of Ana Maria Bahia (1979a, p 43): "the FIC had been reduced to an open market for new hires, a show for large audiences where the presentation was worth more than the music itself." It was in this context that season came the first wave of artists of the 70s, squeezed between "discussions raised in the 60s (content/ form, direct political participation/ aesthetic revolution, search for roots/ assimilation and synthesis of external elements), and repression that took hold in the present" (ibid.). The consolidation of the cultural industry, coupled with the increased purchasing power of the population, enabled a segmentation of the National disk market since the beginning of that decade (VINCENT, 2002). When Raul was hired in 1972 by Philips Phonogran, label market leader in Brazil, the recording industry has envisioned, and strong growth, a segmented market performance. Says André Midani, general manager of Philips, which:

> To reach the front line that formed this year (Luiz Melodia, Raul Seixas, Sergio Sampaio, Renato Teixeira, Fagner) started by the cold call statistics. A survey of a year of chart success, divided by tracks (genres, composers, singers, sex) to find out what the missing label (...) was done. "The ideal", explains Midani , "is to have a star on each range of preference" (Odair José, for example, has an option of Phonogran, after having tried unsuccessfully to hire Waldik Soriano, who worked in the same current). (...) And there were layoffs and hiring, most following a criterion that investigates the psyche of the affiliated record label. "We avoid", says Midani, "working with psyches down, guys who are born losers and sometimes dispense even if they have a good margin of sales, but do not fit into our philosophy." Explaining this attitude by the type of work Phonogran (...) Midani says it invested about 80, 000 cruise only on advice to new hires.[3]

According to the testimony of André Midani, the record when hired Raul Seixas, looking and investing in artists possessing something more than mere artistic qualities or a good bandage. This "psyche", the entrepreneur sought, is a differentiator able to establish some durability in exposure of its contractors, an artistic image sold and published along with the songs. The same André Midani said in 1974: "More important than the music is the artist's personality. A durable, resistant to crises, the fads and the failure of a disk product" (Apud. Paiano, 1994, p. 224).

This "artistic personality", so that the manager mentions, might be identified with certain properties of artists in reporting, positioning itself together to cultural or political debates of the time – or even posing new quarrels discussions. The music world had already witnessed the consecration of the great names of Brazilian music in the sixties, by, among other things, this form of cultural-political positioning of the artists, the song festivals both polemicize. The search for this kind of artist, with the ability to enter into the music scene through other resources, not only the music, Raul Seixas may have approached the then most prestigious record label in the country.

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[3] Jornal Opinião. 29/10/1973.

Hired by Philips, Raul began to be entrepreneurs by Guilherme Araújo, a figure known in the music of the 1960s, having been manager of most of consecrated artists Tropicália. Araújo was known for extravagant and aggressive character that he built for its artists, using strong imagery exposure and making use of bold marketing techniques for the period. The first works to disseminate Raul Seixas were performed with leading names from the label. In the spectacle Phono 73, for example, conducted at the Anhembi Conventions Palace in Sao Paulo, Philips tried to launch their newly hired under the shadows of their already established artists. In this show, Raul Seixas sang three songs: "Loteria da Babilonia" (Philips, 1974), "Let Me Sing" (Philips, 1973), and "As Minas do Rei Salomão" (Philips, 1973), in partnership with Paulo Coelho; and its presentation was highlighted in the media.

Beards and long hair, wearing a short purple cloak that made the show his thin chest and a medallion around his neck, long boots and corduroys, Raul Seixas sang the last verse of the song "Lottery of Babylon" splicing snippets Little Richard, *I'm feel all right,* repeating several times feel all right while launch kicks and punches in the air to the music. Halfway through the presentation, Raul picked up a red lipstick and drew chest an esoteric symbol, which would later appear on the album covers of *Krig-ha, Bandolo!* (Phlips, 1974) *Gita* (Philips, 1974) and *Novo Aeon* (Philips, 1975). While drawing what was later known as the symbol of Alternative Society, Raul shouted: "here is cast the seed, the seed of a new age; a new age in which you are all witnesses" (NETO, 2011).

With lyrics that criticize the values of bourgeois society and such a unique performative action, Raul seems to have been able to show to critique and Philips label that he could have the qualities of such an "artistic personality". After the show Phono 73, Raul Seixas launched a compact single with the songs "Ouro de Tolo" (Philips, 1973) and "A Hora do Trem Passar" (Philips, 1973) and, soon after, the LP *Krig-ha, Bandolo!* (Phillips, 1973). The launch of *Krig-ha, Bandolo!* resumes construction of an image, Phono started in 73, that the singer and her label both would strive to build. Raul Seixas would no longer be a cover sort of Elvis Presley, as part of the media judged in his presentation at VII FIC, from now to avail themselves of new elements in her performing repertoire. In the physical aspect, Raul Seixas left his hair and beard grow and put a dark glasses that would take a few times of the face.

Musically, the album has a very diverse array of genres and aesthetic features being operated in the songs. As much as the rock has a greater weight in the overall composition of the LP, there exists an intense dialogue with the cheesy sappy and weepy chants, northeastern ballad, samba, drumming Candomble, plus more orchestrated melodies, next to songs romantic. Among the many critical values of bourgeois society – central vector of the content of the letters – mingled brands esoterisms dressed in the garb of an easy language and "tacky musicality" (Sanches, 2004).

With an always very accessible language, Raul Seixas launch their content under a heavy criticism always frank and direct, showing skill in handling cheesy musicality with tropicalist procedures, "juxtaposing rock'n'roll, forró, sieve and Candomblé" (SANCHES, 2004 p. 180). According to Pedro Sanches (2004, p.180) in "Metamorfose Ambulante" Raul Seixas decreed one of its guiding principles: "put your popular strictly ideological and politicized discourse of language, direct communication with the masses." The same goes for "Ouro de Tolo", the great success of the disc, with an autobiographical lyrics, the song distills criticism of bourgeois society, entering mystical elements, like the sight of a flying saucer, in a tearful voice, syrupy, tacky music similar to the procedure. Disclosure of *Krig-ha Banbolo!* occurred through a series of promotional strategies that Raul and his then partner, Paulo Coelho, explored enough.

Marches, flying saucers, appearances on radio and television programs, but mainly interviews and testimonials to many different newspapers and magazines, were used as a diffusion mechanism disc and Raul Seixas own. According to Souza Tárik:

> "In folksy TV show entertainer Silvio Santos, he even contrite, narrated his encounter in the Barra da Tijuca with a flying disc. By Uruguayana Street and Rio Branco Avenue, the crowded downtown Rio, he led spectators to view an unusual number of his success Golden Fool, singing over 30 times. Was seen in virtually all types of TV and radio program in recent months, while his music, mixing Roberto Carlos Caetano Veloso, and maybe Jerry Adriani, escalating dramatically in the charts (...). Loose onstage at Rachel Tereza in Rio, he remains one of São Paulo started climbing toward the capital, armed only with his songs and some body language, studied with the partner and musical director Paulo Coelho. (...)"
> At the center of many paradoxes, and much fed by them, Raul Seixas, using an agile commonplace, is a means and not an end. So his career, his shows, and somehow his interviews, are inhabited by a vacuum region where it is possible to assume, but not to allow any certainty, reasons even contrary to what you hear or see. Disk, with a praline always careful production, Raul looks like a complete entertainer finished. But the shows, confronted live, we emphasize their areas of shadow, an inevitable outcome defined by time and place.[4]

Raul Seixas spoke much more about different subjects possible and always very enigmatic and cryptic way, always leaving a "kind of vacuum" between artist and participant, as defined in Tárik de Sousa transcribed above matter. Paulo Coelho, in an interview with Hérica Marmo (2007, p 38), talking about his partnership with Raul Seixas, said: "It was fun to create stories. We said: 'Let's figure what no one did. What! We will give an interview on a plane. Let's invent a legend of how we met." And the legend was actually invented. Raul told the Regina Penteado, told the Folha de São Paulo, Paulo Coelho who met through a flying saucer that had seen both in Praia da Tijuca. If sounded strange for music criticism this encounter between partners Raul and Paulo Coelho, Seixas other statements trying to leave, somehow, even more enigmatic your artwork. In the same interview, Raul Seixas said:

> "Actually I'm not a singer. I find myself here giving the interview, recording for Philips, and find it amazing. But everything is just a vehicle for my mission. Listen, you can not use logic or reason to explain God. Logic and reason are things of the earth. I divide things into things of the Earth, the Universe and Things Things Thing. And Things of thing my daughter, these are the business understands. Who can explain it?. The reason can not." (...) God? Is writing a book about him is called Way of Great Answer. Because God, Raul Seixas, is not called God but the Great Response. "Do you think that God knows us? He did not even know we exist. And we can not reach it. The thing yes you can download about us".[5]

Among these many interviews will be highlighting an artist with some ability to bring unique elements to the musical debate, but mostly still seemed very ill-defined and confusing for criticism. Anyway, speaking publicly to many different newspapers and magazines was an important tool, both for the dissemination of its work and for building your image. The music critic of the period responded with much distrust these statements confusing, strange designs and quite ephemeral: while Raul Seixas said to be releasing a book about God he claims to be, from very young, wanting to publish a treatise on metaphysics, and says while wrapped in an esoteric society, says it is planning a film and debuting a play.

Faced with an artist who had just released the first LP, suspicion about a rookie musician grew even more doubts and fears about this image that had been building. The musical critic

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[4] Jornal Opinião. 1/ 10/ 1973.

[5] Jornal Folha de São Paulo. 14 / 06/ 1973.

was quick to enumerate a number of criticisms to their projects and testimonials. The MANCHETE Magazine of 07 December 1974 notes that:

> "Raul Seixas returned from the United States, a few days ago, as quietly as he left, and, while rehearsing his next show is giving interviews that paraphernalia of concepts, ideas and opinions that has left a lot of crazy people. There are two options for a conversation with Raul: if serious, will not be one stone upon another, because it is – or trying to be – the less rational men; already the second hypothesis is more attractive: it makes the fact that it is a kind of Gyro Gearloose, is always inventing things that few people take it seriously; but the big problem is who talks to Raul how far he takes it seriously. (...)"
> What Raul says not to write ten minutes later:
> "Raul obviously does not care to be understood, and also does not ask for faithfulness in their statements. (...) Raul accepted with pleasure talking to journalists, is the New York Times, is the Tribobó News. And no one cares to see faithfully reproduced all that said, as five minutes later you will not remember 10 % of the things said.[6]

In his regular column Som de Hoje[7], the Rio newspaper Diário de Notícias, Luis Carlos Cabral says:

> "Okay, Raul Seixas sold his 73 Charger and bought a bike. Now, I think a tremendous overthrow this be warning the fact to everyone. So he runs the risk of turning into another victim of the terrible assassin named folklore. And Raul is a guy who does not absolutely need these things, you ensure the work. In a little while until macrobiotic meal may be being used commercially."

In a way, these numerous projects, understood as mere resources for the promotion of Raul Seixas, in 1973, still could not achieve a certain artistic value. In that context, his statements were nothing to critique, meaningless phrases, which the press were reporting often the unusual character of its contents, but were still treated with some contempt.

If doubts about Raul Seixas personality were still great, for recognition of his work on the LP *Kri-ha, Bandolo!* assured him legitimacy in the music scene. Many materials that raised suspicions about the broad artistic figure that was being built there applauded the work of Raul Seixas. The own Luiz Carlos Cabral, the above-mentioned matters, recognizes the artistic value of their musical production stating that "Raul is a guy who does not absolutely need these things, the work is guaranteed." José Carlos Oliveira, after analyzing the lyrics Gold Fool makes a comparison between the work of the newly released artist Raul Seixas and super laid Chico Buarque. According to Oliveira:

> "This is Raul Seixas. Has no artist name, much less rock singer (actually mixes everything: rock, samba, maxixe, the devil). But I was surprised to hear his long-play entitled Krig-ha, Bandolo! I remembered a time when, returning to Rio after a long season in Europe, I asked Nara Leão: "Any news on Brazilian music?". Well, she said, have there in São Paulo a very strange little boy ... He makes music after a letter of the boot size of a trolley and the music does not break. His name is Chico Buarque de Holanda."
> Raul Seixas, often in partnership with Paulo Coelho (but Golden Fool, I have transcribed above, is his alone), interwoven with extraordinary ability lyricism, sarcasm, complaint, hope, love, pessimism-but always making a point of telling us, the voice, the guitar or the word that does not take any of this seriously. (...) Raul Santos Seixas is the newest and equally sensational Bahia arriving.[8]

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[6] Revista Manchete. 07/12/ 1974.

[7] Diário de Noticias. 25/10/ 1973.

[8] Jornal do Brasil. 9/08/1973.

There was then a gap right in 1973, when Raul released his first disc, as part of a music critic was quick to recognize the artistic qualities of Raul Seixas, but still looked very suspiciously at public persona that is presented here. While their songs could some recognition, their statements did little to enhance artistic or intellectual Raul Seixas. Celso Arnaldo Araújo says, for example:

> "His musical work has traces of genius – ensures the most critical. Have opinions about the personality of Raul Seixas are not unanimous. In many interviews he's given since stepped onstage Maracanãzinho last year, to resurrect the image of Elvis Presley's "Let Me Sing", one of the biggest hits of the last International Song Festival, he has made statements such strange that question was inevitable: it is a case of lucidity or madness? Raul says he was a Jacobin in the French Revolution. Also said to be fighting for the extinction of the money. He likes to leave people in doubt, confuse them, to outrun them. "[9]

Evidently, these interviews and testimonials from Raul Seixas, even if often undervalued by critics, made him a coveted artist by the media, by bringing often, something new and interesting to be disclosed. Besides appearing in "virtually every type of TV and radio program" as highlighted Tárik de Sousa, the above-quoted matter, Raul Seixas assiduously frequented the newspapers and magazines. Even facing criticism from the press, which can not be denied is that Raul had been popularizing the music scene of the 1970s as a rather unusual artist.

Lacked Raul Seixas, according to some journalists, the confirmation of a continuing and lasting, able to show that the singer would not be one of many artists of a song only, that had already emerged in the music scene success. Even very anxious to social judgments, novelties, surprises and resistance (MOTTA, 2000) criticism still viewed with reservations novice artists. That unprecedented and rapid growth of the market drives increased the frequency with which sporadic artists disappear after the first works. Thus, the news was viewed with some reservation by music critic (MORELLI, 1988). Faced with such an unusual artist with testimonials and so strange projects like Raul Seixas, until we understand the constraints that the criticism was.

The continuation of the work of Raul Seixas was decisive for his consecration, showing a possible sequence would confirm the expectations that were created around the newbie singer. According to José Carlos Oliveira:

> "Raul Seixas, after all, was the artist who emerged in 1973 with tremendous force, boasting an imperturbable originality and laughing uproariously all the serious stuff. Did intense oral advertising that singer-songwriter who came from Bahia, starved for some time and soon found its place on the cutting edge, recognized by popping intellectual, man of the people, and more surprisingly, conquering children. To all those who doubted what they were listening, I tried to persuade as follows:
> - It may just be an overflow. Photographer can be a single disc. Will see that tomorrow he's coming with any crap. But it can also be fully confirm his first LP, in which case we will have to take his hat-especially now that does not wear a hat. [10]"

The second album released by Raul at Philips in 1974, entitled *Gita* reiterates the theoretical and mystical aspects of their first LP. With songs like "Gita" (Philips, 1974) and "Alternative Society" (Philips, 1974) , was clearly a kind of continuity with the first work of singer, implying that Raul Seixas, more than a simple sporadic success, sought to develop a compact and homogeneous work. This LP was accompanied by a huge commercial success, which gave the

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[9] Jornal O Globo. 15/11/1973.
[10] Jornal do Brasil. 14 /01/ 1974.

singer his first gold record. The 600,000 copies sold rendering began to Raul Seixas a privileged space in the media and a recognition of the hitherto unpublished unusual artist who, until then, only talked about flying saucers. The proof of this critical and commercial recognition was recording the first video clip of the colorful history of Brazilian television, *Fantástico* program, the Globo television audience leader on time. The clip, which was a revolution in the Brazilian audiovisual scene, brought, featured in a slim Raul, mystical and stripped Seixas, didactically speaking with callers about the existence of a multifaceted God, countless expressions, sometimes even contradictory.

Sergio Chapelin by announcing the clip Raul Seixas in *Fantastico* program said: "To Cyprian, Lucifer gave a coup in Beelzebub, taking power. And the differences between the two delayed evil on earth for five hundred years. Five centuries have just finished." Soon after, Raul Seixas enters explaining the content of the song saying: "This magical phenomenon. This sudden interest, so to speak, by this magic, which is now painting like the movie The Exorcist. This whole thing is being considered because, when in reality it is an effect. And the Gita music, which I do now, puts it well. She awakens in each of which the person is. The good and evil as being only one thing. And God awakens in the person as a whole"[11].

Fleeing the specific content of the testimony of Raul and Sergio Chapelin, we can deduce that, that "paraphernalia concepts, opinions and ideas" was beginning to have some credibility in a few debates that had emerged. As himself said Raul, his music "Gita" is embedded in a common interest in magic, which had appeared and became more popular. The testimony of Raul Seixas already clarified fermented possible discussions or possible scenarios that sociocultural context. Raul Seixas, besides producing music recognized by audiences and critics, began to have their voice heard and those testimonials, apparently meaningless, began to find common ground meanings.

The ideas of the counterculture, who arrived in Brazil at the beginning of the 1970s, linger a bit to be received as a more dignified style of social criticism, while his musical representatives face some troubles to claim their careers in the field musical. Arriving in a period of unprecedented economic growth and consolidation of the Brazilian cultural industry, the counter appeared to be only a reflection of a new economic context which Brazil was seen immersed. The difficulties faced by Raul Seixas, early in his career may be brands that. Understood as mere marketing resources, their public statements and presentations sounded like ironies meaningless daydreams that they could not raise the respectability of other discourses.

Helped to gain legitimacy in the counterculture Brazil popularization and translation of some important literary works. Already circulating in the country, at the very beginning of the decade, some books of Carlos Castaneda as "A Separate Reality", "The Teachings of Don Juan", "Journey to Ixtlan" and "The Devil's Herb". The impact of the book "Counterculture", Theodore Roszak, translated and released in Brazil in late 1972, published by Vozes, was also important in building a theoretical foundation for the counterculture. Theodore Roszak's notes about the "technocratic society" meant that the countercultural thinking ceased to be associated only to the spread of a genre and passed to articulate themselves within a broader framework of social criticism, behavior and culture. The rock as an expression of the counterculture, in Brazil, face, besides the discredited by some wards of the press, the difficulties of a cultural scene dominated by "Institution MPB". Formatting to Brazilian

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[11] Idem.

contours occurred through a series of mixtures with genres and regional styles. Suspicions lurking about new artists, hits passenger and trademarks of economic growth, demanded Heralds countercultural assertions to demonstrate the durability of their work.

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6.9. Sing it yourself! Uses and representations of the English language in French popular and underground music

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Abstract

This article aims to show how French underground and local bands used the English language in their music. Seen as a hegemonic language in economy and pop culture, English, however, remained appropriated in a very subjective, negotiated and intimate way. For French bands, this appropriation was enhanced by anthropologic elements such as loud technology and group impact, and revealed a contentious relationship with the French language and culture, as well as with the French mainstream market. The language choice then had and still has a strong impact on a band's career, creation and production process. Besides, if bands have used English as a tool to draw the public's attention to the music more than to the lyrics, it has also been a way to renegotiate the traditional French identity, implying gender and race issues.

Keywords: music, underground, English language, French identity

Until very recently, almost no French band could sing in English and expect to achieve success in France, unless it became famous abroad first. This has been the case for French mainstream disco music, with artists like Patrick Juvet or Patrick Hernandez, or the so-called *French Touch*[2], who had to get recognition from Anglo-Saxon audiences and media before getting real attention in France. In the past, the French mainstream industry has used English as a marketing tool to cross borders and make profits beyond the national market. This strategy has always favoured a politically correct English. In the case of disco, English was used to sing about dominant cultural values, for instance a passion for the United States ("I Love America") or heterosexuality ("Where Is My Woman", "You Turn Me On"). The major record companies also created English-singing "ghost bands" in France, such as Jupiter Sunset (1970) or Time Machine (1971). These bands did not exist as stage bands, only studio outfits. Unlike the underground bands I am dealing with in this article, the use of English for "ghost bands" did not take part in the *ritual* of the rehearsal and only aimed at a marketing-oriented, short-lived imitation of foreign bands.

Indeed, the use of English by underground and amateur bands implies aesthetic and social representations that are not necessarily commercially oriented, it also has a cultural value that remains to be examined. A part of this value consists in a reaction to the mainly French-sung mainstream music and, more generally, in a contentious relationship with the French language. This is why I argue that this use of English is political at a micro-social scale, despite

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[1] Université de Lorraine, France.
[2] A group of French house music producers and two rock bands (Air and Phoenix).

the fact that the bands' lyrics are not necessarily politicised. Here I will consider the question from a historical perspective, examining different examples of the use of English in French popular and underground music.

Horde and technology

During the 1920s and 30s in France, when the major popular musical format was the variety show, there was almost no use of any language other than French. The image of otherness in music was mainly a caricature aiming to make the audience laugh or dance (Josephine Baker perfectly embodies this phenomenon; Perault, 2007). At that time, France was still a colonial empire, which was a convenient position from which to mock other cultures. Besides, the variety show technical apparatus became more sophisticated and moved the centre of attention from the lyrics and singing (café-concert style) towards the lights and dancers. The bigger the spectacle, the less attention is paid to the lyrics and the language. This technological aspect remains important as it can be related to the use of loudness in the emerging genre of rock music.

However, during the early rock and roll period in France, (1960s and early 70s), even if the technology (amps, electric guitars, etc.) already allowed the bands to reduce audiences' awareness of the lyrics (and the language), and despite the desire of many bands to sing in English[3], the traditional record industry did not produce any English-singing French bands. French producers forced bands to sing in French, often telling them exactly what and how to sing. The modus operandai was to standardize the young artists through "mentor" relationships with older music hall artists (opening for them and getting technical tips from them). This musical standardization also affected the language (in its semantics and in its formal aspects). In the end, the French music hall producers translated English rock and roll by removing all of its subversive aspects (Morin, 1965). Although original blues and rock could be sung in a rough language, their French early translations used a rather soft language. Even the singers were probably too old, nice and white to represent a real social or aesthetic subversion/corruption, as they did in the US and the UK (Guibert, 2006, p. 112).

Thus there were, on the one hand, the authentic and original rock bands, singing in English and coming from abroad (The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, etc.); and on the other hand, there were their French versions (Les Chaussettes noires, Les Chats sauvages, Les Sunlight, Les Players, etc.), produced by music hall industry standards, which meant a central and clear voice and a minimum of noisy sounds coming from the accompaniment. This original situation of rock is called the "great division" (Guibert, 2006, p. 132) and, from my point of view, is related to the common idea that the French language makes rock music sound silly or cheesy. At that time and for many years later, there were almost no references of recorded music roughly sung in French with heavy instrumentation. Meanwhile, when it came to the music, at that period English was the language of the rebel and the hip, a language that old people did not really understand.

In the early 70s, a few English-singing French bands tried their hand in the popular music market, but with very mixed results. Les Variations (1966-1975) got a contract with Pathé and toured around the world with big bands like Led Zeppelin, but their only single with significant

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[3] Most of these bands started playing music by playing covers in English and were fascinated by British and American music.

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sales was their one French-language song: *Je suis juste un rock'n'roller* (7th in the French charts). Dynastie Crisis (1970-1974) started singing in English, then signed a contract with EMI and changed to French. Chico Magnetic Band (1969-1972) gained attention from the media and signed a contract with CBS, but the label did not put any money into promotion, the band did not sell any records and they split soon after (which was typical at that time, even for French-singing bands).

Rock and pop critics were another source of conflict for these small rock bands. Many critics considered them as a translation/imitation of foreign bands (Vassal, 1971), and therefore lacking authenticity, which was more likely to be found in the singing-songwriting of artists like Georges Brassens, considered to be a true French artist. Moreover, the few journalists willing to talk about those bands had to face the fact that their records were very hard to find and that a French band making the cover of a magazine would sell a lot less than an American or British pop idol benefitting from heavy promotional support. During the same period, the only other examples of linguistic resistance to the French-singing mainstream industry were to be found in the experimental underground French scene, especially that produced by the jazz-oriented record label BYG. First there was Gong (1967-present), a progressive rock band with an Australian singer stranded in France because of a visa complication. And Magma (1969-present), another progressive/experimental band, well known for its invented language (Kobaïan). If the language choice was related to the way the music was produced and distributed (in BYG's case, a "do it yourself" way), the aesthetic ideology also had something to do with it: jazz amateurs focus more on the music than the lyrics, which makes it easier to sing in whatever language in whatever way.

So what would lead a rock or punk band to keep using English to sing at that time? Among those bands, we find the early hard rock band Shakin' Street, who played at the punk festival in Mont-de-Marsan in 1976 and 1977. Singer Fabienne Shine had studied English at a secretarial school and through movies and music. She had a great passion for the United States, where she finally went and met Jimmy Page. About the writing process, she declared:

> When I used to write with Shakin' Street, I was writing with a full impact of the five members, I felt more aggressive, more delinquent, outlaw. We were like a family, like a gang. (…) French music sucks! All the rockers in France know that, and by the way I am very grateful to my fans in France who know the difference![4]

Thus there was a "horde" effect in their music (the "impact of the five [aggressive] members") that was related to the use of English, especially when the sonic impact was so important that meaningful words were almost not needed anymore. The voice was still there, though, being the "popular" element of the music. And this "English voice" had a dangerous and powerful dimension. In this case, if we look at the lyrics, there was no protest song-like reference but more an American-influenced anger, a *collective* and *technologized* energy that could not be translated into French without losing its authenticity in the eyes of the singer. In fact, in regard to the "horde" dimension of the foreign language choice, It appears that there were no French solo artists singing in English at that time, only bands. And even today, it is not common to see English-singing solo artists in the indie or amateur French scene.

Even if this use of English seemed not to be politicized when it came to the lyrics, the bands still expressed class-consciousness through their social origins (Parisian suburbs for Shakin'

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[4] http://www.earcandymag.com/fabienneshine.htm

Street, Lyon suburbs for Ganafoul, Le Havre harbour for Little Bob Story, etc.) and also by the fact that they did not always know the language very well.

Indeed, the use of English also existed beyond the collectiveness of the band. It had a connection to the audience's body that could also be found in disco music through dancing. For rock and punk rock, it was more a kind of physical release, where sensuality (the hip shaking) alternated with brutality (the pogo during punk rock concerts). It is this relation to the body that diminished the semantic power of singing. The English language thus became a partly "dramatic and meaningless" aesthetic object "within the consensually validated norms" (Hall, 1993, p. 71). Using English did not fit the habitual conception of the authentic performer who was supposed to sing in his/her own language and, in this sense, these English-singing bands "breach our expectancies" (Hall, 1993, p. 71). Yet the injunction to use clear, unambiguous language is intimately related to dominant conceptions of social order: "the limits of acceptable linguistic expression are prescribed by a number of apparently universal taboos. These taboos guarantee the continuing 'transparency' (the taken-for-grantedness) of meaning" (Hebdidge, 1979, p. 91). This is why the major record companies, seen as representative of dominant cultural and social values, completely ignored these bands in the first place or forced them to sing in French. Nevertheless, this ideological frame towards language norms does not seem to apply to English-singing French disco music, which was easily produced and distributed. In my opinion it can be explained by the fact that the lack of meaning in the English singing was compensated for in some way. The music industry's first goal was still to make profits, so going through a more internationally-oriented and easy-listening music production would make that possible. Only in this way was singing English acceptable and encouraged. In other words, French artists could not sing in English if they did not clearly claim they wanted to "conquer" an international audience.

Trance, subversive diversity and cultural ideology

Following the punk wave coming from the United Kingdom, many local punk and post-punk bands emerged around France. Each big record company tried to find its own alternative band: Téléphone for EMI, Bijou for Phonogram, Starshooter for CBS. All those bands sang in French, but many bands from the era still had a strong connection with English, either in their name (Asphalt Jungle, OTH for "On Tenter Hook") or in song titles ("Betsy Party" from Starshooter, "Love Lane" from Asphalt Jungle, "Lady Coca Cola" from Metal Urbain). Even the press became interested in this new phenomenon, but this enthusiasm did not last long. The major record companies decided they had produced enough of this "punk rock" fashion, thinking that regular pop music (*variété*) was more appropriate for the French market. For the rest of the "new" and "young" music, there was the Anglo-Saxon catalog (Guibert, 2006, p. 157). Paradoxically, by giving priority to this catalog (with bands like The Cure, U2, Police, Depeche Mode, etc.), which actually represented more than half of sales in France[5], the industry favoured a more authentic conception of English as a singing language for "new" music. Most new French bands displayed a tendency to respect this linguistic mimicry, especially in their early years, by making covers. When they started composing their own songs, most of them strategically switched to French, because it was easier and also because most of the labels (even independent ones) were more interested in French singing.

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[5] B.I.P.E., L'économie du domaine musical (as cited in Guibert, 2006, p. 158).

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However, a significant number of bands continued to sing in English in the country's emerging scenes: Marquis de Sade (1977-1981) in Rennes, Stinky Toys (1976-1979) in Paris, Kas Product (1980-1990) in Nancy, Thugs (1983-1999) in Angers, Dau Al Set (1983-1985) in Toulouse, The Brigades (1981-1989) in Paris, Burning Heads (1988-present) in Orléans, etc. Looking at these bands' interviews, there was no clear claim to "make profits" or "to please everybody in the world". Most of them preferred to talk about "being understood" or about the "beauty" of the language, which proves that singing in English was not about marketing and had a more complex cultural and social meaning: "We used to sing in English for the standing, to be understood internationally. But it was also about how the words sound. English is better for rock. I find it more beautiful, more melodic. French sounds jerkier" [6] (The Brigades, in Rudeboy, 2007); "I sing in English because it's the most suitable language for our music style. If you want to sing in French, you really need to really assimilate the language if you don't want to sound ridiculous or cliché" (Dau al set, in Rudeboy, 2007).

Figure 1 - Kas Product (1980) – Mind, 7'', Punk Records.
Source: http://www.spirit-of-rock.com/album-groupe-Kas_Product-nom_album-Mind-l-en.html

For some reason, many bands seemed to find it difficult to sing in French. Even with more recent bands, I have encountered this idea that French is a difficult language for singing, often because musicians perceive it as the language of classical literature they had to study at school, while English was for them a language of pop songs and movies, an easy and colourful language. In this way it became a more instinctive and spontaneous language.

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[6] "On chantait en anglais pour l'aspect rayonnement, pour pouvoir être compris au niveau international, et le second aspect concernait la musique des mots. L'anglais est plus favorable pour faire du rock. Je trouve ça plus beau, plus mélodique que le français qui est plus heurté."

In Le Havre, the proximity to the United Kingdom led to the creation of various English-singing bands (City Kids, Bad Brains) connected to the label and record shop Closer. In Nancy, the band Kas Product became a local post-punk leader after being praised by the media, especially Jean-Eric Perrin who conducted the "Frenchy But Chic" chronicles in *Rock&Folk*. The same happened to Marquis de Sade in Rennes (Perrin, 2013). In both cases, the bands' members did not consider themselves as belonging to a national territory. Kas Product singer Mona Soyoc pictured herself as a "traveller", not interested in the "French rock" category[7], because French was too "down-to-earth", while English could lead you to a more transcendental state, or "acid state" (Seca, 2001), that is typical for underground musicians. In this case, English was mainly about using the "aesthetics of incomprehensibility" (Szego, 2003), which consist in compensating for the lack of comprehension by a more intense emotional commitment in the music. If you do not understand the words, your attention is transferred to other musical aspects (rhythm, flow, tone, etc.), which enhances the *trance* feeling. Marquis de Sade were also known for their mystic and intense shows. Moreover, they were not ashamed of claiming their "Europeanness" (Perrin, 2013, p. 115), aiming to symbolically deconstruct national barriers and rebuild a new space through their art.
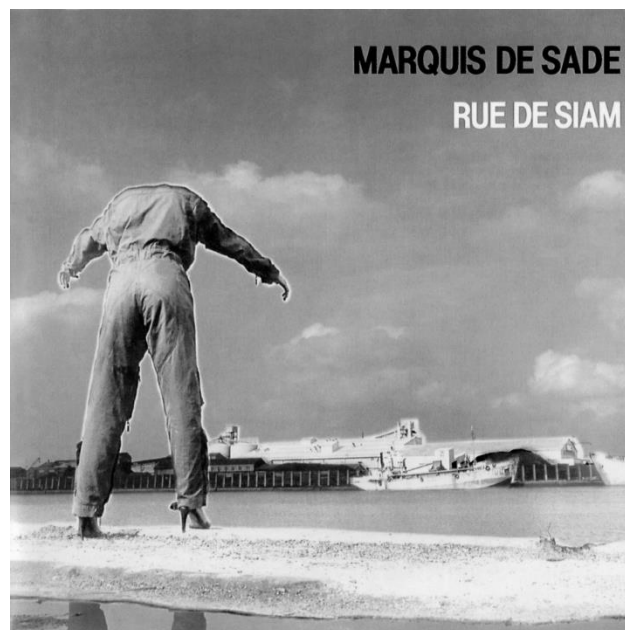

Figure 2 - Marquis de Sade (1981) – Rue De Siam, Vinyl LP, EMI.
Source: http://www.discogs.com/Marquis-De-Sade-Rue-De-Siam/release/866246

In opposition to this intellectual or even spiritual attempt through English singing, Thugs was a much more modest and "do it yourself" band, playing extremely loud for a French band, and claiming not to cultivate any fascination for the US or the UK (Manet, 2013, pp. 106-107). Their early-shoegaze noisy sound and loud live performances made them noticed by the American label Sub Pop. Would have been the case if they had sung in French? It is a difficult matter to solve. What can be said is that their English was marked by a deep French accent,

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[7] Les Enfants du rock, 1987. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-0aH8fOkHk

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but in their case, it probably added an exotic feature to their music that was already well received. Moreover, despite the fact that the French accent was often considered as amateur; in punk, grunge and hardcore styles, it is more likely to be seen as positive, because it is a proof of authenticity. In the Thugs case, keeping the accent showed that the members did not seek to hide who they were. In fact, they were well known for their integrity and their rejection to any kind of showing off. In terms of lyrics, their message was clearly political, "between lower class and anarchist" (Manet, 2013, p. 33), criticizing nuclear plant programs for instance.

So the appropriation and diffusion of a foreign and hegemonic language was, first, a part of a complicated process in which the artist perceived this language as more authentic, more socially efficient and more aesthetically adapted. Later, this language took on a function of encryption of the artist's subaltern position, which is why some bands continued to use it despite the hostility of French record labels. For instance the punk band members of The Brigades had to create their own label, Rock Radicals Records, in order to keep their music in English and produce other bands like them (Rudeboy, 2007).

If English could be seen as a mainstream music language, it also was the main language of alternative music (from abroad), while French was *mainly* a language of mainstream music. The first punk bands singing in French did not reach a large audience, like the Sex Pistols did in the UK. Metal Urbain was probably the major and most radical figure in France, but was blacklisted in all the media. It was only in the late 80s that a more significant number of alternative bands singing in French gained real attention from the media (Bérurier Noir's radio hit "L'empereur Tomato Ketchup" was in 1986). The interesting point is that, unlike the major record companies, most of these bands did not employ a dogmatic use of French and were liable to borrow from different foreign languages. A noteworthy example would be Mano Negra, which became an essential band from the *rock metis* era (Lebrun, 2009), singing in Spanish, Arabic, French and English.

Even Noir Desir, today famous for their poetic French lyrics, used English a lot in their early days. More generally, the linguistic malleability of this period in the French underground was also a musical one. For instance the label Boucherie Productions was characterised more by its independent manner of producing and distributing than by a specific musical style. There were punk rock bands (Les Garçons Bouchers), crossover alternative bands (Los Carayos, Mano Negra), French solo singers (Clarika) and metal bands singing in English (Witches and Hoax). Bondage Records was also in the same position, with famous bands like Washington Dead Cats (psychobilly in English), Parabellum (punk rock in French), Nonnes Troppo (French *chanson*), and Kortatu (ska punk from the Basque Country).
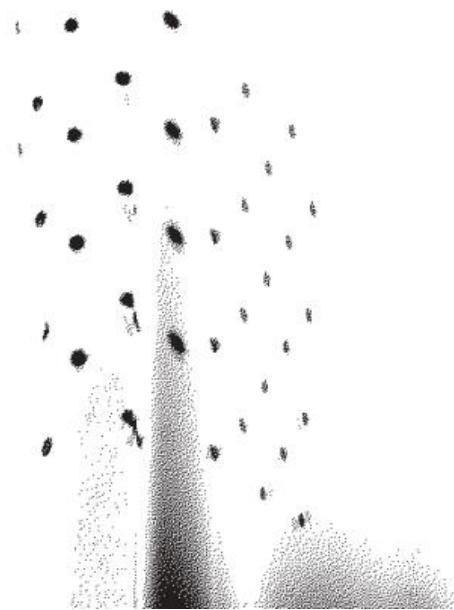
Figure 3 - Les Thugs (1996) – Strike, Vinyl LP, Roadrunner Records.
Source: http://www.discogs.com/Marquis-De-Sade-Rue-De-Siam/release/866246

Some of these bands achieved significant sales in the late 80s and early 90s, attracting the attention – again – of the major record companies. Mano Negra signed a contract with Virgin and was criticised for it. But the *Puta's Fever* album released with Virgin kept all its authenticity, being subversive both linguistically and politically, in the sense that it was using foreign languages to perform a new type of otherness in French music. It was completely new for a large audience to see a French band with such a hybrid identity, without the usual exotic connotation of "world music". Nor was it a coincidence that the languages were Arabic (because of France's postcolonial state), Spanish (immigration and political relations, antifascism, etc.) and English (rock and punk tradition, globalisation).

Other bands followed the path of signing contracts with major companies (VRP, Wampas, Sattelites), all of them singing in French. Bands playing in English, for instance metal and hardcore bands (Condense in Lyon or Cut The Navel String in Angers) all stayed in the underground, while the extreme metal French scene (also mainly sung in English) organised itself in a very autonomous and genre-oriented network (Listenable Records started in 1990, Holy Records in 1992, Season of Mist in 1996). Other English singing alternative bands finally switched to French, like the Little Rabbits, claiming it was a more mature and natural way of making music (Guibert, 2003). But most of them just disappeared when the commercial radio channels, which had been a very important media to discover these alternative bands, were suddenly forced by law[8] to broadcast a certain percentage of French music – music in French, to be more precise.

During this period of musical and linguistic diversity, the imposition of a 40% of francophone music on French radio came back to the idea that "French culture was in

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[8] See "Le fondement juridique des quotas" on the Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel's website: http://www.csa.fr/Radio/Le-suivi-des-programmes/La-diffusion-de-chansons-d-expression-francaise/Le-fondement-juridique-des-quotas

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danger". If the French language was an essential part of French culture, not using it therefore meant that you did not represent that culture. The use of French language became a marker of national authenticity.

The law also included a requirement for the broadcasting of 20% new productions, aiming at more diversity in the media. If the French music industry (major and independent) did not wait for this law to have a French oriented production, the law certainly accentuated this phenomenon. However, in terms of diversity, this law failed. Indeed, the same artists and the same songs, usually from the major companies (that are in fact international holdings not very interested in national matters) got broadcasted endlessly, leading to a lower number of scheduled artists (Perona, 2008). Besides, another obstacle to diversity was that English sung music genres such as metal had no chance of being broadcasted, which is why French metal stayed underground for so long. During the 90s and early 00s, singing English was in fact the best way for a band to be underground.

Conclusion

The last decade has been marked by a major change in terms of what being underground means. The Internet and especially social networks such as MySpace offered many bands the possibility of distributing their music on a large scale without any help from a record company. It has now become possible for bands to be autonomous and to disseminate digital records around the world. In linguistic terms, one would think that all this would have increased the number of English-singing bands trying to reach an international audience. This may be true to some extent. But in fact, this "global" audience was unreachable for the majority of bands, or at least for French bands. Labels have maintained an important role in the distribution and production process, which means that French is still the dominant language in both independent and mainstream music.

Nevertheless, the growth of underground electronic music at the end of the 90s also formed a significant linguistic change. Mainly because this seemingly "deterritorialized" music, using voice samples from Anglo-Saxon records, found a very positive echo abroad by exploiting the chic image of Paris (Dimitri From Paris, St Germain). Moreover, their music was mainly played in clubs and commercials (Etienne de Crécy for Renault, Air for l'Oréal, Daft Punk for Sony and Gap, Mr. Oizo for Levi's), where there was no French quota (Jourdain, 2005, p. 123-124). It opened a door for pop-rock French bands Air and Phoenix who could sing in English without any amateurish accent, but still with an indescribable hint of Frenchness and class that made them famous. Their international success opened another door for the French indie music scene which was less and less pressured to sing in French, creating ambivalence towards language choice which is reflected in the bands' ambiguous attitude towards profit, commercial endorsement and deals with major record companies. At the same time, the increasing number of venues (SMAC[9] and independent venues) allowed many bands to tour, also thanks to digital media support (no quota for them either).

In the end, the language in which a band chooses to sing does not determine its career in terms of mainstream or underground anymore. This is due to the fact that the line between underground and mainstream has been partially blurred. However the language choice still expresses different cultural values depending on the music genre. For instance, most of the

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[9] "Scènes de musiques actuelles", a venue run by an association with public financial support.

French metal bands have kept singing in English, except for the "nu-metal" scene that actually got the most mainstream attention, signing many contracts with major record companies (Pleymo and Watcha with Sony, Enhancer with BMG, Mass Hysteria with Wagram).

The interesting point here is that the "nu-metal" genre became very popular in Anglo-Saxon countries regardless of the language matter. Thus it is hard to argue that French "nu-metal" was popular because it was sung in French. Its proximity to rap music probably made it easier to use French for both technical and cultural reasons. Nevertheless, despite the relative success of "nu-metal" bands, their use of French continued to be seen as too soft, or even gay for some people. A common reaction from conservative metal fans was that "nu metal" was "queer stuff" ("un truc de tapette"). If metal is mainly played by white males, it is interesting to compare it to the French rap scene, dominated by non-white males using French in a very altered way. Indeed, the queer issue about language is also at stake in rap: "rapping is not singing", a young hip-hop artist once told me, "if you sing in French you have to be careful with your words, otherwise you'll sound like a faggot". If language permits musicians to "avoid the queer" in some way, this probably explains the recent emergence of queer-influenced female artists singing in both French and English such as Le Prince Miiaou and Christine and the Queens among the French indie pop scene, where masculinity is less invasive than in rap and metal.

The way languages are distributed and categorized in music reveals many symbolic power relations. For a more general young audience, for whom English sung music loses a part of its semantic meaning, this foreign language represents a way to get new definitions of the world and themselves that they could not get with the "too meaningful" French language. English and its lack of comprehension create more space open to interpretation.

English has been therefore used as a stylisation tool, like clothes, haircuts, names, etc. It used to be a "negotiated response" to the mass media mythology, in the sense that it responded to each person's life and ability to use the language. The young artists "were learning to live within or without that amorphous body of images and typifications made available in the mass media in which class is alternately overlooked and overstated, denied and reduced to caricature" (Hebdige, 1979, p. 87). They were within when using English from the movies or the bands they liked, and without when creating their own music, where "adjustments and textual hybridity" permitted them to build their own "identity" (Guibert, 2003).

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6.9. Sing it yourself! Uses and representations of the English language in French popular and underground music

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PART 7 | Local scenes, communities, identities and urban cultures

7.1. Creative social innovation - Human Being - Hip Hop for a Cause

João Paulo Ferreira[1]

Abstract

Nowadays social intervention throughout culture is a topic that is being increasingly explored by social entrepreneurs and the academics. "Human being – Hip Hop for a cause"[2] put back together a community that was scattered during the last decade. Now it is active and gained a new and relevant significance to the society as a whole.

Keywords: Creativity, Culture, Society, DIY, Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause

Introduction

This study provides a critical analysis of the most relevant literature on social innovation, social entrepreneurship and their cultural impact, providing a deeper understanding on how these topics have been approached in the last decades. Applying, afterwards, the previous investigations in a case study about a Portuguese project in the fields of the social innovation. This research was focused in a qualitative approach during the development of the case study. The project was "Human Being - Hip Hop for a Cause", that involves the whole Portuguese Underground Hip Hop community - from the general public, throughout the artist to the venues. It enabled us to analyse the detailed impact of this project inside and outside this community, and also its social return on investment (SROI).

Social innovation and its impact on the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a Cause" project

In "Entrepreneurship: Why we don't need a new theory and how we move forward from here" Dacin, Dacin e Matear (2010) define the characteristic of the conventional, the institutional, the cultural and the social entrepreneurs (Table 1):

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[1] Catholic University of Porto, CITAR - Centre for Research in Science and Technology in Arts, Portugal.

[2] The original name of the project is in Portuguese: "Ser Humano – Hip Hop por uma causa"

	Conventional	Insitutional	Cultural	Social
Definition	An agent who enables or enacts a vision based on new ideas in order to create successful innovations. (Schumpeter, 1950)	An agent who can mobilize resources to influence or change institutional rules, in order to support or destroy an existing institution, or to establish a new one. (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983)	An individual who identifies an opportunity and acts upon it in order to create social, cultural, or economic value. (DiMaggio, 1982; Wilson & Stokes, 2004)	An actor who applies business principles to solving social problems.
Wealth distribution	Shareholder	Shareholder and/or stakeholder	Shareholder and/or stakeholder	Shareholder and/or stakeholder
Predominant organizational form	Profit	Profit	Nonprofit or profit	Nonprofit or profit
Primary goal (or motives)	Economic	Institutional reform/development	Cultural diffusion/enlightenment	Social change/ well-being
Product	Create and/or distribute consumer product or service	Establish legitimacy	Establish new norms and values	Promote ideology/social change
Tensions	Growth versus survival	Resistance to change (isomorphism versus competitive advantage?)	Commercialization versus culture (authenticity)	Economic sustainability versus social mission
Examples	Business service providers	Edison	Museums	Aravind Eye Clinic
	Software developers	Kodak	Folk art festivals	Greyston Bakery
	Tourism companies	Apple	Symphony orchestras	Rugmark

Table 1 – Distinctions Among Type of Entrepreneur Along Mission and Process/Resources Dimensions – "Entrepreneurship: Why we don't need a new theory and how we move forward from here" Dacin, Dacin & Matear (2010)

The social entrepreneurship characteristics can be identified at the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" project. It was born throughout the necessity that the parents of a young kid called Gaspar had in order to pay for their son's health necessities. Gaspar is four years old and has a lot of health problems, such as autism and macrocephaly.

Culture is the driving force and the community unifier behind "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause". It is through it that the human needs that the market cannot regulate all by itself are fixed. Since Hip Hop is usually connected to crime and social instability, this project gave the opportunity for this community to improve its social image thanks to the commitment of its members.

André e Abreu (2006) in their study "Dimensions and spaces to social innovation"[3] analyse five different characteristics of social innovation: nature, stimulus, resources, agents and means of innovation and creativity (Table 2). We can identify in "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" the characteristics defined by the authors to define projects with a strong social innovation side.

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[3] The original name of the study is in Portuguese: "Dimensões e espaços da inovação social"

Nature	• Essence (focus of change) • Barriers (what will be menace by the social innovation) • Scope (politics, processes and products from which social innovation will manifest itself) • Domain (economical, technological, political, social, cultural, ethical: where social innovation emerges and develops)
Stimulus	• Adversity (that social innovation wants to get by) • Risks (that social innovation wants to eliminate) • Challenges (that social innovation pretends to answer) • Opportunities (that social innovations wants to take)

Resources and dynamics	**Resources**
	Knowledge and know-how:
	• Qualification
	• Information
	• Communication
	Relational capital
	• Geographical proximity
	   o Local community
	   o Regional/National community
	De-territorialized
	Dynamics
	• Institutionalization/absorption
	• Keeps a non-institutional characteristics – generates new ways of innovation
	• Drain (ends when the problem is solved)
	• Braking (route coercively interrupted)
	• Abandonment (unsustainability)

Agency Relationship	**Types:**
	• Institutions
	   o Public
	   o Private
	   o Third sector
	• Organizations
	• Social movements
	Roles:
	• Mediators
	• Innovator/adoptive
	Power relation
	• Hegemony
	• Non-Hegemony

Table 2 – Analytic Dimensions of Social Innovations[4] – "Dimensions and Spaces to Social Innovation" André & Abreu (2006)

"Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" is a non-profit event with an all-day long duration and takes place at Hard Club. The participation of all the community members (organization, artists and spectators) is indispensable. This kind of participation is essential not only for the general good of the community but also for each member in particular. The cultural link between them all is this cultural form.

Considering the social entrepreneur characteristics defined by Austin, Stevenson and Weiskillern (2006) the involvement of Paulo Pinto ("Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" creator) for two decades in the Portuguese Hip Hop community is crucial. The relationships he built during all these years with the persons of the community turned him into a much-

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[4] This is an adaptation to English of the original table called: "Dimensões Analíticas da Inovação Social"

respected person inside the Portuguese Hip Hop movement. Which made it possible for him to create such a risky event.

We can recognize the importance of the bridging capital (Putnam, 2000) in this project. In the last years, this cultural scene was detached and "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" was essential in order to put it back together. The bridges between the community members –who were separated- were rebuilt.

In "An architecture of value" (2006) Alan Brown analyses the "Arts experience" impact through time and the type of involvement that this impact causes in the community and its members (Figures 1, 2 and 3). The analysis of the time goes from the very first happening of the artistic experience happens throughout the accumulating of experiences (vertical axis). The type of impact is analysed first in the individual, secondly in his interpersonal relations and at last in the community (horizontal axis).
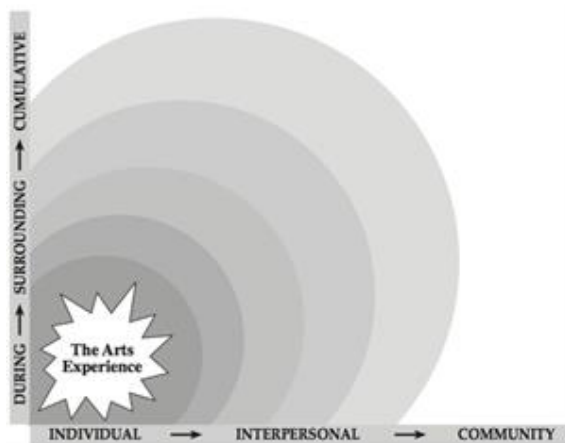

Figure 1 - Benefits emanating from the arts experience
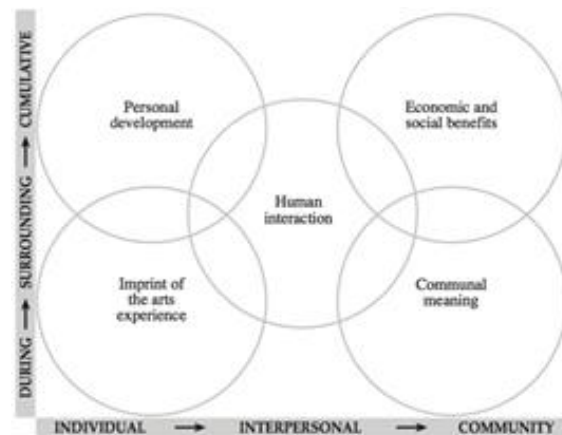Source: "An architecture of value" Alan Brown (2006)

Figure 2 - Five Clusters of benefits
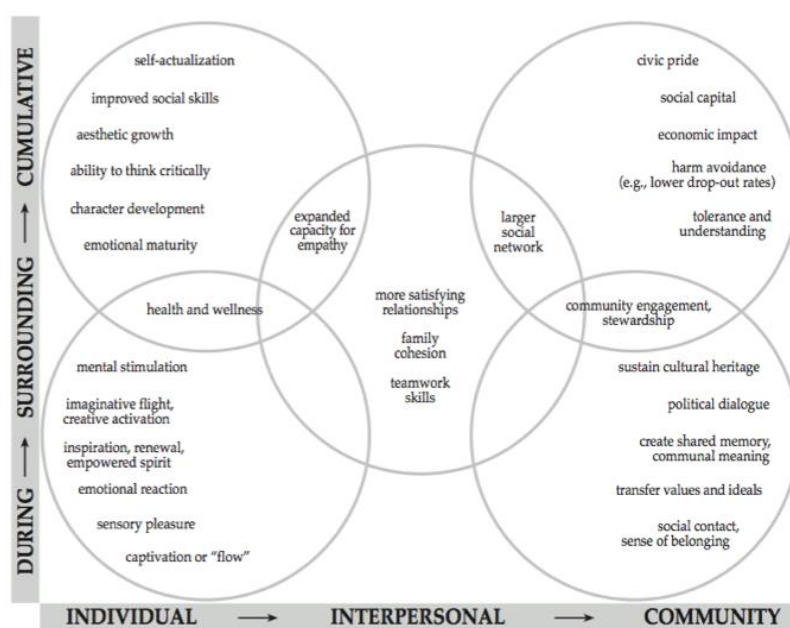Source: "An architecture of value" Alan Brown (2006)

Figure 3 - A map of arts benefits
Source: "An architecture of value" Alan Brown (2006)

In order to evaluate the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" impact in the community three online interviews were conducted: one to the organization, another to the artist and a final one to the spectators – the three key elements of the community. The goal was to determine the impact of the project. By creating a survey with five questions and the results were scaled by a five points Likert scale. Each question had a specific goal to answer: the "Human Being: Hip Hop for a cause" importance on the individuals at the time of their first contact with the project; the evolution the individuals felt as they were having the long term contact with the project; the "Human Being: Hip Hop for a cause" importance in creating ties between the community elements; the influence of the project in the dedication of the individuals to the community; the evolution of the community after the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause".

The participation of the organisation in this inquiry was of 100%. From the organiser point of view this event had a gigantic impact not only for him but also for the community. (see Figures 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8)

1. Did you felt, at the end of the event, any impact (sensorial or aesthetical) at a personnel level?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 5 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	1	100,00%
4/5	0	0,00%
3/5	0	0,00%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	0	0,00%

Figure 4

2. Did you felt any kind of progressive evolution in yourself and in your relationship with the movement as you had more experiences like this?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 5 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	1	100,00%
4/5	0	0,00%
3/5	0	0,00%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	0	0,00%

Figure 5

3. Did you felt more involved with the project?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 5 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	1	100,00%
4/5	0	0,00%
3/5	0	0,00%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	0	0,00%

Figure 6

4. Did this event made you more involved in the community and made you become more aware to the social causes?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 5 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	1	100,00%
4/5	0	0,00%
3/5	0	0,00%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	0	0,00%

Figure 7

5. As a member of the community did you felt that after the event the movement became more cohesive and socially aware?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 5 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	1	100,00%
4/5	0	0,00%
3/5	0	0,00%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	0	0,00%

Figure 8

Seventy-three artists participated in the two edition of "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause", only thirteen of them answered the survey which is translated into 17,8% of the events participants. For them this project is really important in all its aspects since the average of answers is of four values. (see Figures 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13)

1. Did you felt, at the end of the event, any impact (sensorial or aesthetical) at a personnel level?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,50 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	9	69,23%
4/5	1	7,69%
3/5	3	23,08%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	0	0,00%

Figure 9

2. Did you felt any kind of progressive evolution in yourself and in your relationship with the movement as you had more experiences like this?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	5	38,46%
4/5	5	38,46%
3/5	2	15,38%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	1	7,69%

Figure 10

3. Did you felt more involved with the project?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,10 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	6	46,15%
4/5	4	30,77%
3/5	2	15,38%
2/5	0	0,00%
1/5	1	7,69%

Figure 11

4. Did this event made you more involved in the community and made you become more aware to the social causes?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 3,90 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	7	53,85%
4/5	3	23,08%
3/5	0	0,00%
2/5	1	7,69%
1/5	2	15,38%

Figure 12

5. As a member of the community did you felt that after the event the movement became more cohesive and socially aware?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,30 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	7	53,85%
4/5	4	30,77%
3/5	1	7,69%
2/5	1	7,69%
1/5	0	0,00%

Figure 13

Of the 2450 spectators (1300 on the first one and 1150 on the second) only 214 answered the questions, which translates in 8,7% of the total.

The audience also considers the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" project very important to the community. (see Figures 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18).

1. Did you felt, at the end of the event, any impact (sensorial or aesthetical) at a personnel level?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,60 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	154	71,96%
4/5	46	21,50%
3/5	11	5,14%
2/5	2	0,93%
1/5	1	0,47%

Figure 14

2. Did you felt any kind of progressive evolution in yourself and in your relationship with the movement as you had more experiences like this?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,50 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	133	62,15%
4/5	63	29,44%
3/5	13	6,07%
2/5	3	1,40%
1/5	2	0,93%

Figure 15

3. Did you felt more involved with the project?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,60 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	153	71,50%
4/5	47	21,96%
3/5	8	3,74%
2/5	3	1,40%
1/5	3	1,40%

Figure 16

4. Did this event made you more involved in the community and made you become more aware to the social causes?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,40 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	139	64,95%
4/5	41	19,16%
3/5	24	11,21%
2/5	7	3,27%
1/5	3	1,40%

Figure 17

5. As a member of the community did you felt that after the event the movement became more cohesive and socially aware?
Star qualification, answers: 1x , no answer: 0x
Star number: 4,60 / 5

Answers	Answers	Ratio
5/5	157	73,36%
4/5	41	19,16%
3/5	12	5,61%
2/5	2	0,93%
1/5	2	0,93%

Figure 18

In order to help the social agents improving their projects and measuring their impact, Jessica Boyd (2004) in "Measuring Social Impact: The Foundation of social return on investment" developed a methodology to measure their outputs, the outcomes, the impact and the social return on investment (SROI). In order to do this kind of measurements the agents need to identify some key elements of their projects: Who are the persons to whom the

business might interest and what are their objectives?; How should stakeholders be prioritised?; What output indicators illustrate how well the objectives were accomplished?; Can the social return deriving from the impact be measured?
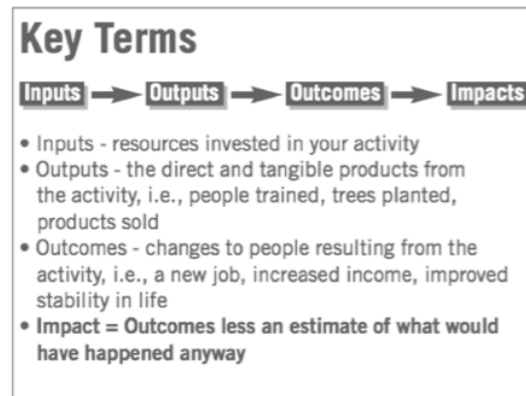

Figure 19

"Measuring social impact: The foundation of social return on investment (SROI) Jessica Boyd (2004). Jessica Boyd defines the calculation method of the "Social Return on Investment" with Jeremy Nicholls and Stephanie Robertson. After calculating the impact of the project the results are divided by the initial input and the result is the "Social Return on Investment". The "Social Returns on Investment" is the return for each euro initially invested in the projects. This was the methodology used to analyse the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause". In order to do it is necessary to answer the previously referred questions to identify the key elements of the project:

Who are the persons to whom the business might interest and what are their objectives? - Here we can assume that the ones interested in this project are Gaspar and his family and their objectives are to accomplish Gaspar's treatments.

How should stakeholders be prioritised? – Due to the nature of this project it can be assumed that the ultimate stakeholder of this project is Gaspar and his own health.

What output indicators illustrate how well were the objectives accomplished? – The accomplishment indicator of this project is Gaspar's capacity to do all the treatments.

Can the social return deriving from the impact be measured? – This result is the difference from what Gaspar's parents could pay before and after the event.

In order to define the Social Return on Investment the next step is to identify the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" inputs, outputs, outcomes and impact. The input is all the investment put in the project and the output is the direct return of the investment. The outcome is directly related to the outputs: the outcome is the fact that thanks to "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause", and all its outputs, Gaspar was able to undertake 100% of the treatments. If it hadn't happened, his parents would only have been able to pay 30% of them. So, we can recognize that in this case the outcomes are 70% of the outputs. Subtracting the outcome to what would happen anyway we have the result of the impact. After having all these results the Social Return on Investment from "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" can now be calculated.

In the first event the investment was of 200€ in catering and the printing of the tickets. In the second one the investment was of 400€ also in catering, tickets printing and, this time, the organization paid the dislocations of some artists. All the other types of costs that could have existed like artists cachets and venue rentals were for free because everyone was interested in being a part of this project.

There were 1300 persons in the first event with each ticket costing 10€ and the final revenue was of 13000€. In the second event, with 1150 persons and the cost of 13€ per ticket the revenue was of 14950€. Thanks to this numbers Gaspar's parents were able to fully pay for their son's treatments. The fact of existing an increasing on revenue in the second year was really helpful because, unfortunately, during that year Gaspar was diagnosed with autism and needed extra treatments.

In the first event we have: an input of 200€ and the output of 13000€. The outcome corresponds to 70% of the outputs, then we have an outcome of 9100€. Gaspar's parents could only support 30% of those costs, which corresponds to 3900€ of the output. Subtracting what Gaspar's parent could pay (3900€) to the outcome (9100€), the impact of the event has the result of 5200€, which means that for each 1€ invested in the project the return is of 26€.

In the second event the input was of 400€ and the output of 14950€. The outcome is 10465€ since the cost that Gaspar's parents could afford were of 4485€. The result of the impact is 5980€, which means that for each 1€ invested in the project the return is of 14,95€.

"Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" accomplished all of its goals in both editions. All of Gaspar's treatments were paid with the funds raised by the selling of tickets for this event. All of this was only possible thanks to the commitment of the whole community. Hard Club, the venue where the event took place, was used without being charged any rental fees; the organizer wasn't looking for any kind of monetary return for him; the artists didn't charged cachet; and the public sold out the venue twice.

After analyzing the online inquires we can recognize: All the effort put in the project by the organization reestablished the cooperation that was lost between the community members and it originated an evolution inside the community; in the case of the artists they also felt personal and communitarian evolution. Only two of the artists said that this event didn't influence their attention to this kind of projects; for the spectators the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" was also very important for their own personal evolution as well as the community's. Only three of them felt that this evolution was moderated, one didn't feel closer to the community after the event and two didn't altered their relation with these kinds of projects because of the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause".

After the low affluence by the artists and the public to answer the questions from the surveys we can conclude that, after all this evolution inside the community, it can still be a little closed to the exterior.

Conclusions & further investigation

Throughout this study we analysed the concepts of social entrepreneurship and innovation through culture and also the methods of evaluation of the impact of these activities. While analysing the themes of social entrepreneurship and innovation we can understand the importance of the sense of community and the humanitarian side of the projects. We need to understand various factors of the projects as their nature, their potential, their key elements,

the innovation possibilities, the creative approach and their possibilities to adapt to the necessities that can appear along the project.

The investigation about the "Human Being – Hip Hop for a cause" project showed that it accomplished all of its goals and the results were all very satisfying. The three key elements of the project confirmed its importance not only in the moment of the experience but also in a long-term scenario. They felt a personal development and also a development of the community, making it more cohesive than ever in the last few years. We can also perceive that this project in terms of social return on investment had more impact in the first year than in the second one.

For further investigation about this theme it would be necessary to use new approaches to reach a larger number of audience members. In addition to the online interviews it would also be important to direct surveys at the place during the events, something that it was impossible to do this time, because during this study there was no "Human Being – Hip hop for a cause" event in progress.

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7.2. The multiple legitimacies of Tentacle Tribe, a dance company

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Abstract

According to Hugues Bazin (2002), hip hop dancers working in theatrical settings have a "double legitimacy" as they gain acceptance in two contexts with different expectations, criteria and values. In this case study, we researched how an emerging dance company negotiates artistic identities in the entertainment, street dance and theatrical art worlds, finding acceptance across competing discourses. Tentacle Tribe, a dance company comprised of Emmanuelle Lê Phan and Elon Höglund, operates simultaneously in hip hop, contemporary dance and the entertainment world of companies such as Cirque du Soleil, receiving commercial, street and critical attention. In 2013, we interviewed them, observed their performances, rehearsals, and pedagogy to analyze their success at traversing these different contexts.

We introduce the conceptual framework of "multiple legitimacies." Multiple legitimacies are the result of a changing cultural climate where high/low art divides have been slowly blurring, and a new model has emerged, motivated by sustainability and professional survival. Artists and practitioners have often traversed different contexts in their performing careers. However, we suggest that these activities are now providing a model of sustainability that is structured around new ways of organizing experiences and legitimacies. Importantly, multiple legitimacies may be observed and experienced at the level of bodily techniques and aesthetic choices. This conceptual framework allows for the reading of representations and reifications of the artist across various contexts that might otherwise seem contradictory.

Keywords: hip-hop, urban dance, multiple legitimacies, habitus, identities.

Tentacle Tribe, the Montreal-based dance company comprised of Emmanuelle Lê Phan and Elon Höglund, operates within the hip hop, theatrical and entertainment dance worlds, receiving both popular and critical attention. Both members of the company have performed with various companies including the well-known Cirque du Soleil. The starting point for our research was to ask what this particular group does that makes them successful with audiences and communities across a range of contexts.

The focus of this question was not the reaction of the audiences but rather the movement strategies of the dancers themselves. In paying attention to the detail of the physical movements the dancers chose, we hope this research has currency not only for a theoretical understanding of the dance company that we studied, but also within the broader implications of aesthetic choices. The results have provided the basis for further sociological thinking about the professionalization of artists who traverse popular art worlds alongside the established art

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[1] York University, Toronto, Canada.

worlds. We became especially interested in how the company modified their movements slightly so as to fit into various dance contexts whose values and aesthetics are not only distinct but also sometimes conflicting. Our contribution involves a detailed movement analysis that contributes to the theoretical underpinnings of such arguments about aesthetics. We do not consider a movement analysis to 'reveal' some essential truth about the movements and their 'proper' contexts, but rather use this form of analysis to think through aspects of performance. Movement analysis also raises questions about how the 'rules of the game,' found in divergent practices, are navigated, played with and at times even mocked.

In 2013-2014, we conducted interviews, and observed performances, rehearsals, and classes with Tentacle Tribe. We also researched the history and critical reception of Tentacle Tribe. We discuss our methods, positions and roles in the study a bit later on in this paper. However, one of the remarks of Elon during an interview captures how identity might be tangled up with our questions about changing professional contexts and aesthetics:

> ...hip hop dancers, I feel like maybe they think it [our style] is quite contemporary and contemporary dancers think it's very hip hop so we are some place between and for me since I started performing that is always what I have been, this weird between animal so it's like you don't really belong anywhere but you belong everywhere. It's good because you can get jobs, I've been in circus shows, I've been in contemporary dance shows, I've been in hip hop performances, battles... you can be everywhere but at the same time everyone thinks you are kind of weird or different.

In the quotation above, Elon speaks about his experience navigating between the street dance (hip hop) and contemporary dance worlds. Although he claims to be perceived as "weird or different" the simultaneous presence and success of Tentacle Tribe within these worlds attests to a very different reality - one marked by acceptance within communities with drastically divergent values, disparate aesthetics and radically different histories and agendas. This enviable cultural position shows that the artistic entity known as Tentacle Tribe navigates successfully in very different cultural environments by fulfilling the expectations of different social/cultural groups. Thus, a case study of a small dance company touches on contemporary notions of belonging, legitimacy and identity. Through our analysis of the research, we introduce the conceptual framework of "multiple legitimacies."

Before we can adequately define and describe our thinking about shifting legitimations in contemporary art and how they are addressed at the level of the body, we will first set the stage by introducing some key ideas that we are responding to through our findings. The question of legitimation has always been tied to aesthetics although this position is difficult to address sociologically. One area that has been more commonly accessed is artistic elitism (Frith 1996). Elitism is typically evidenced in discursive practices, and is also found in street or popular cultural practices alongside practices legitimated through formal institutions (Thornton 1995).

Howard Becker (1963) sets the agenda for discussing both the sociological understanding of "art worlds," and the processes by which deviance and/or outsiders get labeled. Early in his professional career he investigated phenomena such as drug use and deviance - studies which would produce a mode of thought called "labelling theory." Becker also contributed to the study of art and artists, and used his ideas regarding labelling to constitute a theory of arts production. In *Art Worlds* (1982) Becker researched the systems of arts production rather than art objects themselves (prior to this time art objects were often considered sites of cultural meaning and works of individual genius). The art object was understood to be a part of a system of collective production, and, as in Becker's work *Outsiders* (1963), he attempted to label artists and the art production systems of which they were, or were not, a part. In our

case study, we are interested in how one set of artists can negotiate, mutate and embody various traits to fit in to divergent art worlds. Howard Becker's various models contribute to our set of questions in this regard.

Most sociological studies of artistic practices and (post) subcultural identities are also indebted to Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1984) invests in the habits of the body that take place on a physical level, and in how these habits are formed over time, through repetition and education, telling us something about not only where a person has been but also what has shaped their bodily experience. In fact, the history of dance is similar to many other art traditions, where the tastes of audiences do, indeed, "classify the classifier." In an attempt to move beyond the silos of the 'social' and 'aesthetic' theoretical considerations, Bourdieu developed the concepts of 'habitus' and the 'field.' His theory of fields explores the ideals of different types of positions that artists take in tension with each other. This is a major distinction between Becker and Bourdieu. Where Becker focuses on the collaborations of many people to create art (from the person collecting tickets, to the producer and artist), Bourdieu focuses on the tensions between artists that, he argues, create their positions in the field in relation to each other. Artists then take their positionality as their own creation, and yet, he would argue, these are in some ways determined by class. For Bourdieu the field of cultural production, like a sports field, was always a contested space, where participants (i.e. artists) are engaged in constituting and contesting their position, in an attempt to displace and consolidate their cultural power - vying for the elusive prize of legitimacy. This power, called "capital" in a nod to Marxist thought, was substantially affected by the quality called charisma.

Both Simon Frith (1996) and Sarah Thornton (1995), approach the study of popular culture from positions informed by Bourdieu. For Frith, a sociological perspective makes aesthetic theory possible because it grounds the research in the pragmatic realities that inform meaning-making. For Thornton, club goers often demonstrate elitist mindsets and codes of conduct. She argues, building on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "cultural capital," that this behaviour of performing distinctions through bodily practices and verbal articulations of taste is "*sub*cultural capital." What Frith and Thornton both articulate is that distinctions are not only made between high and low art, but also *within* popular cultural forms and expressions.

These perspectives are valuable to our study because they recognize that those participating in street dance cultures are, at times, as elitist as 'ballet' fans about their tastes, and distinctions, and similarly, "street" about their affinities and preferences, while often still benefiting from a top-down model of arts funding and desire for recognition. Studying the discourses of the intersections of each world reveals the value of sociological underpinnings to any understanding of aesthetic possibilities, trajectories and meanings.

We suggest that this elitism within popular culture is an emergence, which has allowed for a pairing of sensibilities across the popular and theatrical divide. This sharing of notions about superior art-making allows for the current climate where high/low art lines are blurred a particular resemblance. Those that earn the respectability of different crowds have a legitimacy that speaks to their ability to navigate successfully the rules of more than one game.

In France, where hip hop dance was introduced to the proscenium stage quite early on in the development of hip hop theatre, and was supported by artistic directors, social workers, choreographers and the state, sociologists have begun to research legitimation in the arts happens. Roberta Shapiro (2004), one of the first sociologists to study this phenomenon in depth, became interested in the critical acclaim for 'hip hop dance,' especially how theatrical representations of the dance were being discussed as "art" in the media. Similarly, Hugues

Bazin (1995) has questioned how legitimation works for dancers that participate in street dance culture, at the same times as in theatrical performances on proscenium stages performed for a different audience. Building on Becker's model of 'art worlds,' Bazin suggests that those dancers that take part in the 'battles' of street dance, often in clubs, also take part in theatrical productions, achieving a sort of 'double legitimacy.' Thus, they are able to reap the benefits of two different 'art worlds.' Later, in the analysis portion of our paper, we will further Bazin's concept, 'double legitimacy,' to consider a theoretical framework for 'multiple legitimacies.'

Methods

Tentacle Tribe was chosen as the subject for this study during their artistic residency at York University, Toronto in October through November of 2013. During this period, Tentacle Tribe were occupied with creating a dance piece on the York University dance ensemble, facilitating movement classes, acting as artistic mentors for student choreographers enrolled in a interdisciplinary arts course and performing their new artistic creation at university events. Their uncanny ability to navigate these heterogeneous situations was noticed early on in their residency by both faculty and students. This ability was complemented by the appeal that their work had for students and faculty of divergent artistic sensibilities and cultural backgrounds. These rare social and artistic distinctions in tandem with two projects developed by a doctoral and a senior undergraduate student prompted several discussions and eventually crystallized into a concerted multi-researcher study of the work, methods, strategies and identities of this unique collaborative team.

Members of the research team were: Professor Mary Fogarty, the organizer of the residency, course director and research facilitator and practicing street dancer; Jonathan Osborn, a first-year doctoral student and former professional dancer and choreographer, and Deanne Kearney, a senior undergraduate dance student interested in journalism and archival studies. Research consisted of observation of Tentacle Tribe in their many roles during classes, rehearsals and performances, participant observation during movement classes, two interviews, both approximately one hour in length - one conducted in November of 2013 and another in April of 2014, and movement analyses of classes and archived videos from different dance worlds (breaking battles, industrial productions and small scale contemporary dance performances). Each researcher brought specific skills, histories and perspectives to the study and their subject positions within hip hop, contemporary dance, movement analysis, theatre and cultural studies were reflected in the process.

The three authors were able to access Tentacle Tribe and their artistic and pedagogical work from different perspectives, depending on their manner of interaction with the company and their personal histories. During classes taught/facilitated by Tentacle Tribe, all three researchers participated in the classes as dancers at some point, one researcher observed dance classes, and one researcher interviewed Tentacle Tribe about their pedagogical practices at the beginning of the study. This was followed by an interview with Tentacle Tribe near the end of the study with all three researchers, where ideas from the study were shared, clarified and modified. The combination of these perspectives enabled the formulation of a complex, symbiotic aesthetic and social situation of Tentacle Tribe. Theoretical ideas generated by the group were reached through a consensus of opinion and reflect an agreement between

persons with varying degrees of familiarity with various dance forms and dance communities and different cultural and educational backgrounds.

The case study

> *That is why we chose the octopus, because*
> *we are able to adapt in any situation.*
> Elon Höglund

The case study began by building on Bazin's thinking about 'double legitimacy' for street dance practitioners who are investing in paid, stage performances for contemporary programming and audiences. We first asked how Tentacle Tribe were able to navigate so smoothly between various art worlds, and navigate different positions in different fields, to work successfully across multiple spheres of entertainment (Cirque du Soleil, Cirque Eloize), street dance communities and contemporary dance worlds. In this section, we describe the case study. In the next section we demonstrate what movement analysis brings to a study of sociology of the arts, and then contribute some theoretical terms to explain our findings in the analysis section.

Although Tentacle Tribe officially formed in 2012, Emmanuelle and Elon have worked together since 2005 after being cast in Cirque du Soleil production *The Beatles*. Both dancers trained in a variety of disciplines including contemporary dance, martial arts and several street dance forms. They describe their choreographic creations as a combination of contemporary dance fused with concepts from various street dance styles. Informed by intricate partnering, a daring and flowing physicality accented by nuanced details and a strong and specific relationship to music they have garnered critical responses. They have recently been referred to as "rock stars" within Canadian dance. Their first collaboration was a duet in 2005 for *Cirque Du Soleil* in Quebec City. This duet was then produced into a short film by Natalie Galazka entitled "Elon and Emmanuelle." In 2012 they created "When They Fall" for the *Festival Quartier Danse* which was adapted the following year for a site specific performance with a live trumpeter. In 2013, they created "Nobody likes a Pixelated Squid" which was presented at *Tangente* as well as the *Toronto Urban Dance Symposium*. In 2013, they accepted a residency at York University's Dance Department where they were able to facilitate an interdisciplinary class with Professor Mary Fogarty, create a new group work, perform and serve as mentors. Their most recent dance film entitled "Vanishing Points" directed by Marites Carino was completed in early 2014. More recently they have performed in London, England at Sadler's Wells for *Breakin' Convention*, an international festival for contemporary hip hop performance.

As may be evident from this history, Tentacle Tribe does not perform exclusively for one type of community or audience. Their first production would fall under the category of industrial or commercial work, having been made as part of a large production by the "circus" company Cirque du Soleil. Their second work "When They Fall" premiered at a venue in Montreal usually reserved for contemporary dance and for an audience typically comprised of artists and professional dancers invested in non-commercial dance endeavors. Their third work "Nobody Likes a Pixelated Squid" also premiered at a venue dedicated to experimental contemporary dance and was subsequently shown at a festival for urban dance. Simultaneous to these productions is regular participation in local, national and international hip hop events.

This participation consists of various activities and responsibilities including competing, judging, and organizing events, and practices.

Although both dancers have been committed full time to Tentacle Tribe since 2012 their artistic histories are dissimilar enough to merit mention:

Elon Höglund, was born in Stockholm Sweden into an artistic family of Romani lineage. He began his physical training through exposure to various styles of martial arts included Kung Fu, Capoeira and Tae Kwon Do before studying various hip hop dance styles including breaking and popping. Before creating *Tentacle Tribe*, Elon toured with *Bboyizm Dance Company, Rubberband Dance Company, Cirque Eloize, Cirque Du Soleil* and *Norwegian State Theatre*. He remains an an active member of the hip hop collectives *Fresh Format Bboy Crew* and *Concrete Kingz Sweden*.

Emmanuelle Le Phan's training differs in that she was versed in ballet and contemporary dance before becoming active within the street dance world. She attended the dance program at De La Salle High School in Ottawa, Ontario, and obtained her BFA in contemporary dance from Concordia University in Montreal. During university she began dancing as B-Girl Cleopatra and has competed successfully at breaking competitions in Canada, the United States and Sweden. Before *Tentacle Tribe*, she co-founded *Solid State Breakdance Collective*. She also has been a part of *Rubberbandance Company, Cirque Du Soleil, Cirque Eloize,* and *Bboyizm Dance Company.* Like Elon, she remains active in the breaking community through the female hip hop collective *Legendary Crew*.

Movement analysis

The following movement analysis is concerned with four videos which serve as examples of different contexts that Tentacle Tribe inhabit. The first two videos highlight the movement proclivities of both Elon and Emmanuelle individually, the third illustrates their tendencies while performing contemporary dance and the fourth is an example of a performance for commercial theatre. In general this analysis reveals a focus by Tentacle Tribe on performing movement in a direction appropriate to specific contextual conventions while retaining a general vocabulary derived from a hip hop sensibility. In short, these aesthetic conventions are:

     i) Breaking: social, combative or competitive spectacular movement, fast rhythmic work punctuated by explosive gestures that erupt as often as possible; duration is short and part of a series of competitive exchanges between participants; virtuosity is continually demonstrated.

     ii) Theatrical: conversational, organized into abstract, relational scenarios; organized around one or more movement theme; space is perceived of as fluid. Spectacular movement is a result of relations, duration is long; virtuosity is often concealed or sublimated to structure.

     iii) Industrial or Entertainment: declarative, conventional, affirmative and self-evident; predictable according to an emotional agenda; utilizes relational strategies that are symmetric or geometric. Space, although not restricted by actual barriers is limited and contained but movements appear expansive or spectacular; virtuosic movement is strategically displayed, accented, and mediated by theatrical conventions.

There are obvious limitations to such a typology and there are also possible resistances to such formulations even amongst the researchers. These resistances to categorization reveal interesting aspects about the various art worlds and their tensions in relation to each other. For example, b-boys and b-girls have traditionally distanced themselves from the "spectacular" elements of their dance in various conversational discourses shared about the dance. The feeling amongst hip hop dancers that specialize in breaking is that the media and commercial interests in the dance (read as inauthentic) would focus only on the spectacular moves of the dance such as the head spin or windmill, and edit out aspects of the dance that showcase musicality, dancing, nuances in footwork, etc. Even with this resistance, b-boy and b-girls are aware that their "power moves" and the spectacular qualities of their dance are the movements most valued by a general audience and there is, for the purposes of commercial work in the entertainment field, an interest to appease their employers and audiences.

The following movement observations, while certainly not exhaustive in terms of their analytic scope, allow for a comparison of Tentacle Tribe's performance strategies in different work contexts as demonstrated in video examples available on the sites Youtube and Vimeo. Although our study did not limit itself to these sources (as live observation of performances, classes and rehearsals was a vital component of the research), many of the trends we observed are present and evident within these videos. A short list of definitions for terms utilised are:

- *Vocabulary:* The physical events or actions performed, related to existing canons of movement and their histories and form.
- *Posture:* The manner in which the body, particularly the spine is habitually held, presented or displayed; a vertical spine is often associated with the concept of neutrality, a concave one with a defensive positioning and an extended one with formal presentation.
- *Levels*: The space, organised on a vertical axis, which the body inhabits during the course of the performance. Low level - refers to ground level, Mid level - to normal standing level and High level to jumps and gestures which are organised above the shoulders.
- *Duration*: A time based term describing the overall period from beginning of a particular dance event to the end. Short - under 5 minutes, mid-length - under ten minutes and long - over ten minutes.
- *Speed*: the rate at which vocabulary is executed.
- *Focus*: the relationship between the performer and space outside the body, often relatable to an audience or on stage events.
- *Quality:* the manner in which a vocabulary is executed and performed expressed as adjectives.
- *Use of space*: the expansion and retraction of the body within the kinesphere of the body and the relative stage space available -similar to levels but organised on a mainly horizontal axis.

The video "bboy Wandering Spirit"[2] is a collection of short sequences which feature Elon Höglund dancing in a hip hop context. The dances are all improvisational and although individually each may be related to themes iterated by nearby dancers at the time there are key aspects to the dances which continually manifest themselves. These aspects go beyond the level of individual moves, choreography or vocabulary, and also include posture. It should be noted that many of these aspects are intrinsically related to the form, aesthetic and

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[2] "bboy Wandering Spirit" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Zdog5iztPQ [Accessed July 1st 2014]

conventions of hip hop dance and to several martial arts forms Höglund trained in during his youth. The video is comprised of short excerpts from various b-boy social events and competitions - generally the sustained dance would be relatively short due to the physical effort required and conventions of the breaking community.

Generally, the legs, arms, shoulder and back are all used as supports and the body moves in a forward motion when upright and when transitioning to the ground. The limbs do not often extend out from the body when upright although on occasion they reach for the ground or stretch out during held poses. Turns occur on both a horizontal, diagonal axis and vertical axes. The dancer does not physically come into contact with other dancers. The vocabulary is comprised of many of the conventions of hip hop including footwork, drops to floor, use of arms and legs for support, limited extension of arms and legs except during stalls and balances, body rotation along a diagonal axis and small springs. There are several examples of the use of diagonal methods of approaching the floor using the side space. The posture is concave with the pelvis tucked and the upper spine, head and shoulder slightly curved forward. The dance consists of upright movement around the space and movements on the ground occurring near the centre of an imagined circle. As such, the low and middle levels are accessed and use of the high level is absent. The speed of the movements is rapid and occasionally frozen or held when in an extended position. There are brief moments when small qualitative changes occur and the body decelerates or accelerates. The focus is habitually down towards the ground or out towards either an individual or small group. The dance occurs in a limited space and this is similar to a circle in shape. In general circular pathways are utilized. The dominant movement qualities are "sharp" and "indirect".

Like "bboy Wandering Spirit", "B-Girl Cleopatra repping in 2011"[3] is comprised of several clips. The first set of clips is from an all-styles battle, the second is from music video inspired by the video game "Street Fighter" and the last is from formal hip-hop battles. In this analysis we were concerned mainly with the third section of clips, as the first and second section demonstrate an approach to movement outside of the conventions of hip hop settings, one which is concerned with hybridity and the other with similitude. Also like "bboy Wandering Spirit" the third section of clips demonstrates an approach to movement characterised by adherence to many of the conventions of hip hop dance. Again, the sustained dances would be relatively short due to the physical effort required and conventions of the breaking community.

During the dances the legs, arms, shoulder and back are all used as supports. The body generally moves in a forward motion when upright and when transitioning to the ground but there are exceptions to this during springs onto the back or hands. The limbs extend out from the body when upright during gestures and kicks but do not reach upwards. Arms extend fully to reach for the ground or when executing cartwheels and springs. Turns occur on horizontal, vertical, sagittal and diagonal axes. Momentum is generated through torquing the body against itself. The dancer does not physically come into contact with other dancers. The vocabulary utilised consists of fast footwork with homolateral arm movements alternating with drops, rolls and spins on the floor. Also executed are back handsprings, cartwheels, springs and turns. The spine is held in a curved position with the pelvis tucked under and the upper spine, head and shoulder slightly curved forward. The levels utilised are mainly low and middle.

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[3] B-Girl Cleopatra repping in 2011 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oGNtwU-yLUA [Accessed July 1st 2014]

The focus is primarily out or projected towards a competitor. The dance occurs in an extremely small area which in some cases even delineated by a light source. The main qualities of the dance are "strong" and "direct."

Comprised of excerpts from their full-length theatrical work of the same name, "Nobody Likes a Pixellated Squid"[4] (2013) displays several moments of a dance which utilises a hip hop vocabulary but articulated in a manner informed by contemporary theatrical dance. The full dance is comprised of three sections (or movements) demarcated by changes in music. The overall duration of the full dance is over twenty minutes and would be considered long.

The dance is generally vertical with bodies suspended, balanced and counterbalanced and movements are both sequential or simultaneous. Legs are used for weight bearing and arms are used to gesture, extend and reach out into space, amplifying core movement and articulating paths of flow. The body is used as a transmitter of force or energy and actions may effect one or both bodies. The fluidity which characterises much of the dance is occasionally contrasted with stillness or sharp punctuated gestures. Attention is given to the articulation of feet, hands, eyes, neck and head. Large movements and partnering sections are not accented but engineered to flow in and out of other movements. The vocabulary consists of body waves which travel through the core and extremities, suspensions and balances, pedestrian walking, gestures in which there is a dynamic relationship between one part of the body and another, space holds, partnering developed through contact and weight transfer, and small pulses. The posture is, in contrast to that adopted during breaking, upright with the pelvis, rib cage, shoulders and head balanced on top of each other and the chest and neck open and exposed. However, the bodies continually modulate through shapes and the spine often extends backwards and flexes forward and laterally. The levels utilised are predominantly low and mid with frequent, fluid changes between them throughout the dance. One body may remain for a period at low level while the other inhabits the mid level or vice versa.

The speed varies throughout the dance. However, the general speed is moderate with multiple episodes. This highlight acceleration, deceleration momentum and stillness. Small pulses and arm, head and feet movements punctuate a general lugubrious quality. The performer's foci is outwards or inwards depending on the movement. When outwards the focus appears to go past the audience or follows arm, leg or torso gestures. When inward the focus appears contemplative or reflective rather than confrontational. The dancers favour an asymmetrical relationship with regards to each other and the stage space. The dance travels around a large area of space that is accessed in circular and direct fashions. The dance also travels around the space sideways, forwards and backwards periodically pausing in certain areas during solos. Space generally expands while both performers move and contracts when one dancer is featured. In many respects there is no front to the movement and the body is displayed as a three dimensional, articulate object. The dominant qualities are "fluid", "weighted" and "indirect."

"Elon and Emmanuelle"[5] is a short film produced in collaboration with the filmmaker Natalie Galazka. and is an iteration of a choreography created in 2012 for Cirque du Soleil production "Les Chemins Invisibles". The audience for this work would be familiar with the spectacular and large-scale works associated with Cirque du Soleil. Poor quality footage of the

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[4] Nobody Likes a Pixellated Squid https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BT-U6-LHDA [Accessed July 1st 2014]

[5] Elon and Emmanuelle: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QlmRlYZTEMQ [Accessed July 1st 2014]

original show can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=afj4SZMUSKM. The duration of the work is under five minutes and would be considered to be of medium length.

The body is generally upright and presented frontally or on a slight diagonal to allow the head, and chest to be seen throughout the dance. Spectacular moves common in circus such as rolls, jumps, turns, flips, cartwheels and partnering are utilised. The vocabulary consists of body waves which travel through the core and extremities, suspensions and balances, theatrical walking, running and standing, gestures in which there is a dynamic relationship between one part of the body and another, space holds, partnering developed through contact and weight transfer. Posture is upright and presentational and in line with theatrical convention. Extension is frequently accessed during spectacular movements (such as jumps). Flexion is used in a utilitarian (rather than presentational) fashion. The use of levels varies with several notable accented moments in high space. The body is most often found in the middle level. The body accesses the low and high spaces during moments of bodily dialogue between the performers. The speed is moderate with occasional dramatic pauses for the purpose of emphasising a gesture, or glace, or dramatic moment. Movement is executed so it can be seen, digested, and related to the general action. The focus is out towards the "audience" or towards one another at eye level. The dancers maintain a symmetrical relationship with each other and the stage and do not inhabit the periphery of the stage or the backspace. Dominant qualities are "light", "quick" and "direct."

	Posture	Levels	Duration	Speed	Focus	Quality	Use of Space
Hoglund in Battles	curved in slight flexion	low and mid	short	fast	down	sharp and indirect and circular	circular, small
Le Phan in Battles	curved in slight flexion	low and mid	short	fast	down and towards challenger	strong and direct	circular and small
theatrical work	neutral spine that modulates	low and mid	long	variable, fluid spectacular poses	inwards or towards space	indirect	large, and asymmetric
Industrial work	slight extension	low mid and high	mid length	moderate sustained spectacular poses	outwards or towards each other	direct	large symmetric

Conclusion

There is clear intention for the movement modifications that occur as Tentacle Tribe choose to "fit" into different worlds. Their general success at achieving quite different statuses in these different environments is without a doubt a result of their high level of competency across these different domains. To use a biological analogy: the vocabulary of Tentacle Tribe can be considered to be the body of an organism - its limbs and navigational system. This "body" for the most part remains intact with the same movements present regardless of the context. Our chart shows the specialised cells (focus, quality, speed, etc.) allowin the organism to transform to context. Thus the chart could be looked at as depicting aspects of

"ornamentation" or "camouflage". Tentacle Tribe demonstrates an uncanny social perception about molding movement to suit different social scenarios according to aesthetic expectations. Tentacle Tribe make decisions and distinctions based on the the venues which each attract radically different audiences. Tentacle Tribe are able to adapt to and negotiate temporary membership within a variety of communities usually characterised as heterogeneous and disparate through a process of applying alterations to a basic set of movement principles.

In hip hop contexts, Tentacle Tribe are seen as contemporary dancers, and in contemporary dance contexts they are labeled hip hop. In both contexts, they are seen as successful for contributing new approaches to movement invention and practices from another domain. As dancers with well-developed bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, they also create minor movement modifications to adapt to their changing environments resulting in their abilities to blend into various scenes and performance contexts.

This appears in our research to be a strategy that is both intentional and instinctive. Its instinctive element draws on an identifiable determination by outsiders to 'fit in', a determination that is observable in the natural world through techniques of camouflage. This camouflage is characterised not as a subterfuge for infiltration, but as a technique of integration that absorbs and responds to the environment. The social critique here places the various art worlds inhabited in an *equal* relationship, so there is no sense of a popular or vernacular style attempting to legitimize itself. On the contrary, this strategy demonstrates the potency of those elements of movement that are alien to each circumstance: their power to transform the inhabited space. We conclude that this strategy is only possible for those who can maintain the integrity of each style-space, while performing a transformative move into that current particularity from elsewhere. This is the act of gaining multiple legitimacies.

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7.3. Local scenes, conditions of music making and neoliberal city management - a case study of Hamburg, Germany

Robin Kuchar[1]

Abstract

In recent years, city governments became actively involved in reorganization of (existing) artistic milieus, including spaces of local art and music scenes. However, effects of accelerated gentrification, restructuring of 'creative' quarters and privatisation of urban space often miss the intended effects. Interventions turn out to be rather hindrances than fostering instruments for artistic practices and scene activity. In this context, the paper examines how local scenes and conditions of music making are affected by ongoing changes, and how city policies influence the development of local scenes. The case of Hamburg therefore represents strong top-down planning by municipality on one hand and struggling bottom-up movements of scenes and social/cultural initiatives on the other. Based on empirical data, research illustrates current conditions of music making and the possible changes of the relationship between the local scenes and their spatial/social environment. Findings raise questions for further investigation related to three major problems.

Keywords: music making, local scenes, urban restructuring, city politics, conditions of cultural production, urban planning

Introduction

Cities are major places of cultural production as well as the emergence and development of (local) music scenes. Therefore, urbanity offers a unique set of resources. On social and cultural level, it highlights a spatial concentration of different identities, lifestyles and genres; on economic and institutional level, city space contains dense networks of cultural/creative industries and music venues (Barber-Kersovan, 2007; Hartley, 2005; Krätke, 2002; Di Maggio, 1991; Cohen, 2007). On spatial level, there has been open space for artistic and subcultural activity especially since the 1970s (a.o. Reckwitz, 2012). All in all cities provide a particular set of cultural conditions – an environment where artistic creativity as part of cultural production can unfold (Kirchberg, 2010).

But what happens, if these resources – especially the availability of open space - get scarce?

The ongoing discourse about creativity and urban restructuring as consequences of globalization and socio-economic highlights the significance of cultural and creative practices in terms of symbolic as well as economic value (Sassen, 1996; Zukin, 1995; Pratt, 2011). Since the late 1990s, local artistic practice and scenes got more and more into the focus of urban planning and city administration (Reckwitz, 2012; Barber-Kersovan, 2007). Situated in the

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context of local music making and urban development, this paper focuses on consequences of current city development and strategic urban planning of music making and local scenes in the city of Hamburg. Since the city government and the urban planners orient themselves predominantly on Florida´s concept of the Creative City and neoliberal city policy (Florida, 2002; Häußermann/Siebel, 2008), the situation there is of particular interest. The clue is that on one hand the city government discovered 'urban music' as a way to 'sell' its ideas about the Creative City through music related city marketing, structural creative industries support and erecting of spectacular flagship-projects such as the building of a monumental concert hall called Elbphilharmonie. But on the other hand this strategy led to considerable tensions: In contrast to the image-design as used by the top-down city planners, local scenes and bottom-up movements as breeding grounds of cultural production are being ignored.

In order to understand the city´s inherent processes, the following questions have to be taken into account:

- What is the situation of the producers of cultural and musical artefacts like? How are their working conditions? In which way spaces of music making and local scenes are affected by urban planning?
- In which way contradictions of the Creative City like state authorized gentrification and the instrumentalisation of arts and culture (a.o. Pratt, 2011) become evident?
- And, as a consequence: Are there specific changes of the relationship between musicians/local scenes and 'their' city? How do artists and scenes react to changes of their social and spatial environment?

After a short summary of theoretical considerations, the paper presents first empirical results about effects of urban planning on musicians and music networks in Hamburg. The discussion of current findings then raises questions for ongoing further research.

Theoretical framework

The conceptual framework of the study follows three theoretical strands. The first one examines the current state and the dynamics of music making and music production of individual (musician) and collective (scene/network) cultural producers. The second one illustrates different concepts and findings related to the postindustrial city. It discusses different concepts of city space, current urban development and municipal government structures. The third strand combines issues of locally based music making with the specifics of city space in order to provide the background for empirical work.

Current states of music making

On structural level, the work of Howard Becker illustrates the collective organization of cultural production by situating the musician in the centre of cooperative networks (Becker, 1982). These networks include also supportive players and institutions in and alongside the musical field (from instrument manufacturing to music distribution). Thus, the conditions and the development of music production are not only shaped by immanent dynamics in the field: Following Peterson's 'Production of Culture' approach the conditions of music production are characterized by at least six interwoven facets: law and regulation, technology, industrial structure, organizational structure, occupational careers and markets (Peterson, 1990).

During the last 20 years, effects of technological development and digitalization caused fundamental changes in the logics of production (Smudits, 2008). They include major transformation in the system of music distribution and the weakening of the gatekeepers, the rise of creative and symbolic economies as well as changes regarding the artistic, technological, economic and professional skills on the individual level of the musicians (Gensch/Bruhn, 2008; Lange et al., 2014; David, 2010; Wikström, 2013). As a consequence, musicians are more and more considered as creative workers (facing expectations for creative output) than as artists (Raunig, 2007; Currid, 2007; Scott, 2012), though they are facing precarious living and working conditions (Abbing, 2004; Lloyd, 2006).

But despite the general trend towards rational work and cultural entrepreneurship (Scott, 2012; Hracs et al. 2011), musicians (still) stress the symbolic meaning and cultural identity as major motives of their artistic practice (Coulson, 2012; Negus, 1997; Connell/Gibson, 2003). Hence, on one hand musicians are facing increasing degrees of fluidity – between artist and entrepreneur, professional and amateur as well as between artistic practice, corporate expectations and (socio-)economic pressure. On the other, social and cultural capital persist to be the crucial factors of music making and production.

Collective forms of production like subcultures, scenes and networks represent an important resource of social capital. In these social formations, members combine similar taste patterns, values and symbolic meanings as common ground of music making and reproduction of collective identity (Bennett-Peterson 2004; Currid, 2007; Grimm 2014).

Therefore, the majority of scenes and music communities share basic production logics and social activities. Among others, this include the significance of face to face contact, spatial proximity, informal peer evaluation of each other´s work, available spaces and venues for scene events, meeting points etc. (Bennett/Peterson, 2004; Negus, 1997; Krims, 2014; Pratt, 2005; Hracs et al. 2011). Hence, the partnership of certain number of people with similar thoughts and preferences, the social exchange and the availability of space can be considered as constitutional aspects of music making. As mentioned above, urbanity therefore offers best possible preconditions.

Dynamics of the postindustrial city

The second theoretical strand concerns the conceptualisation of current dynamics and developments of the city as a spatial and social entity. Since the 1970s the following factors of urban restructuring and city politics became more and more prominent: culturalisation (Reckwitz, 2012; Häußermann/Siebel, 2008), effects of global competition between cities (Sassen, 1996) and the concept of the postindustrial city as a Creative City (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000; Pratt, 2011) or Neoliberal City (a.o. Mattissek, 2008).

Within this framework, the multipresent internal processes of urban development have to be further illustrated. First, this include specific locational characteristics, city politics and urban planning (Häußermann/Siebel, 2008). Second, different forms of urban governance as well as alternative ways of negotiating the direction of urban development have to be discussed. In general, Reckwitz identifies three modes of urban government: The hierarchic (top-down) planning without any references to existing structures, the indirect steering, e.g. interventions into existing structures, and the self-governance, which proceeds without any administrative interventions in cultural processes (Reckwitz, 2012). Thus, in combination there are many conceivable configurations of urban development processes, from strategic top-down interventions, aiming for the 'building' of a Creative City with focus on economic development

to self-development, carried out by civil social actors. Since social activity and urban planning are intertwined and connected to specific physical and social spaces, following Löw (2008) it could be argued that cultural resources as well as the cultural players can be affected by urban development processes.

Therefore, space is a decisive element in urban discourses. City space cannot be considered just as a container but as a dynamic field, where social actors permanently bargain social and cultural exchange and define spatial constellations of social groups and institutions (Löw, 2008). Space is an "organisational form of co-existence" (ibid.) – hence, the production and handling of space is – like music making – a social process. Regarding space more profoundly, we have to differentiate between physical space (firstspace), imaginative space (associations, image of specific city space, secondspace), and the interpretation and evaluation of specific urban developments and conflicts (thirdspace) first (Soja, 2000). According to this model, space appears as a material and at the same time also immaterial resource of cities – as well as field of conflict and negotiation. In a similar way Lefèbvre (Löw et al., 2007) differenciates between the spatial practice as every day experience, the representation of space as a conceptualized form of planning, and the representational space as symbolic value and expression. Following Lefèbvre, city space appears in pragmatic, rational and expressional ways. Concluding, city space contains complex social processes and offers multiple potentials of identification as well as rational treatment. Space is an important factor of urban development and at the same time strongly affected by urban planning and policy interventions. As a material and immaterial resource, it is also important for urban music making.

Cities and the local context of music making

The relationship of music making and the city is based on spatial aspects of cultural production. As mentioned above, one can presume that cities are centers of music making and music production (as well as consumption). But cities are not just a spatial frame, where musical processes take place. There are multiple exchanges between the city as spatial and social entity and music (Kirchberg et al., 2014). Musicians use spatial resources, e.g. potentials for (collective) identity, local knowledge and particular stories about the 'local', and multiple forms of cultural and social experience (Bennett, 2004). Specific constellations, e.g. a certain number of people sharing similar values and tastes or availability of open space, represent production contexts, where local scenes can emerge and develop (Bennett/Peterson, 2004; Grimm, 2005; 2014). Within this process, scenes unite cultural symbols and space. They produce locality by physical and symbolic markings (Löw, 2001). In this context, a spatial concentration of scene members, venues and institutions represent physical markings. Mental representations of music like Mersey Beat, Hamburg School and Detroit Techno form a rather virtual connection of specific images and symbolic values between music and space.

Regarding current processes of city development, aspects like images and symbolic values are becoming more and more important (Zukin, 1995; Reckwitz, 2012). Urban planning tends to concentrate on cities` economic growth and the recruiting of tourists and high educated labour force (Reckwitz, 2012). In this context, cities apply strategic top-down planning, focusing on creative industries and exploiting musical images as factors of attractiveness (Barber-Kersovan, 2007). In many cases, these trends are accompanied by processes of privatisation, eventisation, and festivalisation (Häußermann/Siebel, 2008).

As a consequence, strategies of urban planning affect social and spatial formations of the city and also local contexts of music production. The following analysis assumes, that processes of urban music making are influenced on three levels – individual (musicians), collective (scenes, networks, spaces) and institutional – and will try to clarify in which way the relationship between scenes and musicians and the city is changing in the case of Hamburg.

The case of Hamburg: empirical results

The city of Hamburg

Hamburg is the second largest city in Germany (1.8 mio. inhabitants), situated in the North of the country. Historically, it has a long tradition as a trading town and as an important seaport. It is also renowned for the Reeperbahn, today an inner-city (mass) entertainment quarter that used to be a rather degenerated red light district next to the harbour where cultural scenes and subcultures flourished during the 1970s and 80s. Until the mid 1990s, Hamburg represented the German centre of music production and music industry. Since then, this role has been more and more taken over by Berlin and the city´s significance for the music industry in general and the local music in particular shrank (Grimm, 2014; Krätke, 2002; Wirtschaftsbehörde Hamburg, 2000).

Facing this deficiency, the fostering of creativity and the creative industries became important issues for the local government and its cultural policy. During the 2000s, the town administration induced strategic efforts to implement the significance and the image of Hamburg as a 'Creative (Music) City' (Kuchar, 2014). Therefore, the majority of interventions focuses on the structural creative industries support and landmark projects like the Elbphilharmonie, a consulting agency (Kreativgesellschaft) devoted to entrepreneurs in the creative sector and - as the last joint in value chain of musical production - a special building called Karostar, accommodating start-up firms and small corporations.[2] Next to these interventions strongly geared to recent concepts of creativity and the 'Creative City' (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000), impacts of postmodern city policy (Häußermann/Siebel, 2008; Reckwitz, 2012) are increasingly evident: The local government aims for economic growth and focuses on the production and exploitation of symbolic values and images. Examples like the eventisation of the Reeperbahn area (Schlagermove, Harley-Days, Cruise-Days) and other parts of the city (International Building Exhibition, International Horticultural Show at Wilhelmsburg) clearly depict culture orientated strategies of urban planning. In addition, intensive privatisation of city space has led into strong economic revalorization and gentrification of 'subcultural' districts like St. Pauli, Eimsbüttel, Altona and beyond. The dominance of top-down planning processes with little regard to local scenes and networks is obvious.

Empirical analysis

In order to clarify the current conditions of music making and the affects of urban planning on musicians and local scenes an empirical study was carried out. The following summary of the results is based on a secondary analysis of an online-questionnaire interviewing musicians,

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[2] See www.karostar.de; www.kreativgesellschaft.org; http://marketing.hamburg.de/Musikmetropole-Hamburg.155.0.html; www.elbphilharmonie.de/epaper/Imagebroschuere/epaper/pdf (18.06.2014).

and a number of guided interviews with different players of the local scene.[3] Other resources for research, especially about local cultural policy, are taken from official publication, existing studies and expertise, newspaper articles and own observations of the perceived changes of the town.[4] The intention of this analysis is to identify major problems and important interrelations between different local actors, their spatial and social environment and local governance/ urban planning.

A number of empiric findings coincide with the results of other European, Anglo-American and Australian studies (Coulson, 2012; Hracs et al. 2011; Lloyd, 2006; Scott, 2012; Currid, 2007). In Hamburg, musicians and members of different scenes highlight social and cultural capital as important local resources of music making. These mostly derive from local communities and networks. On individual as on collective level, spatial aspects of scene activity are significant: Like in other cities, e.g. Greenwich Village in New York (Currid, 2007) or Wickers Park in Chicago (Lloyd, 2006), there are specific areas, where the density of musicians is high above average. In Hamburg, the western inner city – especially the districts Altona, (Southern-)Eimsbüttel and St. Pauli show a high concentration of musicians living and working there. These specific quarters used to offer a multicultural social environment and an affordable space to live. Some places, such as the still existing alternative cultural center Rote Flora were captured by squatting in the 1980s and 90s. In this environment, local music scenes like the Hamburg HipHop and the so called 'Hamburg School', clubs and meeting points could emerge and develop (Grimm, 2005, 2014; Birnkraut, 2006; Creative Quartiere, 2011).

Like in other cities, urban development in Hamburg – as a result of urban planning and city policy – affects musicians and local scenes on several levels. At first, considerable spatial restriction induced by structural revalorization and effects of gentrification represents hindrances for scene activity (see also Currid, 2007; Hracs et al., 2011; Lloyd, 2006; Holm, 2010; Empire St. Pauli, 2009). For example, almost half of the individuals questioned mentioned the absence of available rehearsal possibilities as a major deficit, especially in the districts St. Pauli, Altona and parts of Eimsbüttel. Available rehearsal space gets more and more scarce and expensive (about 7-8€ per m² per month)[5]. The increase in prices for lodging is even more striking: In 2010 rents for flats in St. Pauli were 50% more expensive than during the mid 1990s (Andre, 2009) For musicians, housing – not to speak of settling – has become hardly affordable. Additional, due to the ongoing changes in the field of music production and distribution there are inherent problems like the shrinking of performances and hard competition for recognition and distribution support. On an individual level, musicians are under economic pressure.

On collective and institutional level, the commodification of space affects small clubs, arts centres and other scene venues (Twickel, 2010; Creative Quartiere, 2010). Many venues, among them Tanzhalle, Schilleroper, Molotow or Hasenschaukel are threatened or already

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[3] The online questionnaire was part of the study 'Wer macht in Hamburg Musik?' (Creative Quartiere 2009) which was conducted in 2009. Sample size of musicians surveyed by online questionnaire contents 362 cases across different musical styles and genres. Interviews with players of the local music scene (2009-2013) feature information from 20 different experts: musicians, music associations, labels, music schools, the university of music and theatre, and insiders of different music scenes.

[4] Among others, these are expertises on Hamburg as location for music (Birnkraut 2006), creative milieus (Overmeyer 2010), music clubs (Creative Quartiere 2010) and official papers of city government (Hamburger Bürgerschaft 2008).

[5] In comparison to a former study of musicians in Hamburg by Schneider (2001) this represents an increase of 30% within 10 years.

had to close down. Moving and re-opening a club in another location often fails due to unaffordable prices. Buildings are more and more owned by private investors. Spaces offered by the city are subjected to economic regulations as well – properties have to be profitable and rents have to be paid - experiments and 'purposeless' of artistic work and the social interaction as basic preconditions of artistic creativity are getting more and more limited. Hence, spatial practices of local scenes are getting restricted – and as consequence social processes of cultural production as well. Due to ongoing changes, density and spatial proximity of the local scenes in Hamburg is increasingly vanishing – the break up and displacement of scene structures, as Elizabeth Currid (2007) identified in New York becomes more and more likely.

But despite of these similarities, one of the key finding stands in harsh contrast to the outcomes of other studies (like e.g. Hracs et al., 2011; Lloyd, 2006). In Hamburg, there seems to be a strong (emotional) bond between musicians and the city in which they live and work. Empiric results speak for a very high degree of local identification and emotional relation between the artists as well as the local scenes and 'their' spatial environment. Many statements of musicians and artists are related to Sharon Zukin´s (2010) statements about "authentic places". This is remarkable, because an overall evaluation of musical life in in Hamburg appears as negative – by individual musicians as well as by other actors of local scenes. Thus, the relationship between local cultural producers and 'their' city seems to be stable despite of decreasing resources and disadvantageous preconditions for artistic activity caused by strategic urban development. In Hamburg, musicians and local scenes even struggle against eventisation, gentrification and instrumentalisation of arts and culture (Kirchberg/Kagan, 2013). Due to this fact, results dismiss the assumption about rather rational, cost-orientated relations between the musicians and space – as Hracs (et al., 2011) certifies in the case of Toronto.

Hence, the relationships between scenes/musicians and the city space have to be regarded more differentiated. Important aspects are resources of locality (Bennett, 2004; Conell/ Gibson, 2003), feelings of authenticity (Zukin, 2010), the availability of social capital and network structures as well as social, economic and spatial dynamics of local urban development. The different levels of relationships represent varying constellations between scenes and other municipal actors who negotiate constitutional factors and resources of cultural production, e.g. between the 'growth machine'(Kirchberg, 1998), local politics and scenes, between scenes and space as well as modes of governance and the possibilities of participation. Thus as implications for my ongoing research, three major constellations and fields of negotiation will be discussed below.

Discussion: negotiating relationships between scenes and city space

The short summary of empirical analysis shows, that on one hand there are existing tensions between the city´s urban planning and the sector of cultural production. On the other, there is a strong bond between individual musicians, scenes and 'their' city. In order to open a more detailed view on underlying reasons, social action of local actors and interrelations between them, the discussion of three major fields of problems completes the paper.

Local scenes and the 'urban growth machine': differing poles of 'creativity'

Tensions between local scenes and city policies widely base on different concepts of cultural production and creativity. In this context, the discourse about cities and 'creativity' often lack suitable definitions of the term discussed - in many cases 'creativity' remains a black-box concept (Kirchberg, 2010). From a theoretical point of view, there are at least two different poles of creativity: on one side there is artistic creativity (purposeless, individual, playing), on the other there is creativity as innovation – a rational, on output and economic exploitation orientated understanding (Bröckling, 2007; Amabile, 1996; Kirchberg, 2010). Within the continuum between these poles, where artistic and economic aspects intermingle, the degree of economic rationality constitutes a crucial factor of definition. While artists highlight social resources and constellations as preconditions of creativity (Frith, 2014), local authorities focus on creative output as symbols for local amenity (Kirchberg, 2010).

Urban planners in Hamburg – and obviously also local authorities – define creativity as an important economic resource (Hamburger Bürgerschaft, 2008; Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2006). Policy interventions aim for creating or exploiting images of the city, attract potential, high educated new habitants as well as tourists in order to ensure the city´s economic growth. Therefore, they also utilise physical and symbolic markings of scenes, but neglect spatial and social environments fostering artistic inspiration and scene activity. „Art and culture operate in a social milieu, and thus one of the most important policy directions should be to cultivate and support the environment in which they thrive" (Currid 2007: 462). In this sense, the case of Hamburg so far illustrates the contradictions of the creative city, exploiting symbolic meaning and decreasing resources of cultural production at once (Pratt, 2011). So, further research aims for a more detailed analysis of conceptional misunderstanding among different local actors. In which way there are gaps in local authorities` knowledge of creativity as a result of social constellations and as a totality of specific local resources?

Local scenes and city space: spatial differentiation, mobility and limitations of space

As mentioned above, each city represents a unique set of social and spatial constellations. Regarding cities, movements of musicians and scenes within or between cities caused by spatial restrictions or displacement are obvious (Heinen, 2013; Hracs et al., 2011; Currid, 2007). In this sense, scene activity often moves away from places of (mass)consumption (Grazian, 2004). Thus, there is a kind of spatial segmentation of urban musical life. Regarding Nashville, Lloyd (2014) differentiates spaces of music consumption (inner city entertainment), music industry and production (scene) as functional areas according to categories legacy (consumption), market (industry) and scene activity (production).

In Hamburg, there is no spatial differentiation of musical life at all. In contrast, especially spaces of consumption (Reeperbahn as entertainment district) and scene strongly overlap. Further, a central precondition of scene mobility within the city – the availability of open space – is hardly given. Hence, scene activity seems to be captured in a more and more commodified spatial environment. In some other case, the lack of affordable space is a main reason for musicians to leave a city (Hracs et al. 2011). In Hamburg, most of musicians/ scene players stay in town and a considerable number of them even struggle against effects of local urban development. Thus, further investigation of the relationship between musicians/scenes and the specific spatial context in Hamburg is required. What are the reasons for the strong bond

towards the city? What are the most important local resources? And, due to the ongoing developments: In which way local actors describe the relation between first-, second and thirdspace?

Local scenes and city politics: top-down planning versus participation

In Hamburg, self-governed establishment and self-determined production of space by local scenes has changed into strategic top-down planning during the 2000s (Grimm, 2005; 2014). Since then, municipal interventions thrive mistrust and resistance against city government and urban planning among local scenes and inhabitants (Empire St. Pauli, 2009). Though, strong local involvement of musicians/scene members offers potentials for assistance in urban planning processes. Artists as well as multiple players of local scenes form considerable parts of (bottom-up) network 'Right to the City', which consists of 60 artistic, political and social urban initiatives (Kirchberg/Kagan, 2013). The network demands more open space and political participation. Members protest against decreasing of cultural resources, privatisation of space and accelerated gentrification (Empire St. Pauli, 2009; Kirchberg/Kagan, 2013). To a certain extent, the network successfully creates an awareness of the important role of local cultural production and scene activity. Examples like the Gängeviertel – a block of historic buildings squatted by artists and then rebought by the city from a private investor and now is a self-governed art collective[6] – show, that even parts of city government seem to understand the needs of local scenes and artists.

Though, it is questionable if such municipal commitment bases on true conviction. In this case, city government was under pressure not only by local initiatives but also by prominent national media. Specific problems of the cities´ art scene abruptly got into broad public attention and the city had to react in a way to not damage its image as a tolerant and cultural innovative city.

But in which way city policy handles smaller, rather invisible problems? In this sense, visibility of scenes (in contrast to mainstream-events) seems a considerable factor of perception and awareness among local politics (Straw, 2014). In this context, further research has to explore the status of culture and local scenes among the local authorities. What does local government actually know about scenes and scene activity? Is there a chance to integrate cultural producers in urban planning processes?

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[6] http://das-gaengeviertel.info (14.05.2014)

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7.4. Space and place in urban culture

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Abstract

When we think of art as an integral part of the construction and transformation of urban culture, we find the public space as the main stage of this event. The public space, as José Pedro Regatão defends, is "a territory of political character that reflects the structure of the society in which it operates." (Regatão, 2007). This way, we may think the crisis of social structure as being the responsible for the identity crisis of public spaces, which may lead them to what is called "non-places". These correspond to a functional logic that creates a contractual level of social relations, in contrast to the concept of place, which brings together space, culture and memory. Places are reservoirs of memory. They cover a dual visible and invisible landscape. Anne Whiston Spirn is a landscape architect that defends the place as private, "a tapestry of woven contexts: global, disclosed and lasting and ephemeral, local and reveal, now and then, past and future..." (Spirn, 1998). Addressing concepts such as space, public space, place, home and urban art, we intend to understand how art is responsible for social transformation in communities and what's their place within them. Placing art in city public spaces will enable a dialogue between the collective and the individual, often prompting personal memories to enable the appropriation of space/place city.

Keywords: Public space; Public art; Place, Home

We start this article based on a few current events, that are, in essence, an attack on urban art in the city of Porto. Between 2009 and 2013, Rui Rio, the Mayor of the city council implemented a forced sterilization policy the city that white painted most of the city walls and the outlawed of political murals by Decree.

Some initiatives have been taken afterwards legalization towards the Graffiti.

Recently the new mayor inaugurated the exhibition Street Art that happened in an area donated by the municipality Axa Building and managed by company Porto Lazer, they invited the great names of graffiti and Street Art national and international to paint the various floors of this building.

Evidently there is a big social and political pressure for free and uncommitted forms of art run to the market, domesticating those activities. We know that recently in Berlin was founded a Festival of Street Art indoors-Stroke Art Fair.

Effectively this is nothing new since the presentation at 57th Avenue, 20 years ago where the works of Jean-Michel Basquiat were shown for the first time, this is the legitimation of the quality of the artist who was born painting on the street and who won a recognition in the artistic mainstream.

However, what is at issue here is, that aspects that characterize these art forms, the true size of its artistic intervention and civilization values of social and human relations that this

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represents, implying directly with principles of freedom and participation, ownership, intimacy and exposure.

This article will treat conceptual aspects that relate to this theme, bringing to this context the concepts of space and place, which mark two distinct approaches on the life and feel of city in the setting of social and human relations. We approach this theme with a clear point of view, that art means social transformation.

Space and place

Due to the interplay of concepts, there is a need to clarify the definitions of space and place, which have been extensively discussed by geographers, phenomenologist's and philosophers. Of course, space and place are two terms that cannot be separated and to define its limits in a rigid form is not what we intend. As wrote Cresswell (2004), "the concept of space is more abstract than the place. When we think of space we tend to think of the outer space, or the geometric spaces, areas and volumes. "

The development of space concept within the Western culture is descended primarily from Greek philosophers (Yohn, 2000, p.53). As defends Van De Vem (Vem, 1977, p.31) the Platonic world is ordained of three-dimensional mode where the notion of space is subject to the concept of geometric space. His conception of space is configured as an empty receptacle, with no matter where the geometry and objectivity are the links between the world of ideas and the sensitive world (ibidem).

Aristotle, on the contrary, establishes connections between the notion of space and place, linked directly with matter.

Leibniz, on the other hand defends the notion of space as a system of relations between coexisting elements, which can seen and measured. This approach back to the field of temporal coordinates is a discussion that would be developed by Einstein. (Yohn, 2000, p. 55) Putting ourselves before the connection of the irreducible binomial space/time. But it was with Heidegger that the concept of space gained character, recalling spatial analysis, not purely circumstantial but related to the man and his body, featuring the space as a place, resuming the general precepts of Aristotle's theories.

However, we cannot think the space as an existential fact. It is a social product that is constantly under construction (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1999; Massey, 2005).

We can think of space in a broader definition and places as portions of space with meaning within. When a space acquires meaning for an individual, it becomes place (Tuan, 2005) and the places "are important sources of common identity and individual, centers of human existence, with which people have strong emotional and psychological ties." (Relph, 1976, p.141 our translation).

The authors Yi-Fu Tuan, Tim Cresswell, Edward Relph and Anne Buttimer understand the place as being the space experienced by us humans.(p.8).

The spaces are guided by a series of rules of signs and codes drawn up by the society in which we live and "involve the ability of the social order to regulate the behavior by imposing us a framework for representations that explains and makes our daily practices." (Prieto, 2013, p. 13)

The social space is revealed in its specificity to the extent that it ceases to be distinguishable and the mental space (space of philosophers/artists) and the real space (physical and social space in which we live) (Lefebvre, 1991, p.27).

Marc Augé (2005) developed the concept of "non-places". If the place is a space that is socially inhabited and in which we deposit our memories so that it becomes ours, non-place refers to the opposite of that.

We attend these spaces but never inhabit them. According to Augé (2005), "the places they want if relational and with historical identity," (p. 47). The act of inhabiting a space until it becomes relational and historical identity, requires time, however, Yi-Fu Tuan (2005) describes the space as a movement and the place as the pauses in this movement. According to the author, our eyes are constantly looking for points of interest where land and each break from our eye on these points is enough time for the creation of an image.

City as home

Inhabit, according to Edward Casey, is both a performance and a culmination of the body in space. Inhabit the house with our bodies and create the usual body memories from that habitation and from the familiarity of this place. Alberto Saldarriaga Roa (2002), disagrees. For him "inhabit is not only in relation to the body " because "the mental and cultural change the meaning of experience" (p. 98), in fact, "the sense of inhabiting manifests itself in two distinct dimensions of the body and/or attendance, and the mental and imaginative.". (p. 97).

Inhabit transforms a space into a place and creates deposits around this act in our memory. A new space can be experienced through the memory and imagination, without requiring the physical bodies inhabit it to assign a familiar character. The body inhabits the space through the memory of this act, "the place is there to be re-entered by the memory if not by bodily movement". (Casey, 2000, p. 186).

It is essential to speak of the Home when it comes to place, because the house is our first place in the world, from which we will develop our identity. This place will have an influence on how we will apprehend spaces and turn them into places, during our lives. Based on Poetics of Space Gaston Bachelard (1998) who stress the importance of concepts such as habitability, familiarity and understanding memory and construction of a place.

In our view cities cannot exist without this human dimension and relation, the same as assuming roles going against the concept of social actor of Goffman, every individual as a particular form of relationship but, there is always a relationship.

Exposed intimacy

The intimate is a value that is associated with the idea of native home (Aitken & Zonn, 1994, p. 7). The intimate is one of the values associated with the native home, for obvious reasons. When we deal with concepts such as dwelling and familiarity the intimate dimension is implied. In fact it is the values of intimacy that work in order to absorb and give space to the memory and imagination to work in harmony. As Tuan (2005), the intimate experiences are hard to make public, but they are not impossible. Home, hearth or shelter are places close to any human being anywhere, even if every culture has their symbols of intimacy. Our Home is the place from which our entire understanding of place in the universe is made. It is our corner of the world, our first universe, is one of the greatest strengths of integration for thoughts, memories and dreams.

The native home, the first house we inhabit, is where our memories are stored, secured in the unconscious. Home is a dream Center, the shelter of daydreams, the house of

remembrance-dreams. Is it that where we learn the function of inhabiting that we carry for all subsequent spaces. This house will reject any description because it belongs to a intimate dimension that can be ruined in an attempt to describe in details. To evoke "values of intimacy" associated with the home it is necessary to induce the reader/viewer to read in a suspended state, so that it be sure to read/see the room and start reviewing your listening, your memories.

In this dynamic communion between the man and the house, in this dynamic rivalry between the house and the universe, we are far from any reference to simple geometric shapes. The house is not an inert box lived. The living space transcends the geometric space. (Bachelard, 1998, p. 62)

In his work Poetics of space (1998), Bachelard starts by referring to what you call poetic imagination. For him the poetic images that are created in the mind of the reader are "an emergence of language" (p. 11), they provide "one of the simplest of language experiences lived" (p. 12) and should be regarded as beings own, with meaning in themselves.

Place experience

But as Yi-Fu Tuan state "world, and space is articulated in accordance with his corporeal schema". Edward Casey in *Remembering, the phenomenological study* (2000), says that the places have an important function in the fixation of memory. The explanation is simple: there is no memory without a body base, "whether it is the body that puts us in the place, he will be instrumental in re-putting (re-placing) in places recalled." (p. 190). This experience of the place by the body is what is called "inhabit" and that is what makes possible the construction/existence of familiarity, which is an essential requirement for the implementation of a memory-place (place memory). To clarify the concept of familiarity, the author explains first that the body consists of two layers: the usual body and the momentary body, based on the work of Merleau-Ponty, The Phenomenology of Perception (1945). The function of the usual body is tame; "he forges a sense of space tuned that allows us to feel *chez soi* somewhere not initially familiar." (p. 193). This becomes possible because the usual body contains its own memories of place.

All of these concepts are cited, city, place, intimacy are same aspects that we have to explored in this article. Jacque Rancière in his book "The Emancipated spectator" (2010), reflects on a value of humanity, talking about theatre he develops an idea of emancipation that is near to individual sense of liberty. To him emancipation starts when we understand "the opposition between looking and Acting, when you understand the evidence that structures of relations of saying, viewing and making belonging themselves to a domination structure of subjection" (Rancière, 2010, p.22 our translation). The events that we have reported underline and stress the rethinking of the role of art, freedom and participation, we don't risk a statement, on the other hand we will seek to contribute to the discussion that we consider urgent about the position of urban art in the city, its relationship with freedom expression of which in our view is indexed to this emancipation of what Rancière speaks. To put the discussion centred on the essential we have to leave the realm of legality and seek to articulate social interests, the refuge of the "non-places" does not seem to serve an understanding of an evolved society, and inaugurates non-life space, for annulment. The power of each and every one to translate in their own way what they see, connecting to the

unique intellectual adventure that makes them similar to all the other insofar as such singular adventure is not like any other. (Rancière, 2010, p. 27 our translation)

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7.5. The "L" train in New York City: mediating the Brooklyn music scene(s)

Jonathan Rouleau[1]

Abstract

The neighbourhood of Williamsburg in Brooklyn has gone through major transformations in the last decade and the "buzz" over its independent music scene is certainly an important vector of change. Recently, many musicians have decided to settle in neighbourhoods east of Williamsburg, in areas such as Bedford-Stuyvesant, Bushwick and East Williamsburg. What is particularly striking is that the movement of musicians seems to lead them to establish themselves near the "L" train stations. Keeping the history of New York Music scenes in mind, and faithful to the idea of the "L" train as both a medial form and as a mediator of movement, my paper seeks to understand the ways in which the music scene gravitates around the live music venues near the "L" train stations.

Keywords: Brooklyn, mediality, L train, music scene

In June 2010 I left Montreal for Brooklyn in New York City, the most populated of the five boroughs, in order to pursue the first portion of a three-part fieldwork project on the Brooklyn music scene. When I started conducting research on the "scene", a concept recently defined by Will Straw as "the circumscribed spheres of sociability, creativity and connection which take shape around certain kinds of cultural objects in the course of these objects' social lives" (Straw, 2012, p. 8) I found quite rich coverage of the scene in social media, as well as in British[2], French[3], and American[4] newspapers and blogs. In these accounts, Brooklyn, especially the neighbourhoods of Greenpoint and Williamsburg, was often depicted as a capital for indie rock. While much of this media coverage often fetishized the bohemian cool, it was also reflecting a thriving music scene and creating a craze for popular music "in" and "of" Brooklyn.

In Williamsburg I certainly had the impression that I was in the coolest hood in America, as the *Washington Post*[5] once stated. Bedford Avenue, one of the main commercial streets in Brooklyn, particularly around the L train station, looked like the paradigmatic example of what the great urban theorist Jane Jacobs (1961) would have celebrated: a mixed-use area with lively pedestrian traffic. If Williamsburg was already an incubator for new bands as well as a hub for live music in the 90s, it was in 2001 that it gained serious attention when a central

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[1] McGill University, Canada.

[2] http://www.theguardian.com/music/2009/feb/27/brooklyn-indie-pop-scene;
http://www.theguardian.com/music/2007/nov/30/popandrock.travelnews

[3] http://www.lesinrocks.com/2009/10/16/musique/special-new-york-brooklyn-capitale-rock-1136645/

[4] http://www.thelmagazine.com/newyork/the-brooklyn-diy-music-scene-a-users-guide/Content?oid=1624758; http://nymag.com/arts/popmusic/features/61874/

[5] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/20/AR2007022001912.html

figure of the music scene today, Todd Patrick, started organizing independently produced and all-ages concerts in the area. Nevertheless, it soon became obvious that Williamsburg was more a hub for circulating music – both in record shops and in music venues – than for creating it. The expensive rents and a certain marchandization of the Williamsburg scene by the media and real estate actors made many of the music scene participants move east, particularly to the neighbourhood of Bushwick.

What I found fascinating is that many of the manifestations of this emergent Bushwick scene, which were smaller, more communal, and oriented towards a DIY ethic, were physically located near some of the L train stations in Brooklyn. I thought it was quite peculiar because in Brooklyn, the L train does not follow a specific street as is the case in Manhattan, where the train follows 14th street. While my goal was not to identify a specific sound or musical genre in Brooklyn, I decided that I would examine the ways in which the scene gravitates around the L train stations in Brooklyn. In others words, I was conceptualizing the scene in relation to its *mediality,* that is, by approaching the L train as a media that "records, transmits and processes information" (Griffin and Kittler, 1996, p. 722). I then avoided, to a certain extent, an analysis that would be exclusively based on the participants' discourses about the independent music scene, and their propensity to discuss the authenticity of ways of living and neighbourhoods, as well as authenticity in music. What I discovered is that the L train, as well as the live music venues that surround it, shape the Brooklyn music scene today. But the story of this scene, and the story of the L Train, are deeply connected – both symbolically and geographically – to previous music scenes in New York, specifically in Lower Manhattan.

Since 1931, the L train has existed in the shape we know today; that is, from Eight Avenue in Manhattan to Rockaway Parkway in Brooklyn. Greenwich Village and the East Village, in the lower part of Manhattan, are both bounded by 14th street on their northern boundaries – where the L train is located. Greenwich Village and the East Village were major music scenes in New York; the former is notably associated with the American Folk Revival while the latter is deeply linked to punk and new-wave. Furthermore, these two scenes are intimately tied together.

It was in the 1960s that the East Village began to separate from the Lower East Side as artists, intellectuals, musicians, political radicals, and writers moved in the area. They were attracted by cheap rents and by the beatniks that were already established there. The East Village was one of the most important punk scenes in the history of popular music. While punk became better known in 1975–1976 with The Ramones, it has roots in the countercultural movements of the 1960s. Indeed, many artists had affinities with bands from like MC5, The Velvet Underground and The Stooges. What I'd like to underline here is that the famous New York music scenes shared a geographic proximity and a will to explore edgier aesthetics, even if the predominant music genre was different. And it's still the case. Today, the farther east one goes the more alternative the music scenes become – I will return to this point later. As Smith, Duncan and Reid highlight in the book edited by Abu-Lughod *From Urban Village to East Village*, "the East Village was enthusiastically hailed in the 1980s as the newest artistic 'hangout' in New York City and art galleries and studios have been the shock troops of neighbourhood reinvestment" (1995, p. 156). The alternative and artistic golden age of the East Village probably ended in the late 80s. After being the last hotspot for alternative musicians in Manhattan, many artists decided to leave. The next alternative scene in New York seems to have settled on the other side of the East River.

In 1986, the "Brooklyn Loft Law" permitted the conversion of industrial buildings to lofts. While the gentrification – or the "'L'ification" – of Williamsburg had already started in the 1980s, it sped up quickly in the 90s. Many areas in the neighbourhood were affected as a result. Between 2000 and 2010, notably because of the residential rezoning of Williamsburg, the Bedford Avenue train station, the first stop on the L train in Brooklyn from Manhattan, witnessed a drastic increase of passengers, going from almost four million in 2000 to nine million in 2014: "One significant reason for this successful development is the easy and quick commute to and from Manhattan, being only one stop on the L train" (Shratt, 2010, p. 38). The Metropolitan Transportation Authority reported that ridership on the L train increased at every station in 2013 (as cited in Flegenheimer, 2014).

Today, Williamsburg hosts a variety of institutions and businesses – cafés, live music venues, art spaces, record stores, vintage clothing stores – that elevate the visibility of the scene to insiders and outsiders. These "third spaces", as Ray Oldenburg (1989) would put it, help people to make new social contacts and extend the local community. In the same vein, Charles Landry (2008) uses the term "soft infrastructures" to highlight the associative structures and social networks, connections, and human interactions that encourage the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions (p. 133). Nevertheless, Williamsburg is probably the area in New York where the processes of gentrification are – or at least, were – clearest and fastest.

It seems that the most alternative factions of the music scene have always been moving east in New York since the 50s. In the last few years, the L train stations that follow Bedford Avenue station have witnessed and contributed to the emergence of a new scene. While a Hispanic population still largely inhabits the neighborhood of Bushwick, recently, a number of cafes, restaurants, and live music venues mainly directed toward (and constitutive of) the emergent scene have opened. The surroundings of the Montrose train station are quite evocative: the street is practically divided in two, where one can find little cafés, bookstores, organic food groceries, and bike shops on one side of the street, and Hispanic grocers and restaurants on the other. These new cultural offerings might lead to the creation of "exclusive geographies," as Paul Chatterton (1999) would put it, since these shops encourage cultural homogenization by directing their products toward a young mobile class with similar interests.

While the rents are less expensive in Bushwick than in Williamsburg, they are not cheap. Today, much of what's considered residential to the Bushwick's artist community are warehouses renovated into loft spaces – one can see here a fetishization of grit and decay. Christopher Mele describes a similar process on New York's Lower East Side: "While the images and symbols of urban decay remained the same, their representations and attached meanings shifted from fear and repulsion to curiosity and desire" (2000, p. 233).

As I mentioned earlier, the music scene east of Williamsburg on the L train is aesthetically more alternative as experimentation is encouraged more. Noise rock and garage punk also get more attention. The live music venues in Bushwick, like Silent Barn, a key institution that is open to performers and a public of all ages, are also closer to the DIY ethic. The venues are also sometimes difficult to find because, to use Alan Blum's (2010) concepts, the "pubic theatricality" or "visibility" of the scene is less obvious than in Williamsburg.

While Bushwick and the Silent Barn are safe and comfortable places for the music scene participants to perform in ways that diverge from mainstream norms, to paraphrase Sharon Zukin (1995), they have a will to keep a fast and efficient connection to the city – Manhattan – which still host lots of music venues. In others words, Bushwick is not cut off from the live music venues and other music institutions in the East Village and Greenwich Village. The L

Train, as a medial form, shapes the music scene today and ties it together with other scenes in Lower Manhattan. In one word: the L train is at the same time a vector of change and stability.

I hope I demonstrated the underlying ways in which a mode of transport can mediate a music scene and thus open new fields for inquiry in popular music studies. I do believe that media theory could contribute to innovation in the music field, as we would be able to depart from an analysis of a scene in relation to a somehow limited anthropology of values. In New York, I am curious to see in the next few years if the scene that gets the most attention is going to move farther east or "settle" in a different neighbourhood or borough.

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7.6. "But who doesn't know The Beatles anyway?" Young fans of New Beatlemania today

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Abstract

Under the broad concept of retromania, our contribution presents a case study of a specific group of "oldies" music lovers: the younger fans of The Beatles today. We present our findings that examine how their taste for this band comes to be formed and what it takes and means for them to be a fan of a band that stopped performing long before they were born? In fact, may we still speak of a "Beatlemania" regarding these younger fans today, as we did in the 1960s? Leaning on a pragmatist approach in sociology, we conducted our research focusing not on the passivity of fans in following their idols, but their activity in constructing a personal taste in music. Our results are based on thirty-two interviews conducted online, using various online research methods for recruiting interviewees and completing the interviews, on two social-networking websites with special focus on music. We will thus discuss how these fans came to discover The Beatles, how their fandom is in perpetual (re)construction, how they use their "fan capital" to seek out other fans, how they see their retromania, how they find ways of getting closer to The Beatles – given the impossibility to see them live – and how they appropriate their listening to this music, never left to chance. In this, we present the ideal-typical path to becoming a young Beatles fan today.

Keywords: Retromania, The Beatles, fandom, popular music

Introduction

The rock band The Beatles no longer exists, since 1970, but continues to have its audience and young fans today, being for the latter a band of "another generation". Judging by personal experience and empirical data on various musical websites, our starting point was noting the firm presence of this young Beatles audience and their visibility and activity online[1]. Sociological literature is scarce around the question of knowing how young people come to call themselves "Beatlemaniacs" today, whereas this band stopped their musical activity some forty years ago and the term "Beatlemania" has been used in a specific context of the 1960s to describe the sudden craze around The Beatles, reaching previously unknown scopes of fandom over pop music. Driven by both a personal and sociological interest for the topic, we carried out an empirical study to better understand what lies behind this "New Beatlemania" (Freund 2001), by looking more closely at what these young fans themselves have to say about their fandom.

Given that young fans today, of about 18-25 years, were born after the break-up of The Beatles, our research question was: how does the taste for The Beatles develop among youth

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[1] At the time of the study (2012), data on www.last.fm (online radio with 40 million users) showed The Beatles had more than 3 million listeners, many aged 16-25, and were constantly in the weekly top ten list of artists.

today and what does it mean for and take from them to call themselves "fans" of this band? Moreover, can we still speak of "Beatlemania" among youth today, as was done in the 1960-70s when The Beatles were still musically active?

If part of The Beatles' success in the 1960s could be explained by a bandwagon effect, and especially the sudden mass hysteria among young women, their continued success nowadays requires a more nuanced explanation. A first glance at the matter suggests that contemporary young fans, born after The Beatles disbanded, are more consciously aware of their choice of a favourite band, more critical and reflexive, since not caught in the context of the 1960s craze and, on the contrary, defying their own contemporary mainstream culture.

In this article, we briefly introduce the main elements in the theoretical approach we used for studying fandom, having found a gap in the existing sociological literature around the topic of young Beatles fans today. We then briefly discuss some of the methodological aspects of our study, completed almost entirely through online research methods. Finally, we present our findings following the ideal-typical path to becoming a young Beatles fan today, from the discovery of The Beatles to the more advanced stages of fandom. This, we shall see, is just one example of the wider youth "retromania" and quest for the "oldies".

A pragmatist approach to studying fandom

The concept of fandom is not new in sociological study, with many different, even contradictory, definitions and approaches existing in the scientific literature. Numerous are the debates about the correctness of terms, definitions and implied meanings of "fandom". Authors have provided detailed definitions of the term "fan", introducing typologies and categories (Hersent 1988; Mignon 1988; Boyer 1988; Fiske 1992), studied the connection between fandom and identity formation (Lewis 1992; Bennett 1999; Le Bart 2000; Hennion 2005), or focused more closely on the active participation of fans in the formation and maintenance of their taste (Grossberg 1992; Jenkins 1992; Brower 1992; Baym and Burnett 2008; Hennion 2007; Coulangeon 2003; Brunstein 1997).

Studies more specifically focused on fans of The Beatles are, however, more rare. In fact, most of the literature around The Beatles consists of biographies, essays, illustrated memoirs etc. The most significant sociological contribution to studying Beatles fans is Christian Le Bart's *Les fans des Beatles. Sociologie d'une passion* (2000) [*Beatles fans. Sociology of a passion*]. Based on around thirty interviews with Beatles fans of all ages in France, Le Bart adopts a psycho-sociological approach to study identity and taste formation among fans. Other studies have analysed the success of The Beatles in terms of musical aesthetic properties, or gone further to argue in terms the of socio-political context of the time, hence seeing Beatlemania both as a musical trend and social movement, or, further still, highlighted the importance of the band's management and projected public image (Ehrenreich *et al.* 1992; Inglis 1996; Le Bart 2004; Freund 2001; Cura 2009; Abbet & Stoecklin 2012).

In our comprehensive study of what it means to be a young Beatles fan today, we adopted a pragmatist approach in sociology, based on the theory of taste formation elaborated by Antoine Hennion (2005, 2007). This theory challenges the critical theories in sociology – such as those elaborated by Theodor Adorno, Pierre Bourdieu and Edgar Morin – and embraces a comprehensive approach, giving voice to those concerned, in this case the fans. In this approach, the sociologist follows the explanations given by the fans themselves regarding their fandom. These explanations, then, form the basis of the sociological interpretation and the

attention moves away from seeing fans in a state of dope in following their idols and lack of a critical thinking, to seeing the active participation of fans in their taste formation. Taste is not given or to be discovered, argues Hennion, but constructed and maintained by the individual. For understanding fandom or the formation of cultural taste, Hennion suggests the analysis of four elements, all inter-related: 1) the object of taste, 2) the communities of amateurs, and other fans, that allow confrontation of tastes, 3) the setting in which the tasting takes place, 4) the body that tastes and feels, trains itself in judging and even transforms itself as a result of taste-making. We leaned on these four elements to design our empirical study.

From automatic criteria to the self-proclaimed fan

To find fans and recruit interviewees for our study, we used two social-networking sites centred around music. The first was the online radio *last.fm*, which claimed more than 40 millions users in 2010[2]. Anyone can listen to this radio by choosing a "channel" (artist or genre) and create an account and install the special programme called "scrobbler" that will record statistics of all music that the user listens to on a computer, mobile device or online on *last.fm*. Each user's personal page will then show his or her top lists of artists and albums (weekly, monthly and overall) or recently listened tracks. The website's specificity lies in its algorithms that analyse users' tastes, suggest "similar artists" and other users with similar taste. For our study, we used a handful of criteria that could be qualified as objective, since automated via algorithms. We leaned mostly on the users' top artists lists to find those who had The Beatles on top of their lists. The interviewees we recruited on *last.fm* are hence not self-proclaimed fans, but assigned as such by ourselves according to our evaluation of their top artists lists. In other words, the status of "fan" is in this case more spontaneous and less explicitly intended or declared by the user.

The second website we used was *fanpop.com*, a social-networking site that allows users to personalize their profiles by becoming members of "fan clubs" of different artists and cultural products. Users can browse other users' profile pages, contact them privately or publicly, become a fan of other users to follow their activity, etc. Once a member of a "fan club", hence publicly claimed as a fan of someone or something, users can then add content (images, videos, text, etc.) to the club's page, participate in forums, create or participate in polls, receive news and see updates, etc. Contrary to *last.fm*, the criteria here are never automated, so every member is a fan by personal will to show oneself as such. In other words, there is no means of deciding or verifying a user's level of fandom: we must take their word for it and trust that those who call themselves fans, by becoming a member of a club, *are* in fact fans. Hence, all our interviewees from this website are self-proclaimed Beatles fans – not decided or evaluated as such by ourselves.

Collecting data online

Given the broad presence of young Beatles fans today throughout the world and our starting point being online spaces such as *last.fm* and *fanpop.com*, we decided to use an entirely online methodology for this study, including the recruitment and running of our interviews. This

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[2] "The artist feedback loop", Last.fm, http://blog.last.fm/category/announcements/?pg=5 (15.05.2014)

meant, first and foremost, having an easier access to a large number of fans to interview: we completed 32 interviews with fans from 20 countries, a total of 15 men and 17 women. But, challenges also arose. We would now like to briefly discuss the benefits and drawbacks of online interviews, especially when conducted via email (Salmons 2012; Bishai 2012; Bampton & Cowton 2002; Dowling 2012; Houston 2008; Deegan 2012).

Nowadays a common means of communication, the use of email or private messaging remains limited and even mistrusted in the scientific domain as a means of data collection. Its benefits, however, are numerous. First of all, online interviews ease contacting a large number of individuals, reducing obstacles related to geographical distance and differences in time zones, thanks to the asynchronous aspect of the communication when via email and not chat or instant messaging. However, while asynchronous communication allows for more time to reflect and better prepare both questions and answers, it also brings in the risk of losing a certain spontaneity in the exchange. Second, online interviews have negligible financial costs and eliminate the work of transcription. Moreover, the transcribed text in this case will be exactly as the interviewee would have meant the text to be, since re-transcribing interviews is already a first step in the researcher's interpretation and analysis. Third, communication at a distance can ease more subtle obstacles such as psychological distance when discussing sensible issues with a stranger. In our case, asynchronous communication, via email and private messaging, presented more advantages than drawbacks, but didn't spare us from the uncertainties or difficulties that came with.

In an asynchronous interview, the interviewee should, in principle, have fewer inclinations to quit due to lack of time. Meanwhile, the interviewer faces other difficulties: losing "control" of the disposition of the interview, not knowing if the interviewee is multi-tasking during the interview or not, how much care is put into answering the questions, if some questions require reformulations or more time to be answered, etc. One of the main difficulties for the interviewer is delimiting and framing the interview: when to start and finish, how to send the questions (in blocks or one by one), how to react to long pauses in the exchange, how and when to send reminders, etc.?

But, online interviews also imply the loss of an entire palette of data, especially gestures and the visual, which can only be regained by the use of videoconferencing methods. One way of filling this void in email interviews is to take even more seriously the interviewee's writing: the style, punctuation, use of smileys, etc. And yet, this would mean, somewhat paradoxically, relying more heavily on textual aspects where the problem is caused precisely by the over-dependence on textual data. Added to this are the issues of online anonymity that, surely, reduce social constraints of the face-to-face, thus facilitating expression, but also bring in uncertainties of identities, opposing the "real" to the "virtual". For a sociological study, these uncertainties complicate the researcher's task as soon as the issue regards sampling or, simply, knowing who the interviewee is. Arising from the asynchronous aspect of the communication, another major difficulty is the uncertainty regarding the duration of the exchange, thus complicating the running of the empirical campaign. In our case, some interviews were completed in a few hours or days, while others took several weeks, for around the same

Being a young Beatlemaniac today

We have organized our findings in what can be viewed as the ideal-typical path to fandom regarding today's younger fans of The Beatles. This path is far from being the same for all, but presents typical stages to go through, in an almost linear way, that we traced in the narrative answers of our interviewees. Some of these stages can, at times, be completed simultaneously, others may take longer or more effort for different people. But, little by little, step by step, these young fans go through the different phases of fandom, constantly (re)positioning themselves on the continuum between "not really fan" and "big fan", or even "obsessed". They use these categories, and all those in-between, to judge not only themselves, but also others, endlessly creating hierarchies between each other based on who has reached which stage on this path to fandom: who has "already" passed or "yet" has to reach this or that point.

The path starts with the discovery of The Beatles, followed by the accumulation of "fan capital" (Fiske 1992), consisting of knowledge about the band and objects to collect. This goes hand-in-hand with being able to choose favourite songs and albums. Once enough fan capital has been gathered, fans then start looking for other fans, using this capital to identify each other in the crowd, while at the same time looking for ways of getting closer to The Beatles – dressing like them, playing music like them, trying to "see" them through tribute band concerts, and going to visit "authentic", almost "sacred", places collectively known as "Beatles sites". Finally, fans also come to develop personalized ways of listening to this music, creating rituals, hence appropriating The Beatles and almost sacralising this activity, never leaving it to chance.

Discovering the band

The first step in the path to any fandom is, of course, discovering the artist. Most of our interviewees had discovered The Beatles, and 1960s music in general, through their parents, family or friends, while others mentioned media such as radio and television, and only two people recalled having used online sources. The most frequent answers were of the type "I have always known them, I grew up with The Beatles", especially given that discovering this band can be traced to a very young age for some, even as far back as the age of five. In fact, rather than naming one particular occasion, fans often recollected a whole series of events that led to their fandom, of the sort "first there was this, then that, and finally I became a fan."

If Barbara Ehrenreich *et al.* (1992) argue that the sudden massive craze for The Beatles in the 1960s can partly by explained in terms of a social movement of youth against adults, then in the case of today's younger fans, the argument fades. In our study, youth's taste for 1960-70s music was most frequently influenced directly by adults, and mostly parents. Is contemporary Beatlemania bringing these two generations closer together, as opposed to the generational divide that the 1960s' Beatlemania would have aimed? We will return to this point.

Choosing favorites

The next stage comes directly from not wanting to let go of The Beatles once having discovered them: the enthusiasts continue to search for other Beatles songs, digging anywhere and everywhere. And this, until the point of knowing almost the entire discography of The

Beatles, including lesser known pieces, unedited or re-mastered versions, alternative versions of the same piece, etc.

Such a detailed knowledge of this music should, then, imply in having favourites, or *more* and *less* favourites. In the case of our interviewees, however, naming a favourite song, album, film or band member came to be a more complex task than it may first seem! Some refused to answer or compared it to choosing a favourite child: impossible and unfair. Others mentioned a constant change of favourites, as if the "real" taste for The Beatles resides precisely in such an indecision: a most favourite can only be so temporarily, subject to change based on circumstances. The unease was more accentuated when having to name a favourite Beatles member: between those who refused to answer and those who had a solid favourite, the others were either divided between more than one favourite, or named one but added nuances to their choice, had changed favourites through the years, or chose a "5th Beatle" such as their manager Brian Epstein or an earlier member like Stuart Sutcliffe.

This general unease in choosing favourites is part of the permanent construction of a taste for The Beatles. It is as though having favourites defines fandom, but at the same time, the "real" fan would be unable to pick a favourite once and for all and would constantly change opinions. And this, because being able to choose favourites requires a strong "fan capital", objects and knowledge combined, hence constantly changing favourites implies possessing this capital, thereby (re)affirming one's fandom.

Accumulating fan capital

The third stage on this path, then, goes hand-in-hand with the second and is the accumulation of fan capital: acquisition of knowledge and collection of objects. Most fans mentioned having a collection, large or small, of objects related to The Beatles, whether band merchandise (posters, t-shirts, mugs, etc.) or objects that convey knowledge and "cultural capital" (books, CDs, DVDs, etc.). Some had more, or less, of one type than others, but the common feature was that all spoke in terms of regret of not having more, except the rare cases of fans who completely refused all such commercialisation of music. When merchandise was unavailable, fans did not hesitate to improvise and create their own! Since the size of the collection is a measure of fan capital, hence the level fandom, we can see how this may create rivalries and jealousies between fans: the bigger and the more visible the fan capital, the "better" or "bigger" the fan.

In fact, there is an entire hierarchy of collectibles. Some objects are clearly valued more than others and are a source of pride among fans, especially original vinyl discs and other "authentic" objects dating from the 1960s, most of the time passed down to them from older family members. Such objects not only convey a certain aura of the 1960s and The Beatles, but are usually sold at auctions at prices generally unaffordable for youth, adding to their preciousness for those who own them.

Collecting objects is not only a way of publicly showing one's taste for The Beatles and comparing oneself to other fans, creating hierarchies based on the level of fan capital, but also a way of bringing images home in compensation for not being able to see The Beatles live on stage. Today, The Beatles exist only through recordings, films, videos, images, books and other material objects. To collect as much of these objects as possible would then almost be a way of saying "I know them, I have seen them".

The search for other fans

Once a certain level of fan capital attained, fans can go in search of other fans, now able to identify each other in the crowd. For youth, knowing other Beatles fans not only becomes a way of affirming their own fandom, but also acts as "proof of one's own normality", as writes Le Bart (2000: 78). In fact, this is an almost constant preoccupation for these fans, a perpetual searching around to find other like-minded fans, not to feel "strange". It is especially here that we clearly see the link that fans draw between fan capital, in all its forms, and fandom: differentiating the "real fan" from the "not really fan", creating a hierarchy of categories. Knowing "only" a few famous Beatles songs or listening to them on rare occasions does not qualify a person for being accepted as a fan by other fans. Similarly, listening to more contemporary music together with The Beatles often marks the person as "not really fan".

When struggling to find other fans, some manage to "convert", as they say, their friends and family into Beatles lovers, while others turn to online spaces and virtual friends. The Internet allows many fans to come together and interact in virtual spaces such as the above-mentioned "fan clubs" on *fanpop.com*, groups like "Beatlemaniacs" on *Facebook* or other sites, blogs, forums, etc. One third of our interviewees had participated in such online activities, sometimes with the intention to "educate" and influence their friends and others into appreciating The Beatles. Others expressed regret in their non-participation due to lack of time, lack of original ideas, the linguistic barrier for non-English speakers, or other barriers of age, gender, etc. Then, there were those who preferred listening to the music instead of debating it, or still those who did not *yet* participate, modestly waiting to accumulate more fan capital before becoming publicly active.

Getting closer to The Beatles

Accumulating fan capital allows not only to publicly display one's taste and find other fans, but also to get closer to this band: being and doing like The Beatles. We present here this next stage on the path to fandom: the four main ways of getting closer to The Beatles for today's younger fans.

To dress and to comb like them: Perhaps the easiest way for fans to feel closer to their favourite band is visual style: dressing and having a hairstyle like The Beatles. But, far from blindly imitating them, these young fans are very critical towards The Beatles' and their own styles, constantly judging how well the style will suit them, if at all, what elements to take or reject, in what situations, etc. One third of our interviewees said having been influenced by the 1960s style, the "Mod" or the "Swinging London" styles. Men, of course, can adopt a Beatles style much easier than women, who then turn towards 1960s feminine styles or adopt elements of the Beatles' style to being more feminine. Others had either decided, after much contemplation, that this style would simply not suit them, or were still contemplating.

To play an instrument, like them: Once dressed like them, the next step is trying to learn to play Beatles songs on a musical instrument, especially one that the band members also played. Most of our interviewees could play an instrument, at various degrees, ranging form beginners to those who played on stage. The most mentioned instrument was the guitar, followed by piano, bass guitar, drums and harmonica. Those who did not play any instrument had, generally, either tried or hoped to start one day. While many fans often played Beatles songs, mostly in an amateur way – for the pleasure of playing, for friends and family – others had been inspired by this band to take up an instrument or had a repertoire that turned exclusively around The Beatles.

Going to see tribute bands: Generally, a third way of getting close to a favourite musician is to see him or her live on stage. This is perhaps the ultimate way of affirming one's fandom, as being able to say "I have seen him/her in concert" brings in more fan capital. Given the impossibility to see The Beatles in concert today, the younger fans look for alternatives, the most "authentic" of which being the chance to see a concert by one of the remaining members. The lesser "authentic" alternative is seeing tribute bands in concert, thereby imagining what a "real" Beatles concert would sound, look and feel like. In the case of our interviewees, opinion was largely divided regarding tribute bands: while some clearly despised even the idea of "copies" of their favourite band, others welcomed them with open arms. The dilemma usually resided in one criterion: the authenticity of the concert. If it is not "them", said some, then it is not worth the time or money. But, the rest argued that with some imagination, it can become "them", or very close, and that tribute bands help spread the word among a younger audience – a mission, we saw, that some young fans assign themselves.

Visiting places, going on pilgrimage: The ultimate way for young fans to get closer to The Beatles, and that remains a dream for most of them, is by visiting places related to this band, the "Beatles sites": the childhood houses of the members, now museums, the iconic crossing at Abbey Road in London, real places mentioned in Beatles songs (the orphanage Strawberry Fields, Penny Lane street in Liverpool, etc.), or the John Lennon memorial in New York. Here, too, the discriminating criterion is authenticity: these are real places through which The Beatles have passed. Seeing places and touching objects as authentic as these is the supreme means of being able to "feel" The Beatles, compensating for the void in the impossibility of seeing them.

But, visiting such places remains financially unaffordable for most youth, and it is precisely this rarity that makes up important fan capital: having saved enough money and put time and effort in going to see these places means being a "real fan", as if going on a pilgrimage. In the meantime, fans visit all other places accessible to them: local clubs, museums, etc. But, being less authentic, these remain less preferable options. Regarding our interviewees, some had already seen Beatles sites, and were most proud, while others had begun planning, researching or were looking for more opportunities of visits. In all cases, visiting Beatles sites was never judged as unnecessary, contrary to questions about dressing style or tribute bands, for example, when fans were very critical sometimes and far from accepting everything and at all costs. Even if the market readily plays on the sensibility of fans towards such "sacred" places, and if some Beatles sites have come to be very commercialised, unavoidable and even fetish, the market and fans fuel each other mutually: the most marketed places are the most authentic, hence most often ranking on top of fans' list of places to visit.

Appropriating The Beatles

In accumulating fan capital and finding ways of getting closer to The Beatles, fans also undergo phases of appropriating this music: creating individual ways, almost rituals, of listening to The Beatles, with a personal touch. That is, distinguishing between the times and situations for listening to The Beatles and other types of music. Even listening to The Beatles at all times and in all situations is always a conscious activity: the time and place for it are carefully chosen, according to the what, where and why of the situation. This is an activity never left to chance: fans constantly judge, decide and choose carefully.

Most of our interviewees had a favourite time or place for listening to The Beatles. Sometimes, this music was reserved for more solitary times – in the car or at home, in the evenings – be it for being able to sing out loud, cry or laugh without disturbing others, or for being able to contemplate the lyrics and feel the music without being disturbed. Then, there were those who always listened to this music in the same situations, during the same moments, passing by the same places, with a feeling of not being able to do without it. Others still followed the order of release of albums in listening or, on the contrary, preferred matching the music to a given situation. That is, being able to choose the right moment for the right song, and the right song for the right moment, according to mood. There are songs more fitted for dancing, for example, and others for when one's mood is down. And for this, one must know well the entire discography, of course, which implies a certain level of fan capital.

Youth "retromania": nostalgia without nostalgia

We would like to conclude this article with a more general aspect of the Beatlemania of today's youth: their often acute taste not only for The Beatles, but for the 1960-70s music in general, the "oldies". This "New Beatlemania" is an example of the more general tendency of preferring music from previous decades, "retromania" (Reynolds 2011). In fact, more than half of our interviewees preferred mostly, if not "exclusively", the 1960-70s rock/pop music, sometimes with open irony towards more contemporary music, calling it "new disney music" or stating "my mind just instantly shrugs it off."

Taken from the group "Beatlemaniacs" on *Facebook*[3], Figure 1 shows a visual illustration of this "retromania" among youth. Both ironic and sincere, the image is divided into two parts: the top shows portraits of musicians from past decades, now deceased (including two Beatles members), while the bottom shows portraits of contemporary young musicians, with the caption "Heaven must sound beautiful… cause it's hell down here".

This "retromania" among youth has raised questions and puzzled authors, but few answers have been suggested. The essayist Charles Paul Freund (2001) writes: "Since when do teen consumers identify with music that is so closely associated with a previous generation? Isn't teen culture usually about distancing a rising generation from its predecessors?" The sociologist Christian Le Bart notes, in his above-mentioned study, "this anonymous modern teenager who, contrary to his friends fans of Oasis, takes the risk to show his taste for the sixties"[4] (2000: 11). The musicologist Simon Reynolds (2011) calls this tendency among youth "nostalgia without nostalgia", since they have no personal memories ("nostalgia") of the decades in question. Reynolds furthers his argument to speak of a "stagnation" and even "retreat" of contemporary music, arguing pop music has not seen many new styles lately:

> "Instead of being the threshold to the future, the first ten years of the twenty-first century turned out to be the "Re" Decade. The 2000s were dominated by the "re-" prefix: *re*vivals, *re*issues, *re*makes, *re*-enactments. Endless *re*trospection: every year brought a fresh spate of anniversaries, with their attendant glut of biographies, memoires, rockumentaries, biopics and commemorative issues of magazines. Then there were the band *re*formations, whether it was groups *re*uniting for nostalgia tours in order to *re*plenish (or to bloat still further) the members'

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[3] "Beatlemaniacs", Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/groups/139155622807231/ (15.05.2014)
[4] Our translation from French.

bank balances […] or as a prequel to *re*turning to the studio to *re*launch their careers as recording artists." (2011: 11)

Figure 1

If Reynolds is worried about the future of pop music more in terms of production, what interests us here is the tendency of youth to prefer music of past decades: The Beatles, The Kinks, Pink Floyd, Rolling Stones, Led Zeppelin, Queen… Should we, as Reynolds, worry for this young audience and say that the absence of "good" music, progressive and innovative, leads young music lovers to look for favourites elsewhere, among the music of bygone decades? Is the "stagnation" that Reynolds speaks of the reason for this return of youth towards the "oldies"? Can we even speak of a more general tendency, stating that youth today look for more ways of getting closer to their parents than did the youth of the 1960-70s? Why do some youngsters reject contemporary music that their close friends listen to? Why chose such distinction? Is music from the past few decades really as superior in quality to contemporary music that these young fans prefer not to share a musical taste with their friends and even be judged having a "strange" taste, than listen to contemporary music? According to Reynolds, yes: "The decade [1960s] set the bar impossibly high" (2011: 411).
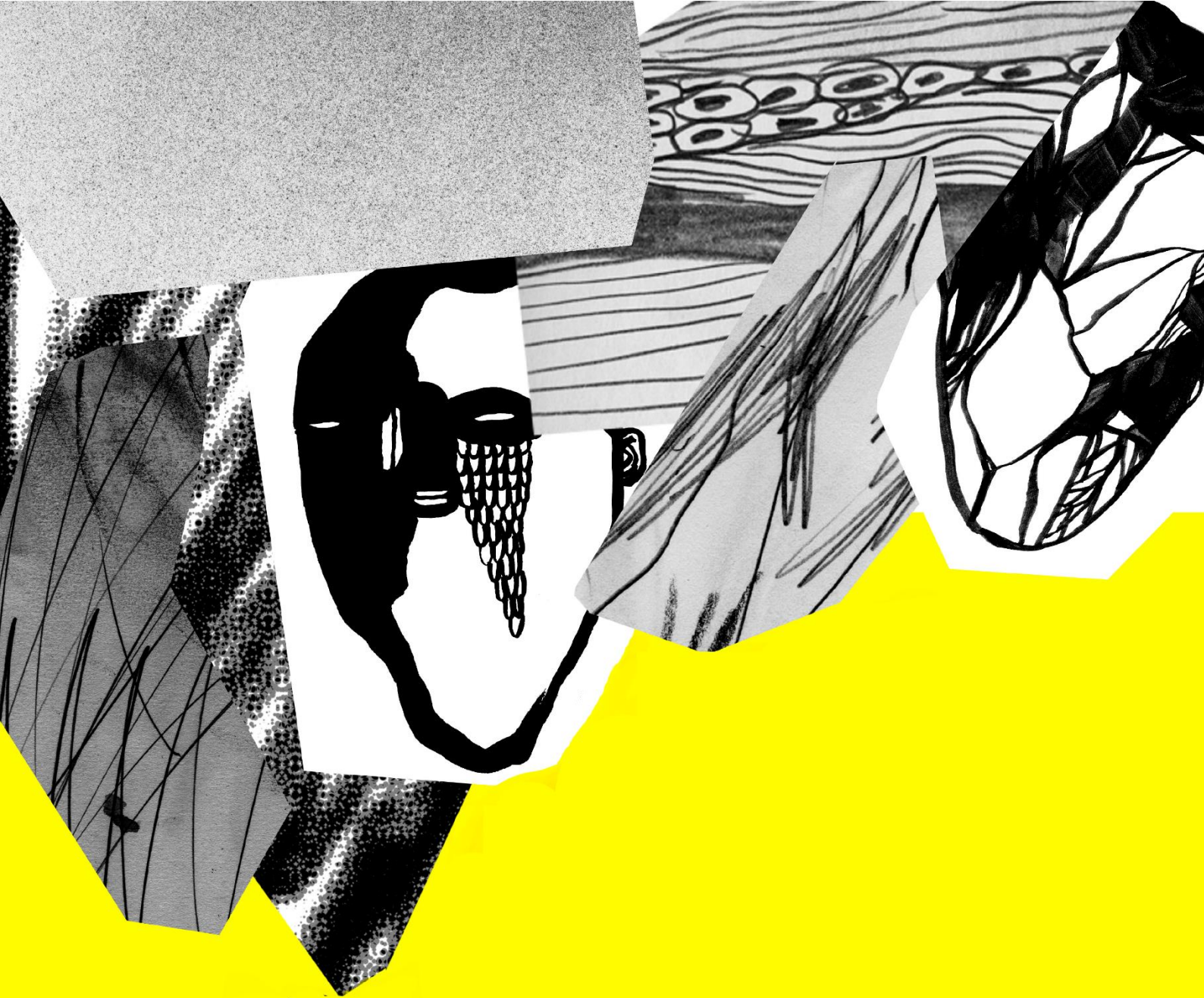
As our study showed, young Beatles or "oldies" fans today are well conscious of their choice and that their passion for this music may be seen as "strange" or "unusual" by their immediate entourage or the elder generation. At times, they instantly engage in explanations of their musical taste, other times they simply would rather not discuss it. This usually leads them to prefer listening to The Beatles in more solitary contexts. But, they continue looking for other Beatles fans, even trying to "convert" their friends, not to feel alone or "strange" in their passion. Without always succeeding in this search for others, these young fans often remain more or less alone in their love for The Beatles, or the "oldies".

We would thus like to conclude by leaving the path open for future research centred around youth "retromania" today. Why do some youngsters now claim, as one of our interviewees, that "like many people, I feel I was born too late"? Many more questions remain to be answered and more reflection to be driven around this wider phenomenon of which "New Beatlemania" is only one example.

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