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ART WORLDS
IN THE LATE
MODERNITY

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PAULA GUERRA & PEDRO COSTA

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ART WORLDS

IN THE LATE

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Paula Guerra and Pedro Costa (Eds.)

**REDEFINING ART WORLDS
IN THE LATE MODERNITY**
Paula Guerra and Pedro Costa (Eds.)

Designed by Tânia Moreira
Cover and interior separators designed by Armanda Vilar

First Published October 2016
by Universidade do Porto. Faculdade de Letras
[University of Porto. Faculty of Arts and Humanities]
Via Panorâmica, s/n,
4150-564, Porto, PORTUGAL
www.lettras.up.pt

ISBN 978-989-8648-86-0

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Contents

5 ABOUT THE AUTHORS

11 INTRODUCTION

Redefining art worlds in the late modernity

Paula Guerra and Pedro Costa

19 PART 1 | ART WORLDS, MOMENTS AND PLACES

21 CHAPTER 1

Slovenian visual artists throughout history: A network analysis perspective

Petja Grafenauer, Andrej Srakar and Marilena Vecco

39 CHAPTER 2

'From the night and the light, all festivals are golden': The festivalization of culture in the late modernity

Paula Guerra

69 CHAPTER 3

Dublin calling: Challenging European centrality and peripherality through jazz

José Dias

85 CHAPTER 4

Moments and places: The 'events' as a creative milieu between society, culture and emotions

Pierfranco Malizia

101 PART 2 | ART WORLDS IN MOTION

103 CHAPTER 5

Mutation of the poem on the web

Lígia Dabul

117 CHAPTER 6

The architect profession in Portugal: From competition to cooperation?

Vera Borges and Manuel Villaverde Cabral

135 CHAPTER 7

'I make the product': Do-it-yourself ethics in the construction of musical careers in the Portuguese alternative rock scene

Ana Oliveira and Paula Guerra

149 CHAPTER 8

From the shadow to the centre: Tensions, contradictions and ambitions in building graphic design as a profession

Pedro Quintela

173	PART 3 ART WORLDS AND TERRITORIAL BELONGINGS
175	CHAPTER 9 Celebrities of the <i>Passinho</i>: Media, visibility and recognition of youngsters from poor neighbourhoods Cláudia Pereira, Aline Maia and Marcella Azevedo
191	CHAPTER 10 Redefining sounds, outlining places: Rock, scenes and networks Tânia Moreira
215	CHAPTER 11 Gospel versus profane music in Slovakia Yveta Kajanová
233	PART 4 ART WORLDS, CREATIVE COMMUNITIES AND PARTICIPATION
235	CHAPTER 12 Collaborative art: Rethinking the Portuguese theatre Vera Borges
253	CHAPTER 13 Assembling the hybrid city: A critical reflection on the role of an Institute for (X) for a new urbanity Carolina Neto Henriques
271	CHAPTER 14 Art programming as a test laboratory for social questions: the case of Horta do Baldio, a vegetable garden for agriculture Cláudia Madeira

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Aline Maia is Ph.D. student in Communication by the Postgraduate Program in Communication at Pontifical University Catholic of Rio de Janeiro - PUC-Rio. Professor at the courses of Journalism and Publicity and Advertising at Centro Universitário Estácio Juiz de Fora.

Ana Oliveira is graduated in sociology by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto. She worked as a researcher at the Institute of Sociology of the same University and also in an NGO in projects related to the sociology of culture and music, and young population. Currently, she is a researcher at DINÂMIA'CET-IUL and a doctoral student in urban studies at ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon, developing a research project about musical careers in the Portuguese indie scene, financed by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT). Her current academic research interests cover topics such as music, urban cultures, cultural policies, urban space and cultural and creative economy.

Andrej Srakar is Ph.D. in Economics by the Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana. He is Research Associate at the Institute for Economic Research in Ljubljana, Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana, and visiting lecturer at University of Maribor. His main fields of interest are cultural economics, economics of cultural policy, mathematical economics, econometric and statistical theory, applied econometrics, economics of ageing (SHARE database), contract theory and public economics. In 2010, he published his monograph *Economic valorisation of art events: Art between market and the state* — the first monograph on cultural economics by a Slovenian author. He is co-author of several acclaimed research reports for the European Commission, UNESCO and European Expert Network on Culture (EENC) and a Slovenian Correspondent for the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe.

Carolina Neto Henriques is a Ph.D. student of Urban Studies at ISCTE-IUL, and research assistant at DINÂMIA'CET, in ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon University Institute). Carolina was awarded a research scholarship from the Danish Government during her MSc in Urban Studies to study an upcoming creative urban area in

Aarhus, Denmark. Since this research, Carolina has pursued an academic interest in interdisciplinary methods of looking at the city and ways to embrace its hybrid multiplicity and complexity. Carolina Henriques has contributed to international research projects like *Rester en Ville* (DINAMIA'CET), and has one published work, which stemmed from her BSc in Anthropology, titled *Is the European Union ready for the Roma? Discussion on E.U. integration policies* (2012).

Cláudia Madeira is an Auxiliary Professor at FCSH-New University of Lisbon. She holds a Ph.D. on *Hibridismo nas Artes Performativas em Portugal* (Performing Arts Hybridity in Portugal) (ICS-UL 2007) and a post-doc on *Arte Social. Arte Performativa? (Social Art. Performative Art?)* (ICS-UL 2009-2012). In addition to numerous articles, she has written *Híbrido. Do Mito ao Paradigma Invasor?* (Hybrid. From myth to the new invasive paradigm?) (Mundos Sociais, 2010) and *Novos Notáveis: os Programadores Culturais* (New Dignitaries: The Cultural Programmers) (Celta, 2002). She has also written a number of articles about new forms of hybridism and performativity in the arts.

Cláudia Pereira is Professor and Researcher at the Postgraduate Program in Communication at Pontifical University Catholic of Rio De Janeiro (PUC-Rio). She received her Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology (2008) from the Federal University of Rio De Janeiro (IFCS/PPGSA). She is also coordinator, researcher and professor at the Postgraduate Program in Communication at PUC-Rio, and focuses her researches on studies of social representations of youth and its relations with media, consumption, body, fashion, gender and social networks. She is a Full Researcher at PECC - Communication and Consumption Studies Program (Infoglobo Academy/PUC-Rio).

José Dias is Senior Lecturer in Music, Contemporary Arts, at Manchester Metropolitan University. He has developed research in European jazz networks, cultural policies, jazz festivals, promotion and dissemination. Dias is delegate for the intra-European festival '12 Points', based in Dublin, and project leader for 'Researches in Residence' in collaboration with 'Festa do Jazz', Lisbon. He has authored and co-authored several publications around jazz in Europe, jazz in Portuguese film, music education and European cultural policies. As a musician, José Dias has performed and recorded throughout Europe with his trio and quartet.

Lígia Dabul has a Ph.D. in Sociology and did a post-doctoral programme in Anthropology at the School of Social Sciences of the University of Manchester. She is an Associate Professor in the Sociology Department at the Federal Fluminense University (UFF) and coordinates Nectar (Group of Studies on Citizenship, Work and Art). She is currently a member of the Postgraduate Programme in Sociology and the Postgraduate Programme in Contemporary Studies of the Arts, both at UFF. She is also a researcher at the National Council of Technological and Scientific Development (CNPq) and the Carlos Chagas Filho Foundation for Research Support in Rio de Janeiro (FAPERJ). She has published works and research papers on the public role of the arts, creative processes, artistic practices and artists' identities. She is also a poet.

Manuel Villaverde Cabral. Currently Emeritus Researcher of the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (ICS-UL), he was formerly Portuguese National Librarian, vice-rector of the University of Lisbon and president of the ICS during the past 25 years. He has a History Ph.D. from the University of Paris (1979) and has been a visiting professor at Oxford University and King's College London for several years. A former political exile until 1974, since his return to Portugal he published extensively (over 100 books and articles) on Portuguese contemporary history and society in several languages. In the past two decades he published several studies on Portuguese current politics based on survey data, such as *Trust, mobilization, and political representation in Portugal* (in Freire *et al.* (Eds.)), *Portugal at the polls in 2002* (in Freire, Lobo & Magalhães (Eds.)).

Marcella Azevedo is Ph.D. Student in Communication at the Postgraduate Program in Communication at Pontifical University Catholic of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio).

Marilena Vecco is Assistant Professor of Cultural Economics at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Her research focuses on cultural entrepreneurship, management with a special focus on cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) and art markets. She holds a Ph.D. in Economic Sciences at University Paris 1, Panthéon Sorbonne, and a Ph.D. in Economics of Institutions and Creativity at University of Turin (I). Marilena has over 15 years of academic and professional experience as a researcher, lecturer and consultant. She was head of research of the International Center for Arts Economics (ICARE, 1999–2010), and has

researched and consulted for several public and private organisations, including OECD, Centre for Entrepreneurship, SMEs and Local Development, World Bank and The European Commission.

Paula Guerra is Ph.D. in Sociology by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto (FLUP), where she currently teaches. She is also Researcher of the Institute of Sociology of the University of Porto (IS-UP); Associate Researcher at the Centre for Geographical Studies and Spatial Planning (CEGOT), and Adjunct Associate Professor of the Griffith Centre for Social and Cultural Research (GCSCR) at Griffith University. Her main research interests are popular music, urban cultures, identities, youth cultures, multiculturalism, exclusion and inclusion social processes. She has coordinated several national and international research projects in these fields (namely the project *Keep it simple, make it fast!* — PTDC/CS-SOC/118830/2010), as well as publishing numerous books and scientific articles in journals such as *Journal of Sociology*, *European Journal of Cultural Studies* and *Popular Music and Society*.

Pedro Costa is Auxiliary Professor at the Political Economy Department at ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon University Institute) and Director of DINAMIA'CET (Research Center on Socioeconomic Change and Territory), where he coordinates the research area "Cities and Territories". Economist, Ph.D. in Urban and Regional Planning, he works primarily in the areas of territorial development and planning and cultural economics, focusing his recent research mostly on the role of cultural activities in local development and strategies for promoting cultural activities and creative dynamics. He has published several books and articles, and presented papers at scientific and policy-oriented meetings in these fields. He has also been a consultant and participated in multiple research projects in these areas, nationally and internationally.

Pedro Quintela is a sociologist, trained at ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon, and at the Faculty of Economics, University of Coimbra, where he is currently developing his doctoral project on creative work in the communication design field (with a research grant from the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology). His research interests focus on different areas related to the sociology of art and culture, cultural policies, urban studies, cultural and creative industries, urban cultures and cultural mediation, among others. He was

researcher on the project *Keep it simple, make it fast!* (PTDC/CS-SOC/118830/2010) coordinated by Professor Paula Guerra (www.punk.pt).

Petja Grafenauer (Ph.D.) is a curator, writer and lecturer on contemporary art and magazine editor. She works as assistant professor at School of Arts, University of Nova Gorica. She curated numerous group projects and exhibitions, working with some of the most recognized Slovenian and foreign artists. Since 2001 she publishes art-reviews and art historical texts in various media. Her article analysing the work of Jasmina Cibic was commissioned for the catalogue of the Slovene pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennial. In 2011 she was awarded a 1 year work grant by the Ministry of Culture of Slovenia; in 2009 the residency (New York), 2008 residency stipend (ICCPR Conference, Istanbul, Turkey) and 2003-2006 Ph.D. stipend by the Ministry of Culture of Slovenia.

Pierfranco Malizia is Ph.D. in Sociology of Culture, and professor of sociology and sociology of culture at the Department of Economical and Political Sciences at the Lumsa University in Rome (IT) and visiting professor at the ISCEM of Lisbon and at the UNISINOS of Porto Alegre. Above all, his research is involved in social transformations, theory of sociology and cultural and communicative processes. He published *Society traces* (Milan, 2005), *Communic-a-tions* (Milan, 2006), *In the plural* (Milan, 2009), *Uncertain outlines* (Saarbrücken, 2011), *Unir as forças* (Covilhã, 2011), *Contemporary sociology* (Milan, 2012), *Marcas da sociedade* (Curitiba, 2013), *Into the box* (Saarbrücken, 2015) among other books and articles.

Tânia Moreira is a Sociologist, MA in Sociology from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto (FLUP). She has participated in several research projects, among them *Keep it simple, make it fast!* (PTDC/CS-SOC/118830/2010 — she was research fellow) based at FLUP, and in the organization of various scientific and cultural events, such as KISMIF Conference (2014, 2015 and 2016, Porto); ESA-Arts 2016 (Porto); Todas as Artes, Todos os Nomes (2016, Lisbon). She has collaborated as author in texts about youth culture, popular music, sociology of culture and music, DIY culture.

Vera Borges is currently Researcher at DINÂMIA'CET-IUL and Associate Researcher at ICS-UL. Vera Borges took her Ph.D. in Sociology at École des

Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. She has developed her research work on culture by focusing on professions, organizations and artistic labour markets. Selected writings include, *Les comédiens et les troupes de théâtre au Portugal* (Paris: Harmattan, 2009); *The world of theatre in portugal* (Lisbon: ICS, 2007); *Creativity and institutions: New challenges for artists and cultural professionals* (with P. Costa, Lisbon: ICS, 2012). Her new research project is on *Reputation, market and territory: Between theatre and architecture* (2012), with the support of Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT). Recently, she had coordinated the project *Analytical research of the cultural structures* supported by DGArtes – Secretary of State for Culture.

Yvetta Kajanová is a Professor of musicology at Comenius University in Bratislava-Slovakia, where she gives lectures in jazz and rock history, musical criticism, sociology and management of music. Her recent monograph, *On the history of rock music* (2014), was published by Peter Lang academic publishers.

INTRODUCTION

Redefining art worlds in the late modernity

Paula Guerra and Pedro Costa

The definition of 'art worlds' that was first conceived, developed and publicized by Becker has had a large impact in various disciplinary settings, namely in the sociology of the arts, as well as in the society and economy of culture (Becker, 1982). In our understanding, the continued presence of the concept in these mediums is well justified — we can see in countless investigations of the late 20th and early 21st century how it fits both analytically and conceptually in research agendas. The book we are presenting here stems exactly from the importance that art worlds have taken in our same agendas as well as those of our wide research network. In a way, this book is a tribute to Becker and to the importance of the analytical concept of the art world in the research to the arts, namely to the way in which it shows that artworks are not individual products, rather stemming from spheres of interests and wills, with cooperation being a major part of artistic production. For any work of art to be presented as final it requires numerous tasks connecting dozens of individuals and bringing them together. However, more than simply nodding to the concept, this book also seeks to show the way in which the concept of 'art world' has been developed, increased, changed and transformed to fit the plastic reality of contemporary society — specifically the information and communication society, virtual spheres of production, mediation and fruition, and transglobal horizons of arts, culture and life (Guerra, 2010).

The concept of the art world implies very clearly the notion of artistic creation as a collective endeavour, and as a result brings into the table the myriad of complementary activities which support the artwork, as well as the feedback, the contact of the public and its understanding — reception, fruition and mediation. As we have noted, cooperation is vital in this, as "in all the arts we know, much like in every other human activity, cooperation is ever present" (Becker, 1982: 7). People involved in artistic production strive towards those tasks which are more prestigious, rewarding and more interesting, in a process of systematic labour division and stratification (Becker, 1982). Whilst in some

performance activities, like cinema, this is very overt and explicit, it is also present in other more 'solitary' acts such as painting or poetry-writing. This is a key aspect of the concept: that cooperation happens not only in the same spatial or temporal frame, but taking into account the whole production cycle of the artwork, from the materials needed for its conception to the resources required for distribution and recognition. For all of this to happen, however, there need to be "a group of people whose activities are necessary for the production of works which that world, and maybe others, recognize as art" (Becker, 1982: 34).

The cooperative work involved in artistic production implies the existence of conventions which define the way in which agents should cooperate. By working together, individuals establish conventions which are then made it to the standard way of making art (Guerra, 2013; Maanen, 2010). Artistic conventions contribute for the organization of artistic labour in cooperation: "[they] dictate the materials to be used (...) which abstractions to make out of certain ideas or experiences (...), the way in which materials and abstractions should be combined (...), suggest the appropriate size of an artwork (...) [and] regulate the relationships between artist and audience, specifically the rights and obligations of each one" (Becker, 1982: 29). Becker emphasizes the importance of these informal agreements in sharing knowledge of a certain medium, in the way in which that knowledge can be found and is deeply related to the type of connection found in the artistic *metier*. The arts operate and determine both wider social rules and customs as well as more specific workings of the artistic world. These latter are particularly important to distinguish between a 'cultivated' audience and one which does not 'understand it': that is, the capacity to see common objects as artistic creates boundaries between social actors (Crane, 2007).

Despite these conventions, and without contradicting them, many times the art worlds stem into autonomous subgroups with their own specific rules and followings. At the heart of the issue is the fact that even in trying to be unconventional the use of conventions is dominant. This notion has been the object of several investigations, in particular through the critical lens of Simon Frith, who used it in the context of the music industry to separate between a) the art music world; b) folk music world; c) commercial music world (Frith, 1997). It is also this sort of focus on consensus and lack of focus on the subversive potential of the art worlds which has garnered Becker with criticism — namely in pointing out how conflict and unequal possession of material and symbolic

resources between agents and artists shape the specific forms of art worlds (Crane, 2007; Guerra, 2010; Maanen, 2010).

The bourdeusian concept of field is in this sense quite far from the art world as understood by Danto (1964) or Becker (1982). Rather than focusing on the specific interactions inside the cultural field, or on the cooperation between cultural agents in the production of their work, Bourdieu (1996) is more interested in rebuilding the structural positions of the field, seen here mostly as a place of antagonism and symbolic struggle. This does not mean, however, that the two cannot be bridged (Guerra, 2010, 2013, 2015).

Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (1994: 421) notes this exactly, when she states that in Becker there is a “notable descriptive recreation of the way in which the artistic process works in diverse art worlds, that is, the goal which is common to Bourdieu of de-mystifying the aestheticist conception of art”. That is, by providing a thorough description of the way in which art is made possible only by collective effort, Becker refutes the view of the artistic object as the result of an isolated genius. Since the artistic object is a result of cooperation in different forms, according to the author, in reference to a set of conventions and a common understanding of the art world, they in turn generate a common *praxis* (in a way the *illusio* to which Bourdieu alludes).

Likewise, Becker does not ignore that the interactions taking place inside the art worlds are not always consensual. There are divergent interests at any given moment, which tie the artist to certain pathways and shape the cooperative network towards certain types of artwork. The acceptance of these constraints by the more radical artists — in exchange for wider publicity and acknowledgement of their work — is a common reality. Notwithstanding, the presence of non-standard work flowing through alternative channels is a reality which Becker did not fully address — and it is here that the agonistic perspective of the segmentation of the artistic field of Pierre Bourdieu shows itself to be particularly useful.

As Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (1994: 421) points out, this leads Becker to the idea of “each art world being closed on itself”. Contrary to this, we can see by analysing cultural creations of the 20th century and in particular cultural creations of post-industrial society and the cultural industries, that in art forms such as rock it was the question of social and cultural order, from power structures to daily behaviour, which became the core focus of art as a form of protest. In Becerk’s analysis, unlike Bourdieu’s (Bourdieu & Haacke, 1994), we do not find the micro-macro articulation of art production structures, nor is there

mention of the domination and dependency within and between fields/art worlds. The study of the change of an art world tends to reduce the possible types of innovation to internal changes in these structures, and sees them as possible mostly out of the cooperation and organization of the respective agents, when in reality, most times change is a by-product of conflicts towards authority and the redistribution of specific capitals (Guerra, 2010, 2013, 2015).

Becker's analysis would come to inspire a theoretical line, known as the production of culture perspective, with a great Anglo-Saxon presence. Diana Crane, the foremost representative of this line of study of artistic creation, has applied the notion of art world (which she refines into the notion of culture world) to various forms of urban culture. In her most notable work (Crane, 1992), the author deepens Becker theoretical conceptions, especially in regards to the different cultural producers and their artistic-professional trajectories and their looks towards innovation.

Crane also notes the way in which the association of urban culture to the elite culture has grown more unstable. Nowadays a number of factors have arisen which lead to a questioning of this model of urban culture — of the way in which it overstates the influence of elites and “ignores both the existence of non-elite urban cultures as well as the progressive loss of influence of elite urban cultures”; the emergence of new actors (urban promoters and big companies), whose influence over elite cultural forms has increased, who seek to benefit directly or indirectly from these new forms of culture; the elite control model does not accurately adequate to urban areas — with corporate cities being highly decentralized, with suburban commercial centres and community centres which fulfil the role previously held by the ‘urban core’ (Crane, 1992: 111–112).

These urban cultures are understood, by Becker's terms, as art worlds, whether elite or not. They all possess the same components: cultural producers and backup personnel; conventions and understandings shared by all members, which serve as standards towards which to compare any given product; gatekeepers such as critics, DJ's and editors, which evaluate the cultural products; the organizations inside which, or around which, many of these activities take place (exhibited, taken place or produced) and the audiences, whose characteristics can define the sort of cultural products which are patented, presented or sold in a given urban setting (Crane, 1992: 111–112).

By condensing the strong points of Crane's proposal, Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (1994: 421–422) notes exactly how it nuances Becker's typology —

which divided artists into integrated professionals, mavericks (innovators), folk artists and naive artists — by showing how certain production, diffusion and fruition conditions can provide contact between the various types. As such, Crane's proposal notes an organizational context which is wide, varied and segmented, with fluidity taking the place of art form boundaries. Diana Crane aims to show then how the types of productive and receptive organizations produced by art forms also serve as a factor promoting their heterogeneity. She distinguishes several art worlds: network oriented, both in isolated networks and intersecting networks; profit-oriented and non-profit.

First of all, there are informal social networks, led by creators and consumers who regularly know and interact with each other, are driven by small cultural organizations which give them the resources for producing, promoting and showcasing their work. This is seen as a stimulating combination to produce aesthetically original and ideologically provocative work, as these networks tend to attract young people and innovation by working towards a continuous feedback loop between creators and their audience (Crane, 1992: 113). A second type of 'cultural world' is structured around small profit-oriented businesses where "the activity of the creators is centred more on the organization itself than on the network of fellow creators. The goal is to produce work which pleases, rather than shocks or bedazzles, the audience" (Crane, 1992: 114). A third kind of art world arises out of non-profit organizations, whose objective is to preserve ethnic and artistic traditions, more than develop new productions: "cultural products associated with different art worlds differ in their aesthetic characteristics" (Crane, 1992: 114). So as to go beyond the limits of their social network, the creators seek to receive 'recognition' by the art world. In this sense, the creation of artistic 'styles' serves to operate control networks (gatekeeping ports) which evaluate, exhibit and sell the work (Crane, 1992: 119).

Examples of how this can be done, for instance, in passing from being known as a 'maverick' to an 'integrated professional', is uncannily similar to the bourdeusian notion of artistic field, and the symbolic struggles between the newly-entered (or 'heretics') and the established (or 'orthodox') seeking to change the specific types of capital and to restructure the positions within. Here, the most notable advances in the reflection started by Becker and Crane (1992: 109–142) are ones which address the audiences and their effects on the producers, such as the work developed by DiMaggio when he states that "studying the systems of production without a theory of demand runs at the risk

of assuming that production and distribution of art can be explained simply as demand-driven variables" (1987: 442).

Likewise, Arthur Danto would also note how relevant and heuristic the notion of field is to these analysis (Danto, 1999). The author notes how Bourdieu went against Sartre's reading of Flaubert's *Education Sentimentale* seeking to explore the structures and 'rules' which are at the base of the artist or creator (Danto, 1999: 215). The relational notion of field — specifically the 'literary field' — which Bourdieu (1996) presents has each actor define his objective position by relation to each other position. To be an 'artist' is then to occupy a position on the field known as 'art world', which means that the artist is objectively related to positions occupied by critics, collectors, art dealers, specialists, etc. It is the field that 'creates the creator' and thus promotes notions and boundaries of what is possible by definition of what positions each actor occupies. The artistic and literary field is an objective structure and as such turns the question of what is art and what makes artists themselves into objective questions. From this idea, Bourdieu developed the necessary science to understand the problem: an historical science of the cultural fields (Danto, 1999: 216).

Following these theses, we have structured this work around what brings us to and separates us from Becker. The chapters you can find here pay tribute to the author at the same time as they critically re-analyse his perspective.

Part 1 — aptly named *Art worlds, moments and places* — seeks to bring festivals and big events into question, showing their importance in materializing art worlds, including the following chapters: *Slovenian visual artists throughout history: A network analysis perspective* by Petja Grafenauer, Andrej Srakar and Marilena Vecco; *'From the night and the light, all festivals are golden': The festivalization of culture in the late modernity* by Paula Guerra; *Dublin calling: Challenging European centrality and peripherality through jazz* by José Dias; and *Moments and places: The 'events' as a creative milieu between society, culture and emotions* by Pierfranco Malizia.

Part 2 — *Art worlds in motion* — shows us exactly the changes in the internal logic, the mechanisms and actors which develop the arts in contemporaneity, namely poetry, architecture, indie rock and design, and counts with the following contributions: *Mutation of the poem on the web* by Lígia Dabul; *The architect profession: Between excess and closure* by Vera Borges and Manuel Villaverde Cabral; *'I make the product': Do-it-yourself ethics in the construction of musical careers in the Portuguese alternative rock scene* by Ana Oliveira and Paula Guerra;

From the shadow to the centre: Tensions, contradictions and ambitions in building graphic design as a profession by Pedro Quintela.

The third part — *Art worlds and territorial belongings* — territorializes Becker's art worlds in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Tâmega region (Portugal), and in various areas of Slovakia. It counts with contributions of Cláudia Pereira, Aline Maia and Marcella Azevedo with the chapter *Celebrities of the Passinho: Media, visibility and recognition of youngsters from poor neighborhoods*; Tânia Moreira with *Redefining sounds, outlining places: Rock, scenes and networks*; and Yvetta Kajanová with the chapter *Gospel versus profane music in Slovakia*.

In a very interesting way, and showing once more the potentials of art worlds in understanding the arts as collaborative and participative processes, the fourth part emerges with the title *Art words, creative communities and participation*. In this part, we can find chapters by Vera Borges (*Collaborative art: Rethinking the Portuguese theatre*), Carolina Neto Henriques (*Assembling the hybrid city: A critical reflection on the role of an Institute for (X) for a new urbanity*) and Cláudia Madeira (*Art programming as a test laboratory for social questions: the case of Horta do Baldio, a vegetable garden for agriculture*).

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ART WORLDS,
MOMENTS
AND PLACES





CHAPTER 1

Slovenian visual artists throughout history: A network analysis perspective

Petja Grafenauer, Andrej Srakar and Marilena Vecco

Abstract

Slovenian art history has received very little attention from the viewpoint of network theory. There were several examples of artists co-working or working in groups, collectives or even loosely organized clusters and it seems this was a way to acquire better positions in the art circles and on the market. In our article we firstly present the history of Slovenian art historical movements with particular focus on groups of artists through 19th and 20th century. In the second part, we use web-based dataset of *Slovenska biografija* which contains data on notable persons throughout Slovenian history and is operated by the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. On the basis of dataset we present an analysis of centrality of individual artistic figures/movements throughout history. Finally, we analyse the influence of network centrality on cultural production controlling for endogenous relationships using a new instrumental variable correction. Main research questions of the chapter are: (1) which were the main central figures with most social capital in Slovenian art history and did they form part of larger networks; (2) what is the relationship between network centrality and cultural production. In conclusion we provide some groundstones for further research work in the area.

1. Introduction

Slovenian art history has been researched in numerous publications and is one of the fields in Slovenian humanities with longest tradition. Yet, surprisingly little attention has been provided to the perspective of the network theory and groups of artists throughout history. Are the artists more productive when forming and working in groups? Is there any special influence of the confounding variables, such as gender, age, occupation, income? Are there any spillovers between artistic sectors — do the ‘transdisciplinary’ groups such as Dada and Bauhaus show that not only is connectedness within one art sector important, the key is to connect with artists from as diverse fields as possible. Such questions have been posed and answered in previous years, yet also in the scientific literature in general, the question on the effects of networking on productivity has been solved by means of predetermine clusters while

neglecting the possibilities of social network analysis in providing the answer to this question.

Although our chapter will (at this point) not be able to answer to all of those questions, it will provide answers to several of the above dilemmas. Using a previously unused web-based database of *Slovenska biografija*¹ it will demonstrate that networking is indeed beneficial for the artistic productivity, yet to a slightly smaller scale/significance as was speculated in some previous studies. We will be able to control for the apparent reverse causal relationship in the model using an innovative, new instrument and will also estimate the empirical effects of other confounding covariates. Finally, we will provide Slovenian art history with its first network analysis and empirical description of the main artistic groupings of the 19th and 20th century. The chapter will be structured in the following manner. In the next section, we will provide a short literature review and theoretical underpinnings. In the third section, we will present the dataset and used methods. In the fourth section, we will present the results from the social network analysis. In the fifth section, we will present the econometric results. In conclusion, we will briefly reflect on the findings and possibilities for future research.

2. Art historical overview

Slovenia only became a federal republic in the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It seceded and became an independent country in 1991. Slovenia spent all the previous centuries under foreign rule, mainly under Austria-Hungary and — on its Western border — under Italy. Therefore, it stands to reason that up to around the end of the 20th century, we mainly refer to art on Slovene lands, since the fine arts were generally the purview of foreign artists which the local gentry hired to refurbish and construct houses, palaces, churches and altars; they also commissioned portraits and imported increasingly cheaper reproductions from abroad. The Turkish raids, social upheavals, religious battles and occasional epidemics, which plagued the 16th century, prevented these lands from developing further. However, in the 17th century, baroque, in addition to gothic art, left a deep imprint on Slovene lands (Stele, 1966; Höfler, 1999). At the time, the Church, especially the Society of Jesus and Tomaž Hren, the Mayor of the Slovene capital city of Ljubljana, represented an integral part

¹ For more details see <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/>.

of the social network. Since Hren could not afford his own opulent court, he made due with part-time artists, while the other rare commissions were also done by foreign artists, mainly from Lombardy, Venice and Friuli.

The other important circle of people was the so called *Academia Operosorum Labacensium* (Academy of the Industrious Residents of Ljubljana). It was founded in 1698 by the Carniolan intelligentsia and patriots, the three most important founders being members of the Dolničar family (a cathedral cleric, a jurist and his son). This circle set out to culturally reform the lands, where artists were still mainly being imported from Venice, establishing important ties with the Italian city of Udine. The construction boom in Ljubljana also turned out to be a great opportunity for local fresco painters and builders (e.g. Franc Jelovšek and Gregor Maček), who belonged to the Venice School. At the other end of the country, in Styria, the circle around the house of Attems, a noble aristocratic family which set out to refurbish their castles in Styria. The presence of foreign fresco painters proved to be an opportunity for local artists.

The rule of Empress Maria Theresa was marked by austerity, making it a less than propitious time for the fine arts. At the same time, ties with Vienna grew ever more important, while those with Italy languished — it was this route, passing through impoverished Ljubljana, a city unable to provide enough work for more than a brief stay, which was taken by builders, painters and other artists. Local artists, in their battle for a larger slice of the pie, relied on institutions, protecting their privileges from foreigners. At the turn of the 20th century, national consciousness and the awareness of belonging to a community of similarly-speaking nations mainly gave rise to new literature. The Slovene intelligentsia had no particular interest in the fine arts. Even writers and poets would usually adorn their homes with only one or two holy cards bought at the village fair, and not with expensive oil paintings and sculptures (Stele, 1966; Höfler, 1999; Trenc-Frelj, 1998).

The 19th century gave rise to academies of fine arts in political and urban centres, which replaced the role of painting and holy card workshops. They were attended by local artists who first travelled to Vienna (among them were Franc Kavčič, who even became a lecturer and director of the Academy of Fine Arts, the first Slovene career artist, Lovro, Valentin and Anton Janša, as well as Carl Sütz), then Bologna, Rome, Mantua and Venice; afterwards, Munich started becoming ever more popular, while in the countryside, holy card workshops continued to operate, the most important being the Layer House in Kranj.

The giant of Slovene poetry, the romantic poet France Prešeren, struck up a friendship with painter Matevž Langus. After 1829, the latter became the central figure of artistic creation in Ljubljana, leaving behind not only portraits of his contemporary important local patrons, but also furnishing the majority of Ljubljana churches with art produced in his workshop. He was joined by painter Mihael Stroj. Anton Karinger and Marko Pernhart, two landscape artists belonging to the Vienna School, were also important for Ljubljana. Pernhart came from the Klagenfurt area. Then there was Ivan Zajec, the first academy-educated Slovene sculptor. He was later joined by Alojz Gangl. During this period, the Littoral region was marked by artist Franc Tominc, who belonged to the School of Rome, while Styria was greatly influenced by strong ties with the Austrian city of Graz. Local and oftentimes amateur painters also began to work in smaller Slovene towns, for example in Ptuj, Novo Mesto and Celje. The Venice-educated Janez Wolf, the central representative of religious art at the time, founded an important painting workshop which produced two important painters of the next generation, the brothers Janez and Jurij Šubic. Both had strong ties to Vienna.

The turn of the 20th century turned out to be pivotal for Slovene art:

The fine arts assumed the central role in society's civilizational identity and were fully in line with European currents (...), catching up with literature and music, even completely surpassing them when it came to architecture (Jože Plečnik and Maks Fabiani), meaning artistic language became a reputable herald of the modern conceptual and representational orientation of Slovene society. Not unlike literature's role in Slovene national development, the fine arts also became a constitutive part of national identity, intellectually ennobled to the rank of *artes liberales*. At the same time, it claimed the characteristics and elements of its own proper institutional organization (exhibitions and galleries), professionalization (school of art, plans for an academy, the formation of professional societies and 'secessions'), and reception (art criticism, aesthetics, and theory of art). (Brejc, 1998: 217).

For the first time, artists became true professionals. During this period, the art school founded by Anton Ažbe in Munich played a decidedly prominent role. Ljubljana was also home to two professional societies: the Society for Christian Art (from 1894) and the Slovene Art Society (1899–1904). The first was mainly dedicated to religious art and followed the philosophy of Neo-Scholastic idealism, which had numerous followers among philosophers in the region, while the second was a trade union organization, dedicated to representing the social and professional interests of its members; in 1900, it organized the 1st art

exhibition. However, it was dissolved soon afterwards due to infighting. The central role was quickly assumed by the artist Rihard Jakopič and three other fellow painters — all impressionists going against traditional artistic currents. They simultaneously established an important social network, which to a certain extent enabled them to professionally work and develop their artistic system. This tactic was significant enough as to enable art historian Beti Žerovc to write the following opening lines in her aptly titled book, *Rihard Jakopič: Artist and Strategist (Rihard Jakopič, umetnik in strateg)*:

When examining the fine arts during the first half of the previous century, Rihard Jakopič crops up in all manner of places, especially at 'intersections' where art is embedded in its environment — more so than any other Slovene artist. He was regularly involved in various 'non-artistic factors and endeavours' in art, such as the market, cultural policy, politics, history, ideology, etc. In other words, in areas all too often ignored by the fine arts. If not taboo, they are generally as limited as possible, since their non-artistic nature makes them undesirable or seen as trivial, perceived as not taking part in the canonization of artists, the construction of history and hierarchy in the artistic field, etc. They are seen as being limited to the present, while history is bound to show the true nature of art, justly — and solely based on looking at works of art — separate the wheat from the chaff. (Žerovc, 2002: 9).

The paper presented below seeks to ascertain how social connections influence the degree to which artists are recognized.

The second exhibition of Slovene art, which was presented in 1902, already acquired a much more professional air. The already mentioned four impressionist painters were already on the scene: Rihard Jakopič, Matija Jama, Ivan Grohar and Matej Strnen. This group would henceforth set the pace and steer the development of Slovene art (Brejc, 2004; Trenc-Frelj, 1998; Kržišnik, 1979). In 1904 and on the occasion of the exhibition in Vienna, they named themselves the Sava Club, therefore separating themselves from the other members of the Society of Slovene Artists. Their work was lauded by Slovenian writers (Ivan Cankar and Oton Župančič) and they quickly took over the artistic scene (especially Jakopič). Their artistic output was featured by exhibitions in Belgrade, Trieste, London and the Vienna Secession (see e.g. Mikuž, 1995, 1979). In 1909, they exhibited their art in the newly-opened Jakopič Pavilion, managed by Rihard Jakopič. The other group at the time, the more extensive Vesna, which was based on an ethnographic character, couldn't hold a candle to them (among others, it included artists such as Šantel, Gaspari, and Smrekar). The impressionists became the torch bearers of 'folk' Slovene art, despite the fact

their paintings were based on French and later other international influences (see Kranjc, 2001, 2004, 2005–2006).

In the 19th century, architecture was in search of its own 'national identity' mainly through the work of a trio of architects educated abroad: Jožef Plečnik, Maks Fabiani and Ivan Vurnik. Not unlike Vesna's members, the latter occasionally drew inspiration from folk motifs. Once again, the Mayor of Ljubljana (this time Ivan Hribar) played a pivotal role. Through his studies, he was attached to the more developed city of Prague and searched for Slavic sources; the other two architects were doing much the same in Vienna, but on a much grander scale. Especially Jože Plečnik developed important ties with Prague with the help of President T. G. Masaryk.

When it came to painting, the Youth Club proved to be especially important for the next generation (see e.g. Gabrič, 1995). First known as a gathering place for writers and musicians (Anton Podbevšek, Josip Vidmar and Marij Kogoj), it soon attracted the attention of artists. After its dissolution, France Kralj founded the Club of Young Artists which would later become the Slovene Society of Art, bringing together arts, mainly expressionists (Tone and France Kralj, Božidar Jakac). With the founding of the Academy of fine arts and the Museum of Modern Art immediately after the second world war, the posts at the museum and the academic positions became important networking positions, a situation that remains valid well into our times (Božidar Jakac, Gojmir Anton Kos, Marij Pregelj, Gabrijel Stupica).

3. Data and method

In our analysis we used dataset of *Slovenska biografija*, which is a web based encyclopedia, provided by the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The encyclopedia includes information on numerous important figures in Slovenian history, grouped under 15 headings: Social sciences and services; Public Administration; Spiritual Occupations; Humanities; Agriculture and similar areas; Museums, libraries and archives; Natural and mathematical sciences; National advantageous; Craftsmen; Business persons and landlords; Entertainment and sports; Technical and technological sciences; Arts; The Army; Health care. To our knowledge, although rich in content, it has never been used before for the purpose of network analysis which provides our

analysis a special importance. To our analysis, we use data for the visual artists (Table 1).

Table 1: Data of the visual artists, including the occupations

Painting	Graphics	Sculpture
Academy painters (6)	<i>Ex-Libris</i> (1)	Academy sculptor (4)
Aquarel (1)	Coppercutting (12)	Sculptors (56)
Church Painter (1)	Graphic workers (1)	Sculptors — self-made (3)
<i>Fresco</i> (1)	Graphics (35)	
Illuminates (3)	Lithographs (2)	
Illustration (19)	Lithograph painters (1)	
Caricature (3)		
Landscape painters (2)		
Miniature (2)		
Navy painter (1)		
Drawing (17)		
Scene painters (2)		
<i>Silhouette</i> (1)		
Painters (297)		
Painters — self-made (5)		
Total: 361	Total: 52	Total: 63

Design	Restoration	Other visual artists
Designers (6)	Model makers (1)	Decoration (1)
Graphic Design (1)	Restoration (6)	Ceramics (2)
		Modelers (1)
Total: 7	Total: 7	Total: 4

Note: In parentheses are numbers of included cases of the specific occupations.

Source: Slovenska biografija.

The following variables, constructed by hand from the web based encyclopedia are used in our analysis: *Century of birth* (we include data only on the visual artists from the 19th and 20th century); *Gender*: binary variable, taking the value of 1 for females and 0 for males; *Age*: for living artists their current age, for the already passed-away ones the age at their death; *Multiple roles*: number of different occupations the respondent is listed at the database; *Occupation*: the main occupation the respondent is listed at (the first on the list in the biography); *Productivity*: length of the biography, excluding authors name and

references — such usage is justified by previous analyses of e.g. O'Hagan and Borowiecki (2010) and Borowiecki (2013)².

Some descriptive statistics of the above variables are listed in Table 2. We list only the results for those respondents, included in our later network and econometric analysis, which limits our sample to 214 cases. We see that the productivity variable is skewed with clear outliers at the right end of the distribution. Median length of the biography amounts to 342 words. In our analysis, there are significantly more artists born in 19th century, slightly above two thirds. Also, females are extremely underrepresented in the sample, amounting to only about 13% of all respondents. Also, more than 85% of respondents are/were of age higher than 50 years. About one half of them are listed in multiple roles. Among the occupations, painters are in the large majority, followed by sculptors and illustrators.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of main used variables

	Mean	Median
Productivity/word count	478.19	342.00
	%	n
19th century	69	148
20th century	31	66
Female	13	29
Age (>50)	86	182
Multiple roles (>1)	46	98
Illustrator	7	14
Sculptor	13	29
Drawer	3	7
Painter	71	152
Other	6	12
Total	100	214

Source: Slovenska biografija.

The main variable we use in the analysis relates to network centrality, defined as measure of connectedness with other artists in the sample. Our

² It is of course possible that the measure is biased. We, therefore, take great care in our interpretations of results of econometric testing.

methodology mainly springs from the social network analysis (see e.g. Barnes, 1954; Bott, 1957; McAndrew & Everett, 2014), controlling for endogenous network formation (see e.g. Goyal & Joshi, 2003; Soramaki *et al.*, 2007; Hiller, 2015). Social network analysis has emerged as a key technique in modern social sciences, as demonstrated in largely growing literature in the field. It has gained a significant following in sociology, anthropology, biology, communication studies, economics, geography, information science, organizational studies, social psychology, and sociolinguistics. In 1954, J. A. Barnes started using the term social network analysis systematically to denote patterns of ties, encompassing concepts traditionally used by the public and those used by social scientists: bounded groups and social categories. Scholars such as Berkowitz, Borgatti, Burt, Carley, Everett, Faust, Freeman, Granovetter, Knoke, Krackhardt, Marsden, Mullins, Rapoport, Wasserman, Wellman and White expanded the use of systematic social network analysis.

In cultural economics, several usages can be noted. In the economics of music, studies by Becker (1982), Faulkner (1983), Finnegan (1989), Crossley (2008) and Bottero and Crossley (2011) led the development in the field. In recent years, a notable study by McAndrew and Everett was presented, studying the case of British classical composition, both as an example of a music network, and to contribute to debates in music history. It demonstrated that for the British composers, access to elite networks depended both on ability and personality; while many talented marginal figures were undoubtedly simply unlucky in that they possessed all the 'right' attributes but somehow did not break through, others were marginal partly through personal choice and self-imposed isolation. Some composers chose more commercial paths with less need for network support; others chose to compose music which was difficult to program or publish (McAndrew and Everett, 2015: 20).

In our analysis we will use models from endogenous network analysis, trying to answer to two key questions: (1) which were the main central figures with most social capital in Slovenian art history and did they form part of larger networks; (2) what is the relationship between network centrality and cultural production, after controlling for the apparent endogeneity in the model: the ones with better connectedness will likely be more productive, while the ones more productive will also likely be more connected. We answer the latter question using instrumental variable empirical strategy, using one of the measures of centrality apparently unrelated to production as an instrument.

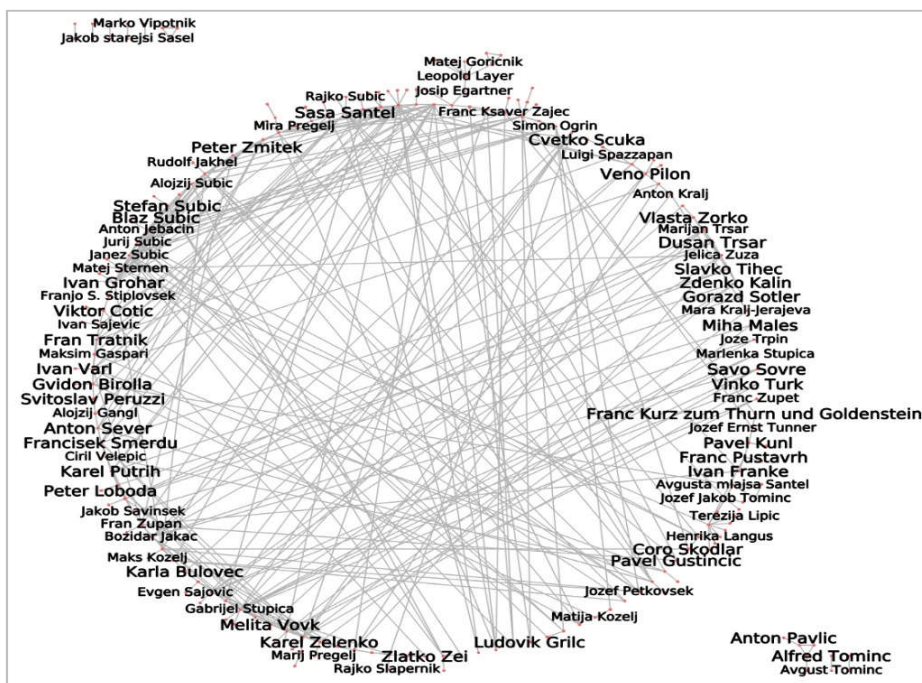
In the network analysis we use four main parameters defined below: *Degree centrality*, an example of radial centrality, placing centrality from walks of length one; *Eigenvector centrality*, placing centrality from walks of infinite length; *Betweenness centrality*, an example of medial centrality, denoting the number of shortest paths which pass through the given vertex; *Closeness centrality*, the total geodesic distance from a given vertex to all other vertices.

4. The network representation of Slovenian visual artists

In Figure 1 we present results of the circular network representation of our sample. When clustering the artists by network characteristics (connectedness and centrality in all four senses), we obtain six large groups which are related to the general historical artistic movements (The Impressionists, The Modernists), historical time (The Old Masters), Slovenian-specific art scene (The 'Vesnans', The Layer's workshop), and, finally, genres and types of visual art (The 'Sculptors'). Some artists belonged to different groups at the same time (e.g. A. Karinger to The Old Masters; Al. Gangl to The Sculptors; most of 'The Sculptors' to 'The Modernists', some Vesnans also to Impressionists and reverse, etc.). Nevertheless, we consider the obtained groups very well match the actual positions of the artists in the existing Slovenian art history, which were explained in more detail in the previous section.

- **The Impressionists:** Edvard Wolf; Anton Karinger; Valentin Šubic; Pavle Šubic; Štefan Šubic; Rudolf Jakhel; Anton Ažbe; Pavle Šubic Jr.; Jurij Šubic; Janez Šubic Jr.; Janez Wolf; Janez starejši Šubic; Roza Sternen; Ivana Kobilca; Matej Sternen; Maks Koželj; Ferdo Vesel; Ljubo Ravnikar; Ksenija Prunk; Jurij Jurčič; Julij Lehmann; Anton Jebačin; Jožef Petkovšek; Simon Ogrin; Josip Macarol; Ivan Grohar; Rihard Jakopič; Janez Borovski; Peter Žmitek; Matija Jama; Matija Bradaška; Franc Rojec; Fran Zupan; Pavel Gustinčič; Zdenko Skalicky; Anica Zupanec-Sodnik; Mirko Šubic; Čoro Škodlar; Blaž Šubic; Anton Cej; Aleksander Roblek; Alojzij Šubic.
- **The Modernists:** Zvest Apollonio; Gabrijel Stupica; Walter Bianchi; Veno Pilon; Vladimir Stoviček; Ivan Kos; Božidar Jakac; Karla Bulovec; Vinko Turk; France Kralj; Gojmir Anton Kos; Marlenka Stupica; Marjan Vojska; Lucijan Bratuš; Maksim Sedej; Klavdij Ivan Zornik; Alojzij Šušmelj; Karel Zelenko; Marij Pregelj; Miha Maleš; Jakob Savinšek; Tinca Stegovec; Jože Trpin; Jean Vodaine / Vladimir Kavčič; Ive Šubic; Janez Sedej; Ivan Seljak; Francè Slana; Savo Sovrè; Anton Kralj; France Slana; France Ahčin; Franc Zupet; Anton Sigulin; Evgen Sajovic; Mara Kralj-Jerajeva.

Figure 1: Circular network representation of Slovenian visual artists



Source: Slovenska biografija.

- **The 'Vesnans':** Vladislav Pengov, Franc Sterle, Alojzij Repič, Celestin Mis, Viktor Birska, Luigi Spazzapan, Cvetko Ščuka, Valentin Kos, Saša Šantel, Rajko Šubic, plemenita Elza Kastl, Hinko Smrekar, Fran Tratnik, Julče Božič, Jože Srebrnič, Ivan Žnidarčič, Anton Sever, Maksim Gaspari, Janez Povirek, Ivan Varl, Ivan Sajevec, Anton Perko, Gvidon Birolla, Franc Klemenčič, Svitoslav Peruzzi, Alojzij Gangl, Matija Koželj, Gabriel Justin, Franc Mrčun, Elza, plemenita Obereigner.
- **The Old Masters:** Viljem Künl, Pavel Künl, Terezija Lipič, Matevž Langus, Jožefa Struss, Mihael Stroj, Jožef Jakob Tominc, Josip Batič, Francišek Caucig, Avgusta Šantel Jr., Jožef Ernst Tunner, Franc Kurz zum Thurn und Goldenstein, Josip Kogovšek, Janez Avguštin Puhar, Franc Pustavrh, Melita Rojic, Henrika Šantel, Henrika Langus, Ivan Frankè, Amalija Hermann von Hermannsthal, Alojzija Marija Jožefa Petrič.
- **The 'Sculptors':** Vlasta Zorko, Slavko Tihec, Zdenko Kalin, Boris Kalin, Karel Putrih, Marijan Tršar, Melita Vovk, Dušan Tršar, Janez Weiss, Janez Vidic, Gorazd Sotler, Francišek Smerdu, Marko Šuštaršič, Lojze Dolinar, Drago Tršar, Peter Loboda, Ciril Velepčič, Avgust Andrej Bucik.

- **The Layer's workshop:** Leopold Layer, Matej Goričnik, Anton Hayne, Jurij Miškovič, Janez Potočnik, Andrej Janez Herrlein, Josip Egartner, Jurij Tavčar, Ludovik Grilc, Jernej Jereb, Jakob Mikše, Gašpar Luka Goetzl, Franc Serafin Goetzl.

In Table 3, we also list some basic characteristics of the analysed network. There are seven connected components which could be an approximation for the number of clusters noted above. The graph density is very low, indicating a large number of very weakly connected vertices.

Table 3: Characteristics of the analysed network

Connected Components	7
Single-Vertex Connected Components	0
Maximum Vertices in a Connected Component	433
Maximum Edges in a Connected Component	453
Graph Density	0.0045
Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	9
Average Geodesic Distance	3.16

Source: Slovenska biografija.

In Tables 4 we see the rankings of the main central figures, according to degree, betweenness and eigenvector centrality parameters. The key figure in degree and betweenness centrality is Alojzij Repič, an academy sculptor, being the educator of many key figures in the visual arts of that time. Also, several key impressionist figures can be noted (to no surprise): Rihard Jakopič, Anton Ažbe, Matej Sternen, Ivan Grohar, Matija Jama and Ferdo Vesel. Furthermore, among the modernists, Gabrijel Stupica, Božidar Jakac and France Kralj stand out as key connected/connecting figures. Among the older artists, Janez Wolf is surely the key figure. Several 'Vesnans' are also on the list, most notably Saša Šantel and Hinko Smrekar. Finally, Leopold Layer, the leader of the noted workshop of the 19th century also stands out as one of the key figures.

Tables 4: Rankings of main central figures

Rank	Artist	Degree centrality	Rank	Artist	Betweenness centrality
1	Alojzij Repič	19	1	Alojzij Repič	3606.72
2	Rihard Jakopič	16	2	Rih. Jakopič	3509.46
3	Anton Ažbe	14	3	Saša Šantel	2574.43
4	Gabr. Stupica	14	4	Jurij Tavčar	2140.04
5	Janez Wolf	14	5	Mat. Sternen	2000.26
6	Saša Šantel	13	6	France Kralj	1924.99
7	France Kralj	12	7	Jos. Egartner	1629.00
8	Matej Sternen	12	8	Janez Wolf	1558.44
9	Božidar Jakac	11	9	Matej Langus	1515.87
10	Hink. Smrekar	11	10	Leop. Layer	1481.00

Rank	Artist	Eigenvector centrality
1	Rihard Jakopič	0.0406
2	Anton Ažbe	0.0399
3	Ivan Grohar	0.0301
4	Matej Sternen	0.0300
5	Janez Wolf	0.0251
6	Matija Jama	0.0235
7	Jurij Šubic	0.0230
8	Ferdo Vesel	0.0222
9	Alojzij Repič	0.0209
10	Janez Šubic Jr.	0.0203

Source: Slovenska biografija.

Next, we perform econometric testing to answer also to the question on the relationship between network centrality and productivity. To this end, we firstly use basic Poisson models, taking into account the apparent count nature of the productivity variable. The results of basic models are presented in Table 5, where we present marginal effects of the used independent variables to the level of productivity. The results show that women tend to have lower productivity, as expressed by word count of their biographies (this could also be a consequence of their under-representedness in the sample and/or of the prevailing discrimination to women artists throughout the 19th and 20th century). As compared to men, women tend to have on average approximately 100 words shorter biographies. The coefficient on age is significant and shows the expected

inverted (U-shaped) effect. In general, each additional year of age of the artist provides approximately 10 more words in his biography. Furthermore, those born in the 20th century tend to have on average approximately 100–180 more words in their biography. Furthermore, illustrators, sculptors, drawers and painters tend to be significantly more productive than other visual arts occupations. Finally, three of the four centrality parameters are strongly statistically significant and of the positive size. Due to their different construction it is hard to make any sensible conclusions on the basis of their marginal effects. On the other hand, the degree centrality has an ambivalent and insignificant effect to the productivity of the artist.

Table 5: Results of econometric testing

	Poisson regression - marginal effects			IV Poisson		
	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model I	Model II	Model III
Female	-101.371***	-136.326***	-93.212***	-0.196+	-0.183	-0.209*
Age	11.692***	10.306***	23.040***	0.034**	0.026	0.048***
Age square	-0.083***	-0.072***	-0.160***	-0.000*	0	-0.000**
Born 20th century	104.686***	131.188***	182.952***	0.230**	0.317**	0.362**
Multiple roles	33.154***	34.903***	68.530***	0.092+	0.054	0.124**
Illustrator	160.454***	174.013***	168.749***	0.399*	0.408*	0.403*
Sculptor	120.141***	136.054***	179.543***	0.419**	0.404**	0.424**
Drawer	343.875***	400.526***	326.040***	0.706**	0.728**	0.616*
Painter	171.555***	167.756***	137.786***	0.376***	0.352**	0.350**
Degree c.	60.050***			0.086*		
Betweenness c.		0.262***			0.001+	
Eigenvector c.			27566.950***			41.983+
N	214	214	214	214	214	214
Likelihood Ratio test	32201.29***	22822.04***	30831.06***			
Log Likelihood	-19684.7	-24374.3	-20369.8			
Pseudo R-square	0.4499	0.3189	0.4308			

Notes: Significance: ***1%; **5%; *10%; +15%.

Source: Slovenska biografija.

To this end, we use closeness centrality as an instrument to control for the possible effects of reverse causality. As it shows up, the closeness centrality is a valid (uncorrelated to the error terms of original regression) as well as a strong (strongly correlated to all other three centrality parameters) instrument. Using it as an instrument can provide a solution, improving the measures previously used by e.g. O'Hagan and Borowiecki (2010) and Borowiecki (2013), such as distance of the birth place to the place of living. The results below confirm the positive and (weakly) significant effect of the network centrality on artists' productivity even after controlling for the endogeneity. All three centrality parameters are in the level of significance of approximately 10%. This serves as another strong argument in the debate on the supposedly positive effects of networking on artists' productivity and also serves as a confirmatory answer to our second research question: networking/connectedness indeed positively affects artists' productivity, particularly related to the degree centrality.

Also, all the other control variables don't change in sign, although slightly lose in the level of significance.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In conclusion, let's briefly try to summarize the main findings. Firstly, we presented a theoretical overview of groups of Slovenian visual artists throughout the 19th and 20th century. We pointed to some initial groupings, with the predominant role of the impressionist movement of the end of the 19th century with several key figures. Secondly, we demonstrated the existence of six key 'empirical' groups of artists throughout the 19th and 20th century: The Impressionists; The Modernists; The 'Vesnans'; The Old Masters; The 'Sculptors'; The Layer's workshop. We also pointed to its key central figures, carrying the representatives of all six groups, with slight difference in regard to the measure of centrality under consideration. Finally, we estimated the effect of network centrality on artistic productivity, using a newly chosen instrumental variable to take into account the endogeneity in the model. We confirmed the positive effect of network centrality on artistic productivity, yet with a significantly lower effect in significance as is pointed out in some of the current literature. We also estimated the effects of confounding covariates, and found the negative effect for women, positive for age, positive for the 20th century birth occurrence and positive for several of the chosen occupations.

In finish let's point to some of the limitations of the study and questions for future research which can be mostly studied with the use of the same dataset. One obvious limitation is in the sample. Not only are we limited in the possibilities of the web-based database, also there is a real possibility of selection bias. The artists selected to be presented at the website of course represent only a small minority of the artists throughout history. The conclusions in our article, therefore, cannot hold in general, without verification on the full dataset of all artists: the successful and well known's as well as the less successful ones. Although we don't expect the main direction of the findings could change, there could be changes in the size and significance of the findings. Furthermore, we didn't take into account the 'spillovers' across sectors. The database of *Slovenska biografija* allows a rich perspective on networking across multiple disciplines, not just across the arts but across all other fields of the society. By this, we would be able to answer to another still open question in the literature waiting for a proper study and approach.

Finally, dataset could be extended in multiple other ways. We could include the data from other (printed) encyclopedias which would surely complement our dataset in significant ways. Also, we could include also the artists from previous centuries, which are not supported by sufficient data in the current web-based database. Finally, some galleries collect the data of all their exhibitions, cooperating artists, performance, etc. throughout history. We plan to collect such a database on a larger scale from one of Slovenian galleries and here lies another important pathway of future research. We hope that the approach developed in this article will provide a sufficient foundation for such endeavors in future.

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CHAPTER 2

'From the night and the light, all festivals are golden': The festivalization of culture in the late modernity^{1,2}

Paula Guerra

Abstract

Festivals have been stated as important forms of social and cultural participation. In the twenty-first century, all countries have been faced with a number of annual festivals, but also by diversifying the type of festivals, its location and its audiences. The festival model has expanded all over the world and became globalize. With this model emerged the so-called 'festivalization of culture'. Portugal was no different in this phenomenon. The main purpose of this chapter is to explore the Portuguese festival dynamics. These dynamics have the function of globalization coding, marketing and culture of media coverage, mobilizing thousands of actors on the supply side, in mediation and on the demand side. There are several elements that prove this in Portugal: unprecedented evolution in the number of festivals over the past two decades; the spread of festivals around the country, especially in its Atlantic coast and in metropolitan areas; the exponential increase of the *habitués*; the weight of the turnover of the festivals in the statement of accounts culture and cultural industries; the importance of festivals for the launch and projection of the bands; and, above all, the design of a new way of life in an environment marked by consumptions, appropriations and embodiments of practices, associated with experience and sociability of the festival.

¹ This chapter result of an intensive research carried out since 2005, anchored in three projects. The first, developed between 2005 and 2009, *Urban cultures and youth lifestyles: Scenery, sounds and aesthetic in contemporary Portuguese (SFRH / BD / 24614/2005)*, at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Porto (IS-UP), coordinated by the author of this article and funded by the Science and Technology Foundation (FCT). This project gave rise to the doctoral thesis *The unstable lightness of rock. Genesis, dynamics and consolidation of alternative rock in Portugal (1980-2010)*, which appears here referenced as Guerra, 2010. The second project, called *Urban polycentrism, knowledge and innovation dynamics (PTDC/CS-GEO/ 105476/2008)*, based in the Research Centre of Geography and Regional Planning (CEGOT), was developed between 2010 and 2013, and was funded by the FCT. The third project, still in progress, entitled *Portugal to the mirror: Identity and transformation in literature, film and popular music*, is led by the IS-UP and funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (FCG) under the Program Gulbenkian Portuguese Language and Culture (PGLCP). For further developments, see Guerra, 2016.

² The publication of this article was supported by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (Foundation for Science and Technology), within the scope of UID/SOC/00727/2013.

1. Festivals: origins and meanings

Historically, the festivals have been stated as important forms of social and cultural participation, celebration of space-time and sharing (values, ideologies, mythologies and beliefs), crucial for the structure of communities and society. In anthropological literature, the festival is a public ritual of interpretation; a real 'carnivalization' in which the community members participate (re)affirming and celebrating social ties (religious, ethnic, national, linguistic and historical), a relationship between the ontogenesis of the prevailing values and their projection in the societal future (Bennett, Taylor & Woodward, 2014). In contemporary society, the festival has the same meaning, but deployed in a number of proposals — particularly the expression of cultural identities and lifestyles (Bennett, 2004; Bennett, Taylor & Woodward, 2014; McKay, 2000).

Nowadays, after Woodstock³, the music festival has a similar function, reflecting an expression of identities and the lifestyle of young people (although not restricted to). In the current scenery of fragmentation of musical contexts, especially as a result of technological advances, the festival hold forth criteria about as dominant and unifying the assessment / certification of commercial success and audience. As shown in previous international researches, festivals thus represent the expression of a dynamic tension (fragmentation against globalization, mobility vs. community, belonging vs. anonymity) in the identity and cultural construction in the twenty-first century. We can say that currently the festival is like a 'totemic point', providing the physical experience and carnal, music, dance, food, clothing, drink, sun, beach, forest, land, mud... According to Purdue *et al.*, that are "somatic multisensory globalization" (1997: 662).

Festival is an "emancipatory structure" (Purdue *et al.*, 1997). As a result of cultural and identity fragmentation, festival has emerged as a response to mobility processes and to the cultural globalization. Most of the festivals are a synthesis of duality represented by the local and the global in a changing context: it's a conciliation between maintenance and vertigo (Bertho, 2009). Thus, the festival is a potential representation of space-time. In the twenty-first century, all countries have been faced with a series of annual festivals, but also by diversifying the type of festivals, its location and its audiences (Fouccroulle,

³ Woodstock Music & Art Fair (commonly known as Woodstock and Woodstock Festival) was a music festival held in 1969 in New York. This festival was associated with the end of the counterculture of the 1960s and early 70s, which flocked about 400 thousand people (cf. Bennett, 2004; Laing, 2004).

2009). The festivals also become economically attractive to both the consumer and for the testing of culture. Festivals are a significant feature of the socio-economic and cultural landscape of contemporary everyday life. That is our focus here: to interpret the social, economic, territorial and cultural impacts of the Festival making a provision for a fundamental matrix of identity restructuring, particularly in the field of youth cultures.

Figures 1: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

In synthesis, music festivals take place in a short time (can go up to a week) under an intense schedule of concerts (several hours of uninterrupted presentation of musical projects, where the performances take place simultaneously in three or more stages) which are oriented to the dissemination of specific musical projects, and may be accompanied by workshops programs, lectures, book signings, sports, beauty contests and other performances. In the case of 'major events', the diversity of (sub)genres is bigger and it is essential to attract the most diverse audience. Generally, also occur in the summer. In other words, this type of event shows the flexibility of artistic and playful designs, a

spatial intensity and considerable time and a vehement impact on the territory and the society in which they occur (Abreu, 2004: 166).

It is worth exploring a little more socio-cultural impact levels. This type of event can have an effect at the internal level (the event itself), at a local level (in space — county and city where they perform) and programming of similar events, reflecting on two other levels: (1) at an endogenous level, the repercussions can focus on strengthening innovative activities with regard to music production, dissemination of new projects in the public loyalty or their inter-municipal enlargement, regional, national or international; and (2) at an exogenous level, it can have effects on the communities, in their local economy and the development of training programs related to sound, light, image, or even getting structures for artists and equipment rental (Guerra, 2010).

Figures 2: Savages Performance in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

In just over 40 years, music festivals have played a decisive role in many plans: (i) the festivals explore and integrate space, associated with the production, intermediation, the joy, for the recovery of the music industry; (ii) the festivals as an artistic tension of spaces and aesthetics, between the mass

market and the underground market, as spaces of different music scenes; (iii) the festivals are a local development factor and pleasure logics associated with well-being and quality of life and local / global coordination; (iv) the festivals are key elements of the local and cultural development policies.

2. The summer festivals in Portugal

The first music festival in Portugal dated 1968 and was called (until present) Festival Vilar de Mouros. It was created in 1965 by Antonio Barge and had as main objective the diffusion of popular music of the Alto Minho and Galicia, which made the village Vilar de Mouros a tourist destination. In its first edition, in addition to the band of the National Guard, the Fado and the protest song, the Festival was marked by names as Zeca Afonso, Carlos Paredes, Luis Goes, Adriano Correia de Oliveira, Quintet Academic, Shegundo Galarza and some folklore groups (Zamith, 2003). It would be in the year 1971 that the (real) first edition of Festival Vilar de Mouros as an international festival was held, becoming the largest festival in the country. Despite the restrictions imposed by Dictatorship⁴, on weekends between 31 July and 15 August 1971, about 20.000 people (unofficial numbers), from various places in the country and Europe, attended to the performances of Elton John and Manfred Mann⁵.

Although it was considered the Portuguese Woodstock, given the freedom of expression experienced there, only after 11 years, in 1982, the second edition of the festival took place, which has maintained and consolidated the presentation

⁴ This Portuguese historical period is also known as the 'Estado Novo' (New State). It is the name of the authoritarian political regime, autocratic and corporatist state that prevailed in Portugal for 41 years without interruption, since the adoption of the Constitution of 1933 until his overthrow by 25 April 1974. The New State Revolution (1933 -1974) was an authoritarian regime, conservative, nationalist, fascist-inspired state corporatist, partly Catholic and traditionalist, the illiberal nature, anti-parliamentarian, anti-communist, and colonialist, in force in Portugal under the Second Republic. The regime created its own state structure and a repressive apparatus (PIDE, penal colonies for political prisoners, etc.) characteristic of so-called police states, relying on censorship, the propaganda, the paramilitary organizations (Portuguese Legion), organizations youth (Portuguese youth), the cult of the leader and the Catholic Church.

⁵ Although it has been a milestone for the village and the history of music in Portugal, like Woodstock, the Festival Vilar de Mouros also meant a great loss for the organization. The church has positioned itself against the event, asking parents not to let their children go to the festival. The members of organization, which works as a family, were 'excommunicated' (Zamith, 2003).

of a wide variety of music genres, with national and international jazz, rock, blues, fado, folklore and classical music groups (Zamith, 2003). In fact, the Festival Vilar de Mouros marked and highlighted the emergence of a true rock culture in Portugal. António Duarte, synthesizes this in the following words: "I realize the importance of this festival was the gradual birth of a rock culture in Portugal and in the passage of a state of 'rock barbarism' to a new era of musical creation, directed not only for the adolescents but also for concerts they hear with their ears and eyes" (Duarte, 1984: 51–52). After this second edition, only in 1990, the festival took place again, with editions in 1996 and 1999. From this year until 2006, when it celebrated the 35th anniversary of the first Vilar de Mouros, the festival became organized on an annual basis, with national and international names, especially in the rock sphere. However, changes in the organization dictated an interval of eight years, which made that a new edition of the festival happen again only in 2014, organized now by the Foundation AMA Autism, by the Municipalities of Caminha and Vilar de Mouros.

Figures 3: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



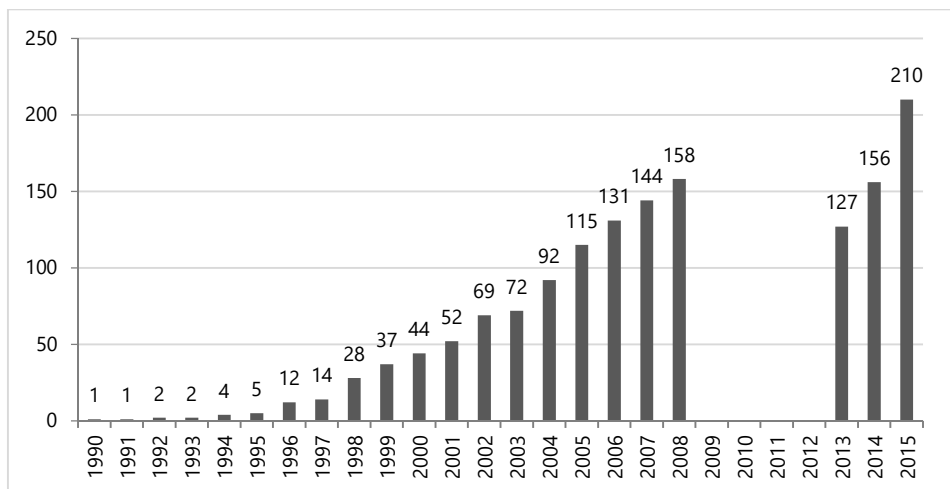
Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

After the Festival Vilar de Mouros, and especially from the late 1990s (post-Expo'98), there has been a proliferation of music festivals. Nowadays, Portugal is include on the international routes (Figure 4). Since the summer of 1998, with the achievement of the second Sudoeste Festival, the festivals are considered mega events (Ferreira, 1998, 2002; Costa & Santos, 1999).

Several factors combine to explain this trend. First, it should be noted the dynamism of the various promoters of events, which have increased in number and walked towards greater sophistication of technical, logistic and transport, which contributes greatly to the success of the initiatives they promote. Second,

one must highlight the effort operated by these organizations to maintain and/or to reduce the price of event tickets that promote, particularly in the summer festivals, which allows greater influx of audiences. Third, it is possible to note that the political powers (including local authorities) are more aware of the potential that music festivals represent to the region where they place, being decisive with regard to contribution with logistical, technical and financial resources for put into effect. This type of events and especially the large-scale festivals are seen as true local economic development factors (Guerra, 2013).

Figure 4: Evolution of the number of festivals over the last two decades in Portugal (1990–2015)

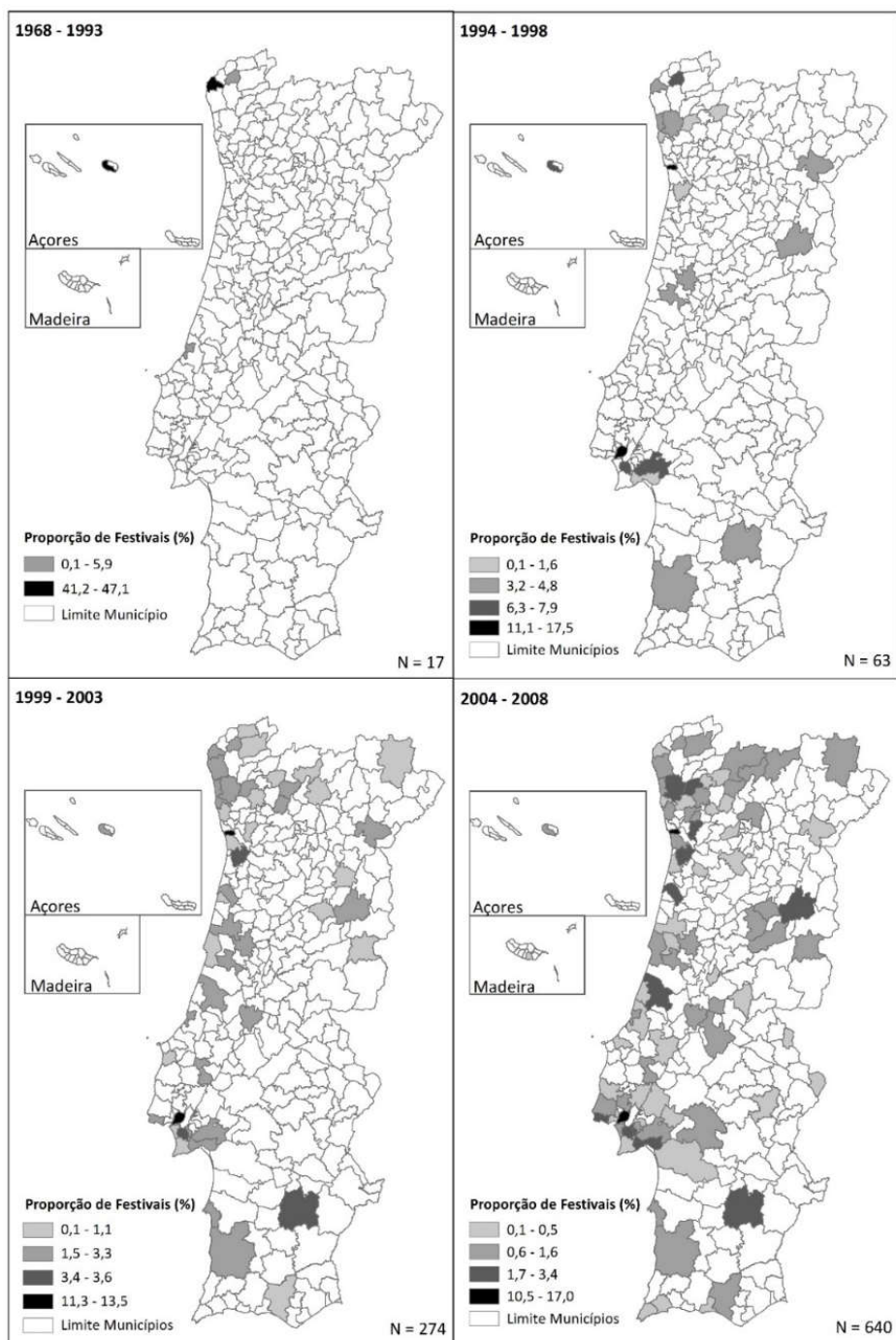


Note: There is no data information about the number of Portuguese festivals between 2009 and 2012.

Source: Guerra, 2010; APORFEST, 2014, 2015.

While the number of festivals increases, growth the number of places where such events take place. Figure 5 shows the evolution of the number of municipalities that are held festivals, being notorious concentration of events in the cities of Lisbon and Porto, as well as a predominance of this type of events along the coastal strip of the country (see Table 1). Thus, the festivals have been associated with urban and territorial marketing strategies in recent decades, assuming increasing importance in socio-economic development strategies of cities and regions (Guerra, 2015).

Figure 5. Evolution of the number of festivals (editions) by municipality in Portugal (1968–2008)



Source: Guerra, 2010.

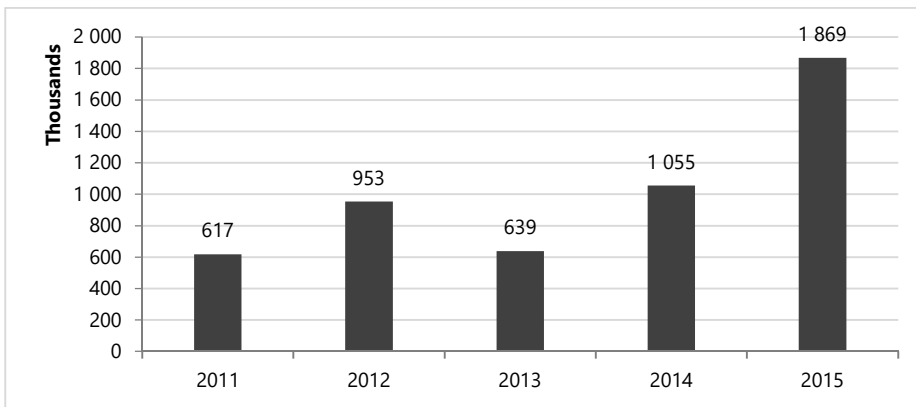
Table 1: Identification of municipalities with more festivals per year interval (1968–2008)

1968–1993			1994–1998			1999–2003			2004–2008		
County	No.	%	County	No.	%	County	No.	%	County	No.	%
Caminha	8	47,1	Porto	11	17,5	Lisbon	37	13,5	Lisbon	109	17,0
Angra do Heroísmo	7	41,2	Lisbon	7	11,1	Porto	31	11,3	Porto	67	10,5
Nazaré	1	5,9	Angra do Heroísmo	5	7,9	Seixal	10	3,6	Santa Maria da Feira	22	3,4
Paredes de Coura	1	5,9	Paredes de Coura	5	7,9	Beja	10	3,6	Leiria	22	3,4
			Seixal	4	6,3	Santa Maria da Feira	10	3,6	Cascais	17	2,7
			Palmela	4	6,3	Angra do Heroísmo	9	3,3	Barreiro	15	2,3
			Caminha	3	4,8	Coimbra	7	2,6	Aveiro	14	2,2
			Esposende	3	4,8	Leiria	7	2,6	Barcelos	13	2,0
			Odemira	3	4,8	Aveiro	7	2,6	Seixal	12	1,9
			Torre de Moncorvo	3	4,8	Palmela	6	2,2	Beja	12	1,9
						Setúbal	6	2,2	Setúbal	12	1,9
						Cascais	6	2,2			

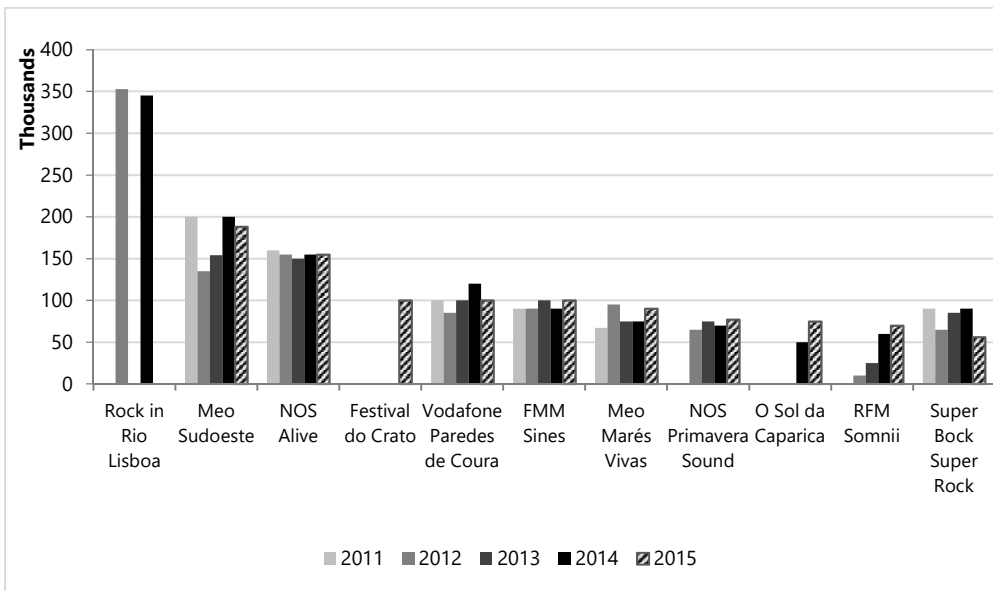
Source: Guerra, 2010.

Therefore, music festivals have become increasingly important in Portugal and this is reflected in the increased participation and audiences: in 2011, 617.000 spectators were recorded in all festivals held in the country; in 2015, that number grew to 1.806.000 spectators (Figure 6), assuming relevance the festivals Southwest, Alive, Crato, Paredes de Coura, FMM Sines, MEO Marés Vivas, Primavera Sound, Sol da Caparica, RFM and Super Bock Super Rock (Figure 7).

The Festivals represented in Figure 7 were the most frequented festivals in 2015 (except for the Rock in Rio Festival, which was not held in 2015 due to its bi-annual character, but which has the highest audiences in 2012 and 2014).

Figure 6: Evolution of the number of visitors of festivals in Portugal (2011–2015)

Source: APORFEST, 2015; Blitz, 2014.

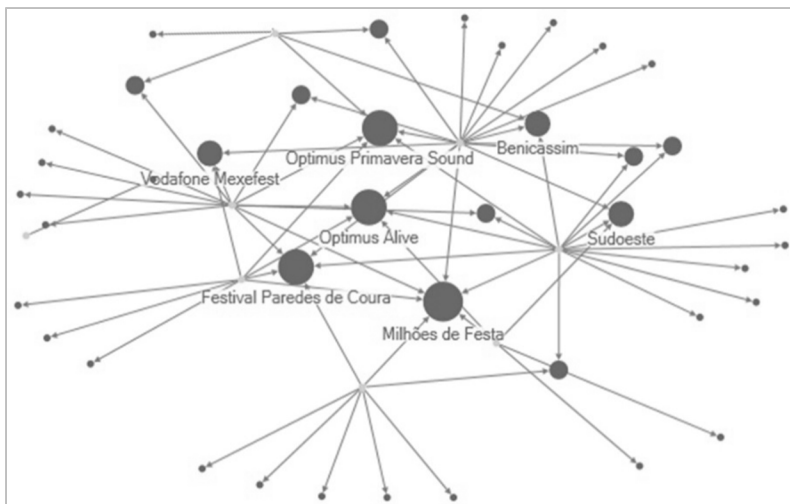
Figure 7: Evolution of the number of attendees by festival (2011–2015)

Source: APORFEST, 2015; Blitz 2014.

Festivals are seen as sociability spaces, discovery spaces, sharing spaces ways of being face to music. It is therefore highly valued by their audiences, which seek to perpetuate the feelings triggered in festivals; not only be present in the various editions of the same festival as well as make your own 'roadmap festivals' (national and international). At this level, it is important to remember

an exercise done at 50 festival-goers at Primavera Sound in 2014 (Figure 8). This exercise shows us not only the preferences in terms of festivals, but the existence of a 'summer festivals frequency circuit' composed of Milhões de Festa, Alive, Primavera Sound, Paredes de Coura, Mexefest, Sudoeste and International Festival Benicassim (Spain). Thus, festival-goers already have a script of festivals, starting in the winter with Mexefest and ending in the August in Spain. Exponentials ownership of festivals as leisure and musical enjoyment, but also its relevance as privileged places of everyday interaction beyond the spheres of work and study. In fact, today we are witnessing a growing phenomenon of *The Festivalization of Culture* (Bennett, Taylor & Woodward, 2014) which is characterized not only by its global character (and almost despotic) in terms of frequency privilege of artistic and cultural practices, but also for its deep variety and diversity, covering the most diverse artistic fields, cultural, recreational and creative in increasingly broad sense.

Figure 8: Festivals circuit of frequency in 2014



Source: Urban Polycentrism, 2014.

Thus, the festival mobilizes a set of networks. Festival organizers create a multiplicity of relationships that may include other festivals, municipalities, tourist accommodations, promoters, managers, record stores, shopping centres, sponsors, sound and image businesses, restaurants, transport and telecommunications. The "community music festivals" (Duffy, 2000) results from

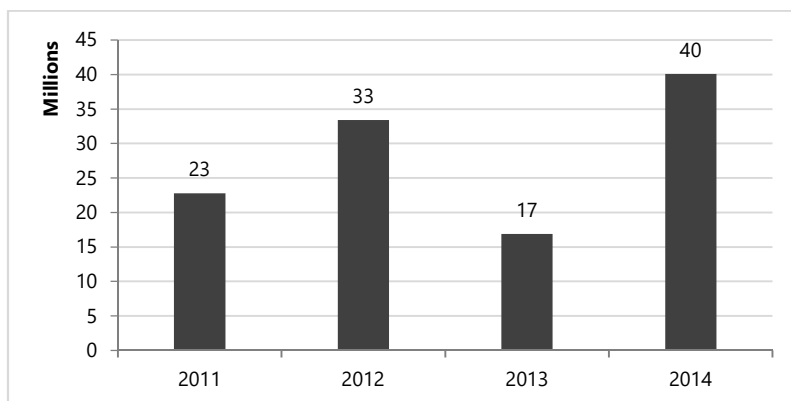
the demand and supply and highlights the profound differences with the traditional form of cultural and artistic program, creating a more monolithic and specialized profile.

The turnover achieved by the festivals is also a sign of the economic importance of the festivals have been taking in the Portuguese context even in a context of financial crisis. As showed at Figure 9, festivals has increased in recent years, reaching in 2014 a total of around EUR 40 million (Cordeiro, 2015)⁶. The fact that important music names are been associated with big brands — particularly telecommunications companies — contribute to a strong economic and sustainability component. In fact, the regulars festivals tend to 'create communities of individuals' linked to the consumption of a particular brand. See the cases of Super Bock and NOS (formerly Optimus) at national level. Cummings⁷ argues that the new tribes develop their self-identification and connection to the community through their consumption practices, "especially in relation to music, taste and style, and imaginary vehicle individual self-definition" (Cummings, 2007a). In this identification, the use of clothing, hats and artefacts linked to brands that are the festivals' sponsors appears as an aesthetic factor and aggregator of communities installed at festivals. Hence the interest of the observation made by McKay, concerning the Glastonbury Festival, when he points out that the increasing commodification of festivals is required to pass a 'radical' for an 'alternative standard' (McKay, 2000, 2015).

⁶ It is important to recognize the economic importance of summer festivals, setting one of the most dynamic aspects of the cultural economy of assets a bit throughout Europe. Examples are many: the Edinburgh Festival recorded an revenue of about 120 million pounds and sells about 1 million tickets per year; the Festival Les Vieilles Charrues (Brittany) enrolled him an annual turnover of 5 million euros (KEA, 2006). Although we are unable to determine the economic impacts of the Southwest Festival, it is possible, by way of example, to identify the key clashes: facilitated the coming of not supportable projects economically in other contexts (e.g. the performance of Daft Punk in 2006.); It enabled a more democratized access to certain musical projects; increased parallel business activities to music as food and logistics stages; allowed an intensity of the local economy around the catering and accommodation (Guerra, 2010).

⁷ In this context, it is very interesting the study presented by Cummings about the American Vans Warped. This tour is associated with punk music and skateboarding, so is located in an underground level and an even (sub)cultural niche, musically speaking. However, this event is designated by the name of a brand of sneakers, which shows a contradiction irresolvable being the underground token resistance and the need for sustainability based on a media and commercial mainstream of American society (Cummings, 2008).

Figure 9: Evolution of the festivals' turnover in Portugal (2011–2014, in euros)



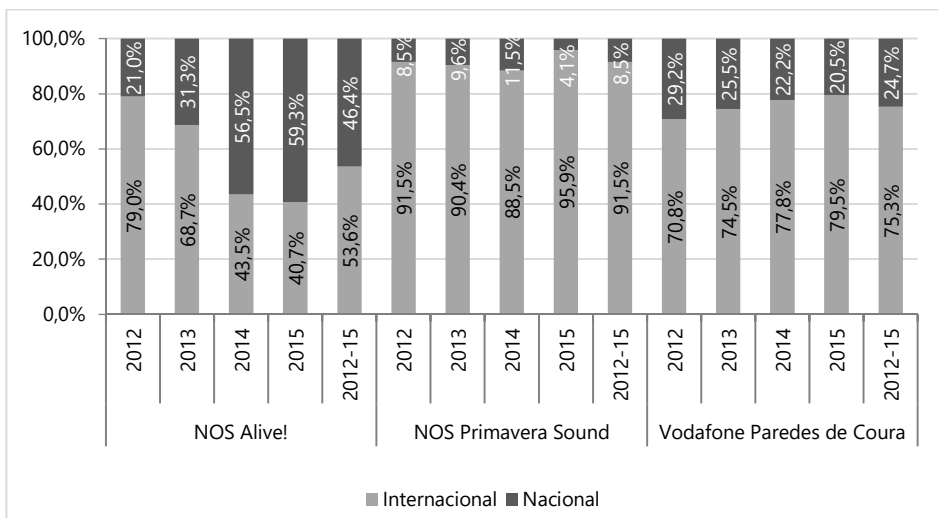
Source: Blitz, 2014.

At the same time, the music festivals in Portugal are assumed to be important channels of musical evolution, being the promoters of festivals among the key Portuguese music scene agents. The participation of a band (namely, emerging projects) in a medium or big scale festival is recognized as a major factor for its public dissemination, which can increase the national projects exposure. In addition, there is a general understanding that the festivals are stages of excellence to a more alternative music consumption and independent and often provide a unique opportunity to see certain bands in the country (Guerra, 2010). Figure 10 shows the evolution of the proportion of national and international artists over the past few years, three major festivals in Portugal: Primavera Sound, Paredes de Coura and Alive.

According to currently available data, the three festivals have a very international profile, despite having a different performance: the Primavera Sound festival was characterized by a greater number of international artists, with no significant fluctuations in their values in different years considered for analysis; the Paredes de Coura Festival followed this trend, although here the proportion of Portuguese artists reaches almost a quarter of its total artists; in Alive Festival, despite having presented in 2011 a proportion of national artists that not even reach one quarter of its artists, showed a positive trend in the number of these artists (in 2015, the proportion of Portuguese artists in all the artists was 40, 7%). It is particularly important to place the calendar of festivals and its cosmopolitan expansions. The problem of the evanescent meaning of cosmopolitanism in late modernity was placed in a very interesting way to

Vertovec and Cohen (2002). Thus, the authors proposed that cosmopolitanism is related to the socio-cultural conditions of the subject and its connection with a kind of philosophy and worldview; the same authors put into perspective cosmopolitanism as a political project of recognition of multiple identities. But it is especially the emphasis they give to cosmopolitanism as an orientation attitude or disposition and a practice or competence that interests us here (Skrbiš & Woodward, 2007). So cosmopolitanism focuses on the emergence of cosmopolitan conditions that include the expression of identity, lifestyles, political projects, empathy with different cultures and value systems, the different mobilities, setting a global connectivity scenario (Rovisco & Nowicka, 2011). And the line ups of the summer festivals seem to be actually a proven set of cosmopolitanism at national level. Beck's appeal (2004) for a new grammar of social sciences, able to question dichotomous categories (east/west, local/global, internal/external, us/them) must therefore be understood as an attempt to map the 'new' cultural phenomena — such as cultural hybridization, economic globalization and mobility conditions.

Figure 10: Proportion of artists/ bands that have worked in US festivals Alive!, NOS Primavera Sound and Vodafone Paredes de Coura by nationality (2012–2015)



Source: Portugal ao Espelho [Portugal to the mirror], 2015.

Figures 11: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

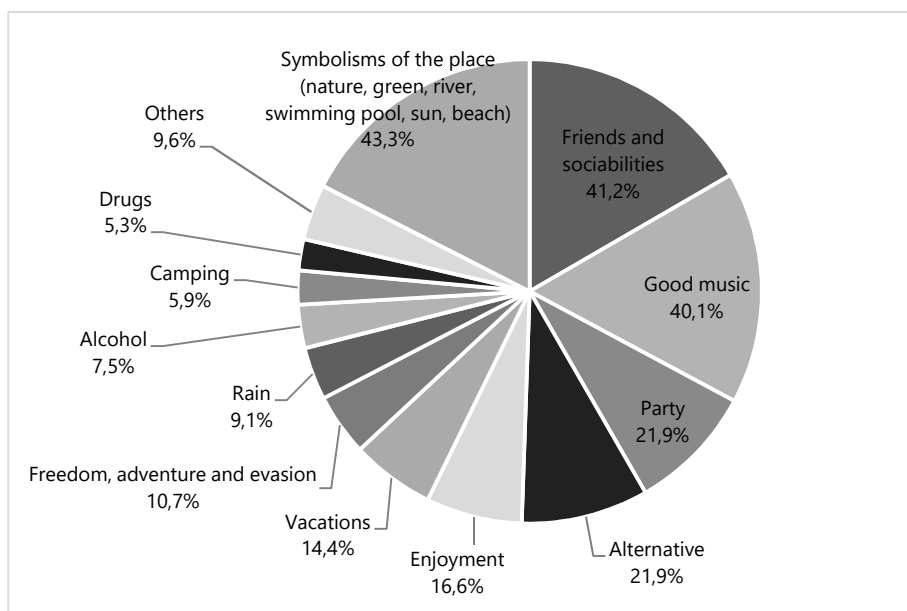
3. Summer Festivals, crossing sounds and identities

For all its content, music festivals that took place today in Portugal have a strong impact on the construction of identity (especially if we take into account the increasing participation of young people), consumption and 'modern' ways of cultural appropriation. If we consider the social character of the music — that is, that music is "socially constructed, socially integrated, their nature and value are inherently social" (Larsen & O'Reilly, 2005: 3) — we can realize the importance of festivals music are lining up, especially in terms of consumption and musical enjoyment. Since the music is socially constructed, music festivals to be seen as times when people give collective meaning to sounds, transforming them into 'relevant music', which will influence the creation, consumption and musical enjoyment. Also, if music plays important social functions, which are reflected in the construction of social identity, the relationships that are developed and how they are organized (if you take the example of emergency subcultural groups), also festivals (such as moments of collective consumption of music) are possible scenarios of these functions. To understand the connections between the local and the music, Sarah Cohen suggests using the concept of 'musical paths', a notion that encompasses many participants created links between a group and that gives a sense of belonging, based on a track sound (Cohen, 1993: 128). This connection is not necessarily to a particular place, although participants speak in these terms, but the musical performance and social music experience in a particular place, materializes the development of musical performances that

take place in the lists of the best concerts of the best songs shared by festival-goers⁸.

Today, festivals tend to become a real way of life — the way of life ‘Festival Goer’ — as if it were a complete ritual. Thus, alongside the music, the symbolic place and sociability are both the most important meanings of the festival to festival-goers (Figure 12). Music festivals are assumed to be social areas, discovery spaces, spaces of exhibition and self-affirmation, sharing spaces of lifestyles concerning music. They are therefore highly valued by its public moments, trying to value the feelings triggered by festivals, not only attending

Figure 12: Meanings associated with the festivals for their regulars (August 2012, N = 187)



Note: The data refer to the festivals Milhões de Festa and Paredes de Coura Festival. The survey was conducted to 187 people.

Source: Urban Polycentrism, 2013.

⁸ The 2005 edition of Paredes de Coura Festival in which acted for the first time in Portugal, the Arcade Fire was in memory of all who were there and amplified with the media records, “Oh, Paredes de Coura... The defect can be ours, of course, have seen anything of epiphany order in the middle of an afternoon of July (or August, or whatever it was, was five years ago, and this afternoon we were hopelessly older, and when we are more old memory, ah, memory, where it already goes), but we are not alone in this” (Nadaís, 2010).

the various editions of the same festival, as well as developing its own 'festival script.' So they can have on important component parties of the modern lifestyle, urban, young and experienced, and also areas of 'total consumption', which are discussed in the different spheres of social reproduction (Cummings, 2006, 2007a, 2007b). The socialization at the festival allow us to reflect on the notion of 'regime of exception' — of runaway (exception) planned and organized (system). The deviation (systematically) scheduled — the festival program is a non-program ('Do nothing', 'I came to relax'), which states (program) some behaviours that spread the 'right to laziness'.

Therefore, music festivals are spaces that promote the creation, mediation, musical enjoyment; they are complete observatories, which reflect artistic and cultural practices, and represent the values of youth in contemporary Portugal. This is particularly important to situate ourselves in the sphere of "aesthetic cosmopolitanism" (Beck, 2011). This cosmopolitanism means an aesthetic capacity, emotional and cultural experience of pleasure through consumption and participation in cultural flows. Undoubtedly, the music festivals were allowing this cosmopolitan experience to grow at a fast pace and is distinguished by the diversity of supply. This diversity is characterized by the diversity of the bands that make up the line ups of several Portuguese festivals (bands of different alternative music (sub) genres, see Table 2), the search for public internationalization. But alongside these influences, the Portuguese music festivals are also based on a logical basis, characterized by local identity and positioning in relation to other festivals, including the international market.

The festivals' areas have come to assert itself as small towns or transitional cities, which do converge in space all that is essential to the experience and appropriation of life and music until the close of festival, providing the fullest possible experience for audiences. Music, common denominator and dominant element, is offered in different stages: the main stage and the secondary stage (usually the name of the main sponsors); a stage with more electronic sounds and danceable, with a detailed program to more late hours; and sometimes a stage for the more alternative projects and possibly less known but which recognizes high quality and potential. Music is also present at the commercial level, through the stores that sell CDs and vinyl, books related to music, in addition to t-shirts and patches with the names of bands. But attending summer festivals is much more than simple musical enjoyment. It is an overall experience which includes innumerable moments of sociability and consumption of a

lifestyle, where music, but it is also an entire aesthetic dimension and conviviality, which assumes a massive centrality in the attendance of summer festivals.

Table 2: Identification of the 16 most prevalent genres among the artists performing at festivals Alive!, Primavera Sound and Paredes de Coura (2012–2015)

	NOS Alive!			NOS Primavera Sound			Vodafone Paredes de Coura			Total		
	Subgenres	No.	%	Subgenres	No.	%	Subgenres	No.	%	Subgenres	No.	%
1	Indie Rock	57	14,5	Indie Rock	72	33,8	Indie Rock	64	37,6	Indie Rock	193	24,8
2	Electronic	37	9,4	Electronic	30	14,1	Alternative Dance	41	24,1	Alternative Dance	70	9,0
3	Indie Folk	33	8,4	Experimental	9	4,2	Garage Rock	32	18,8	Indie Folk	59	7,6
4	Experimental	23	5,8	Alternative Dance	9	4,2	Alternative Rock	26	15,3	Electronic	52	6,7
5	House	23	5,8	Folk	8	3,8	Folk	25	14,7	Folk	46	5,9
6	Post Punk	22	5,6	Synthpop	8	3,8	Synthpop	23	13,5	Garage Rock	41	5,3
7	Indie Pop	21	5,3	Post Hardcore	7	3,3	Folktronic	22	12,9	Alternative Rock	38	4,9
8	Alternative Dance	20	5,1	Shoegaze	6	2,8	Indie Folk	21	12,4	Experimental	38	4,9
9	New Wave	20	5,1	Rock	6	2,8	Electronic Rock	19	11,2	Synthpop	36	4,6
10	Soul	17	4,3	Indie	6	2,8	Electro House	18	10,6	Post Punk	36	4,6
11	Post Punk Revival	15	3,8	Indie Folk	5	2,3	Folk Rock	18	10,6	Electro House	34	4,4
12	Folk	13	3,3	Dream Pop	5	2,3	Psychedelic Rock	18	10,6	Indie Pop	33	4,2
13	Hip Hop	13	3,3	Folktronica	5	2,3	Post Punk	14	8,2	Electronic Rock	31	4,0
14	Post Dubstep	13	3,3	Post Rock	5	2,3	Punk Rock	12	7,1	Folktronic	29	3,7
15	Electro House	12	3,0	Post Punk	5	2,3	Shoegazing	11	6,5	House	26	3,3
16	Alternative Rock	11	2,8	Psychedelic Rock	5	2,3	Noise Rock	11	6,5	Psychedelic Rock	25	3,2

Note: The analysis of the line ups of the bands' musical (sub)genres of bands resulted in a total of 205. For demonstration here only we reference 16 (sub)genres. Note also that each band, artist or project could belong to more than one (sub) genre.

Source: Portugal ao Espelho [Portugal to the mirror], 2015.

As an example, since 2010 the Festival Alive! has had a strong bet a total concept. In addition to the five stages, with a wide musical offer, the last two editions also contemplated a stage dedicated to stand-up comedy, which highlighted some of the most recognized comedians on the national scene.

Thus, it is possible to merge the concerts with moments of humour, a space filled with beanbags, which give the festival a more relaxed space. Another example at the festival was the area dedicated to street art and see the work (or the intervention result) of some highlighted national names in street art, challenged to present seven different looks of the tree that makes up the festival symbol, which refers to the concept and the festival's own name: alive — live — live music.

Considering the artistic offer provided by this type of event, it is reflected in the way the defining features of contemporary Portuguese identity are manifested in music festivals. Such an exercise is inseparable from reflection on the impact of the economic and social crisis period lived in Portugal during the intervention of the International Monetary Fund. To be more precise, after this period of austerity, mention the Portuguese identity implies mention the concerns of this social and economic context as specific, which, in turn, take shape in the artistic expressions of various Portuguese artists. Thus, the ethnographic observation held at Primavera Sound, the Alive! and Paredes de Coura in 2015, highlighted the explicit manifestations of the social context that is currently living in Portugal and its influence on artistic creation. Therefore, music can serve as a fundamental instrument of social struggle as a conscious vehicle of complaint.

Bearing in mind as an example, let's focus on the Primavera Sound Festival and Manel Cruz with his latest project, *Estação de Serviço*. The Porto-based musician, composer and singer joins António Serginho, Nico Tricot and Eduardo Silva to visit themes from the past (previous projects, except *Ornatos Violeta*), giving them new clothes, a voice format, guitar, banjo, percussion, melody and bass. Basically, this new project seems to work as an experimental space in which old and some new themes are 'tested' in a minimal version in terms of musical arrangements. We can note here some approaches and rhymes with an aesthetic associated with a particular Portuguese nationality. The concert at the Primavera Sound was therefore a combination of past, present and what could be the future. *Ovo* is by far the best known song of this new project and its letter contains clear austerity references policies in Portugal, as well as a message of encouragement to action, non-compliance with the delay of the situation denounced. Among the letter, come to expressions like "Our people can stay, but I do not know how long" or "no one has to face washed, all played in shit / But I'm willing to change it, I'm not willing to committed" which can be associated with a critical perspective against the economic and social

consequences of austerity measures imposed in recent years in Portugal. Incidentally, and corroborating the connection of this music to a social protest logic, political and economic, it is noteworthy that was first presented in Porto, a demonstration against the Troika in 2012. In the same line can be interpreted the presence of Capicua in Alive! Festival. As usual, their performance on stage left clearly the discourse that shows the identification in a generation. A generation in their thirties, educated and urban, who built scenarios that made projects, which created expectations of a future that is now uncertain. At the Passeio de Algés, in Lisbon, Capicua had the cooperation of the Knave rapper, also known for his lyrics with a strong of social and political criticism component, perhaps connected to its own way of life, as a child born in São Tomé, currently living in Damaia, one of the most stigmatized suburbs of Lisbon.

Figures 13: Sociabilities in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

4. The inevitability of cosmopolitan Festivalization of culture

Following the comprehensive approach of dialogue between social context and artistic creation, let us pause now in the realm of demand, thinking about the identities of the public who attend these events. At this level and following the trend for cosmopolitanism and openness detected on the supply side, we find the results of a growing investment of festivals in the internationalization of the audiences. Thus, according to data from the production of events, the 2015 edition of the Primavera Sound had 40 different nationalities of those who attended the three days of concerts; Alive! had a percentage of 30% of foreigners among those who attended the promenade in Algés; and Paredes de Coura Festival presented a 20% share of international audience.

Alongside this internationalization of the audiences, we return to be confronted with signs of fusion between the global and the local, this time in the form of presentation of the 'self.' Indeed, on the one hand, it was possible to identify a pattern of presentation of the 'self', relatively homogeneous, driven by globalization and standardization of stores, where supply tends to be the same, no matter the geographic coordinates considered. But, on the other hand, a logical feature of local identity stood out, especially among the female audience with aspects aesthetically associated with representations of Portuguese identity, such as scarves with tile patterns, swallows images or other Bordalo reasons rooted in now vintage Portuguese tradition. We also highlight the value of local gourmet products, such as the typical fish (sardines), or Beirão liqueur.

The development of aesthetic styles provides an explanation of itself. The heterogeneity of the clothes, props and artefacts are a common value. The aesthetic function is assumed as a main axis (another form of space ownership). It is a sign of presence (presence, in the double sense of 'putting a signature' — the name, the surname, the name of the 'land'). It is also a positive sign of presence: 'I am here', 'John was here'. A sign that means taking possession of the space, make it 'place': note the presence (finding its place, put your name, favourite band, etc.) and make it a place, a space (humanize it, give it meaning) (Škrbiš & Woodward, 2007: 734).

Regarding the size of the audiences, the ethnographic observation allowed us to identify another trait that seems to be characteristic of contemporary Portuguese identity, and especially the youth identity — the centrality of leisure founded in music. Thus, considering this was a period marked by unemployment, loss of economic power of households and general economic difficulties, we had the expectation of a negative impact on the sale of tickets for such events. But it did not. Instead, festivals Alive! and Paredes de Coura, among others, saw sold out. It is important to note that most people who attended in these festivals were Portuguese. This leads us to assume increasing importance of leisure, and in this case the pleasure associated with music appreciation, the configuration of youth identities, similar to what happened in other contexts.

Some authors argue that cosmopolitanism refers to the cultural status of citizenship, and as such, refers to issues of identity, community and belonging in a globalized world (Kendall, Woodward & Škrbiš, 2009). In fact, the ethnographic observation performed at festivals Primavera Sound, Alive! and

Paredes de Coura showed the assumption music festivals as an 'holiday program' for many young people. Go to music festivals may be an option (most economical) for the holidays, which is at the same time the possibility to socialize with friends and be an alternative to everyday reality. The music comes as a provider of sociability, as a common denominator of leisure, cultural consumption and social relations (Newbold *et al.*, 2015).

However, emerging as enhancer element does not mean it is immune to the devaluation. In the case of the very organization of festivals, the devaluation of music is reflected in the transformation into a kind of 'amusement park' filled with various stands, with promoted hobbies through event sponsorship marks, which can serve as distracting elements, attracting many visitors' festivals, even during the concert period. The leisure assumes a central place, and contributes to the formation of identity, as already mentioned above.

Figures 14: Interaction moments in concerts, in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

Given, therefore, the centrality that leisure seem to take for the identity configuration especially young people, can also be questioned whether and to

what extent, an economic downturn context will be the leisure a way to mitigate (perhaps even to forget, although temporarily) the impact of the crisis (Molz, 2011).

Can music festivals be interpreted as a symbolic form of resistance to dark and hard scenario generated by the economic and social crisis experienced in recent years in Portugal? In this sense, tastes, preferences and cultural skills involved in cosmopolitan consumption festivals can serve as distinguishing markers (Roche, 2011a, 2011b). This is particularly evident in the cosmopolitan guidelines in food, fashion and music.

The main events of the festivals incorporate multiple dimensions that mobilize, directly or indirectly, all kinds of interests and logics of action and contribute to different spheres of activity. In addition to its specific program areas (cultural offer, competition and sporting events, birthdays celebration, etc.), the main events are structured as holidays. They have a strong entertainment component, mobilizing mass participation and create a bubble environment and collective emotion. This aspect defines them as moments of exception against the routine and the regular planning of everyday life. Are transient moments of re-enchantment of the world and everyday life, inrush of an aura, a charisma and an exceptional sensitivity in the context of strong rationalization of modern life (Roche, 2011a, 2011b). They are working contexts, intense representation and symbolism: the production and dissemination of cultural repertoires, identity and imaginary values; assertion of collective projects that appeal to the emotional support from members of local or national community; and a stimulus to increase self-esteem and collective self-identification (Ferreira, 2006; Costa & Santos, 1999). On the other hand, the major international events are also occasions for the dissemination of rhetoric, narratives and universalist imaginary, claiming that the values and ideals of egalitarian nature, supporters and humanists. In addition, major events are known to hybridity, heterogeneity and cultural and symbolic conflict, as Canclini argues (1990), which is part of the inter-cultural relations in the contemporary world — should be interpreted as contexts of inter-cultural relationship rituals shaped by a doctrinal and programmatic matrix that reflects a vision of markedly pro-Western world.

These events materialize all current professional, commodification, cultural dynamic mediation and globalization (Costa & Santos, 1999: 20). Large companies, major investments and an extensive resource mobilization, turn the events in order to boost local economies as a globalized circuit of production

and distribution of goods and services. Through contact with people, you can see that, for example, the presence of food brands and even an ATM service assigns a consumerist shed nearby. However, this presence of impact does not stop being a reflection of the festival's entry into a more profitable logic, business logic. The economic interest of the media in major events is correlative of economic, political and symbolic interest of the organizers of the amplification effect that the media provide. The large-scale average spread exponentially extends the geographic and population coverage of events, making it more universal in the audience can get.

The implications of this media coverage are also reflected in the forms, content and, consequently, in the event communication systems. The media coverage, especially on television, promotes the spectacle. Under the logic of the spectacle, and in obedience to the media technical criteria perform construction, the action of mediation of the media is not limited to adding participants to events. It turns and reinvents them, adding new meanings and interpretative possibilities and also new dramatization levels.

4. Final remarks

Pop rock music festivals have played a central matrix design and identity projection in youth culture since 1970. This means that the festival has become a representation of space-time and an important space for meeting music, and for cultural consumption. In the twenty-first century, all countries have been faced with a series of annual festivals, but also by diversifying the type of festivals, its location and its public. The festival 'model' that is globalized, expanded to all over the world in recent years. With this model came the so-called 'Festivilization of culture' against which the programming and cultural management have come to obey. Pop rock festivals are characterized by flexibility of artistic and leisure projects, by a spatial intensity and considerable time and an impact on the territory and the society in which they occur. And this has led to its popularity as event format and cultural product, but also reflects its importance in the structure of juvenile identities around music, culture, leisure, fashion and symbolic ritualization.

In Portugal, the first festival model happened in Vilar de Mouros in 1971. This was a milestone for the perception and representation of identities and youth (sub) cultures in Portugal. Later, and since the 1990s, the post-Expo'98

period was marked by a multitude of music festivals. Today Portugal is present on international routes of artists, promoters and agencies. Thus, the festivals in Portugal began to emerge as mega-events which take place in a frame of direct interaction with globalization dynamics, professionalization, marketization and culture of media coverage, mobilizing thousands of actors on the supply side, demand and mediation.

Figures 15: Concerts in Primavera Sound 2016



Source: Rui Oliveira, 2016, <http://ruioliveiraphotospot.blogspot.pt/2016/06>.

There are several elements to prove it: unprecedented changes in the number of festivals over the past two decades; the spread of festivals across the country, especially in its Atlantic coast and in metropolitan areas; the exponential increase of the regulars; the weight of the parties' turnover in the statement of accounts culture and cultural industries; the importance of festivals for the launch and projection of the bands; and above all, the design of a new way of life — lifestyle — Festival Goer, marked by supplies, appropriations and embodiments practices associated with the experience and sociability of the festival. Youth identities are increasingly linked to the frequency and experience

in festivals — ‘tell me in which festivals do you participate, then I will tell you who are you’. At the same time, festivals are assumed as spaces of artistic, sound, cultural and national borders; as times of simultaneity of practices, rhythms and actors in relation to music; and as contexts of embodiment and stylization of different ways of making music — all demonstrated by the diversity of bands, the range of genres and subgenres of pop rock and the predominance of a global/ international allure.

The experience of festivals becomes a way of life and reflects a ritual — Festival Goer. Music festivals like socializing spaces, discovery spaces, exhibition / self-affirmation, spaces for sharing ways of being face the music, leisure, culture. Thus, music festivals are therefore totemic moments that are practical full observatories and artistic values, cultural and youth in relation to contemporary Portugal. They also represent an aesthetic capacity, experience and emotional pleasure experience and navigation of cultural difference through consumption and participation in local and global cultural flows. Music festivals are allowing this cosmopolitan experience and an accelerated pace compared to other musical and artistic contexts experiencing, because winning in terms of supply and demand. In this regard, just see how the provisional spaces of the festivals are structured: as authentic cities in the form of shopping centres, offering the fullest possible experience for its different audiences. The establishment of areas of power and line ups that identify increasingly numerous (sub)genres in relation to the stylistic and aesthetic affiliation of bands / artists / projects are examples of this way of structuring festivals. The same is seen in the spaces created for food. Big festivals have a complete and targeted supply of food: vegetarian food, traditional Portuguese food, diet, organic food, macrobiotic food, gluten-free food, American fast food, Italian food, Mexican food, Brazilian food, Vietnamese food, Japanese food.

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Dublin calling: Challenging European centrality and peripherality through jazz

José Dias

Abstract

Each year, Dublin based 12 Points European Jazz Festival¹ opens calls for young European artists. Although jazz has been peripheral to the official rhetoric of the European Union, the Festival promotes debates with the various jazz sectors around the state of jazz in the context of cultural production in Europe; and while Dublin has been peripheral to the European jazz scene, the festival has grown to stand as a symbol of the Irish will to be at its core. Drawing from my three-year research experience with 12 Points — from 2011 to 2014 — and with the network of actors around it, I suggest that jazz is created and reinvented in the process of its dissemination and practice, and that jazz identities in Europe result from the negotiation between discourse and practice and in the interstices between the formal and informal networks that support them. In the narratives around jazz produced by its actors, both jazz and Europe are featured mainly in their ideal interpretations, with common values of cultural diversity, mobility and of a pan-European reality. 'Jazz' and 'Europe' serve as white canvases where the diversified notions of what both ideals of what jazz and Europe should or could be are projected.

1. 12 Points

12 Points takes place as an annual itinerant showcase for 12 ensembles, each from a different European country. Established in 2007, from 2010 on and in alternate years, the festival has been rotating between Dublin and a network of partner organizations in other European cities, such as Stavanger, Western Norway in 2010; Porto, Portugal in 2012; Umea, Sweden in 2014; and San Sebastian, Spain in 2016. As an integral part of the festival, themed debates take place around the state of jazz and cultural production in Europe with the participation of musicians, cultural programmers, jazz promoters and music journalists. By exchanging experiences and debating common issues, 12 Points provides an interesting perspective of how correlations and variances occur between the local and the global; and how local networks, rather than global

¹ See more details in <http://www.12points.ie/>.

networks, have unique dynamics that are linked to distinct geopolitical, cultural, social and economic factors within Europe.

Crucial factors convey 12 Points a pan-European meaning: the small scale of the Festival, which provides greater interaction between participants and greater exposure for each band; the notion of equal opportunity for young European musicians, regardless of their countries of origin; and the notion of diversity, by requiring that the Festival will present participants from different countries. By operating on a bilateral logic, dialoguing with local and national host institutions, but also on a multilateral logic, positioning Dublin and the other hosting cities within a pan-European jazz project, the festival becomes adjustable and permeable to the various ways in which music and culture is made, produced and consumed in different parts of Europe. By alternating between Dublin and other European peripheral cities, the festival claims centrality for debating and making European music.

2. Jazz peripheral to the European narrative

Former US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, once said: "To understand Europe you have to be a genius — or French"². Being neither of these, I sympathise with Albright's frustration before such a complex reality. Both Europe and jazz in Europe are intricate frameworks where different cultures, identities and negotiations coexist. In fact, one could argue that there are several 'Europes', where numerous kinds of jazz are being made.

On *Nationalism and the Making of the New Europe*, Philip Bohlman argues that the process of building national identities is the key to understand European music, in the sense that it "contributes fundamentally to the ontology of European music, that is, to music's 'way of being' in Europe" (Bohlman, 2004: xxii). Drawing on Bohlman's notion that music-making articulates values and attitudes of social groups and, therefore, it contributes to celebrate or challenge identities; I found it particularly relevant to question whether jazz in Europe represents a celebration and/or a challenging of European identity. Moreover, Bohlman suggests that national identities are constantly being defined and redefined by different people in different places, even if the music that sets the process in motion is originally from someone and someplace else.

² Cf. *The Economist*, Oct. 21, 1999.

Both Europe and European jazz take on different meanings depending on the context in which they are being contemplated. In the political arena, the official discourse of the European Union often stresses the notion of 'Europeanness' as a set of fundamental abilities. Promoting open trade among Member States, mobility of its citizens, multicultural peaceful coexistence, and a European common foreign policy are key aspects to that ideological trail. Moreover, these characteristics seem to ultimately inform the notion of a Pan-European ideal.

Also the Americanisation of Europe plays a decisive role in understanding jazz practices in Europe, and the narrative around it. The mutual fascination between the US and Europe has, particularly during the twentieth century, nurtured that process. On the one hand, Europe has been largely influenced by American cultural products, of which jazz is an important part. On the other, Americans welcomed (and to some extent craved) the legitimization of jazz by European enthusiasts.

Europe is, *per se*, a cultural network. It has developed as a constant flow of people and cultural products between different European cities which have become, throughout history, more or less important actors of that network (Bohlman, 2004). Over time, defining Europe has proved to be an arduous task and the subject of extensive academic dispute. However, it is safe to say that today Europe's cultural identity results from a long line of adjustments to an ideal set of social and political values — participatory and pluralist democracy, liberal humanism, freedom of thought, belief, speech and association. This set of values is very close to — and inspired by — the democratic model inherited from the United States of America (USA).

From the beginning of the twentieth century — not least due to the growing exposure to American culture through imported film, literature and records — Europe would ultimately embrace the myth of America as the paragon of modern democracy. From its early reception in Europe, jazz has been embraced as a symbol of the exotic (Gioia, 1989) and elevated by Europeans to 'serious music' during the interwar period (Prouty, 2010). In post-WWII the desire for consuming American cultural products increased even more. However, over the course of time, Europeans seem to have gradually incorporated American cultural symbols and products as their own and have abstracted them from many of their American foundations. Denise Dunne and Ben Tonra (1998) observe how American cultural icons in Europe today are "essentially value neutral", perceived as "icons of a global youth culture" (Tonra, 1998: 13).

Europeans not only seem to incorporate such products as their own, they also appear to adjust those products' application and reception to better suit their own way of life, whenever it is felt to be at risk from 'cocacolafication'.

On the other hand, the European legitimization of jazz as a western art form has been very appealing to some Americans. Marshall Stearns's (1956) *The Story of Jazz* was primarily aimed to establish a clear division between jazz and 'other' genres that were posing a growing threat at the time — especially Rock and Roll. Stearns's work was maybe the first attempt to create a cohesive jazz narrative that bonded all of the stylistic trends that had emerged up to that point. The fact that Stearns was an historian, an outsider to the academic world of music, may have helped to validate his conception of jazz as "America's Classical Music" (Prouty, 2010: 21). His approach is heavily rooted in creating a time path for the development of jazz that is very close to the canon of western classical music.

Indeed, European authors have not only subscribed to the 'official narrative of jazz', they have also contributed largely to its creation. During the interwar period, essays such as Robert Goffin's (1932) *Aux Frontières du Jazz*, Hugues Panassié's (1934) *Le Jazz Hot* and Charles Delaunay's (1936) *Hot Discography* embodied the birth of jazz criticism and historiography. In the preface to the first American edition of Goffin's (1944) *Jazz: From the Congo to the Metropolitan*, Arnold Gingrich³ wrote categorically: "Robert Goffin was the first serious man of letters to take jazz seriously enough to devote a book to it." (Gingrich, 1944: ix). Goffin himself seemed very confident of that same idea when he wrote: "Il serait prétentieux de dire que j'ai découvert le jazz, mais peut-être puis-je revendiquer d'avoir été le premier à m'en préoccuper critiqueusement." (Droixhe, 2007: 2) Yannick Séité⁴ went even further: "De sang-froid, il me semble juste d'exprimer la chose ainsi: si c'est l'Amérique qui a créé le jazz, c'est l'Europe qui l'a inventé, c'est la Belgique qui était en pointe dans cette invention et c'est Goffin le premier parmi les Belges." (Droixhe, 2007: 2). The distinction between 'creating' and 'inventing' seems to denounce a Eurocentric vision of music criticism. It seems to declare that only European criticism could legitimise jazz as 'serious' music by 'taking jazz seriously enough'. This European presumption, which is well illustrated in titles such as Delaunay's (1946) *La Véritable Musique de Jazz*, was very well received in America. In the early-twentieth century, at a time in western history when the US was still struggling for worldwide recognition as an essential

³ Editor of *Esquire* at the time.

⁴ (21 May 1898 – 27 June 1984) Belgian jazz enthusiast.

nation, the legitimization of jazz by Europe, the secular centre of western culture, allowed Americans to look at a genuinely American cultural product on par with other art forms from the Old Continent.

Post WWII, that legitimization became dyed-in-the-wool by a series of occurrences that definitively established the American jazz narrative in Europe. One of the most significant examples is Norman Granz's Jazz at the Philharmonic (JATP) tour in Europe from 1952 to 1959. The JATP was partially intended to promote bebop at a time when it was being vigorously criticised by jazz revivalists. Granz not only presented bebop musicians to Europe, he promoted New York's jazz as a symbol of the American myth: of exceptionalism, of outstanding individual artistic skill and, as Nicholas Gebhardt suggests, of the "progressivism of the American exceptionalist ideology" (Gebhardt, 2001: 77) and the 'liberal capitalist' dynamics of the metropolis. Bebop became central to the narrative and practice of jazz in Europe as a representation of modern America's ideological foundations: US expansionism, its national cultural autonomy and the promoting of New York as the ultimate embodiment of modern metropolitan creativeness (Gennari, 1991; Stowe, 1994; DeVeaux, 1997; Gebhardt, 2001; McGee, 2011). Kristin McGee (2011) suggests that jazz's reception in Europe also implied the importing of the American jazz narrative: academic jazz programmes were included in several European conservatories' curricula; its music education models were adopted; American jazz anecdotes were disseminated among European jazz musicians and fans; and the American jazz festival template was imitated across numerous European cities. Simply put, Europe embraced the American jazz canon. Ultimately this established the way in which the Europe jazz network came to function in the twentieth century. Also, in post WWII Europe, musicians began to perform at international jazz festivals in Europe, side-by-side with American jazz stars. Apart from prompting European jazz musicians to discover a greater sense of autonomy in the music, events like these helped to create the idea that Europe had not only legitimised American jazz, it had made it global.

In other words, once jazz is performed, recorded, studied and researched, and its dissemination negotiated worldwide, it is also constructed globally, and therefore it should be considered a global music product. Johnson's draw of attention to the importance of the negotiations between local/global, cultural practices/processes, culture/mediations stresses what seems to be a crucial point in that construction — jazz seems to be created in numerous ways, depending on a variety of outcomes from those negotiations (Johnson, 2002).

In contrast to American jazz musicians, most European jazz musicians I interviewed think of themselves as free from the weight of the jazz tradition. However, at the same time, when asked to elaborate on why they choose to play jazz, they often engaged in a discourse very close to the American narrative, justifying their choice through their assertion that jazz is a symbol of multiculturalism, pro-active democracy, and struggle for the individual voice.

This seemingly ambivalent discourse — and puzzling, at first — between rejecting a parallel with the ‘other’ while adopting his narrative is ultimately the core of theories developed around the notion of identity from authors such as Jacques Derrida, Stuart Hall and Simon Frith. Derrida’s (1982) principle of ‘constitutive outside’ establishes that it is impossible to draw an absolute distinction between interior and exterior — every identity is irremediably affected by its exterior. In a markedly similar approach, for Hall (1996) identity is built through the relation to the ‘other’ — the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks and to what it does not want to be. While elaborating on the reasons for their choices to play jazz — as Europeans —, the musicians quoted herein may have done precisely that: they reject jazz as their musical tradition but they take its idealised narrative — thus projecting their own ideal of what jazz should or might be. In fact, as Frith argues, “an identity is always already an ideal, what we would like to be, not what we are” (1996: 121–123). And for European jazz musicians, in the face of a musical genre that is traditionally assumed as not their own, jazz may work as a white canvas on which they impose their own narrative on musical identity. The fact that events like 12 Points, as journalist Marcus O’Dair⁵ puts it, “help create a sort of cohesion” (Interview O’Dair, 2012), places that ‘cohesion’ in the realm of possibility. That act of will would result in a “Pan-European something” (Interview O’Dair, 2012), which by definition we can assume as beyond the realm of fact, or as an ideal.

Jazz’s official narrative has been largely built by instituting differences and finding similarities between jazz and other music genres. Moreover, the narrative around music may verbalise social and political ideals, thus providing music its meanings. The European jazz narrative is deeply rooted in its historical reception of American jazz and the appropriation of its anecdotes, styles, and its glorification of individualism — simply put; the European jazz narrative is deeply rooted in absorbing the American liberal capitalist metropolitan ideology. The official discourse uses ‘jazz’ as an idealised notion that can channel distinctive

⁵ In interview in Porto, February 18, 2012.

— and, in some cases, contradictory — ideological messages: it can be as much a symbol of national cultural heritage, as of Europeanist policies, or of international trading partnerships. EU official institutions not only construct different narratives around ‘jazz’ at will — they also interpret those narratives according to their agenda. ‘Jazz’ is just a small part of an immense jigsaw of assembled narratives that promote an ideal. And ‘jazz’, as an ideal, legitimises and authenticates national and European constructed idiosyncrasies: an inherent engagement to culture; a natural talent to generate economic relations; a long history that certifies its ability to sustain long term external alliances and domestic policies.

Any official narrative is the construction of a myth, which may or may not concur with practice. It is a goal, constantly in construction — as is the case with the myth of Europe. As Tim Rice argues, the construction of identity is a “form of self-understanding” that is “accomplished when identities are being changed” (2007: 26). Perhaps jazz actors tend to construct their discourses around their *métier* as a form of better understanding it and defining their role within it. Europe’s identity, as Bohlman (2004) debates, is ever-changing. Maybe jazz actors in Europe create narratives around what jazz in Europe is by projecting their idealised notion of what Europe should be. Within that context, jazz is peripheral to the European narrative; it serves as a recurrent metaphor to help understand what Europe is and what it means to be European.

3. Dublin: peripheral to Europe but central to the European jazz scene

On May 1st, 2004, several initiatives were taking place all over Europe in order to celebrate the implementation of the 2003 Treaty of Accession. The European Union welcomed ten new member States that day: Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. In Dublin, European leaders met at the Irish Presidential Palace, the Áras an Uachtaráin, for a flag-raising ceremony. In the evening, the programme included fireworks and, in Bray, a concert by Polish jazz trumpeter Tomasz Stańko at the Bray Jazz Festival. In its production team was Gerry Godley, who three years later would establish the 12 Points European Jazz Festival.

As a European jazz promoter, Gerry was concerned with detaching 12 Points from the American jazz predominance on European jazz festivals; as an Irish jazz

promoter, he was concerned with endorsing young Irish artists who did not see any upcoming opportunities to perform at an international level. This last concern seems to have triggered a wider ambition. According to him, 12 Points was created as a pan-European jazz festival from the start, but, most importantly, it began as an exercise to identify young jazz artists, not only those from European countries with a strong jazz scene, but also, and in equal terms, those from peripheral European countries with less opportunities to play abroad.

12 Points seems to have resulted from the will to disrupt the establishment within jazz festivals across Europe. At a time when Dublin had no longer a jazz festival, 12 Points seems to have been created as one that would not conform to the same model of others before it or in other parts of Europe. The need to search for 'what is out there' and scrutinise which were the new European jazz actors seems to have been crucial. The pan-European notion seems to have been present from the early start, including the choice for the Festival's name, which was inspired by the spirit of the European Song Contest — where 12 points are maximum score; but mostly, the concern with musicians coming from European countries that have fewer resources to promote their artists, or with no platforms that could allow them to access the international context, appears to underline the Festival's pan-European integrationist orientation. The very process of selecting the applicants, musicians and bands, seems to favour positive discrimination, and diversity above quality.

The application process aims, above all, to 'tell an honest story', that is, to serve as showcase for the existing variety of the different jazz scenes across Europe. For this, and in addition, the Festival draws reporters' and former participants' suggestions in order to access musicians with less exposure. The restraint to the motto 'twelve bands from twelve different countries' seems to ensure the Festival, though mandatorily, a sense of equal opportunities for young European musicians. Data collection does not only serve the selection process. On its website, the Festival has been displaying the information on its participants over the years. This way the Festival positions itself as an institution that provides relevant data on the emerging generation of jazz musicians in Europe.

In addition to its promotional and integrationist roles, the Festival was designed to perform a number of purposes that, together, aim to offer jazz actors in Europe an exposure platform, but also a debate forum. The fact that each year the Festival calls high profile European jazz promoters for debate sessions seems to transport two important impact factors: on the one hand, the

Festival positions itself above others as one of the most important European debate forums for cultural policies on jazz made in Europe; on the other, the Festival is not limited to bilateral dialogue with the institutions who welcome it, but it also creates a multilateral platform for dialogue between the various actors, including the media and the artists themselves. The issues that were debated in the Festival extend to a wide variety of areas in which jazz in Europe operates: from education, audiences, investment in cultural infrastructures, the diversity of cultural policies between the various Member States of the EU, to the role of musicians, promoters and the media. The starting point, not only for the debates that have been taken place throughout the various editions of the Festival, but also for the origin of the Festival itself, was to question the very concept of 'European jazz'. Subsequently, during these debates, when addressing their most persistent concerns, the participants are in fact negotiating the meanings of the concepts behind those issues. The Festival was born not only out of the need to promote larger exposure to the emerging generation of jazz actors in Europe and to foster dialogue between them, it was also created as a way to question concepts, debating and negotiating them by putting them into practice.

Jazz consumption in Europe was one the most debated subjects. Considerations around who consumes jazz and how it is consumed led to other topics, such as cultural policies, the music industry, the change in consumer habits and the way jazz education has been conducted. The different kinds of relationships that audiences in Europe have established with culture and with jazz in particular inform jazz consumption. Cultural policies of each country have a substantial role on how audiences perceive and consume culture, and therefore on how they consume jazz. Accordingly, it can be assumed that particular cultural policies inform particular cultural habits, and that different policies shape different kinds of relationships between European audiences and jazz.

According to some of the promoters that were present at the 12 Points debates, the way people consume jazz has gone under deep changes over recent years. Like other cultural products, jazz has been increasingly perceived by audiences as part of a larger system of their cultural and life experiences. It was also discussed how audiences seem to gradually seek, above all, new experiences, rather than feeding their devotion to niche cultural products. Attending passively to a concert, for instance, is being gradually replaced by promoters offering jazz concerts as part of a set of an immersive cultural

experience. Also, a new generation of promoters, more than the musicians, are making use of social networks, which is believed to bring a positive outcome in reaching new audiences and promoting jazz festivals as part of the peoples' daily lives' cultural experiences. Drawing from their experiences, many promoters feel that the categorisation between high and low culture has become obsolete. Many addressed the need to attend the audiences' interests, and their concern with creating a close consultation and dialogue with audiences, as part of an undergoing restructuring process. The European jazz sector seems to feel the need to rethink the relationship between those who make music or enable it to happen and audiences.

Audiences' morphology, however, seems to differ from country to country. If, on the one hand, the impression that jazz audiences are ageing considerably does not apply to all of Europe, on the other, across countries and age ranges, the very perception of what jazz is seems to find different meanings. Audiences are ageing substantially. Before a predominantly ageing jazz audience and the difficulties to retain new ones, promoters feel that a new way to understand those potential new audiences needs to be undertaken, especially by communicating in a way in which jazz would be more appealing to them. At the same time, etiquette for attending a jazz concert is still unknown to some segments of the audiences, which indirectly indicates that there are in fact new comers at jazz events.

Like in the live music sector, consumer habits in the recorded music sector are going under disruptive changes. A parallel with classical music consumption can be drawn: consumers seem to have lost the habit of buying records on a regular basis. However, new ways of consumption seem to have become increasingly popular. Vinyl records seem to have regain market value, as is the case for European jazz. As it happens in other areas, the effort of attracting jazz audiences finds itself at different stages throughout Europe. Historical, social, economic and cultural dimensions of each country have led jazz consumption to be carried out differently from country to country.

The realities of each European city largely determine the way in which investment strategies are carried out in order to attract audiences for jazz. In Porto, because Casa da Música is relatively recent and the first regular jazz offer in the city, this investment is still at a very early phase of a process that will take decades to reach its goals. On the other hand, in countries such as Finland and Norway, the process is at subsequent stages. Jazz in Finland begins to penetrate large scale pop music festivals, thus reaching potential audiences which

otherwise might never consume jazz. In Norway, a specific age group — from thirteen to nineteen — is less exposed to jazz, a fact that has led the West Norwegian Jazz Centre to engage in a project to attract that specific audience cluster. A combination of factors seems to be crucial in attracting new audiences. The question seems not to lie only on which kind of jazz is offered and in what context, but also on who are the musicians who play it. The gender factor can be decisive in attracting more female audience members; and in some European cities, such as Bergen, jazz made by young beginner artists have been attracting young music students who are interested in new music.

Although the promotional sector is widely regarded as one that has a more active role in the development of communication strategies with audiences, other sectors such as education and the media are considered to be key elements to that process. European jazz journalism seems to create some division among jazz actors regarding the way it communicates with its consumers. Specialised jazz magazines are often seen as unappealing to new readers, by making use of an excessive emic approach, unattainable to the potential jazz consumer. The view on how engaging partnerships between promoters and the media can be largely positive for strengthening jazz scenes at both local and international level is largely shared. The media seems to be perceived as an essential partner in jazz networking in Europe. Its role, though sometimes criticised in the way it communicates to potential jazz fans, seems to be decisive in the dissemination of local and international jazz scenes. In some cases, as in 12 Points, the close relationship between promoter and journalists is seen as an asset which allows young artists international exposure. In other cases, such as in Norway and Germany, the media seems to be fully integrated within the jazz sector, and perceived as having a decisive role in its sustainability.

Undoubtedly regarded as a core area to the European jazz sector, the relationship between artists and audiences during performances is one of the most pressing concerns. Most of the sector understands that is necessary to break with a specific performative tradition in jazz, which is, in the view of many, passive, and inexpressive. The way in which most of the musicians perform on stage is regarded by many as the one most responsible for the difficulties associated with attracting new audiences. Breaking with an established perception of the performative act amongst musicians seems to be one of the most difficult to surpass. It seems to be one of the issues with a greater number of interconnections with other concerns of the European jazz sector. Changes in jazz consumption are obviously associated to changes in music consumption, as

part of a broader variation in the way people relate to culture. The live music sector, the one addressed the most during both interviews and debates, seems to struggle with attracting and retaining new audiences. The long established roles performed by the various actors of the sector seem to be now under discussion. The ways in which the media and artists communicate with audiences are perceived by most as crucial factors for a changing process. Poor communication skills and low ambition are pointed by promoters as some of the inadequacies that most detain musicians from reaching larger audiences. Artists' engagement with audiences seems to be largely anticipated by the entire sector. There is consensus around the concept that jazz needs to become appealing to younger audiences. The kind of relationship that had been established with audiences in the past no longer suits the interests of a new generation of potential jazz fans. For that, jazz has to be part of an immersive cultural experience, which is multiplied through social media and interlinked to other daily lives experiences. A generational reform on European jazz promotion appears to be already happening. However, as we have seen, the way in which jazz education is conducted seems to be the key element for the kind of change that is desired by everyone, particularly in the relationship between artists and audiences and, consequently, in the way musicians conceive the performative act itself.

Jazz education is often pointed as the main cause for the musicians' lack of communication skills. For both promoters and musicians, there has not been made an investment by jazz education institutions in this particular field. The most pointed consequence of that is the increasing difficulty in attracting new and larger audiences. Jazz education in Europe has developed widely over the past three decades. Institutions offering high education in jazz performance have multiplied. Some have established themselves as important references to European jazz and became young international talent attraction poles. The mobility provided by Erasmus exchange programmes and the growing demand for higher education have created a new generation of musicians who seem more integrated within Europe and who more naturally develop collaborations with musicians from other countries. However, significant differences between the kinds of education each country offers seem to exist, which appears to be closely linked to each country's cultural and educational policies. Nordic countries are considered to be exemplary in the way they have developed strategies and policies that favour a close relationship between music and its citizens from an early age. Consistent policies have allowed those countries to

develop pioneer curricula. By detaching themselves from the American tradition and by consolidating an academic path that is substantially focused on the interests of each student, those institutions have largely contributed for the consolidation of very characteristic and eclectic jazz scenes. Still, the criticism to European jazz education emphasises two main factors: the deficiency in training the musicians' communication and performative skills on stage, and the lack of investment in developing the students' practical abilities which would allow them to manage their careers. Because the outcomes of European jazz education are increasingly visible on the ground, they offer many diversified considerations.

The exponential growth of jazz education in Europe has caused the sector to work most of all as a self-sustainable and profitable business. This fact may have conditioned the investment strategy for jazz in Europe, which, to his view, has been focused excessively on educational opportunities and less than desirable on both the quality and variety of the infrastructures where jazz is presented to the public. Europe is composed of many different economic realities. The investment each country makes in its cultural policies is obviously dependent on its economic context. While the 2008 economic crisis has reached across Europe, it has taken its toll in different ways, according to each particular economic context. However, beyond the amount of money that is injected into cultural investment, cultural policies also comply with the various ways in which each government and each society perceives culture. Music is part of that whole, and the share intended for jazz is variable. Historical, cultural and social factors determine that variance.

The sustainability of the music industry seems to come from different forms of investment. The economic crisis and the increasing constraints on music support have also caused debate around the impact it may have on jazz in Europe. Public institutions, arts centres and jazz associations are key players in the field. The role each of those actors plays in local, national and international cultural policy covers not only the objectives established for their specific activity, but, when developed on the ground, becomes the visible face of jazz networking and public cultural service. Jazz festivals can assume deep social, cultural and political meanings.

4. Final remarks

12 Points, according to Gerry Godley, has managed to establish itself as a symbol of the Irish entrepreneurship in Europe. At the same time, because of its unorthodox characteristics, has led to question settled concepts within the jazz sector and European culture. It not only seems to follow the change in the way musicians are using mobility opportunities in Europe, it positions itself as a major actor in consolidating equality of opportunity. Although Central European countries have geographical advantage in mobility, peripheral countries seem to begin blurring their disadvantage. The mobility of jazz actors within Europe can bring consequences at various levels that will be interesting to observe in the future.

Jazz networking in Europe seems to reveal many of the differences of which Europe is made. The history of jazz in Europe was made largely on the mobility of its actors. The mobility provided for EU Member States by the Schengen Area has exploded the ways in which European perceived each other. At the same time, Scandinavian countries outside the EU seem to promote cultural policies based on exporting national culture and engaging collaborations between musicians across Europe. European jazz players seem to acknowledge that greater mobility has increased their awareness to the others. Mobility seems to be increasingly commonplace for both musicians and promoters. Contrasts between countries may be perceived as an important asset to the European jazz scene, in the sense that exchanging experiences may contribute to generalised improvement. However those contrasts also bring frictions to the fore — different conceptions of cultural policy making, of public cultural service, funding, entrepreneurship, of the commercial aspects of music promotion and dissemination, of educational policies, of audiences' consumption, of the role of the media.

As a European jazz festival, 12 Points seems to show that ground practices challenge official narratives around jazz and European identities. Players' mobility, informal collaboration and formal networking are crucial to that process. Music, national and European identities are a result of the interaction between people from different cultural, political and musical backgrounds. 12 Points assumes the mission of bringing artists from peripheral countries closer to the opportunities available in Central European and Nordic countries. The Festival may contribute to re-define the European jazz musician's identity and his place in Europe, which is characterised by being flexible, entrepreneurial and

informal. 12 Points confirms that there are creative young people around Europe, regardless of their countries of origin, and confronts the narrative conveyed by the European Union around each of its Member States.

There is not a monolithic sonic representation of European jazz. Apparently, each country's jazz scene has developed a different level of dependency towards American jazz. The variants may be strongly connected to the role that traditional music has assumed in each country. However, as we have seen, cultural, political, educational and national identity elements seem to play a determinant role in establishing the form in which jazz is made and performed in each European country.

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Moments and places: The 'events' as a creative milieu between society, culture and emotions

Pierfranco Malizia

Abstract

By their very nature (etymological at least) 'events' have always remained outside the routines of daily life, Goffman's 'everyday life', which 'is not at all simple and transparent, but complex and disquieting', and have today become almost a standard feature of daily life itself partly perhaps losing the aura of particular importance that should always and anyway characterise them. Such invasion of everyday life concerns both the real events, and the 'eventoids', or those events that have no real consistency except for when they appear in the media, but which can influence social behaviour insofar as being 'creators' of reality. Nowadays the 'events' (not more as 'extraordinary occurrences' but as 'everyday life facts') represent a highly significant and interesting typology of socio-cultural reality owing to a series of implications which will be highlighted in this essay. In particular totally postmodern features can be seen in the construction and social appreciation of events, in which 'festival' and 'traditions', 'involvement and extraneousness', 'marketing' and 'collective participation' are mixed together, and it is quite obvious that the role of the media in all this cannot but forcefully emerge; in particular, we will discuss about the events as 'emotional (ephemeral or long term) places' according to the idea of 'aesthetization of the everyday life' and the logics of post-modern cultural industry, either through the forms of interaction that arise during (or maybe also 'before' - in terms of expectations and 'after' - in terms of effects).

1. Events: Differences, specificities and newness

By their very nature (etymological at least) 'events' have always remained outside the routines of daily life, Goffman's 'everyday life' (1969), which "is not at all simple and transparent, but complex and disquieting" (Giglioli in Goffman, 1969: 23), and have today become almost a standard feature of daily life itself partly perhaps losing the aura of particular importance that should always and anyway characterise them. Such invasion of everyday life concerns both the real events, paraphrasing Mailer (1982), and the 'eventoids', or those events that have no real consistency except for when they appear in the media, but which can influence social behaviour insofar as being 'creators' of reality. Fact and event are basically synonymous, or at least that is what the dictionary tells us (Cinti, 1981) even if event, etymologically (*e-venire*) indicates an actual specificity

of obviousness. This is not of interest so much as a purely philological question but as a sociological one, insofar as now the event has become something particularly significant from the viewpoint of the study of phenomenologies whether they be macro, meso or micro.

While it is true that in many cases, the event label is probably given to facts which in themselves are not particularly important or collectively significant (that is owing to economic or political reasons etc.), this seems possible both owing to a basic devaluation of the word perhaps because of the image and simulacra (it is well known how what could be defined as lovely is now stupendous, what was important is now sensational, etc.) as much as a social construction of reality — increasingly conditioned by media — in which the absence of planning and great narrations (Lyotard, 1986) must be compensated with something, even though by and large ephemeral. This sort of devaluation seems to begin to concern the event itself: event of the year or extraordinary event are recurring expressions which, not always referred to something actually significant, are perhaps witness to an exasperated/exasperating endless search to arouse Luhmann's irritation by feeding itself (Luhmann, 2000).

Is the event a 'festival new' or a 'new festival'? The question is not only interesting from a semantic and abstract point of view; to try and answer it can be useful to better understand the original problem of the nature of the event and to do this (or at least to attempt to do so) we must open a (short) parenthesis on the 'innovation/creativity' discourse. Tajfel (1985) stresses that there is no point in speaking of 'new' without the possibility of referring to something 'old' that defines its sense and represents its specific features. Crespi (1993: 141–144) taking up Hirschman (in Dayan-Katz, 1994) in the context of a complex reasoning on social action, events and creativity, rightly considers that it can be stated that very often, even in the overall logic of the basically linear relationship with the social structure of reference, the social actor can in certain situations 'determine' considerable movements of meaning ('leaps', as Crespi defines them) that in fact make the actions themselves 'new' with respect to the past.

This is what can be defined, to quote Zolberg (1994: Ch. IV), as 'traditional' problem finder creativity (the idea and consequent propensity to action, to rediscover needs/issues and to represent them — furthermore satisfying them by means of 'something new'), an intellectual 'game' that embodies various typologies in it (Caillois, 1981) and which makes that 'leap' in the previously described meaning. Events, which today come 'to fill' a great part of our social

relations, can in our opinion be conceptually defined as the outcome of a problem finder creativity, as said before:

Events take on the importance of the sense and values that festivals used to have (...). They enable us to see, understand and experiment more. They construct works, images, symbols, memories and expectations for the collective imagination. They do not build society as they used to but they satisfy social demands and needs (Argano, 2005: 29).

2. The cities as a 'stage'

Today the city can be seen not only as a natural 'stage' for the events but also the place where there are all the pre-conditions necessary for an event to make sense, whether all the conditions for the event itself produces effects (desired and non-desired) expected. This is because cities are a kind of complex synthesis of what is society , social relations, culture; a privileged field of construction, development and sedimentation of everything (such as reports, processes , structures) a social group is able to engage in, and this also in terms of differences and inequalities. As a result , the cities are in fact a laboratory of great interest if we want to understand and study the dynamics of the fundamental 'being-together': ideas, practices, currents of thought in all areas/ nature, production and/ or distribution of wealth material and symbolic goods (now ephemeral as 'mode', now more structuring as 'lifestyle'), ordinary social relations (the 'everyday life' of ethnomethodology) and extraordinary ('events'), public sphere interactions/ private sphere, conflict and consensus: all is revealed in the cities.

The city means 'modernity', is somehow synonymous; In this sense the analysis of Simmel (1995) that configures just like the 'social space' in which localize precisely the main experiences of modernity itself in all its complexity and contradictions. But the city also means 'late modernity', in so many ways, and often as a result of a processuality consists of three movements almost simultaneous as the recovery of pre-existing forms socio-cultural maintaining traits contemporary and distortion , re-creation of both in hybridisms; the late-modern city: (1) Lives the experience now, 'undocked' now 'embedded' to a common feeling, a finalization of the socially shared , albeit through paths or micro groups strongly individualistic, often even 'virtual', however 'private'; (2) Is characterized by detachment, estrangement, non-involvement of unitary expression of subjective intention and objective; the return to a solo size

(especially after the 'great seasons' solidarity of the sixties and seventies) can mean certainly the trend exhaustion of certain structures of modernity, in the broadest sense of the term, or in the process of construction of the world, of social bonds, of ethics, social action in general as well as we know them, because they lived just socialized to them; (3) Resolves, just to try to cope with the growing social complexity in the present almost like a size 'absolute' in which the 'memory' is not significant and the 'future' structurally uncertain. The present is in fact close to the social actor in place even through a 'use of time' almost unnatural, conditioner and/ or binding if not, 'colonizing' the experience through the rigid structure and standardization activities in routine and ritualism.

3. The event as a social construction: the media role

Events become 'social' insofar as (sometimes even at a later date) they are recognised as such by society itself (Griswold, 1997: Ch. V). In fact any happening is an event at the moment in which it is established as a real cultural object, even if, at least according to a merely quantitative approach, from their 'birth' this concerns a reality of collective interest. An attempt will now be made to outline a hypothesis of 'sociability' structure of the event (which goes back in a broad sense to the concept of media newsworthiness). Culture, the constitutive dimension of our experience of life, "imposes meanings on a universe which is otherwise chaotic and random" (Griswold, 1997: 133); the cultural systems transform events and things into cultural objects with specific meanings, explaining how certain phenomenologies of the social world are made important when transformed into cultural objects and/or social problems, while others remain forgotten. If culture can draw the attention to certain facts, can it sometimes create the fact itself? Let us start by considering how the events that take place can become cultural objects: the creation of a cultural object in fact is similar to the creation of an event, definable as the relationship, created by interpretation, between a fact and a structure. But how can facts become cultural objects defined as events?

According to Griswold, in order to create a cultural object (and then define it as event) it must be structured by a set of intersecting ideas and institutions (Griswold, 1997: 134); moreover, social facts tend to 'adapt' to the ideas and institutions of the society in which they are found. For this reason, 'collective' events are generally constructed in one way and not in equally possible others.

If the problems of collective interest are culturally defined, it is normal to expect that they increase and fall in popularity in time. With regard to this, attempts have been made to identify what explains the rise and fall of events, starting from what is identified as 'situation of collective interest', re-elaborating the thesis by Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) on 'social problems' which like social events are the products of a process of a collective definition and allocation of meaning.

Hilgartner and Bosk (1998: 53–78) propose a model for the understanding of social events that goes beyond the traditional models. It sets out courses for the systematic study of the factors and forces that drive the public's attention towards the same event and far away from the other objective or putative conditions. The two authors define a social fact of collective interest as a putative condition or situation that is labelled as problematic in the arenas of public debate and its successive and consequent action and use a wide sphere of sociological literature as well as literature on the interpretative process in mass media, then proceeding to making use of the theory of organisation networks, submitting the influence and the interrelations between institutions and social networks to the 'publicly' framed and presented definitions of social event.

Starting from 'agenda setting' (De Fleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1995), state that the original focus (the process structuring the agenda for public decisions made in official forums) is to limit others (the process structuring whatever concerns the collective in the public arenas) in the identification and choice of events of general interest. This complex model contains a number of constitutive elements such as: (1) a dynamic competition process among the actors of a society in the assertion of the importance of events; (2) the institutional arenas that are used as 'environmental' conditionings where the social issues gain attention and growth; (3) the driving capacity of these arenas, such as the possible limit of the number of facts that can be gain widespread attention at the same time; (4) the selection principles or institutional, political and cultural factors that influence the probability of survival of the formulas of these very facts; (5) the models of interaction among the different arenas; (6) the operation networks that promote and try to control the facts, whose communication channels in turn form huge arenas.

As a first step in understanding the nature of the collective definition process, it must be noted that there is a consistent mass of potential facts, that is situations and putative conditions that could be conceived as such, and that this mass is highly stratified, even if the great majority of these putative conditions remains outside or on the edges of the public debate. Furthermore,

the temporal 'attention' span can vary enormously. Some events maintain a position outside the public debate for a long time, then fade into the background, while others grow and decline much more rapidly, others develop silently, fade away and then re-emerge again (never completely disappearing) obtaining a fluctuating amount of public attention. There are then the 'potential' events which are not only governed by their objective nature but also by an extremely selective process in which they 'compete' to get public attention in society. A fraction of potential events is often publicly presented by groups or individuals defining them as such, and these social actors coming from various sectors of society can have very different aims: actively organised political interest groups and social movements may want to use facts/events to stimulate reforms or social changes. The collective definition of social event does not occur therefore in society or public opinion as generally understood but in specific and particular public arenas in which social issues are focussed upon and develop. These arenas include the executive and legislative branches of the government, the media, political organisations, organised social actions, religious congregations, professional societies, etc. It is within these institutions that events as social issues are discussed, selected, defined, framed, dramatized, 'packaged' and presented to the public, as well as consequently experienced by the public itself.

Even if there are many differences between the various arenas, they all share important characteristics: above all each one has a capacity range that limits the number of situations that it can develop each time. It is clear that the number of situations that could be potentially interpreted as problems is so huge as to be virtually infinite, while the space and time to present the problems publicly is totally limited. It is this discrepancy between the number of potential issues and the dimensions of the public space that can host them that makes the competition among events so crucial and central in the collective definition process.

To speak of 'mediated reality by the media' means (today more than in the past) to consider: (1) the media as producers of a 'second reality' parallel (even though intersecting) to the one experientially experimented in an im-mediated way; (2) the media as 'diffusers' (but also 'producers') of 'cultural objects' with a pervasive activity strongly influenced by social behaviour.

As far as generally concerns the production of reality, the basic question is not linked to the problem of how the media 'can/wants' to distort reality (image of the media as 'manipulators') or of how the media 'represent reality itself

(image of the media as 'windows on the world'), but how, insofar as 'systems', they construct (their) reality with their own specific logic and modalities of observation, choice (gatekeeping), highlighting (news-making, but also the 'programmes'), all this achieved through 'their own' language.

This is also because the media, like every other system, is basically self-referential, capable that is of structuring the environment and therefore of 'interpreting', 'translating' and 'retransmitting' the same according to criteria and/or self-constructed internal processes for which any 'data' can become relevant. As far as the production and reproduction of culture is concerned, it is certain that the media, even in the context of a complex process that includes stages and actors as well as a system of highly differentiated needs/functions (Griswold, 1997: Ch. 4), constitute a fundamental moment of the process itself, from its beginning to nowadays. This is a crucial moment both because it is now mainly by means of the media that the 'cultural objects' (Griswold, 1997: 26) become collectively such (often as 'mass' phenomena) in a sometimes 'surplus' and 'unanchoring' way (Crespi, 1996: 219–220) often also creating a 'difficulty in considering culture as a coherent system of meanings'.

In the context of the cultural production process, the media 'diffuse' and 'stabilise' (even if at times ephemerally as can be seen with 'fashions') the cultural objects created elsewhere, 'considering them' in time and 'handing them down' considering also their more than consolidated function of primary and secondary agents of socialisation contributing therefore to imprinting, to the basic as well as individual personality in a way that is not to be underestimated. The action of the media in cultural production however is not necessarily limited to diffusing and/or handing down but to 'valorising' (or 'devalorising') the socio-cultural facts (Luhmann, 2000: 27), both symbolically and instrumentally far besides whatever is highlighted by the agenda setting, to 'reifying' the same to make them 'appear' and/or 'disappear' according to a logic independent of the nature of the cultural objects themselves, but on the basis of system logic. It must nonetheless be remembered (with the threat of an 'apocalyptic' reading of this essay) that decoding is not necessarily the 'preferred' but often the 'negotiated' or even 'confronted' one (Griswold, 1997: Ch. 4) or rather, that the so-called "valorisation and reification" are not achieved in the sense of 'Pavlov's dog', or also that between 'message offered' and 'message interiorised' (Livolsi, 2000: 276) there is however 'no easier said than done'.

4. The events as 'emotional places'

Although emotions are essentially 'subjective', generally and necessarily not shared with others, it is entirely possible that more individuals together, interpreting and experiencing an event with the same intensity, these emotions make it truly 'collective'; in other words, we can talk about an 'emotional contagion' as a form (immediate and automatic) of emotional sharing, characterized by the absence of any cognitive mediation (Bonino, 1998). Some basic considerations about that. First, according to Turnaturi (2007: 15), there is no field or aspect of contemporary life that is not flooded with emotions that run rampant in public discourse, in the media sweeping all forms of confidentiality and discretion, breaking all barriers between the public and private. Showing their emotions seems to have become the 'only way' to express themselves and to be there to get excited with others. Therefore I exist if I show my emotions publicly, 'buying' notoriety and visibility through this new 'pass'. The public discourse and in public, only possible if respectful of their and others' discretion and the distance between himself and others, has been replaced by the emotional speech where every distance between 'me and you', me and the other is canceled in the sea of the alleged involvement.

Second, the origin of the emotions, passions and feelings (Cerulo, 2010) is strongly influenced by the cultural background of each community: that is why there can never be an emotional feeling unique and universal fact, although subjective and individual, the 'emotion is linked to the socio-environmental circular: it changes our social action but is triggered by the latter. Most defiantly, there is the version of sociality with which Sartre (1948) was concerned. In this case, emotion is conceptualized as socially *constituted*. In this form of sociality, emotion is seen as being defined by and defining social relationships. This perspective suggests that we cannot know anything about our social relationships without the emotions that we use to navigate ourselves through these relationships. But, similarly, emotion is fully encompassed by those social relationships. This implies that emotion does not exist within the solitary individual because it depends on social configurations to not just trigger it, but also to actually form it (Tiedens & Leach, 2004: 3).

Third, in the late-modern contemporary collective dimension has partly disintegrated: the individual swings closer weakly between individual freedom and existential loneliness, emotions in general are more collective and the feeling is so disjointed. What is important is to consume: objects, assets

(including intangible assets such as the 'events'), provided services consumed instantly, quickly, and even the mass media, which is now 'live with us', fill and condition our space, and everything is 'liquid' (Bauman, 2009), changing, transient including personal relationships and emotions reduced to consumer goods 'disposable.'

In fourth place, on the other hand, the emotions in the postmodernity have gained considerable importance, both in the private than in the public and held at the same time the role of the middle, and the end parameter of sociality. It seems that people orient their lives in search of excitement and pleasurable sensations, and judge the experiences and relationships according to their intensity. Quoting Bauman: "we can say that the common perception of the postmodern citizen's duty is to lead a good life" (1999: 51). The result is a model of individual who is identified with the one proposed by Bauman, e.g. the 'pleasure-seeker' and 'collector of pleasures', as opposed to the 'purveyor of goods' representative of early modernity.

Finally we have to remember that people enter into relation with each other even (or perhaps especially) through the emotions, and social interactions that result further develop emotions, in short, emotions are socially constructed and change to changing social practices (Flam, 1995). And the human emotions are contagious, and feel strong emotions would have the effect of synchronization of brain activity between people: it is the findings in a study conducted at Aalto University in Finland (Nummenmaan, 2012). Observing the emotions in non-verbal communication of others, for example the smile, causes in us the same emotional response, this synchronization of emotional states between individuals supports social interaction: in fact, when all the members of the group share a common emotional state, their brain processes information from the environment in a similar way.

In the research in question while the study participants saw short films pleasant, neutral or unpleasant their brain activity was investigated with functional magnetic resonance imaging. The results have revealed that they are especially unpleasant emotions and intense to synchronize processing networks in the frontal regions and medians; while living situations very exciting result in the synchronization of networks that support the vision, attention and the sense of touch. According Nummenmaa, the sharing of other emotional states gives observers a somatosensory and neural framework that facilitates the understanding of the intentions and actions of the other and lets you tune in

with him. This automatic tuning facilitates social interaction and group processes.

There is a wide agreement that social events and entities outside the individual play a role in the generation of emotions....there are numerous way that emotions can be social. For example, psychologists have long conceptualized emotion as *responsive* to social events (...).emotions are typically considered as responses to important events in our lives, and social events are among the most important (...).finally, emotions is conceptualized as socially constituted. In this form of sociality, emotion is seen as being defined by and defining social relationship (Tiedens & Leach, 2004: 2–4).

It is in the events (or rather, participation in social interactions with them) that emotions can occur more freely and widely: an encounter with the 'other', not much 'mediated by the media' that encase the experience through their own codes, but not really experiential neither trivial nor artefact routine. In other words, the events, 'products' postmodern culture industry and at the same time 'producers' of culture and social, must be regarded as a 'place' where (through the dynamic ritual event itself) the collective emotions take shape and are expressed, becoming therefore themselves, in turn, 'product' of the event and producing culture. It should also be said that the culture industry postmodern implication (in the sense of 'producer') in the event and in the same way that builds self-referential, it also compiles the process of consumption, which in some way affects the livability of the event and, consequently, what it can ensue as, indeed, the emotions.

The event produces 'squares' (real and/or virtual), places that meeting, sharing emotions 'here and now' without, as we have said, a contribution of the all-encompassing media, penalizing them just the interpersonal relationship and direct contact, the event creates conditions to accommodate the need to 'get together' with a great emotional outlet. This need, however, is modelled in terms of postmodernism, which is not necessarily stable and long-lasting but not be limited to a concept of happening: on the one hand and then the emotions that revitalize social ties, on the other hand, a considerable instability of the same.

Events that are periodically repeated in time therefore become a constant feature of socio-cultural experience can take on the importance of traditions. With an extremely meaningful etymon wavering between delivery and teaching, traditions or 'canonised collective memory' (Jedlowski & Rampazi, 1991), can be defined as the 'models of beliefs, customs, values, behaviour, knowledge and competences that are handed down from generation to generation by means of

the socialisation process' (Seymour-Smith, 1991: 411). This term is then generally used to indicate both the "product and the process" (Cirese, 1996: 96) of the relative cultural production of the transmission/teaching of the same. Traditions come to make up a fundamental part and a distinctive element of cultural identity and belonging, and moreover constitute a significant point of reference for social action in general and, in particular, support a specific Weberian typology of the action itself, 'in conformity with acquired habits that have become constitutive of custom; it is the reaction to consuetudinary stimuli that are in part considerably imitative. Most of the actions in our daily life are dictated by the sense of tradition' (Morra, 1994: 96).

As a distinctive element of culture, traditions take on both endogenous (of self-recognition) and exogenous (of identification) importance for the social groups referring to them. The traditions system can be interpreted as a real social institution, both in the sense of 'form of belief in action and recognised behaviour, decreed and constantly practised and in the sense of "consolidated practices, habitual ways of doing things, characteristics of a group activity" (Gallino, 1993: 388). Therefore, as institutions traditions acquire a complex social functionality that can be summarised as follows (Mongardini, 1993: 222–225): (1) simplification of the social action (a sort of collective preconceived thought making behaviour easier); (2) behaviour compass (the supplying of pre-arranged schemes of reference). Among the most widespread forms of event with a numerous following that are to be seen today and which are repeated in time, the 'street cultural events' are probably the most significant. On the one hand, this is:

An interpretation of a cultural fact as a live and present fact, of action and relations (...) to strongly express the culture in which we live, its memories and traditions, projects and utopias. This course, with a demanding rush for extent and greatness is all synthesised and realised in the here and now of an event (Argano, 2005: 23–24).

On the other hand,

The street is an environment in which to plan and organise facilities, or rather experiences, and is as hard as it is interesting. It is a habitat worthy of attention as it belongs to what in jargon is called the urban interior, where the boundaries, inhabitants, customs, functions, habits, furniture, climate, uncertainties, the intrusive (exogenous) and endogenous factors are those of a particular increasingly multi-ethnic, intercultural and multi-social cohabitation, but at the same time respectful of privacy, differing interests and

of the limits that the privatised use of the public facility imposes (Gilberti, 2004: 12).

Cultural street events enjoy an increasingly high participation and this we believe is not only due to the 'content/s' of the events themselves (even though fundamental) but also sociologically speaking, due to the chance to meet and know oneself again through a common (or communication) action formalised in what we can define as a ritual:

In a certain sense, the ritual, like the set of schemes that structure and organise the way of carrying out certain collective activities from the symbolic point of view of feeling and imagination, characterises all the elements of a practical culture, from the material ones to the social and personal ones. In the economy of practical culture (of action and practice) it therefore represents what the expressive symbols in the strict sense of the word represent in theoretical culture, that is, it diffuses communication (Catemario, 1996: 395).

Rituals can now be defined as 'social dramas' (Turner, 1993) and 'means of collective expression of socially regulated feelings' (Valeri, 1981, 1978) and also as collective practices with a highly symbolic and psychologically liberating content, aimed at strengthening social cohesion and perpetuating the cultural reference outcome and can be classified in rituals (to emphasise loss of status and/or individual and collective social inefficiency), in strengthening rituals (celebrations of particular positive results achieved), in renewal rituals (to back up significant moments of socio-cultural change), integration rituals (actions to stress and launch collective news), (re)composition rituals of conflicts (with the aim of recomposing deteriorated social balances). Besides the specific typology, rituals constitute a real compass for collective social action, a particularly suitable instrument to ensure the cultural continuity of social groups by means of the very possibility (especially at critical moments) of symbolic meetings.

5. An events society?

Since, and without having to refer to Weber, sociology and the social sciences are in general 'all encompassing', trying that is to interpret social phenomenologies both 'as they are shown' and 'with respect to what they show' in a detailed logic, we cannot avoid hypothesising that the success of events in today's society is not accidental or 'exceptional' but can come into an interpretative logic of the widely consolidated contemporaneity itself, or

the late-modern condition (Lyotard, 1986). As is well-known there can be many different significances attributable to and in fact attributed to late modernity, which is our contemporaneity as presented to us: (1) It can certainly mean the basic exhaustion of some of the supporting structures of modernity, in the broadest sense of the term, or of the construction process of the world, social restraints, ethics, social action in general as we have known them, experienced exactly because socialised to the same. (2) It is resolved, in order to attempt to deal with the growing social complexity, in the 'present' almost like an 'absolute' dimension in which the 'memory' is little significant and the 'future' structurally uncertain. This 'present' in fact closes the social actor in the experientialism taking place even by means of an almost unnatural 'use of time', conditioning and/or binding if not even 'colonising' the experience through the rigid structuring and standardisation of activity in routines and ritualism. (3) It can therefore emerge as a sort of uneasy state of mind of modernity itself, in terms of what no longer exists but also 'what does not yet exist and does not know what it wants to be'; far from being an intellectual fashion, even if it could arise in the artistic-figurative field at the appearance of the term in this cultural area, post-modernity is manifested not so much in a definite and entirely definable set, but in a plurality of specific crises in the single representations of reality, the real modality of 'incremental' change not being 'strategically' linked in the different areas of culture and contemporary society. (4) It can indicate a plurality of specific crises in the basic modalities of the social construction of reality of the representation of reality itself; a cultural morphogenesis from a certainly distant past that comes to change the importance and priorities of needs, choices and spiritual and material experientiality. (5) It can appear as a 'big container in which, with difficulty, one tries to grasp and give some sense to a generalised fragmentation of experience that is at times 'unanchored' and at others 're-anchoring itself' to a common feeling and a finalisation of socially shared action both by means of strongly individualistic or common but not necessarily collective paths.

All this undoubtedly leads to a considerable increase in uncertainty and high thresholds of ambiguity in the social action in the 'imagining' and realising a plan (social and existential at the same time); a sort of continuous 'pilgrimage' between different options and hypotheses (often opposing) of life, in the search for an identity no longer founded and resistant that comes to be perceived as 'a handicap rather than an advantage', as it limits the possibility of adequately controlling one's existential path: it turns out to be a weight that hinders

movement, a ballast to be thrown overboard in order to keep one's head above water'.

The event (in itself an ephemeral situation but which takes shape and moves in a relatively certain structure, as said above) and the importance given to it at the same time seems to be something very late-modern owing to a number of reasons like: (1) The consequence of the fragmentation of experience and the failure of basic references, the 'great narrations' that somehow determine the triumph of the 'particular' over the general progress of things, of the 'moment' over the 'flow' deprived of a long term perspective. (2) The constant increase in the sense of uncertainty can be overcome (more or less as an illusion) by unusual moments like events that stimulate a recovery (more or less momentary) of the sense of the community perspective even if not necessarily collective.

The fact of constituting a strong urge to 'exit from' socio-cultural routines, from a daily life which, even if a 'safe harbour' can also be a 'weight', a constriction especially if lacking in plans. To be able to interpret the event as a typical late-modern operation, according to a well-defined mechanism by Martelli (1999: 138) it is made up of (1) the recovery of former cultural conventions; (2) the maintaining of modern features; (3) the distortion of both in surprising re-elaboration; (4) in other words the event, its collective appreciation and the significant participation in it, as the outcome at least in part of a fuzzy logic highlighted in many contemporary social and cultural phenomena. Whatever the case may be, events are now a constituent and constitutive part of our reality and this is why, as has been said and as always, only research can truly define their sense and meaning.

6. A (very short) ending

In conclusion, we can state (Argano, 2005: 15) that this phenomenon is at the basis of a new post-industrial society, like the centrality of knowledge and intellectual type activities, free time that prevails over work time, intellectualisation, creativity, ethics, aesthetics, subjectivity, emotiveness, the global and the glocal, the decline of the 'strong' (materialistic) needs and the diffusion of 'weak' (post-materialist) needs, the new fears, the new hopes, the new spirituality, virtuality, the transformation of the family nucleus and the affirmation of new social subjects, the increasingly multi-ethnic society, the urban culture, information, schooling, collective and connective intelligence,

nomadism and permanency, the decline of old ways and the start of new ones generate a spectacularly fast change in the system of expectations, experiences, relations and communication': this is why the events society rightly emerges as a further image of contemporaneity.

In short, nowadays, events (the 'real events', not 'eventoids'), are complex social facts with a relevant functional variety, as previously stated:

- sense of the *we-ness*,
- communication modality (in/out),
- shared values and lifestyles,
- emotional places,
- common practices.

So, something intimately living the indissolubility of the 'society-culture' set, in common experiences sometimes ephemeral, some other times with long-lasting effects.

Therefore, events represent an important interpretation of the contemporary climate: the social actor gives them a meaning, also achieving the sense of 'staying together' that is the final product of the common enjoyment of the event itself. Somehow, events are a reaction of the late modernity to the needs of culture and *sociability* of the contemporary social actor.

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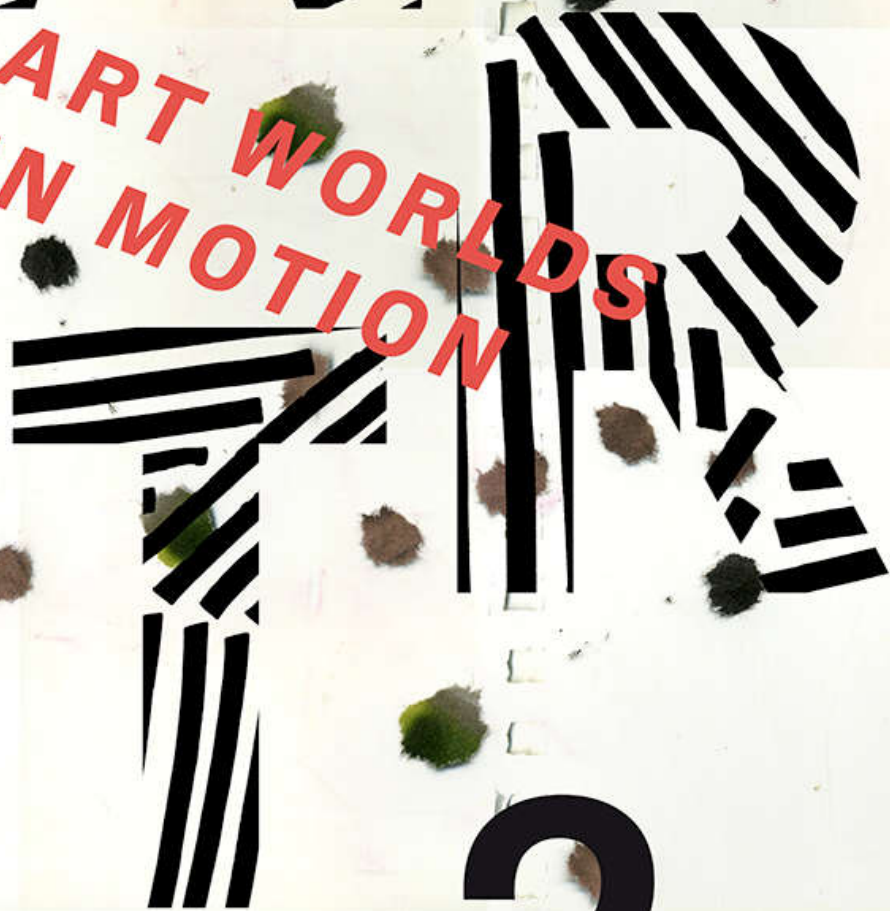
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ART WORLDS
IN MOTION



2

Mutation of the poem on the web

Lígia Dabul

Abstract

This article focuses on changes concerning the ways of creating poetry and what I will treat as *the body* — the form — of poems, which occur alongside a democratization of web-based poetry writing. Studying poetry and poets by means of what is shown on the Internet allows us to reach unusual realities, very different from printed poetry, based on original elements, with a new nature, so to speak, as well as access data about poetry that is being created right now. I would like to point out some ways in which poets and non-poets interact on the Internet, evaluating practices linked to poetry. I would also like to present some of the new configurations that creating poems have been appearing in that support, especially the ones concerning significant modifications on their body, and, as a consequence, on their image — their outline, colour, texture and visual ambience. Some ideas about how this mutation could be linked to more wide transformations will be presented.

1. A discussion of the production from poets and poetry in Portuguese on the Internet

I find in art, literature and many other spheres of social life an assumption of certain behaviours acquired from the web — a fact that is perhaps due to the new forms of expression and creative possibilities we can find online, as well as large numbers of new contacts and information. This work is a discussion of the production from poets and poetry in Portuguese on the Internet. I base my study on some works concerning the impact that new technologies have on artistic production, such as the work of Diana Domingues (2003: 15–30). I also analyse artistic creation as a social activity, as in Tim Ingold and Elizabeth Hallam (2007: 1–24) and Lígia Dabul (2007: 56–67; 2014: 93–111), and on ritual aspects of artistic creation, as in Dabul and Pires (2009: 77–88).

Naturalizing a series of communication procedures and ways of sharing space on the Internet always seems to come along and to overlap with surprise towards innovations that are quickly presented to us and then assimilated. Poet and visual artist Laura Erber posted a protest some years ago on Facebook — overall not very explicit, probably not very common — about accepting the

forms of interaction that almost automatically come along when taking part in social networks:

Laura Erber,
Thursday, February 25, 2010 at 12:53

Does anyone here managed to understand the idea of friendship on which Facebook is based on, I mean, the friendship that ties us within these justified margins (I still long for italic and verse break inclusions)? there are many ideas, of course, and each one has an inflexion of his or her own, but I wonder (yet without an answer) why this chain is somehow painful. I try to imagine the shape of that slutty friendship. tremendously, frighteningly vast and unlimited. pure monotony. boredom without spleen. what to do? say it's enough, rest one's hand on the delete key? But how can one define that filter? let it be. I never make it. Virtual life carries on its estrange course of aggregates. Wouldn't it be some kind of relief when here we come across good old piques, strifes, punches, verses d'escarnio & maldizer, HUMPFs and PAFFs and blocks. life signs? cheers. (Erber, 2010)

People who follow poetic productions that others make and share on the Internet possess a familiarity with all of the innovations and transformations that have been appearing in this field for more than twenty years. However, as in many other areas of social life, studying poetry and poets by what is seen on websites makes it possible to contact uncommon realities — as well as access data — based on original elements, with a new nature, so to speak. The Internet has the power of establishing realities that echo and create events beyond screens, technologies, languages and habits, forming a variety of experiences that researchers have not yet studied by asking questions and using appropriate conceptual apparatuses that are part of the singularity of these phenomena. In this article I point out some ways in which poets and non-poets interact on the Internet according to poetry-linked assessments and practices, and present some new configurations that poetic creation has been assuming on this platform.

2. Turning on the body

I intend to contemplate some aspects that poems on the web have undergone. Therefore, my intention is to treat poems as a totality. For that, I will use the metaphor of the body; for we can refer to it as a whole, with its textures, feelings and misdemeanours, or its outline, appearance and momentum, and its

transformations. I start by assuming that this body, and the variability it may acquire, has a direct relationship with the democratization of writing and reading that go along with both the use of new technologies and the rise of new sociabilities on the web. This analysis would be better if I had Internet access here, within this article. What I actually bring — apart from what I, of course, can imagine — are still images, that is, without motion and without sound, and links to other sites where we can find poems, sometimes even their motions and sounds. However, I believe that I will be able to present the fundamental aspects of what I would like to bring to ponderation.

For that I limited my research and deliberately selected poetry written in Portuguese, especially that from Brazil. That being so, I almost exclusively refer to Brazilian poetry and poets, although I believe I can also cast thoughts on other poetries and poets from occidental societies. Equally, I chose what kind of Brazilian poetry and poets I would bring to analysis. I understand poetry as a widespread social practice, extensive, far beyond that which the academic poetry field — with institutions, editors, publications, websites, awards, critics and consecrated poets — acknowledges as a poet, a poem, poetry or a poetry reader. However, in this article I will especially refer to what is called contemporary poetry, simply because this is the one I know better and because we can include within it all virtually all of the poetry that is created and shared on the Internet today. This is what directly interests us here, accepting as poetry what the contemporary poetry *field* does not always know, nor, if knowing, considers as such.

I depart from the fact that every poem has a *body*, which represents its creation, manipulation and reading. Let us take a poem, 'Musth', which I published some time ago in the *Rattapallax* magazine:

Figure 1: Poem 'Musth', by Lígia Dabul

<p>MUSTH</p> <p>Tudo esquentizado. Abandonar a música. Ficar só com os músculos. Abastecer com urros a manada de meninos tomados pelo rumo. Defesas, tromba, másculas batidas, dor onde ninguém pode chegar perto: na imaginação de uma divisa, na agonia infinita porque quer que passe logo rápido mas volta o primeiro desejo de ser nela. O amor está sozinho mesmo agora que o corpo não comporta tanto. Resta catalogar mais uma variante de viver, esse lapso de elefante.</p> <p><i>Lígia Dabul</i></p>	<p>MUSTH</p> <p>Everything is design. Abandon music. Keep only the muscles. Supply the herd of boys getting carried away with howls. Defense, trunk, may beats, pain where no one comes near: in imanining division, in wanting anguish to cease, but it soon returns, that first desire of being in her. Love is alone even now that the body no longer holds so much. All that's left is to list another variation of living, this elephant's lape.</p> <p><i>Translated from the Portuguese by Flávia Rocha & Anna Ross</i></p>
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Source: Rattapallax, 12 (New York, 2005).

If we only consider my point of view, as the creator of this poem, the body of this poem existed even before it was written. But the body of the poem, which I will be dealing with, is turned on and made by reading it too, which implies and updates the idea that the reader acknowledges what is a poem. In Portuguese, as well as in English, this body, the poem, generally has a title and it is read from top to bottom, from left to right, along the lines that draw its stanzas. This body possesses a silhouette, a shape, and possesses a fundamental unity, among other unities (such as the strophe, the verse): the word. Changing one word, new sounds, rhythms and meanings will be brought to life: 'music. Keep only the muscles', is completely different from 'music. Keep only the brain'. Also, by moving one word, or cutting it out, a new body, a new silhouette, a new rhythm and sound and new meanings will be placed on the body: 'music. Keep only the muscles' is completely different from 'Keep only the muscles', for example.

In order to understand this body it is a fundamental fact that the poem is in a page — a body surrounded by silence and emptiness, usually rectangular (as the pages are usually rectangular), and cut through by silence and emptiness. The momentum we add to it is possible and built on this contrast, and generally, until very recently, visually laid as a black flow over a white page — letters and words that are chained over a white page. And by starting it and setting it up,

the poem body embroils with a group of poems, also black and cut through by white empty spaces, usually brought by memory and by habit. But it has often been living not only in this forest or in this party, or in other forests or parties, but also in an organized colony of poems: the book. Thus, in a very disciplined way, numbers live nearby in that colony, often below the poems, marking pages: first page, second page, third page.... Somewhat more consistent we find walls — as the covers of the book, even though they are covered by the body and the rectangular limit of the emptiness of the poem while reading — which at some point will join to keep, to hide, the poem's physical referent that some eyes acknowledge (using the same imagination as when visiting forests and parties).

It is this body, within its surroundings, that is usually recognized and, for that reason, relived and remade — as everything, including artworks, cinema works and life works, can also be recognized, relived and remade. Nina Galanternick (2012) shows that such an acknowledgement is achieved when artworks are recognized in documentary films that thematise them, and in an earlier text I also describe things that trigger conversations in art exhibitions, when artworks are constructed collectively, so to speak, and their meaning built during the exhibition by visitors who interact (Dabul, 2014: 93–111).

This recognition of the body of the poem (which is extremely variable depending on social classes, literary practices, age of the reader, context in which it is read, etc., a variability that I will not analyse directly here) adds to the very poetic disposition, or to the predisposition to experience poetry by means of reading it. While it is not the objective of this article, the range of this disposition to the habitus built socially can be extended, which would lead us to variabilities and singularities concerning the ways in which individuals are prepared and willing to acknowledge poetry, somehow predicting it. Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) work appears to constitute a good example to this notion of habitus.

This poetic disposition is being modified, together with the transformations suffered by the mechanisms of poetic creation from the new tools that the Internet offers, involving the way the poems, their bodies, are perceived. The possibilities that a poem has of being recognized, its body acknowledged, in the very different conditions that a book presents, as described earlier, are today established and are considerably variable. On the other hand, the changes that the body of the poem has suffered walk alongside the issues we see in Brazil and in many other places concerning how poets and poetry are identified and assessed, and how they reach their public.

3. Far and wide

By observing the recent poetic production on the Internet we can visualize relevant dimensions and events of contemporary Brazilian poetry, and even many of the new mechanisms available to constitute identities and to consecrate poets. On the Internet, poets create networks of poetry; at the same time they lead non-virtual pre-existent networks, which stop being the same after they visit these virtual spaces. These are also of another kind, read in a different way, in many different ways, and change very quickly. An example of this is the *As Escolhas Afetivas* [The Affective Choices] blog¹, organized in Brazil by Aníbal Cristóbo, where poets introduce themselves and their poetry, naming other poets from their circle, who name others, who will name others: making explicit, deforming, redefining preferences, maps, acclamations and identification between poets, which will be commented on and added to by different means, far and wide. It is also of note that, in the structure of this network, identifications and prestige markers are linked not only to the number of nominations that an individual receives but to the author of those nominations and how quickly a poet was nominated, which takes him or her closer to the centre of poets that the network was built around.

Poets' blogs also select and suggest other poets' blogs, following a common nominating procedure, normally in a crossed fashion based on clear reciprocity together with non-poet bloggers. More information on this can be found through E. Nascimento's work on the Projeto Cultural do Brasil's/Cultural Project of Brazil blog, where she lists the nominations that she found in websites and blogs (2009: 295). These highly noticeable relationships and ways of interacting between poets (on blogs that involve many poets, as in the *As Escolhas Afetivas* blog, in which the author, the owner, interacts with readers, visitors, poets and non-poets, as well as in sites like Facebook, in which poets interact with other poets) are developed mainly as they are in other areas of social life. However, we may wonder how web creation affects poetic production — ways to transform and constitute the identity of poets and their mechanisms to create art.

One of the effects of using written language during web-based communication is that it brings about new and different ways to write, even in poetry. Here we can imagine that there is not a differentiation between

¹ Retrieved from <http://www.asescolhasafetivas.blogspot.com/>

writing/image/sound: the writing — therefore the poem — has a body and bears a sound in every case — a concern I will include in my analysis further on.

Along with the great number of ways to disseminate poetry, I can affirm that there are users repeating the consecration of well-known poets, long-publicized by the educational and editorial system and by critics, scholars and poets. In Portuguese, writings by Fernando Pessoa, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Clarice Lispector and Cecília Meireles, many being unauthentic or inaccurate reproductions, are scattered over e-mails, blogs, websites, news and online events. I also found important changes in writing and in the forms of unknowledgeable consecration, less valued by social actors and institutions that study with zeal what we call literature — such as academies, universities, official events and editors. In fact, due to the generalized boost of traffic of information caused by the Internet, which also affected poetry, poems and poets are wanted, read and publicized, despite the fact that they were only accepted among a few social actors in the past — perhaps known by these poets because of very close relationships, such as friends, family, colleagues or neighbours.

That is to say, what we call public and literature's unknowledgeable products, are shown, asserted and widened. Poetic production, disseminated far and wide, was increased, meaning it became visible and that it presented itself whenever, posted together with traditionally consecrated poets and those poets consecrated by specialists. In further elaboration of this I refer to my interview with Thiago Ponce in Algaravaria in 2006, in which I pointed out that there are kinds of poetry and poetics with social concentrations of poets' attributes (Ponce, 2006).

The mechanisms applied to outline what poetry is and what poets are — as in *As Escolhas Afetivas* — remain present, as they have always been and probably will be; additionally, now they can be easily reached by many more people, who were not paying enough attention to those spaces back then. Yet, several lists, groups and poets' networks, not accepted by traditional mechanisms and/or institutions that hierarchize poets and poetry, are equally visible and coexist.

4. Disseminated and inseminated

There are important and direct outcomes resulting from poets occupying and creating spaces on the Internet, such as magazines and blogs. Poems withdraw from the traditional white page support, remarkably increasing their possibilities

using colours instead of black letters, and it has made explicit the existence of a body for poems shaped in types of fonts, in sharpness, in size, in justification, in relation to the background that invades poems, with modifications and intensities only recently available. In addition, poems detach themselves from books, their old home, — although that is not always the case and it sometimes does not even exist, as when poems are made known to the public without having had a home, without belonging to a family of poems, to a book, etc. In other words, poems have moved and their individualization and detachment somehow goes with a displacement made by other written materials in network environments; kept away from publications in which they originally came out, fitting in a different context and, for that reason, obtaining new meaning. José Furtado (2006) shows that these units now 'freed' on the Internet — such as poems and scientific works — consist in fragments of a book, whose shattering would accompany the removal of its parts.

In poets' blogs, poems tend to mix with other authors' poems, as well as with posts and news about poets' personal life, with poetry-related events — book releases, courses, workshops, readings — with literature texts, and sometimes, as it happens in Ademir Assunção's blog *Espelunca* (2004), with chronicles and harsh judgements on public policies focused on literature, among other subjects. In most cases, there are more than just characters in the environment of a poem. Besides the changes in size, texture and colour that directly affect the body of a poem, poets make use of visual material, which does not mean only illustrations. The 'Gallery' section of the *Cantar a Pele do Lontra* [To sing the Fur of Otter] blog by poet Claudio Daniel² regularly shows pictures on every post, normally belonging to professional photographers or plastic artists. Furthermore, there are poets who frequently add their own visual works next to their writings on their blogs, as does João Miguel Henriques, a Portuguese poet, on *Quartos Escuros* [Dark rooms]³. Numerous literary magazines also associate poems with photography, and an example of this can be found in *Germina*, *Revista de Literatura e Arte* [It sprouts, Literature and Art Magazine]⁴. In addition, in *Literatura no Brasil's* blog [Literature in Brazil's blog]⁵, founded in 2004 and which has been adding writers ever since, poems and

² Retrieved from <http://cantarapeledelontra.blogspot.com/>

³ Retrieved from <http://www.quartosescuros.blogspot.com/>

⁴ Retrieved from <http://www.germinaliteratura.com.br>

⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.literaturanobrasil.blogspot.com/>

pictures of uncountable events and participants are presented side by side. Both poets and non-poets unmake the margins of the poem by placing it together with such different images. Talis Andrade, in his *Poesia e Pintura: Arte Versos* blog, conjointly presents paintings and poems, such as a poem from Adélia Prado alongside a painting by Wassily Kandinsky, and such associations are often commented upon by his readers.

In online-only literature magazines there seems to be a special approach by poets who are also editors in the field of poetry. Although not common in poetry, these approaches are known in visual artists' works. In Zunái. *Revista de Poesia & Debates* [Zunái, Poetry & Debates Magazine]⁶, founded by Claudio Daniel and Rodrigo Souza Leão and with artwork by visual artist and poet Ana Peluso, in the 'Poetry' section poems are called 'sound sculptures'. Even in poetry publications that already existed in print form and have now been reproduced on the Internet, we find a new visual makeup, a new body and a new semantic field, also with visual markers, which now houses poems. As an example, see *Panorama da Palavra*, issue 69, edited by poet Helena Ortiz (2008).

Furthermore, there is a poetic production that makes the most of sound and image in the form of processes that run through, join and determine creation by means of the word. Poet and musician Cid Campos highlights the impact of digital technology's arrival on poetic creation developments, especially those accompanied by music (2008: 185–88). Andre Vallias, a poet and a graphic artist, was one of the pioneers of that kind of visual and sound production in Brazil. *Revista Errática* [Wandering Magazine]⁷ publishes audio-visual materials involving writing in different ways. For example, the poem 'Alegria e dor' [Bliss and suffering] by Armando Freitas Filho (2013), unpublished at the time, is included in *Errática* with an audio-visual treatment, providing it with a reading experience that greatly differs from the one usually achieved using books by this poet. Arnaldo Antunes, on the other hand, creates a 'sound collage' of the poem called 'Tradição', which receives a graphic and animated treatment by André Vallias (Antunes & Vallias, 2007). In this poem, he submits the possibilities of presentation to the reader/ spectator/ participant, who chooses the possibilities and applies a rhythm with the mixtures he or she likes by clicking on the image.

⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.revistazunai.com/>

⁷ Retrieved from <http://www.erratica.com.br>

Open-source fashion stimulates the participation of the reader/spectator public in virtual poetic production by the permanent possibility of changing finished works, as occurs with 'Tradição'. It has become common to see the publishing of poems still in process, not yet finished. Lau Siqueira keeps posting on his blogs *Pele Sem Pele* [Skin with no skin]⁸ and *Poesia Sim* [Yes to poetry]⁹, which is presented as a space to create and to make quick thoughts about the ever-challenging poetry and its processes within literary and cultural contexts.

On *Poesia Sim*, Siqueira shows what he calls 'red poems', which are poems still in process, easily recognized because of their colour on the blog, alongside works from other poets, comments, news about cultural events, and illustrations. Writer Rosana Caiado, who owned the *Pseudônimos* [Pseudonyms] blog¹⁰ for some years, founded *Complete a frase* [Complete the sentence]¹¹, directly aimed at making readers participate by welcoming them to create 'answers' to the sentences she starts. Somehow, presenting unfinished works — with or without the reader's participation in writing them — opens users' access to a stage of poems that are usually kept by poets or exposed to a reduced circle of poets and friends. That restricted circle of sharing can become public, as happens in *Oui! à l'inspiration* blog by poet Claudia Roquette-Pinto. Focusing on a circle of people — composed mostly of poets — with whom she wanted to talk about her literary production — now related to collages — she sends an e-mail with the subject 'my new blog', announcing the blog on which she will present her works in process:

my new blog
hello, friends,
I just finished creating a blog (oui! à l'inspiration), where I've been posting separated (and random) pieces from my new book, in prose, yet to be written — that will probably be called *entre lobo e cão* [half wolf, half dog].
I'm also posting on it, on the blog, my collage works. I hope you like it — and if you can, send me an opinion...
kindest regards from
Claudia
(Roquette-Pinto, 2008)

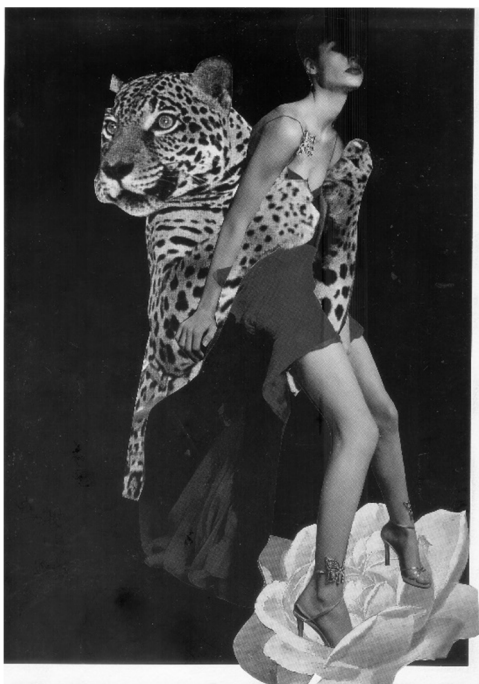
⁸ Retrieved from <http://www.lau-siqueira.blogspot.com/>

⁹ Retrieved from <http://www.poesia-sim-poesia.blogspot.co.uk>

¹⁰ Retrieved from <http://www.pseudonimos.blogger.com.br/>

¹¹ Retrieved from <http://www.completeafrase.blogger.com.br>

Figure 2: Collage work by Claudia Roquette-Pinto on Oui! à l'inspiration blog and attached to the e-mail 'my new blog' (24 September 2008)



Source: Oui! à l'inspiration blog and e-mail 'my new blog' (24 September 2008).

5. Exit

In this article, I pointed out some variations of how a poet's identity is produced and the criteria through which to measure what is web poetry. I also showed changes in the body of poems, and even exposed their unfinished states. However, if we look more closely we can find the wandering poet on the web, everywhere, interacting and strolling at a speed that is mainly determined by technological innovations and by its own will to create life signals.

In her last post on Pseudônimos, Rosana Caiado gives us a series of places for exhibiting works and interacting with people, created and/or occupied by writers:

1.3.10

The end

Pseudônimos lost its meaning long time ago, but only now the courage came to end it.

To follow my column on MSN, [click here](#).

To Complete de Sentence, [click here](#).

To follow me on Twitter, [click here](#).

To add me on Facebook, [click here](#).

Or send an e-mail at any time to rosanacaiado@gmail.com

Written by Rosana Caiado Ferreira, who hates good-byes.

(Caiado, 2010)

Alongside this, poets build personae through time, although journeying and writing on several different websites. These most special avatars remain and act on their own will, somehow constituted from the use of tools that reach their hands and their mind, and from answers from contact with readers — or spectators, for those who already add to poetry a visual and sound production beyond the evident, constitutive, existence of visual and sound aspects of any writing.

We could also try to follow in what manner writings are shared visually, sometimes including their sounds, changing the ways and means whereby bodies of poems are acknowledged, outlining the webs that start being formed when they are gaining life. This transit is becoming more unconstrained each time in the virtual environment, allowing poetic creations to transform poets, poems and the relationship between poets and readers. We can also consider this transit from other perspectives. The fact that these developments of poets going deeper into web space are highly diverse highlights the complexity that implied freeing and transforming the body of a poem and keeping the transformation now as a sort of momentum, because it is always about to be acknowledged by readers when reading it, listening to it and interactively manipulating it. At the beginning of this article, I associated these events with democratization and with poetic creation performed by individuals not considered as poets by traditional consecration mechanisms (some of those still practised today). The fact that these remarkable modifications concerning poems — especially their bodies — as a result of the democratization mentioned above have been made by individuals who did not know the experiences that avant-garde poets had been creating for decades, suggests that some more comprehensive cultural changes (that we have difficulties to recognize as innovations) are taking place. Common people, in normal situations of creating poetry, by different ways get to results that specialists (sometimes called avant-garde poets) get to after years of research, and years of persuading the academic poetry field that these results are still — and very much — poetry.

This coincidence involving the extension of poetry — the one that sprang from the democratization of poetic creation allowed by the Internet happening simultaneously with the avant-garde poets' proposal — makes us think about how cultural improvisation processes can take very different configurations and be extended to creative individuals and creative practices that we generally do not link in our analyses. Researchers usually prefer, really, to separate *poets* and *poetry* from those individuals and poems not consecrated in the literary world.

Ingold and Hallam (2007: 1–24) cultural improvisation precisely by questioning our modern conceptions of creativity, which do not allow us to recognize an important part of cultural transformations and their relevance. In the case we analysed, it is a generalized alteration affecting poetry, which is somehow related to the standards of recognizing poems — i.e., it is not shown to be intentionally innovative. On the other hand, it is not an eruptive alteration, but occurs in a temporality that is appropriate to the temporality of the virtual ambient where it rests. And this alteration affecting the body of poems cannot be associated with an individual trying to break from other individuals or from society; such is the way I usually identify creation and creators. On the contrary, the alteration appears as a natural way, fit for communication between people interested in poetry. Using the terms of Ingold and Hallam, this alteration that affects the body of poems is simply the 'way we work'.

We cannot know until when our avatars will make poetry and up to where they will take the body of poems. The liberty to create poems and become a poet is deeply changed. The boundaries between poetry, photography, music, noise and colours move at speeds I cannot determine. A possible work for the future would be to reflect upon these boundaries in territories not mentioned here, perhaps, such as the persistent writing on paper. However, in this situation, I would be dealing with other subjects, continuing far beyond the limits of this article.

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The architect profession in Portugal: From competition to cooperation?¹

Vera Borges and Manuel Villaverde Cabral

Abstract

This paper analyses Portuguese architects' career paths based on the results of a survey and a set of in-depth interviews. Three main dilemmas were identified in the Portuguese case which we believe to represent major challenges for sociology of arts and sociology of professions. First, the centrality of artistic vocation of architects is responsible for the continuing excess supply despite the difficulties many of them face in gaining full access to professional practice. Second, classical competition with other professionals involved in the building industry relies mainly on the artistic dimension brought into it by architects. Third, this high level of inter-professional competition accounts for both the reproduction of architectural *ethos* and the need to cooperate with other architects.

1. Introduction: The centrality of vocation

When Menger asks “are there too many artists?” he is not only alluding to the alleged excess supply of artists (Menger, 1999, 2006). He is also referring to the genuine attraction increasingly felt by young people for those professions due to their lack of routine and also the great social and intrinsic gratification they may bring. The huge expansion of artistic professions is associated with the growing numbers of young, creative, highly qualified people who are keen to join professions like architecture despite the precarious nature of their work. Just as in art professions, the symbolic gratifications that architects enjoy are explained by this ‘calling’ despite the obstacles they face to gain full professionalization (Borges & Cabral, 2015). Moreover, the ‘heroes of the past’ and the symbolic and economic value of contemporary architecture continue to feed the ‘calling’ of the younger generation, using the seduction of art creation. Indeed, very few professions can leave their mark in space and time as architects do, and this explains the demiurgic accounts of architectural authorship (Raynaud, 2001).

¹ The research project *Reputation, market and territory: Between theater and architecture* is founded by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (Foundation for Science and Technology).

However, sociology seldom registers the recurrent tension between vocation and profession that we have observed with architects. The increasing imbalance in the market of architecture is witness to that tension. The tension between those two meanings of *Beruf* in Weber's politics and science (2005 [1919]) — as vocation and as profession — reappears in Larson's book on architectural change in America when she speaks of "architecture as art and profession" (Larson, 1993: 3–20). Blau too speaks of "commitment" (Blau, 1987: 48–60) as a distinct feature of architecture in a similar way to our use of vocation. While recognizing the dual nature of architecture, they did not attribute any specific sociological meaning to 'art'. Menger also uses the term "vocation" when dealing with artistic professions (Menger, 2006), but neither of these authors draw a sociological consequence from such a feature. In other words, they don't credit actors with the autonomy that allows them to, as it were, defy the market. As Menger himself puts it, "artists may be seen less like rational fools than like Bayesian actors" (Menger, 2006: 766). In fact, much of Weber's argument about "science as vocation and as profession" also applies to art and it is Weber himself the first to make the analogy (Weber, 2002 [1904]: 80–81). Another important idea stands out in the same text. For Weber, the career of the scientist is marked by contingency, inspiration, intuition, imagination, life experience and, ultimately, by uncertainty. This is exactly how Menger describes the conditions necessary for the kind of invention and satisfaction associated with artistic work (Menger, 2005: 7–16).

Freidson (1986, 1994) was the first to recognise that art professions are a challenge for sociology. In his 1986 article, he claims that the lack of a certification system makes entry into the art world more difficult to control. While not directly applicable to architecture, this observation is nonetheless relevant to understand the relationship between academic training in architecture, which is not highly sustained by a recognised scientific base, and architects' unstable 'jurisdictional competence'. Freidson insists that the lack of demand for art — as well as for science — forces artists to make a living by other means, like teaching. Again, it is true that the uncertainty of demand for architecture affects large sections of architects in Portugal and many other countries. Nevertheless, Freidson's conclusions are paradoxical. On one hand, he alluded earlier to art as "vocation work" as opposed to "alienated work" which is only intended for the purposes of "material gain" (Freidson, 1986: 441–442), as if for him "vocation" and "gain" were incompatible; however, on the other hand,

he eventually dismisses altogether the challenge that art professions pose to sociological analysis.

We believe it is important to continue to analyse such a challenge and return to the tension between vocation and profession that can be found in the origins of sociology, when Weber published the essays *Wissenschaft als Beruf* and *Politik als Beruf*. There, depending on context, he alternates the meaning of *Beruf* to mean either profession in the conventional sense or vocation in the usual meaning in the Latin languages, i.e. as 'calling', 'gift' and even 'charisma' in the religious use of the term, according to Weber himself (Weber 2002 [1904]: 84ff). The double meaning of the term *Beruf* is crystal clear in the expression *Berufspolitiker ohne beruf*, i.e. "professional politicians without a vocation", as a French translator identifies (Colliot-Thélène in Weber, 2005: 22–23). We can think about 'vocation' as a type of occupational orientation that may correspond to a previously established profession, such as law or medicine. This happens when the practitioners of such occupations possess a kind of know-how that can feed the supply of creative activities in the marketplace. To cite Larson: "the creation of new needs (or rather, the direction of unrecognized needs towards new forms of fulfilment) is the contribution of all professions to the civilizing process" (Larson, 1977: 56–63).

This brief theoretical background will provide a better understanding of today's art world of architecture in Portugal, as we will see in the next sections. Thus, we believe that by analysing the centrality of vocation in architecture (Section 1), we will be able to better understand how architects mobilize the artistic dimension of architectural work (Section 2), and how this high level of inter-professional competition accounts both for the reproduction of architectural *ethos* and the need to cooperate with other architects (Section 3).

1.1. Methodologies and Becker's mosaic

This article is based on the results of a survey we conducted in Portugal in 2006. The questionnaire was sent out to 12,632 individual members of the Portuguese Order of Architects (excluding trainees), from which we received a total of 3,198 valid replies.² Here we can quickly present some notes on the results. The majority of the Portuguese architects are under 35 years old and

² Statistically, the sample is representative of the universe of architects with a margin of error of 1.73 % for a confidence interval of 95%. Reference is made herein only to statistically significant differences, i.e. where Chi-squared is equal or inferior to 0.05.

have been working in the field for ten years or less; the average age of this sample is 37 years six months; although only just over one third are female, the percentage has been growing every year. In the last five years, the annual number of newly-graduating females has reached parity with that of males. Before constructing the questionnaire, three focus groups were organised in which architects were asked to talk about their perceptions, opinions and attitudes towards architecture and society.

At the same time, we conducted a total of 23 interviews with 17 male and 6 female architects. The respondents constitute a non-probabilistic sample and were selected through the snowball effect. The interviews were made up of semi-structured questions and lasted approximately three hours. They were transcribed and we used five thematic items to study them. These included: the choice of profession; the transition from university to practice; type of work within and outside the practice of the profession; the main obstacles encountered in their careers; and the labour market. Our main goal was to understand not only the way architects are socialised, but also to assess how they verbalize their experience in the profession and how they compare themselves with their peers, as well as they relate with other specialists and with clients; and of course, the effect of time on their careers. In this article we will use only a part of all this material. We also took advantage of *ateliers* and 'construction site' visits in order to observe *in situ* architectural practices, competition and cooperation processes. The image of Becker's "mosaic" in *Sociological Work* (1970) proved to be very operative in order to use the different materials and sources that we had constructed and how we will present them in the next sections of this article:

Each piece added to a mosaic adds a little to our understanding of the total picture. When many pieces have been placed, we can see, more or less clearly, the objects and the people in the picture and their relation to one another (Becker, 1970: 65–66).

2. Architecture between art and technique

Over the last hundred and twenty years the technical and scientific development with its plethora of new construction materials, as well as more rigorous and economical ways of combining them, led to the certification of civil engineering and thus the increasing differentiation between art and technique (Francastel,

1988). Despite continued attempts to resist this (Pevsner, 2005), the differentiation over the 20th century ultimately accentuated the artistic and social aspects of architecture (Kostof, 2000). At the same time, it posed growing problems for the teaching model associated with the Paris *École des Beaux-Arts*, which emphasised the cultural component of architecture rather than the technical component over which architects had lost control (Egbert 1980: 58–95).

Nevertheless, the differentiation which brought about the rise of civil engineers did not do away with the authorship of architects. Nor did it cancel the *Beaux Arts* model of personalised transmission of know-how through a corporate relationship between master and student (Moulin, Champy, 1993: 857). Conversely, both architects and engineers still have to compete with builders for simple construction projects that do not require aesthetically or technically complex solutions. On the other hand, their competitors for very large public projects are urban planners and other specialists as well as politicians (Moulin, 1973; De Montlibert, 1995; Champy, 1998). Though sometimes the giant architectural *atelier* “enabled the invasion of such jurisdiction as urban planning”, this was only possible insofar as the atelier “involved members of several other professions”, such as engineers again (Abbott, 1988: 152). All in all, the trends of expert labour division increasingly pushed architectural design towards its artistic expertise which, in turn, moved architecture away from modern functionalism towards post-modern aestheticism (Larson, 1993).

As a result of the exhaustion of the prevailing international style, architectural conception has recovered its former importance and autonomy over the past three or four decades, as well as its artistic aura. Larson has shown the resurgence of the “heroic architect” in the United States being stimulated from the 1980s onwards by the boom of conspicuous postmodern construction. It was also fostered for political purposes and economic competition between cities where architects were invited to leave their brand on these newly created urban territories (Larson, 1993: 218–242). By the same token, “the lionisation of celebrity architects became part of the client’s marketing strategy and a sign of architecture’s proximity to the culture industry”, while architectural work converged with the culture industries (Larson, 1993: 248). The Pritzker Prize, which is the equivalent to the Nobel Prize for Architecture, has functioned since 1979 as the gatekeeper for new architectural trends on a global scale, including

Portugal, where the architect Álvaro Siza Vieira received the award in 1992 and Eduardo Souto Moura in 2011.

All these professional challenges have led to a renovation of the architect's professional identity (Symes *et al.*, 1995: 24) which resulted from the effects of architecture as an artistic landmark and expertise. Two main examples are the 'Guggenheim effect' in Bilbao (see Ponzini, 2010) and, for Portugal, the rebuilding of Lisbon city after Expo 98, seeking to create a new 'image of the city'. Thus, architecture was since conceived in a context of international competition between cities. Usually, this reputational process is associated with the visibility of an individual name involved in ever-widening networks and working for the most prestigious projects and *ateliers* (Becker, 1982: 351–371). While this is not exclusive to this professional group, it is nonetheless emblematic of the collective way architects became part of the modern professions (Larson, 1983: 49–86). Such process is also emblematic of the wider debate that should take place about the excess-supply of professionals that feed the system.

In the Portuguese case, architects are nowadays associated with very significant international awards and top quality participation in international exhibitions and contests. The award or the invitation to conceive a building represent a 'cumulative advantage' (Merton, 1988) for architects and the progression in the reputational pyramid. Being at the top functions as an income for the lifetime. An extreme alternative to this approach is the dilution of architects' expertise among other 'professions of design' (Brandão, 2006). The coexistence of both illustrates the architects' 'identity schizophrenia' already commented on by Moulin (1973).

3. From competition to cooperation?

Menger's interrogation about artistic vocation and excess supply in art professions (2006, 2012, 2014) brings us to the last decade when architecture has seen a marked rise in the number of architecture students, trainees and young architects. Europe has today more than half a million architects (Mirza & Nacey Research, 2015). And Portugal has one of the highest proportion of architects in the population with 2.4 per 1,000 inhabitants, following Italy, Germany, Spain and United Kingdom. Despite a much smaller building market, Portugal has twice as many architects per inhabitant as France or Great Britain,

and 68% of them are less than 40 years old. As we will see, in Portugal while only a small number of architects exercise their profession as full time 'liberal professionals', many others offer their services in a market which is based on 'piece work' and growing technological specialisation.

We will briefly discuss the individual and social mechanisms whereby young candidates could deal with the alleged excess supply noted by Menger and by the Architects' Council of Europe. In particular, we use Abbott's analysis of the strategies developed by groups of young workers to deal with such excess supply (Abbott, 2014: 2). On one hand, they use 'reduction strategies' that simply ignore supply and, on the other hand, the 'reactive strategies' which are presented by the author as the hallmark of art worlds, in which architecture should be included. Such 'reactive strategies' are responsible for mapping the hierarchy of individuals whose talent and output differences are after all very slight. Nevertheless, these differences have a strong impact on the public visibility, reputation and income of architects. On a personal level, Abbott considers that individuals "take the best and forget the rest" (Abbott, 2014:18–19); and on a social level, these 'reactive strategies' produce a deep market segmentation and an increasing number of experts, resulting in inevitable conflicts between professional segments around specific specializations within the architecture and other professions.

Though, Abbott uses a series of cases, including architecture (Abbott, 1988: 43–44; 50; 73), to show how professions enter into competition for the recognition of their qualifications and for the reduction of their competitors' scope. The focus on competition among professions is also justified by the fact that their development is not entirely due to the evolution of scientific and technical knowledge. Indeed, competition among professions and cooperation processes, both in the work domain and in the public and legal ones, also determine the content of professional activity and the way each group controls the production and transmission of their know-how. The abstract knowledge of architects as well as the role of conception are the source of the profession and they are the most relevant to Abbott's discussion about the way architects seek to impose their 'jurisdiction' (Abbott, 1988, in particular on pages 43–44; 50). It is on this basis that architects compete for the recognition of their skills and thereby trying to reduce the market scope of their competitors, such as builders, engineers and urban planners. Abbott emphasizes that the way architectural practice evolved has mainly depended on the ongoing jurisdictional conflict between architects and engineers (Abbott, 1988: 73).

Nowadays, professions are undoubtedly going through a transition process which has resulted, in the case of Portuguese architecture, in the multiplication of the number of *ateliers* and the appearance of more multi-professional architects with highly specialized skills. This transition has not reduced the importance of conflicts between architects and engineers as well as among different segments of the professional group of architects. But at the same time, that architects and *ateliers* feel the need to broaden and strengthen their networks of artistic and technical cooperation. For example, the somewhat handicraft nature of architects' work, in terms of the drawings and maquettes, has given way to extraordinary 3D versions — the 'render' to use architectural jargon. The drawings have often given rise to three dimension films in which the house is complete with a simulated exterior and interior, while attempting to keep it close to reality (the client even sees their photographs and objects already in place in the house). From this development have arisen the internal conflicts within the profession which the interviews and *in situ* observation in the *ateliers* and on building sites did not hide. For instance, specialized design architects refer to the others as "architects in precarious situations who develop sophisticated videos to do architecture". In turn, we also observed that the importance of cooperation between *ateliers* has grown due to the association of these different professionals.

Despite the changes and transitions we noted nowadays in Becker's art world (Becker, 1982; Becker, Faulkner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006), their joint reading with Abbott's analyses of conflict and competition is of great interest to the study of architects. It is no coincidence that the research of these two authors — in sociology of art and in sociology of professions — is so interlinked; after all, they are two of the main living heirs of the Chicago School. Cooperation between individuals, which Becker (1982) addressed in relation to the art worlds, doesn't represent an alternative to the conflict and competition (Abbott, 1988) — which has always existed — in every professional world. As we will see, cooperation is above all a central variation of the competition at work in a context of a global capitalism.

3.1. Large generational renewal

More than half of all Portuguese architects are 35 years old or younger, and the number of new professionals is increasing at the rate of over 1,000 a year — more than the total number of architects 30 years ago. This large generational

renewal helps explain the acute marketplace problems currently facing the profession. It also accounts for the different ways of entering working life and reaching the full-time practice of architecture as a liberal profession (26%), as well as many other attitudes towards architecture.

Table 1: Age * Sex (%)

Age (age groups)	Sex		
	Female	Male	Total
Up to 30 years	42.8	23.2	30.2
31 to 35 years	27.6	23.4	24.0
36 to 40 years	12.3	15.5	14.4
41 to 45 years	6.9	11.9	10.1
46 to 50 years	4.7	9.7	7.9
51 to 60 years	5.4	11.1	9.1
61 years and over	.4	5.2	3.5
Total (n=3198)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Cabral and Borges (2006).

The youngest we interviewed work at home and describe how they are resilient and committed to the profession. They report 'experiences that were a failure', their internships abroad, and what they understand by the term 'serving the client.' The second profile is composed of architects with more than 10 years in the profession. They describe the need to internationalise their *ateliers* and consider themselves as 'scouters' who are able to analyse the market, showing that 'no games are played' and everything is possible when their *ateliers* focus on a specific type of activity or project. These architects believe their ateliers will gain certain slices of the labour market if they specialise and increase in size. The third profile is made up of the architects who represent the glamour of the profession. They see themselves as occupying 'positions of power' and doing 'top projects' to use their own words. Their work includes the conservation of national monuments as well as the renewal of public spaces and they are taking steps towards gaining a national and international reputation.

Every architect worked with draughtsmen (...). It was a love-hate relationship (...). I felt that way until almost the 1980s. (...) [The draughtsmen] were too proud to willingly change to the computer (...). I think it really ended up happening when computers came on the scene; this was when manual skills

were no longer required and it was necessary to be technically competent with the computer to be effective; and that is when young trainees, the young architects appeared in my atelier. (...). So as they start to be trained in this kind of parallel school, where a love of graphics is developed (...). (Luís, aged 67, in charge of a large atelier)

As far as training experience is concerned, the interviews show that they increase architects' skills; and as the quantity and variety of those experiences increase, the architect's networks of collaboration also expand. It is equally true that the growing number of graduates led to more time spent in training and to delaying the start of working life; not only are mandatory internships required by the Order of Architects, but studies are often prolonged for Master's degrees and doctorates, and there is a proliferation of post-graduate and occupational training courses. However, our interviewees did not feel that these courses actually prepared architects for working life. Most of them compensated for this by working in architecture-related fields so as to get the practical skills not readily provided by academic teaching. This helped them to become professionals and to develop their careers.

Male architects are typically young and their female counterparts are even younger: 70% are less than 35 years old. In fact, the second most striking feature of the profession's sociological composition is its rapid feminisation. About 35% of working professionals are women, far more than just ten years ago; currently they account for more than half of the annual intake of new architects, so gender parity will be reached within a few years. In terms of professional status, male architects are more often self-employed whereas female architects take paid employment or positions as 'piece-workers', including working on a freelance basis for other architects or for other employers. Differences are also found in the distinct architectural areas in which architects' work. For instance, men are more involved in top projects than women. Equally, women participate less than men in architectural public tenders and they receive half as many prizes from academic institutions as their male colleagues. Female architects are also less involved in activities outside their main job than men. Women are more dissatisfied than men with the conditions in which they practice architecture. They emphasise their precarious labour situation and competition from other professionals, whereas men are more concerned about the constraints caused by Portuguese legislation and bureaucratic procedures.

3.2. The reproduction of the professional ethos

Despite the recent generational renewal, there is still a very high level of internal reproduction, as measured by the percentage of architects who are offspring and/or close relatives of architects: 25% of architects have at least one close relative within the profession. This high level of reproduction accounts both for the persistence of professional *ethos* and the apparent lack of internal conflict within Portuguese architecture. This happens despite the difficulties many professionals, trainees included, face in getting full access to professional practice, as Stevens (1998) show with examples from North America, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Australia.

Family networks which help obtain professional opportunities and provide strong exposure to architectural habits also lead to the concentration of material and symbolic resources that favour professional success. In turn, these factors are obstacles to professional change. In short, not only is there limited access to a university degree of this kind due to high entry grades (17 and 18 on a scale of 0–20, second only to medicine) and many years of study, but job opportunities in architecture are few and infrequent. The ever growing number of graduates must inevitably be limited to applicants who have a genuine vocation and high levels of cultural and social capital as well as strong family ties to the profession, as Rodrigo shows:

I'm from a family of architects. My grandfather was a very important architect and we have several generations of architects in my family and my aunts are married to architects (...). Was it a choice driven family? Yes, at first. (Rodrigo, aged 67, in charge of a large atelier)

Indeed, most of our respondents stated that they are mainly engaged in studies and projects as conception work, but many of these are never put into practice. This happens all the time with thousands of un-built projects that architects regularly present to tenders and competitions but which remain, nonetheless, just projects. This relationship between 'paper' and 'built' architecture, as well as between 'image' and 'reality' in architecture, with which Larson dealt extensively (Larson, 1993: 229–234), is indeed another variation on the recurrent tension between architecture as 'vocation' and as 'profession'. Instead, only a small minority of professional architects work in activities like management, direction and site management as their main field. Respondents involved in teaching and research (20%) continue to express expectations about work in areas directly linked to architecture as a practical occupational activity.

This is due perhaps to the current lack of design and building work in Portugal since the economic crisis. This however illustrates the idea of teaching as a “refuge job (...) combined with creative vocation work” (Menger, 2005: 16). On one hand, a very large group of Portuguese architects need to accumulate jobs so as to complement their below-average earnings from their main occupational activity; on the other, a very small group of architects who already earn above-average incomes and who are equally well paid for work ‘for pleasure’, such as furniture, decoration, graphic arts, etc. In fact, there is a strong positive correlation between both incomes, which deepens the income inequalities between the two groups of architects, because those who are better paid in their main activity are also better paid in the other areas work. In fact, architects who work exclusively in a single form of professional practice, such as a permanent position in one *atelier*, continue to be a minority.

Table 2: Patterns of practicing architecture as the main activity (%)

Self-employed / Independent professional	26.0
Manager / Partner of a professional <i>atelier</i>	12.5
Civil servant or contracted by local or regional administration (Azores and Madeira)	11.4
Civil servant or contracted by central administration	8.3
Service provider to other architects and/or architect <i>ateliers</i>	8.6
Service providers in other kinds of company	3.5
Employed by another architect or architect	6.7
Employed by other professionals or companies	6.5
Main activity not declared	16.3
Total (n=3198)	100.0

Source: Cabral and Borges (2006).

The ideal-type of architecture practiced full-time as a liberal profession is therefore far from corresponding to reality. Strictly speaking, less than 40% of architects in Portugal are self-employed professionals as their main activity, a core characteristic of the traditional ‘liberal professions’, like medicine doctors. Moreover, a significant number of these practitioners engage in one or more kinds of other activities. One third of all Portuguese architects are salaried employees of central and local public administrations, or work for other individual architects or *ateliers*. This does not stop, however, most of these salaried practitioners from engaging in independent work. An even-larger group

is that of 'freelancers' who work for other architects or for other kinds of professionals. This status is often also combined with activities as liberal professionals, i.e., designing occasional projects.

The enormous complexity of architectural practice today in Portugal is presented in 2,145 situations of job accumulation (e.g. architects employed by architects' *ateliers* but also accepting freelance work) that involve 53% of the respondents. These are either older (perhaps retired from a former occupation) or very young architects who work predominantly as freelancers and take any opportunity to engage in other activities however remotely related to architecture. The second group most involved in job accumulation is composed of architects employed by the state. They represent 18% of job accumulation with activities as liberal professionals. Other architects in salaried employment are responsible for nearly 10% of independent work.

3.3. Between competition and cooperation

The best architects — like the best doctors, writers, etc. — convey confidence to the client, the investor, and the public as a whole. As Karpik (2007) noted, certain signals guide the consumer when assessing the quality of goods in the market. In the case of architecture, the recognition of past work and feedback from colleagues, juries or critics increase the likelihood of being nominated for awards or being invited to design a building. As Rodrigo, senior architect, gives us to understand when he mentions that major projects are concentrated in well-known practices and outlines the 'coming and going' of individual and organisational reputations (Frombrun & Shanley, 1990; Lang & Lang, 1988):

They [the youngest] start out on their own, but lack the financial resources to make major bids, or else they bid for very small projects, and they do not have access to the top projects. Large institutional organizations will rarely award a project to an atelier which is not known, because what really counts these days is the prestige of the architect. There are people who want to have a house designed by us and use it commercially. The primary standard for publicity has been the architect's name, not the location. If they are not known, they don't make it. (Rodrigo, aged 67, in charge of a large atelier)

Relational resources favour individuals' careers and they are transferable to the *ateliers*, and vice-versa (Ollivier, 2011). Marco, a senior architect, highlights the fact that he was able to join up with the *atelier* of another equally well-known architect. We believe that collaboration, association, connection between

architects and *ateliers* makes them 'stronger', more skilled, more renewed when bidding for projects in Portugal and abroad. Each *atelier* has its own teams, but they work together on the design and construction of 'top projects' (Borges, 2014).

The two ateliers together have almost 50 architects; so they have greater capacity, and we have a partnership, a cooperation to compete for a series of major projects in Lisbon and abroad. It has been going really well (...) (Marco, aged 65, in charge of a large atelier)

This allows us to see the numerous mechanisms that connect architects with their colleagues, clients, investors and users of the buildings and public spaces they have designed, as well as curators, critics, and journalists. In this market, the impact of a prize, the publication of photographs of a building or articles in well-known architecture journals and their discussion by experts and prospective clients who comment on, publicise, promote and celebrate 'the best' (Collins & Hand, 2006). Like Moulin in France, we found that "creation, in this field as in others, is the privilege of a small number" (Moulin, 1973: 280).

4. Conclusion

We identified and analysed three main professional dilemmas and how they transformed Portuguese architects' career paths in a theoretical and empirical challenge for the sociology of arts and professions. The first one, the centrality of artistic vocation in the case of Portuguese architects explains why so many young people come to the profession in this country, in spite of the growing tension between demand and supply in the national market for architecture. More importantly, architects persist in it, unlike French architects who never become members of the professional association (Champy, 2001). Just as in other professions of artistic nature, we believe it is their 'calling' component that accounts for the symbolic gratifications architects obtain from it, despite the obstacles to full professionalization. Secondly, the technical and technological development of the last thirty years has changed architectural activity as well as the artistic aura of architects and their work. Today, for instance we see international competition between cities that invite the most renowned architects. Thirdly, the high level of competition among architects themselves and with other professionals account both for the reproduction of architecture ethos and the new meaning of cooperation process.

The different ways of practising the profession are extremely complex, and there are a number of possible work combinations. A minority of architects is practicing their profession designing houses and following their construction as the author of the project. Most others do several types of work at the same time. The fact that young Portuguese architects earn less and work more often as paid employees distances them from the ideal-type of the 'liberal profession'. The dense networks of family and social relations are both factors that favour access to the profession. However, they also contribute to the reproduction of the prevailing professional *ethos*, thus preventing more innovative changes that would meet the need to adapt to the current imbalance between the supply and demand of architects in the market. The profession is characterised by the predominance of mixed working situations and is mainly exercised in accumulation with other activities, either out of interest and pleasure, or out of necessity.

At the same time, the architects' profession is indeed constructed around many classical conflicts with internal segments of the profession, such as the 'young' and the 'old', the 'architects-artists' and the 'architects-render specialists' of nowadays; and also with other professionals such as engineers and urban planners, not to mention builders. However, there is the cooperation between architect's, teams, and *ateliers* that really intrigues us. As Becker (1982) put it, cooperation is the result of the constraints facing these professionals and the low costs underpinning their contractual relations. Therefore, we believe that cooperation can only be, simultaneously, a theoretical concept, a practical need and also a moral condition — whatever the social context — in the present era.

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CHAPTER 7

'I make the product': Do-it-yourself ethics in the construction of musical careers in the Portuguese alternative rock scene

Ana Oliveira and Paula Guerra

Abstract

The approach of do-it-yourself (DIY) musical careers lies in the premise that music is a unifying set of activities, understood as a cluster of several practices and lifestyles. The analysis of musical production is usually based on an entrepreneurial perspective about creative workers and, specifically, about the musicians. In this context, it can be useful to revisit one of the core values of the punk subculture, the DIY ethos, based on empowerment, on taking possession of the means of production, as an alternative to mainstream production circuits. It's about mobilizing DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, collective action) as new standards to promote employability, managing the uncertainty and precariousness of this option in terms of building a professional career. Starting from the case of two projects from Lisbon — Filho Único and HAUS — we intend to explore the relevance of DIY logics and procedures in the construction and maintenance of musical careers in the alternative rock, considering their impact on Lisbon alternative music scenes.

1. Introduction

The approach of do-it-yourself (DIY) musical careers is usually based on the premise that music is a unifying set of activities, understood as a cluster of interrelated traded and untraded activities (Becker, 1982; Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999; Menger, 1999). On one hand, this pole of activities structures the revenue and income sources of musicians and other agents of the field and on the other hand their lifestyles and daily lives. At this level, the analysis of musical production is based on an entrepreneurial perspective about creative workers and, specifically, about the musicians. Considering the cultural field as a whole, authors like Charles Leadbeater and Kate Oakley (1999) have paid particular attention to the 'new independents', freelancers workers involved in a logic of reducing specialization and promoting multiple skills, which makes them simultaneously assume the role of musicians, producers, designers, and promoters, generating contamination between various artistic and creative sub-

sectors, challenging boundaries between the professional and the amateur in a social sphere marked by relational densification (Hennion, Maisonneuve & Gomart, 2000). In a report focusing in the UK, Leadbeater and Oakley show the importance of the cultural entrepreneurs. They assume the existence of a knowledge gap in public policy about the new generation of entrepreneurs and their importance at different levels, which enhance the relevance of research about this kind of agents. Who are they? How do they work? Which are the strengths and weaknesses of the businesses they create? What kind of relations do they establish to build and manage their careers? These are some of the questions they try to answer, showing why the 'new independents' and the way they work matter, something that we want to explore considering the Portuguese case and the music field, more specifically, the alternative rock scene of Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas.

This emphasis is based on the exercise of social theory to revisit one of the core values of the punk subculture and also of the indie music scene — the DIY ethos (Dale, 2008, 2010; McKay, 1998; Moran, 2010), based on an empowerment logic, on taking possession of the means of production, as an alternative to mainstream production circuits. It's about mobilizing DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, collective action) as new standards to promote employability, managing the uncertainty and the precariousness of this option in terms of building a professional career (Borges & Costa, 2012; Menger, 1999).

"It was easy, it was cheap, go and do it!" it is what The Desperate Bicycles said at the conclusion of their 1977 single, 'Smokescreen'/'Handlebars'. In other songs they took the same message saying "if you can understand, go and form a band!" ('The Medium was Tedium') or "cut it, press it, distribute it, xerox music's here at last!" ('Don't Back The Front'). In fact, they have been perceived as critical players in the development of the DIY scene. Another example was Crass, an anarcho-punk band who sought its independence through the control of the manufacture, distribution, and exchange by creating its own label and encouraging others doing the same (Dale, 2008). In both cases, the words 'indie' and 'independence' are being used to denote a specific economic modus operandi, significantly different from the major labels. At the same time, being independent or doing things in an independent way is here related with the demand of autonomy and freedom to be creative and to do what we like and what we believe. But it doesn't necessarily mean do it alone. On the contrary, as in the punk movement, DIY implies to belong to a network and be connected with different elements (Crossley, 2008, 2009, 2015). It emerges from a creative

community, based on collective ideals. These are developed under the sign of a reciprocity and trust economy (Tarassi, 2011), in a constant limbo between independence-interdependence and competitiveness-reciprocity, where the social/relational capital acquires extremely importance, as the dilution of the distinctions between work and leisure, producer and consumer (O'Connor & Wynne, 1996; Scott, 2014). So we think it's important to perspective the construction of these musical careers considering how this DIY is also a do-it-together (DIT), what kind of relations these agents establish between each other and how they influence the career paths of the musicians.

In this chapter, we focus on three dimensions of DIY ethos and ways of action which have concrete expression in the case of the Cultural Association Filho Único [Only Child], a reference in terms of alternative culture promotion in Lisbon, and also in the case of a more recent project — HAUS, a music centre. Considering interviews we have done with one of the founders of each project we explore the role of DIY as: 1) an alternative to the dominant logics and procedures; 2) an empowerment and independence tool; and 3) a collective way of act.

2. 'The medium was tedium'¹: DIY as an alternative to the dominant logics and procedures

The Cultural Association Filho Único emerged in early 2007 in Lisbon. It is a project of two young brothers (at that time with less than 30 years old) who always were related to music. Music was present in their lives since their childhood. One of them even started to write about music with 18 years old in a webzine called 'Put a da Subjectividade', because he hated everything which was written about music in the traditional press. And this is already a form of materialization of the DIY logic. It has to do with the recognition that the existing means don't have the expected quality and because of that, we should do something to fill that gap (Dale, 2008). He also worked in a record store and through this job and the webzine he started knowing several people related to music. The other became Dj with 18 years old and began to organize some parties. Later and for three years, both worked together at Galeria Zé dos Bois

¹ Single from The Desperate Bicycles released in February 1978.

(ZdB)², a non-profit organization created by a civic initiative which is also an art centre and a space of musical fruition and dissemination, based in an eighteenth-century palace in the heart of Bairro Alto, in Lisbon. They were responsible for programming and curating concerts. Like they say, to work at ZdB meant a kind of 'knowledge avalanche'. Almost all people with whom they had contact were musicians or were somehow related to music. Nowadays their network of social relations also revolves around the music — musicians, journalists, people from labels and distributors. Their lives are about music: they make music, they write about music in several national and international publications, they promote concerts and their cultural consumption and leisure time are mainly related to music. Everything intersects with music allowing them to be connected to it in an increasingly broadly, dense and rich way.

Having music such a relevant role and presence in their lives, in 2007 they decided to create the Cultural Association Filho Único. This decision is related to their personal tastes, with their way of being and with their attitude in general. After the work at ZdB, they felt the need and the desire to seek new approaches even because they detected a gap in the market — the city had big gaps at the alternative and independent music level. There were few concerts and little promotion.

Lisbon was a desert in terms of independent music, underground music. And I'm specifying that niche because it was a very large gap, which was sorely lacking to complete, it was a desert. (...) what made us create this is still a huge need to continue to do what nobody else does. (Filho Único co-founder)

In fact, several authors associate DIY to a specific action regime or model of work within the subjects tend to assume different roles in order to meet specific needs. It may be the need to do something that nobody else does (Bradley, 2004; Hein, 2012), or the need to act without many resources and to make money doing something that we really like, here in the case of artistic creation dissolving the distinction of art from commerce (Eversley, 2014; O'Connor, 2008; Reitsamer, 2011). DIY emerges as an alternative answer when the dominant logics and procedures don't work, when there is a gap, when people think they can do something to improve the surrounding environment. That's what Pete Bradley describes about Nottingham and his decision to create 'Enjoy the Ride',

² ZdB is generally consensually recognized as one of the main central cultural agents in alternative performing, visual art and music worlds in Portugal. For more information: <http://www.zedosbois.org/>.

an initiative that “offers an autonomous space for an audio-visual celebration of art, music, poetry, film and, generally, anything creative” (Bradley, 2004: 180). The project began with a shared perspective about the lack of venues and promoters in the city. Bradley was looking for a space to showcase his latest audio-visual work and was given the opportunity to put on a show at the café-bar where he worked. With the help of a network of artists, creative, and friends, Bradley created an experimental night called ‘Enjoy the Ride’, in which he and other artists show or perform some of their work. The first night was a success and he decided to transform this experience into a regular, monthly celebration.

The Cultural Association Filho Único appeared in a similar way. Considering the existence of failures in the programming and distribution of independent music and leveraging the knowledge and the relational network constructed through previous work experiences, the two brothers created their own and independent structure of communication and programming of independent music. They became at the same time artists, programmers, mediators and this is exactly the logic underlying the functioning of the association.

I think we're in a rebuilding and redesign process. I think the future, and already the present, is you create independent communication structures, you as an artist, as a developer. It's to create diffusion organs completely independent of the press and audio-visual hierarchy. It's you “destroy” the importance of these people and you being the artist or the programmer and at the same time, the mediator of what you do, because if you are really good and know what you're doing, you know communicate what you do better than anyone. (Filho Único co-founder)

The main objectives of the association are the presentation, promotion, production, edition, display and integration of all musical manifestations which are governed by progressive aesthetically creative purposes. The association seeks to promote, organize and produce events of things seen as the result of a progressive thinking, an attempt to aesthetic achievement. It seeks to integrate the more creative and daring music otherwise in people's lives. Nowadays Filho Único is a very important agent of the Portuguese alternative rock scene, an essential reference in terms of alternative culture promotion.

3. 'It was easy, it was cheap, go and do it!': DIY as an empowerment and autonomy tool

If today, the words 'indie' and 'independent' are commonly taken only to be connotative of a musical style, here and like in the earlier punk and post-punk period we are using them to denote a specific way of work separateness from the major labels, from the main agents, from the dominant logics. Actually, the notion of 'indie' can be seen as an institutional challenge to the dominant majors and as an attempt to redistribute cultural capital and encourage self-expression (Dale, 2008; O'Connor, 2008). In this kind of perspective, the word 'indie' and the expression DIY are at the same time connected with the creation of an alternative and with an empowerment and action process. DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, and collective action), logics, and procedures enable these musicians and cultural promoters to create and promote what they want and what they think is important to the city's cultural scene in a context of creative freedom. In other words, we can see DIY skills, logics, and procedures as an empowerment and autonomy tool, as a way to work independently in relation to established standards and hierarchies, taking control of the entire process and of the management of musical careers, as it seems to happen with Filho Único.

At Filho Único, we have temporal, intellectual and emotional freedom (...) We can do what we really want, which is absolutely essential for the cultural, intellectual, spiritual and social life of the city. (Filho Único co-founder)

As Eversley (2014) observes, this simple desire is the basis for the ethical pillars in which this type of scenes rely on — responsibility, resourcefulness, and autonomy. But this does not mean that some success factors such as competence, focus on results, and all the work and all efforts around visibility, legitimacy, and impact of the project are disregarded. In general terms, they are identified as some of the key success factors in this sector and therefore articulated with the DIY logic and procedures.

In an article which reflects about the possibility of DIY be considered a counterculture, Hein (2012) shows that the punk rock scene has demystified the cultural production process, underlining the capacity everyone has to become a cultural agent. This dynamic is translated into DIY, a specific system of action that presided over the development of a punk entrepreneurship, relatively

³ The phrase with which the Desperate Bicycles' song 'Handlebars' ends.

independent from the mainstream recording industry. In fact, the author speaks about the development of an 'alternative economy' entrepreneurship. In this perspective, he says DIY shows that it is possible to develop a cultural business directed to a specific niche maintaining the punk's values can thus be considered a counterculture. DIY can promote the self-production of a cultural or musical scene taking part of an empowerment process, an awareness of action capacity. The involvement in DIY ethos encourages people to invent and innovate. In some way, it promotes experimentation and creativity, but as Hein underlines this dynamic depends on the actors' determination to create and to 'make the product'. Actors have to learn to identify the resources, to be aware of the opportunities and to build their own strategies. We can see DIY as an empowerment process through which a person or a group acquire the necessary resources to reinforce their action capacity and to emancipate themselves. So this empowerment process emerges as a promoter of creativity.

HAUS is another cultural project from Lisbon which promotes this empowerment process and stimulates creative freedom through the possibilities of share provided. The project started in 2015 and is assumed by its founders as a music centre where different valences are concentrated. As *Filho Único*, HAUS arises from a DIY attitude and a way of doing. Its founders, all of them with musical careers linked to punk and hardcore, did not wait, did not ask for support, they acted mobilizing its background, the knowledge, the tools, the networks of relationships they had and, above all, the fact that they were not afraid to fail. Above all things, it is the idea of DIY as a tool for autonomy and independence and as a way of empowerment.

At the same time, the elements that compose HAUS recognize that the particular DIY ethics which guide the activities and services developed by this project allows a democratization of the ways to create and consume music. It demystifies the traditional idea about all the resources needed to have a band or to release a record, contributing to the proliferation of the idea that everyone can do it (Dale, 2010; Eversley, 2014). At the same time, this promotes the breakdown of barriers between audience and artists.

The DIY spirit implies that if you are a fan, you must feel inspired to do. It is a very recurrent discourse. 'If he does, I also can do.' (...) To do is more important than a career or whatever, so it is because of that DIY is a super breeding ground for many people who are working today because it demystified it to match. It levelled the aspirations because somehow the entertainment system until the 90s was a more or less diagonal thing. The artist was someone

unattainable, superhuman (...) 'This is not for everyone.' The idea of being very difficult meant that the records and the concerts were the closest people could be to the artists. DIY dismantles it. You do not need to know how to play to have a band, you do not need to know how to write to have a fanzine. What matters is that you do and your perspective is very important. And this gives a lot of creative and expression freedom of creating new discourses, new vocabularies, and new techniques. (HAUS co-founder)

These changes are boosted with technological advances and the proliferation of Internet and of various social networks. Authors such as Oliver and Green have been working on the self-sufficiency of the DIY artist and the role of new technological tools at this level (Oliver & Green, 2009; Oliver, 2010). They show how important is to use all relevant tools in terms of databases, social networking, education, training, and communication. These information systems are essential to the fulfilment of creative activities. They introduce new forms of collaborative thinking, act as self-promotion tools of creative activities and enhance networking with other musicians and fans. In this way, they contribute to a profound change in modes of creation and interaction. Through these new technologies, artists and fans have the same opportunities for communication, information sharing, and visibility. In their daily work, HAUS' members mobilize recurrently these tools.

The Internet and then the technology that follows it facilitate the production of cultural products. Suddenly we are no longer dependent of many thousands of euros to rent a studio. The digital printing methods, the share of information on these networks and the democratization not only of the information but also of the technology allowed more people start working with a DIY spirit because it was easier to be independent. (HAUS co-founder)

4. 'Occupied Territory'⁴: DIY is also doing it together

The empowerment and autonomy associated to DIY are not something done alone. On the contrary, they are strongly connected with the idea of a creative community composed of several agents with different and complementary skills who assume a multiplicity of roles. Mobilizing those different skills, simultaneously, they assume the role of musicians, producers, designers, and promoters. They don't fit into neat categories. On the contrary and as we said before, they promote contaminations between different sectors of activity.

⁴ Single from The Desperate Bicycles released in July 1978.

Focusing on cultural workers (Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999), in a more general way, or specifically, on musicians (Eversley, 2014; O'Connor, 2008; Reitsamer, 2011), several authors have shown the collective and collaborative character of those agents' activities. Actually, collaborative team-working is a kind of norm in this DIY way of working. It can provide ideas, contacts, complementary skills, venues and access to the market. The guiding principle of the work in this DIY 'alternative economy' is not capital but the pursuit of creativity and community building. In this sense, these authors highlight the relevance of intensive strategies of social networking, considering this DIY approach unites the ideology of creativity with the aspirations of individual entrepreneurship and of social networks.

The fact that we do together implies to be with friends, to be with someone who is motivating you. That's why communities evolve faster. Who learn together, evolves faster because you have this side of the comparison, of healthy competition and motivation. (HAUS co-founder)

This leads us to the importance of do-it-together and of the role of creative community for the creation of musical careers. This perspective is based on a relational approach to music, understood as a collective creation, a product of the connection between the different elements that composed the worlds of music and between the complementary roles they play (Guerra, 2010, 2015; Crossley & Bottero, 2015; Crossley, McAndrew & Widdop, 2014; Mcandrew & Everett, 2015). HAUS works precisely based on this premise. It is at the same time a recording studio, a set of rehearsal rooms, a space for agency and production of concerts and other shows and also a place where the relations between music and brands are explored. Actually, its founders see the project as a music centre where are concentrated different and complementary valences and whereby they play different roles going to meet the horizontal policy idea of Eversley (2014).

The business model reflects also that community attitude. It is not a linear studio. HAUS is organized as a music centre because we would like to add the maximum of skills and solutions to our experience of music. It's crucial to have a place to rehearse, a place where you may come and talk about the experience of doing with other people. The fact that the bands are together feeds and inspires many things and this is fundamental. To have a place with the quality for someone help you to record your music in the best possible way is also very important. To have someone who can help you and take you to the road or think with you about the best ways to promote what you're doing is also crucial. (HAUS co-founder)

The project results entirely of a previous musical career made together by the four founders of HAUS⁵. It emerges from the desire to share with other musicians the knowledge acquired in several years of studio and road. Therefore, the project is based on a community spirit and experience exchange. We can see HAUS as a way and a space of transmission, accumulation, and co-creation of knowledge. Something made by a group of people thinking about alternative forms of the Portuguese musicians create and manage forms of expression and income. Therefore, this is a project that seeks ways of sustainability not only to the elements that integrate it but also for other musicians related to it. As we said before, we can understand HAUS as an important space of socialization based on a deep symbiosis between the people who attend it. They form a community of affections, consisting of people united around the same principles and objectives (cognitive proximity), which is something characteristic of the independent and DIY ways of doing — the creation of an atmosphere of strong sociability and conviviality, essential to the creation and management of musical careers.

We are together. We all have valences, consciousness, and complementary knowledge, so we will join in because it's easier. This idea of symbiosis is natural and it depends on affinities and affections. (...) It only happens so because we know each other and we work together for a long time. And this is another marker of the independent and DIY scene. It's a chemical, an affinity that brings people together. The idea of community of affections applies here perfectly. There are not the shared goals of profit or whatever. It is the fact that people get along and want to do the same things or to go to the same places or want to share the experience of making music together. (HAUS co-founder)

This creative atmosphere or 'creative effervescence' (Crossley, 2015) and the idea of community of affections are also present on Filho Único activities and on its impact on new projects. We can say that nowadays Filho Único is a successful project and despite its beginning in a more independent spectrum, it has experienced a path characterized by a certain institutionalization. Today the cultural association is composed of seven elements and works in continuous and integrated collaboration with various public and private cultural agents all over the country. During all these years of experience, and being part of its working model, we must highlight the issue of proximity to the various cultural agents with whom Filho Único works. Not only the cognitive proximity, which means a

⁵ Apart from other older bands, currently they have a common band, called PAUS.

common set of ethics, civic principles, and goals, but also the physical or geographical one. This leads us to the existence of an atmosphere shared by a community and to the possibilities of creation of networks, essential to the success of this kind of projects. In the beginning Filho Único was located at Bica, a central area of Lisbon downtown near to Bairro Alto, assumed as the closer case to what is referred as a creative or cultural neighbourhood and recognized by the association's founders as the 'only truly creative centre of this country', where is everyone — musicians, visual artists, programmers, promoters and all the others cultural agents (cf. Costa, 2013 on this). Today Filho Único is located at Pólo Cultural das Gaivotas, a new centre of artistic creation, with offices and rehearsal rooms for projects in the areas of theatre, dance, and music. It is the city council who manages the space and it is entirely dedicated to the cultural sector, promoting synergies between the various projects.

As we said previously, today Cultural Association Filho Único has a recognized work in terms of the alternative musical offer and it has already begun to have an impact on a new generation of musicians, promoters, musical producers and labels of Lisbon whose work is inspired by the DIY ethos and procedures. And this is something that the founders of the project always wanted: to have an impact on other people and to change something that is not working correctly, showing that it is possible to act. That's one of the main DIY principles.

So I did to add. I did to change. I did to have an impact on people. And it was always because of that I started to work because I want to change something. There is something I don't like and I want to change it. I think this is the civic duty of the people. Put themselves in situations and positions of power where they have a lot of property and knowledge about a particular thing and act constructively, in an ethically correct and constructively way on this. (Filho Único co-founder)

5. Conclusion

As a result of the comparative analysis of these two case studies, we can take some ideas that give us a relatively clear panorama of some of the DIY ethics and mechanisms that base music projects in contemporaneity, particularly if we focus on the specific case of alternative rock scenes.

On one hand, we can see clear traces of this DIY ethos in the analysis of these agents' labour's logics. The 'new independents' that are the paradigm of

this kind of activities and practices can be seen as freelancer workers reducing specialization and promoting and seizing multiple skills, enabling them to assume, formally or informally, the role of musicians, producers, designers, promoters, generating contamination between various artistic-creative sub-sectors, and challenging boundaries between the professional and the amateur, between art and commerce, in a social sphere marked by relational densification. The artist-creator-consumer, seen here as a real entrepreneur of himself, between production and consumption, affirms himself in the core of these collaborative processes, and builds his/her career and professional trajectory in a self-built scene which is constructed, progressively, generating and exploring successive opportunities of self-capability-building, collective empowerment, and reinforcement of self-autonomy. Within this DIY labour's logics, the 'new independents' tend to adopt an approach to develop their careers as portfolios of projects, skills, and contacts. Collective learning mechanisms and shared knowledge accumulation are here fundamental.

On the other hand, we can also see clearly the presence of DIY in the development of alternatives to mainstream production circuits. These DIY circuits are strongly connected through networks and are based on relations of reciprocity, dialogue, and mutual help. In this sense, the agents who build these circuits have highly collaborative working practices developing more networked and horizontal forms of organization, creation, and production. In part, it is because of this collaborative and networked way of work they are able to build their autonomy and to challenge the dominant circuits. Filho Único and HAUS realize this sense of unity and sharing and this idea of a community of affections that have come to characterize and to strengthen the national circuit of independent music, showing the importance of physical/spatial and cognitive proximity (the same philosophy of action). In further work of our research project we intend to explore precisely the importance of these networks and creative communities in the construction and management of music careers, trying to understand the links between do-it-yourself and do-it-together.

Finally, we argue that the mobilization of traditionally acknowledged DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, collective action) enable these actors to promote a certain kind of employability (not necessarily the formal one we are used to), managing through time the uncertainty and precariousness of this option in terms of building a professional career. Engaging with the managerial process as well as the artistic one, they develop a kind of self-sufficiency, in the construction of their trajectories and life paths, which is reinforced by the degree

of integration in a specific scene they are into, locally and externally articulated through an extension of network mechanisms. There is a tendency to link this autonomy to technologic evolution. However, self-sufficiency is not just technologic. That is a part, which is decisively enabled in the music field by digitalization processes and internet, in recent decades, but mostly these self-sufficiency mechanisms come from the ability to build and manage economic, symbolic, cultural and social procedures that enable the agents to provide a space of autonomy from other hegemonic forces in each of those fields (from mainstream markets to social control or to the symbolic over-legitimization in certain art worlds), and DIY procedures give many tools for enabling this.

In further work of our research project, we will deepen our analysis of these aspects. We will also consider the relationship between music and the urban space, namely through the role that music scenes and these DIY musicians can play in the urban development and in the (re)construction of images and narratives of cities.

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CHAPTER 8

From the shadow to the centre: Tensions, contradictions and ambitions in building graphic design as a profession

Pedro Quintela

Abstract

Traditionally, design was understood as a hinge area between the art and production system, which took, on the course of the twentieth century, a peripheral place in the context of the artistic and cultural production. Design as a profession was built in this permanent tension between a commercial vocation and an aesthetic sense, and it was often despised or ignored by the academia and the 'art worlds'. C. Wright Mills (1958), for instance, saw designers as the 'men in the middle', alienated and frustrated, caught between the worlds of creativity and commercialism. However, this view has been changing considerably during the recent decades. In late capitalism, design has acquired a new role in society, due to the massification of its presence in economies that have become more and more 'design intensive' (Lash & Urry, 1994). Designers have become key-figures that look at themselves as cultural operators and creative agents. Simultaneously, the profession became massified, in a process which was accompanied by a greater structuring of the design education and research system. Paradoxically, in this process of affirmation, design as a profession has been increasingly degraded and became precarious. The chapter draws mainly on several interviews conducted with Portuguese graphic designers, from different generations and with diverse professional paths, in order to analyse and discuss some tensions and contradictions on the construction process of graphic design as a profession.

1. The relevance and centrality of design in contemporary societies

In recent decades, there has been a blazing growth of design, broadening speaking, gaining a great relevance in political, economic, social and cultural terms. This evolution is related to broader transformation and restructuring processes of contemporary capitalism which, especially since the 1990s, made the design a key element of the post-Fordist economy. In fact, in the context of contemporary capitalism — which is characterized in particular by rapid technological transformation processes, by the globalization of cultures and economies and by the growing importance of brands and marketing — the design seems to structure, in an increasingly decisively way, the systems of production and exchange of goods and services, contributing to differentiate

them, ensuring competitive advantages and added value for its customers (Bryson & Rusten, 2011; Julier, 2008; Julier & Moor, 2009). As noted by Hal Foster, the design has invaded all spheres of society — “from genes to jeans” (Foster, 2002: 17) — in such a way that, as suggests this well-known historian and art critic, today we can even talk of a new “political economy of design” (Foster, 2002: 22), which is increasingly relevant.

However, the attention, the relevance and the centrality that is now given to design clearly contrasts, as we shall see, with a long period in which this discipline and, particularly, the designers have remained in the ‘shadow’ — that is, taking a quite marginal position in the context of the artistic and cultural production, often being ignored or sometimes even despised by both the academy and the ‘art worlds’.

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the designer profession and how it has been transforming in recent years. Particularly it aims to explore some elements of tension which are related, on one hand, with the process of increasing recognition of design as a specific disciplinary field and of its importance in contemporary societies but also, on the other hand, with a set of broader changes that have recently come to affect the labour market, particularly in Europe. It will seek to illustrate some more general reflections concerning major changes in graphic design world (from an western standpoint) with empirical evidence resulting from field work carried out over the past two years, within an on-going Ph.D. research concerning graphic design careers in Portugal, since mid-1970s onwards. Methodologically, this chapter draws mainly on several interviews conducted with Portuguese graphic designers, from different generations and with diverse professional paths, in order to understand how designers have transformed their (self)interpretation of their position within this creative field, analyse how changed the work processes and also discuss some tensions and contradictions on the construction process of graphic design as a profession.¹

¹ The research informing this chapter was made possible by the individual doctoral grant, conceded by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (Foundation for Science and Technology) (SFRH/BD/84115/2012), funded by the Human Potential Operational Program and the European Social Fund.

2. A (brief) journey about the social sciences' standpoint on design and designers

Research in design arises essentially in the late 1960s. Historically, that time was characterized by the rapid development of design, especially in Europe and the US, driven by the Fordist industrial momentum of mass production and consumption (Bony, 2006; Julier, 2004; Dormer, 1993). It should also be remembered that, since the post-war period, there has been an increasing 'normalization' of design as an discipline, which is visible in a progressive distance from more artistic, experimental and avant-garde approaches, which will be gradually replaced by a new kind of approach, with a solid rationalist inspiration, that advocated a strong orientation of the discipline for the 'problem-solving'. Moreover, this process of 'normalization' of design was followed by an expansion of a specialized education offer on design, especially in more advanced capitalist countries like the UK (McRobbie, 1998), France (Dubuisson & Hennion, 1995), Italy or Germany (Bony, 2006).

Specifically in graphic design, this disciplinary reorientation is linked to the rise of the so-called 'Swiss School' and its International Typographic Style, during the 1950s, which came prove to be deeply influential, establishing the canon of what would be seen as 'good design graphic' — in terms of communication effectiveness and also of the accuracy, clarity and order in the reading of information. Jobling and Crowley (1996: 162–164) emphasize the modernist ideal that underlies this set of rules and graphic and typographic standards, according to which it would be up to the designer to assume an important role in the organization of the post-war Western societies and, thus, to move away from a certain avant-garde graphical and typographical guidance that was dominant during the first decades of the twentieth century. It was precisely in this context that was the emergence of the first social sciences research concerning design, focusing mainly on the analysis of design objects and, and, in some way, neglecting the role of designers, as noted by Jonathan Woodham (2001).

This is a trend that is particularly relevant in the art history research field, which was driven, mainly since the 1980s, either by the cultural studies related to the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies — strongly inspired, as is well known, by the theoretical contributions of authors like Raymond Williams, Pierre Bourdieu, Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, among others —, and also by the influential analysis carried out by

historians such as John Heskett (1980) and Adrian Forty (1986). In the fields of women's studies and anthropology also emerged, during the same period, proposals of analysis that aim to explore the relationship between design and consumption, social representations and the cultural imaginaries related to specific genres and certain lifestyles (Woodham 2001: 7–9).

Also the graphic production was, for a long time, studied mainly from the angle of publicity and propaganda, topics that aroused great interest from media studies and cultural studies. Through an investing in analysis with a strong semiotic inclination, these two disciplines sought to interpret and deconstruct the discourse conveyed by this type of communication objects, understanding them as production vehicles of ideologies, of mythologies and of pleasure. In a context characterized by a wide discussion on the so-called 'mass society', the work carried out by Judith Williamson on *Decoding Advertisements* (1978) was an important milestone in the semiotic analysis and content analysis of advertising speeches, which will serve as a relevant inspiration, arousing the interest of many researchers. On the other hand, it should also be noted that, along with the publicity and advertising analysis, also arise, during this period, some research works that emphasize the relevance of other elements related to visual culture, in which the graphic design has an important role — including not only advertising, but also magazines, fanzines, posters, record covers, fashion, etc. —, relating them to certain lifestyles and urban subcultures (e.g. Hebdige, 1979).

In short, it can be said that, between the late 1960s and mid-1990s, the major focus of research on design held in the social sciences realm — carried out in different disciplinary fields: history, cultural studies, anthropology, women's studies, sociology — has focused mainly on the symbolic dimension associated with the consumption, on the critical deconstruction of social representations, cultural imaginaries and meanings associated with this kind of cultural products. Consequently, most of these analyses did not explore the role of designers and the specific conditions under which they perform their work (Soar, 2000, 2002c). Interestingly, the first sociological reflection on the role of designers in post-war society dates back to the end of the 1950s. However, as we have just seen, until recently this kind reflection on the role of the designer doesn't have great continuity and deepening. In 1958 C. Wright Mills gave a lecture at the *8th International Design Conference*, held in Aspen (Colorado, US), which was later published under the title *Man in the Middle: The Designer* (Mills, 2008). Here, Mills looks at the role of designers, understanding them as

members of what he designates as the 'cultural apparatus'. His vision is clearly marked by a negative tone, seeing the designers as the 'men in the middle', alienated and frustrated, caught between the worlds of creativity and commercialism:

Designers work at the intersection of these trends; their problems are among the key problems of the overdeveloped society. It is their dual involvement in them that explains the big split among designers and their frequent guilt; the enriched muddle of ideals they variously profess and the insecurity they often feel about the practice of their craft; their often great disgust and their crippling frustration. They cannot consider well their position or formulate their credo without considering both cultural and economic trends, and the shaping of the total society in which these are occurring. (Mills, 2008: 173–174).

For Mills, most designers succumbed to commercial imperatives "which use 'culture' for their own non-cultural — indeed anti-cultural — ends" (Mills, 2008: 178). Within this framework, the solution proposed by Mills is a return to *craftsmanship*, where this sociologist seems to find the values of integrity and independence (see Treviño, 2014). The re-reading of this text, in light of current days, proves to be a quite interesting exercise insofar as, somehow, Mills analysis anticipates a certain critical view of the designers themselves about the exercise of their profession, while echoing a certain idealism of modern avant-garde (such as the Bauhaus, e.g.) about the 'reformist' role of the designer in society (Soar, 2002c: 34). However, this is also a text marked by a period, and we inevitably find in Mills pessimistic discourse on the designers and his dichotomous view between 'culture' and 'commerce' many contact points with the Frankfurt School, for example. Although Herbert Marcuse (2011), Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (2006) do not make explicit references in their texts on the role of designers, they surely share with Mills concerns about the risks of a growing instrumentalization of culture, assuming it as an instrument of ideological propaganda, control and manipulation of public opinion (namely through the use of the mass media to spread values such as consumerism). Finally, this is also an interesting text because, as Matthew Soar points out,

Mills anticipates Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the cultural intermediary — an individual (i.e. 'the man in the middle') whose function is to provide a bridge, or a liaison between, two distinct worlds that can be variously labelled production and consumption, or manufacture and distribution, or commerce and culture (Soar, 2002c: 33).

It should be remembered briefly that the notion of 'new cultural intermediaries' was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, published originally in 1979, where he analyses the key role played by a wide range of social actors —journalists, opinion makers, marketers, advertisers, etc. — as transmitters of the 'good taste' that characterize the upper classes (Bourdieu, 2010). Within a context marked by a growing reflexivity of the social actors and where personal lifestyles is becoming a more and more relevant issue (Lash & Urry, 1994; Featherstone, 1991), the individual consumption become understood as 'class markers' and social distinction factors, the cultural intermediaries — or the intellectuals of the "new petty bourgeoisie" that emerged in France in the post May 68, as they are also called by Bourdieu (2010) — have been assuming a key-strategic position. Indeed, it's up to them to select, categorize, distinguish and even certify the artistic and cultural objects (in a very broad sense) that are worthy of attention and consumption (see also Lash & Urry, 1987: 292–296; Featherstone, 1991: 87–94; Bovone, 1997; Nixon & Du Gay, 2002; O'Connor, 2015: 376–377). Later, authors such as Mike Featherstone (1991) or, more recently, Justin O'Connor (2015) also highlight the important role of the cultural intermediaries in the affirmation and legitimization of a new urban popular culture in the post-war period, contributing to the blurring of old dichotomies and symbolic hierarchies associated with different cultural forms, expressions and manifestations and thus helping to create more extensive and informed audiences.²

Although very relevant and influential, the very broad and generic nature of the concept of 'new cultural intermediaries' has been criticized by Liz McFall (2002), Sean Nixon and Paul Du Gay (Nixon & Du Gay, 2002; Nixon, 1997, 2003; Du Gay, 1997), among other authors that warn about the need of more detailed analysis of the different professional groups that constitute the cultural intermediaries' group, in order to understand the specificities of their work, their different cultural and educational backgrounds, among other aspects that may be relevant to a more accurate assessment of their work and its impact. These authors also argue, on the other hand, the advantages of abandoning the epithet of 'new', since some of the professions related to cultural intermediation have already several decades of existence.³ In this sense, authors such as McFall,

² See Ferreira (2002) for a good summary of the main sociological perspectives on the notion of cultural mediation.

³ See McFall (2002) study on the pioneers of advertising in UK, during the nineteenth century, for example.

Nixon or Du Gay, among others, propose that researchers start to simply use the designation of 'cultural intermediaries' *tout court*.

Following these criticisms, several researchers have been studying some of these professional groups, focusing on the specific conditions of those who work or aspire to work in the field of culture, in a broad sense. It is precisely within this context that will emerge the first sociological approaches seriously committed on understanding the specific outlines of some professional universes that are related to the design field, namely exploring the career paths of young fashion designers (McRobbie, 1998, 2016), advertisers (Nixon, 1997, 2003; Soar, 1996, 2000; McFall, 2002; Cronin, 2004; Luczaj, 2016), graphic designers (Ringier, 2002a/b/c; Wijk and Laisink, 2004; Vinodrai, 2006), or new media workers (Gill, 2002, 2007).

Unlike the proposal of sociological analysis advanced by C. Wright Mills (2008), this renewed look of sociology on designers proves to be averse to excessively dichotomous and simplistic visions (see Soar, 2002c; Aronczyk, 2010). Instead, it seeks to interpret the quite diverse and complex ways through which many of these cultural workers understand their practices, how they organized themselves professionally, exploring the often contradictory and ambiguous ways that the identities of designers, as a professional group, are built and developed, the expectations that are generated in different contexts, and the concrete reality of an increasingly adverse labour market. The next section of this chapter aims to present a brief systematization of some of the main features of the work organization within the design field, discussing some specific aspects related graphic design field. As it was previously mentioned, this reflection is particularly informed by the research that is been held in Portugal concerning the specificities and diversities of careers within the graphic design worlds.

3. Conceptions and work organization models in graphic design

Historically, design has a strong tradition of flexible labour, with a predominance of self-employment and freelance, project-based work schemes (Dormer, 1993; Julier, 2008; Julier & Moor, 2009). According to some authors (McRobbie, 1998; Wijk & Leisink, 2004; Julier, 2008), self-employment is even an essential characteristic of the social identity of designers as a professional group, being

actively encouraged in peer relationship, especially during the training period.⁴ In my own research I have found that also in Portugal there is a strong tradition of self-employment in the design sector, a condition that is shared by almost all interviewed designers who began working between the 1960's and 80's. Despite this remains a very usual situation nowadays, it must be recognized that, from the 90's onwards, the situation begins to become increasingly diverse, with the namely with the entrance in the national market of multinational advertising agencies and the emergence of some bigger design studios.⁵ On the other hand, it appears that the large majority of the interviewed designers aspire — or aspired — to have their own studio, where they work on their own, as freelancers or small-scale entrepreneurs, hoping to have the conditions and the opportunities to develop their *own style* (a question which, as we shall see later, is connected with the growing importance of authorship issues in the design field).

In interviews with young designers, the issue of freelance is often seen as an intermediate step in a career that, despite being seen as (increasingly) arduous and difficult, it is expected that culminates in the opening of their own studio.

After school there is a huge gap to manage to get work to carry on to professional level, seriously speaking. That's the freelancer phase, a period to show that we can work properly, to make our portfolio and, at the same time, to make enough money to, later then, we can create our own studio... (André, 23 years old, degree in graphic design; currently working as a freelance while completing his master's degree in graphic design)

In other cases, the decision to establish an own studio — whether it is formally constituted as a company or as an informal collective of freelancers gathered under the same common 'brand' — seems to be seen almost as a measure of 'resistance', reflecting the assessment made by these young designers about the difficult situation that the country is experiencing, especially since 2008, with the increasing growing of precarious working conditions. Let's

⁴ In this regard, Ellen Van Wijk and Peter Ink Laws state that "The teacher at the art academy, who are self-employed designers themselves, enact the social structure of graphic design in which 'creative freedom' and freelancing are connected." (Wijk & Leisink, 2004: 107).

⁵ Of course, these processes cannot be separated from broader processes of change (socio-economic, cultural and political nature) that occurred in the Portuguese society, from the 1980s onwards, with very significant impacts on the organizational modes of the activity of the designers, design studios and advertising and communication agencies (see Souto, 1991; Santos, 2002; Almeida, 2014; Silva, 2015; Bártolo, 2015).

look, as an example, the following excerpt from an interview conducted with some elements of a small design studio from Lisbon, explaining the circumstances and reasons that led to the decision to create the studio:

Joana Sobral: Yes, now we can consider that our transition from university to the work world was very naive because the truth is that, at that time, we didn't have a single client! What we had was the conviction that we had a good group dynamic while students in college so we wanted to keep working together (...).

Rafael Lourenço: Somehow we anticipated the difficulties to start from scratch and we realized that joining our forces in a single project would be easier than working as freelancer individually but... (...)

João Silva: Also, none of us wanted to do a six month internship, unpaid, and then return to the starting point...

(Vivóeusébio, design studio founded in 2006 by four graphic designers, between 31 and 32 years old; all with a degree in graphic design)

Once this activity always has been organized, from the labour point of view, according to principles of a flexible economy, one can state that — like other artistic areas — the design anticipates a set of transformations that have been widespread in the labour market (see Menger, 2005; Ross, 2000, 2006–07; McRobbie, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2016; Osten, 2007, 2011; De Peuter, 2014). Recent studies demonstrate that many designers and other cultural and creative workers continue to incorporate this sort of labour market way of relationship and organization; but, simultaneously, they also stress its deeply negative impacts, including:

- Preponderance of irregular, project-based work regimes, often in self-employment schemes and freelance;
- Predominance of low wages and lack of social protection;
- Tendency to a multiplication of jobs;
- Growing difficulty in dissociate labour time from 'free time', which tend to extend and mix, creating a kind of continuum;
- Great uncertainty about the expectations of building a professional career;
- Under-representation of women and ethnic minority communities, who often work in the more unfavourable or unequal situations;
- Gatekeeping and networking have a great importance, putting the creative professionals under a great pressure to constantly 'self-promote' themselves (and thus contributing to the work/leisure continuum);

- Worsening trend of a low ability of workers' organizational and collective action in this sector (individualism prevails).⁶

But these forms of work organization also have a profound impact on the subjectivity of social actors. Recent research conducted by David Hesmondhalgh and Sarah Baker (2010, 2011) on the working conditions in three different fields of the creative industries sectors in the UK, for example, rightly warns for the relevance of analysing sociologically some of *emotional* or *affective* dimensions of creative labour — related not only to the stress and work pressure in highly precarious labour models, but also related with how the management of another kind of feelings (such as frustration, disillusionment and disappointment) — and their impact on quality of life. Since this are highly competitive contexts, that are generally characterized by a strong atomization and isolation of workers, many investigations have allowed us to understand that there is a trend towards more acute feelings of insecurity, which often leads creative workers to find flexible management mechanisms of their expectations and ambiguous feelings, combining pleasure and pain in complex mechanisms of 'self-exploration', as explains Angela McRobbie (1998, 2002, 2011, 2016), in an approach clearly inspired by Michel Foucault's analytical framework of the "technologies of the self" (see Foucault, 1988).

It is therefore necessary, as argues Rosalind Gill (2002), to question the coolness 'aura' usually related with creative industries — and particularly with design —, denouncing the deeply negative impacts of such 'flexible' forms of labour relationships. In Portugal, the hunger strike "for a job and a decent future" carried out by José Cardoso, a Porto-based graphic designer and illustrator, in September 2012, shows, in a very dramatic way, the numerous contradictions in the current mainstream rhetoric on 'creative entrepreneurship', warning for the high degree of desperation that are experiencing some of the Portuguese designers (and not only them), particularly in such a time of deep crisis and economic downturn like the current ones. Indeed, these seems to be propitious times for a heightening of the risks of volatility, flexibility and job insecurity of

⁶ This synthetic overview is based on a criss-cross reading of different studies on work in cultural and creative fields, which goes beyond the strict limits of the graphic design field. However, once there are many points of contact between these different areas, it justifies thus this kind of criss-cross reading. For some main sources, see Menger, 2005; McRobbie, 1998, 2002, 2011, 2016; Ross, 2003, 2008; Gill, 2002, 2007; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Conor, 2010; Blair, 2001; Banks, 2006; Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Mould, Vorley & Liu, 2014; Cohen, 2012; De Peuter, 2011, 2014; Brophy & De Peuter, 2007; Neff *et al.*, 2005; Borges, 2007, 2011; Borges & Costa, 2012; among others.

creative workers such as graphic designers, which in an 'normal' context were already in a quite high level (see Quintela, 2013).

To conclude, it should be stressed the relevance of this sociological research line — one that, in fact, goes beyond the design field *stricto sensu* —, once it allows us to critically question some hegemonic rhetoric concerning the cultural and creative industries that has been spread over the European political and economic mainstream during the last decade (Flew, 2012; O'Connor, 2007, 2011; Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 2013; Pratt, 2009; Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009; Ferreira, 2010), celebrating the 'flexibility' and 'entrepreneurship' of those that Richard Florida (2002) has called the 'creative class'. However, when we analyse the design field these issues get a particular relevance. Rhetorically, the design is becoming increasingly seen as a kind of virtuous' paradigm of a successful application of 'creativity' (typical of the arts and culture) and 'innovation' (typical of engineering and applied sciences), able to provide, in an efficient and pragmatic way, tailored solutions to answer to the constant market needs, increasingly voracious and demanding. Thus, the analysis of this issue implies a detailed analysis of some recent changes in the design field, focusing particularly in those that are specific of the graphic design field — which will be developed in the next section of the chapter.

4. Design as a paradigmatic field of the new 'creative economy'

The design has undergone, over the past few years, profound changes that led to successive enlargements, triggering new professional practices and the involvement of designers in new networks and professional contexts. According to David Bell and Mark Jayne (2003), design is currently a 'fuzzy term', stressing the authors the increasingly dilated, undefined and, in a sense, ambiguous character of this activity. This is, in fact, an increasingly large and complex disciplinary domain, intervening in several fields, producing an extensive range of goods, services and landscapes. Moreover, as the presence of design invades more and more the public and mediatic space, it also becomes an increasingly multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary domain, which also results from the growing interest of other fields of knowledge in this activity (Bony, 2006; Julier, 2008). On the other hand, design has also incorporated, in both rhetorical and pragmatic plans, a new set of political, social and mediatic 'agendas' — ecology

and environmental sustainability, the efficient and innovative management of territories and businesses, among others examples (Foster, 2002; Julier, 2004, 2008; Julier & Moor, 2009; Lantaois, 2010). Finally, we witness an expansion and transformation of the design idea, increasingly 'de-materialized' and 'de-aestheticized', gaining greater relevance its procedural dimension, as a management method, as an instrument to fostering innovation and as a creative tool to problem solving (Kimbell, 2011; Tonkinwise, 2008) — the most famous example is probably the so-called *design thinking*, which has been gaining increasing prominence and disciplinary autonomy. Consequently, design has recently come to intervene in new domains, particularly those related to strategy, management and planning. This ability to introduce changes and add value is a crucial aspect and a key-argument in all the rhetoric surrounding the design and its importance in innovation processes.

It's precisely in this sense that Philippe Bouquillion (2012: 30) suggests that nowadays designers are exemplary figures of the new 'creative economy': equipped with specific creative tools and skills, these professionals have the ability to develop innovative approaches to different kinds of organizations and companies, actively contributing to increase their differentiation and competitiveness. Briefly, the designers exemplify three key-ideas that structure the contemporary rhetoric on creativity, namely: (1) the creative industries are one of the key growth drivers of contemporary economies; (2) the 'creative' human capital is now at the core of contemporary economy, being advantageous to invest it in 'non-creative' sectors; and, finally, (3) the importance and suitability of new patterns of 'flexible' work, project-based, currently being spread throughout the economy. Therefore, one should not be surprised that design is nowadays one of the most emblematic areas of creative industries' 'mantra', repeatedly addressed in various technical reports and political speeches on this subject. In this sense, Andy C. Pratt and Paul Jeffcutt argue that "the design field, [is] perhaps the most amorphous but emblematic area of the creative industries, particularly for politicians and lay people an expression of the 'creative' premium." (Pratt & Jeffcutt 2009: 15).

In a circumstance where the design concept continually expands and complexifies, also the contexts of the designers' professional practices change, becoming required new skills of argumentation, negotiation and management of interests and priorities. But, on the other hand, we are also witnessing to a strengthening of the symbolic power and the ability to influence these

professionals, as the designers are increasingly present in public and mediatic space (Julier & Moor, 2009).

It should be remembered that the public recognition process of the designer dates back to the last two decades of the twentieth century, when there is an intensification of the presence of design in contemporary societies. Under a strong influence of postmodernism, especially since the 1980s, the language of design has changed profoundly, emerging new approaches that show a strong eclecticism, hybridity and a permanent intertextuality of visual, cultural and historical references. In what concerns graphic design, if the post-war period corresponded to a 'normalization' which, as we have seen, is characterized by a hegemonic notion of 'good design', in the 1980's and 90's it takes place a recovery of some avant-garde artistic currents that marked the beginning of the discipline — such as the Russian Constructivism and the Surrealism, e.g. — that were reappropriated, deconstructed and reinterpreted by a new generation of graphic designers (see Jobling & Crowley, 1996: 271–290; Poynor, 2003).

It is precisely in this context of increasing recognition of the role of design in society that emerges an intense debate on *authorship* in design (Rock, 2005; Poynor, 2003; Moura, 2011) and the new role as *producers* that many designers are beginning to claim (Margolin, 2002; Lupton, 2005; Blauvelt & Lupton, 2011; Bártolo, 2011 e 2014; McCarthy, 2013). This change reflects a clear desire of emancipation of, more or less, functionalist views of design; and, simultaneously, it points out to a new set of aspirations, in social and professional terms. Within this new context, the design begins to be more clearly assumed as a cultural expression, which will contribute to a gradually mitigate the traditional distinction between artists and designers.

If the affirmation of the graphic design notion in the late 1920's — surpassing other competing terms, such as 'commercial art' — was crucial for this activity gradually move away from the strict field of advertising, giving graphic designers a greater disciplinary autonomy and also recognizing a greater complexity in their work (Jobling & Crowley, 1996: 1–2), it's also important to recognize that the contemporary debate on authorship in design seems to take other contours, perhaps more radicals, especially when it underestimates some foundations of the profession, such as the existence of an external client who makes an order or puts a problem that the designer must answer. Indeed, there is a growing number of graphic designers that, in recent years, began working by their own motivation, developing self-initiated projects, assuming themselves fully as authors, able to produce without a client's order

and often having as an audience their peers (other fellow designers, illustrators and artists). In this context, the search and affirmation of one *own style* — associated with a particular designer or design studio —, easily recognizable by peers and also by clients, becomes an increasingly important issue (Philizot, 2007; Jobling & Crowley, 1996: 284).

Clearing approaching the worlds of art and contemporary architecture, issues like 'talent' or 'originality' are becoming increasingly important in building a reputation within the design field. Also, a tension between two extremes poles is developing within this field: on one hand, more strict 'commercial' approaches that, in graphic design, are related mainly with advertising projects done by large design studios or communication and advertising agencies; and, on the other hand, approaches that clearly are more 'authorial', which often are associated with more 'experimental' projects, usually for clients related with arts and culture, which are typically carried out by individual designers or small design studios (Poynor, 2003, 2004; Philizot, 2007). Vivien Philizot (2007) claims, perhaps too schematically, that the graphic design field is currently structured between, on the one hand, a very small number of 'authors-designers' (which form a sort of an elite or a star-system) and, on the other hand, a large number of 'semi-authors' and 'executants' designers, with different levels of prestige, recognition and autonomy. Regardless the merits of the typology advanced by Philizot (2007), it seems to be unequivocal that this new understanding of the designer as author has been widely disseminated within the field, changing profoundly the professional aspirations and expectations, especially of a new generation of graphic designers.

It's important to highlight here the key role played by arts and design schools. As previously mentioned, there is a long tradition in graphic design education to valorise and emphasize the designers who own their own studio and also to encourage, since an early stage, the students' 'creative freedom', motivating them to set up in the market as self-employed designers (see Wijk & Leisink, 2004: 107) — an aspect which, as already mentioned, is very clearly present in the interviews conducted with Portuguese graphic designers from different generations. However, there has been, in recent years, a notable increase of this positive appreciation and valuation of this authorial dimension related with design and the profession of designer. In Portugal, this phenomenon is clearly visible, for example, in the recent proliferation of academic events (meetings, conferences, workshops), for which are usually invited designers and design studios whose portfolio is usually considered as

more experimental or authorial. Furthermore, the recent boom of design-related initiatives (such as exhibitions, publications, conferences, workshops, artistic residencies, etc.) also contributed to increase the visibility and recognition of a cultural dimension associated with the design, and simultaneously encourages self-reflection and critical questioning of Portuguese designers about their own professional practices.⁷

Often conceived and organized by designers, these initiatives have helped to develop new spaces dedicated to the theory and design critic in Portugal, encouraging the self-reflection and critical questioning of designers about their professional practices. Although it's important recognize that, by their own characteristics, many of these initiatives end up having a quite delimited impact (in time and space), revealing some fragilities in this dynamic (Quintela, 2014b), the recent proliferation of events, publications, exhibitions and other initiatives is nonetheless an indicative of the trend towards a growing maturity and autonomy of the design, as an disciplinary field and profession — following an wider international trend (see Soar, 2002a/b/c; Bártolo, 2014).

However, this trend should not be mistaken with some kind of unanimity or consensus; on the contrary, in my own field of work I have found a multiplicity of perspectives, opinions and positions on the profession. Anyway, although not every interviewed designers recognize themselves as 'authors', it seems to be a widely shared desire and ambition to build a career which is regarded, recognized and valued, both by their peers and clients. At the same time, many interviewees reveal a profound mismatch between their personal and professional expectations and an increasingly adverse reality.

It's precisely within this context that in recent years several Portuguese designers, individually or collectively, decided to develop self-initiated projects through which they seek to: (1) find spaces for personnel fulfilment; (2) find spaces to emancipate themselves from more conventional professional models; (3) and also to search for alternative answers to an increasingly saturated labour market, marked by the deterioration of the work conditions and the lack of projects that designers consider to be 'challenging', from an creative standpoint.

⁷ For an overview of some of these initiatives, see Bártolo (2015). Frederico Duarte (2014) provides a more detailed analysis of some Portuguese design projects authorial-oriented. For a review on some recent changes in what concerns exhibitions and other similar projects related with an idea of a Portuguese design heritage, see also Coelho, 2013; Quintela, 2014a; Bártolo, 2014b. Finally, for an analysis on the emergence of a design criticism in the context of the national blogosphere, see Moura, 2014; Quintela, 2014b.

Some of these projects take a critical positioning on design, the way this designers relate themselves critically with their profession and also with the market that it seems to be interesting to deepen here.

Indeed, for their craft and handmade characteristics, and its slow rhythm of production, sometimes using production methods that openly call to a physical effort in the process of its implementation — silkscreen printing, for example — many of these projects can be seen as a criticism to the degradation of the work conditions and as a form of resistance to the growing technological complexity of contemporary graphic design (see Lantenois, 2010: 53–64). During the interviews conducted, some designers involved in this kind of projects explicitly express their discontent with the dissatisfaction with the preponderance, in their creative work processes, of the computer and the several graphical editing softwares.

We are very saturated of spending so many hours in front of a computer screen and at least this [work associated with manual silkscreen printing] is a more physical wear that forces us to think about how to achieve the plasticity that we could not get from the computer. (Miguel Carneiro, 34 years old, member of the collective Oficina Arara; hold a degree in fine arts/ painting)

Somehow, most of these projects are seen as spaces of resistance and creative freedom by many of these graphic designers who often are, at the same time, pursuing their professional activity in more conventional and, from their perspective, less creative ways. On the other hand, some of these self-initiated projects also play an important role in the improvement of the designers' professional portfolio — which also explains the investment made in the careful production of some of these graphical objects. Finally, these projects also show the desire of these designers to fully assume their status as authors, controlling the entire process — from the conception to the production and, sometimes, even the distribution and sale. Indeed, it's important to stress that although most of these projects answer to personal pulses, being developed in an independent and do-it-yourself way, many of them intended to be sold. At this point we can hardly speak of a professionalization linked to such practices, because generally designers combine these practices with other professional activities to ensure the economic sustainability or recur to family support, particularly in case of young students (but not just them). However, this doesn't mean that these self-initiated projects cannot generate some sort of economic return, fuelling what Teal Triggs (2010: 209) calls 'micro-craft economies' that nowadays thrive in

online and offline independent circuits dedicated to the sale of self-publish publications, fanzines and other kind of graphic objects (see Quintela & Borges, 2015).

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter addresses how the design has been complexifying and diversifying itself over the last years, getting an unprecedented recognition in contemporary societies which, as Scott Lash and John Urry (1994) explained, result from a massification of its presence in contemporary economies that became increasingly 'intensive design'. Also, design has become increasingly complex and diverse in the last years, gaining an unprecedented recognition. However, the central position design holds today clearly contrasts with a long period in which this activity and particularly its professionals remained in the 'shadows', ignored either by the 'art worlds' as by the academy. As we have seen, in recent years this situation has deeply changed, with the emergence of several research works that sought to analyse this activity, trying to understand the design complexity as a discipline, as well as exploring the specific conditions under which designers work.

Design has a number of historical features that make it a fascinating research subject: on one hand, it constitutes an hinge area, between art and the production system, where different forms of creativity are confronted and make compatible, and whose the results, in principle, aim to answer to the market needs (Dubuisson & Hennion, 1995); and, on the other hand, it is an activity that always has been organized, from a work point of view, according to principles of a flexible economy, marked by the self-employment and freelance (Dormer, 1993; Julier, 2008; Julier & Moor, 2009). Perhaps this is why designers are currently being seen as role models of the new 'creative economy', being constantly mentioned in studies and reports (Bouquillion, 2012; Pratt & Jeffcutt 2009).

However, how it was argue before, this kind of idealized view of the design often do not consider the negative impacts associated with how the designers relate themselves with work and organize professionally. Thus, it proves to be of utmost importance continue further with researches related to work realities in cultural and creative sectors which, as we have seen, have contributed much to offer a contradictory look to the hegemonic idealized, stereotyped and overly

generic and homogenizing visions of the working experience in creative fields such as creative design.

From my perspective, the design is currently a privileged domain of sociological study, allowing us to: (1) realize how this type of labour market organization are incorporated and reproduced; (2) reflect on the negative impacts associated with the way designers relate themselves to work; and (3) identify mechanisms of managing of expectations and micro-resistance within this creative field. Throughout this chapter were introduce some reflections that result from the on-going research on Portuguese graphic designers careers from different generations. However, the experiences of the youngest designers have a particular focus in the analysis, mainly because this is the group that have been more impacted by this new rhetoric around the importance of design in contemporary societies, being strongly encouraged, throughout their schooling and beyond, to affirm themselves individually in the market. However, in the conducted interviews, many of these designers show not only an acute awareness of the difficulties encountered at the moment of entering the labour market — and that, in many cases, still remains —, but also demonstrate a quite critical perspective on the mainstream rhetoric surrounding the ‘creative entrepreneurship’. As we have seen, in some cases it was even possible to identify a clear desire to find alternatives that, although uncertain and possibly economically unsustainable, enable these designers to overcome some of the material difficulties associated to the increasing deterioration of their working conditions and, above all, help them to manage the feelings of frustration.

It is precisely in this context that, from an sociological standpoint, it seems interesting to follow the current debate on the enlargement of the designers’ activity that, increasingly, are looking at themselves as cultural players — authors, publishers, curators, critics, writers, etc. —, and try to realize what will be the impact, in the long term, of these changes that, until some time ago, were not so clearly associated with this professional activity. This is certainly a promising research path that I personally want to continue deepen. However, I’m also confident that the analysis of the Portuguese reality will certainly benefit from comparative analysis with other territorial contexts, as well as criss-cross readings with other different disciplinary fields that integrate the cultural and creative sector.

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ART WORLDS
AND TERRITORIAL
BELONGINGS

3

Celebrities of the *Passinho*¹: Media, visibility and recognition of youngsters from poor neighbourhoods

Cláudia Pereira, Aline Maia and Marcella Azevedo

Abstract

In 2004, a new dance craze emerged from the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro. *Passinho*, as it was dubbed, is a combination of funk and hip hop with traditional Brazilian styles such as *frevo* and *samba*. The dance has gained mainstream worldwide attention, is endlessly displayed on TV shows, and became the subject of documentaries and plays. Two of its celebrities are Cebolinha and Lellêzinha, who have risen to fame and have consolidated themselves as important references for other youngsters in the quest for recognition. If before they were invisible to the media (with cases of visibility only by means of crime and violence), nowadays they are represented as people who can stand out as a result of their music, dance and fashion sense. They appear on TV shows and they are featured in documentaries and advertising campaigns due to their unique style. This article proposes a reflection on the construction of these personalities, celebrities from shantytowns, based on discussions about media visibility and invisibility.

1. Let's go to *passinho*

The style was born and spread from the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro: a mixture of funk and hip hop with traditional Brazilian styles such as *frevo* and *samba*. *Passinho*, rhythm originated in 2004, arouses youthful creativity of shantytowns in order to promote a different perspective on its subjects. In addition to been practiced on *lajes* (*concrete slabs*) and during 'battles'² that take place at *bailes* (*funk balls*) within the communities, over the past few years the movement has increased in popularity. It has gained space on TV shows, it has been the subject of documentaries and plays, it received sponsorship from large companies, and it became the motto used in video clips that were widely successful. A peculiar

¹ This chapter – with adaptations - results from a paper presented at the Communication and Urban Cultures RG, XIV Meeting of Research Groups in Communication at the XXXVII *Brazilian Congress of Communication Sciences* in 2015. It is also published, in Portuguese, as a chapter in the book *Cultura Pop* (see Pereira, Maia & Azevedo, 2015). This chapter results from researches carried out at Communication and Consumption Studies Program (PECC) in Rio de Janeiro sponsored by Infoglobo/PUC-Rio Academy.

² The 'battles' of *passinho* are dance competitions. It is a dispute between two contestants at a time. The winner of each dispute goes to another stage until the contest has a final winner.

art form born in the *favela* through which its artists, the youngsters, discovered an opportunity to gain visibility.

In this context, we perceive the rising of an individual who longs to be recognized for his or hers artistic and cultural abilities: A young body bearer of messages of mobilization and resistance to stereotypes commonly widespread in the mainstream media when relating the subject of *favela* to crime and banditry. The emergence of *passinho* also brings to light personalities who greatly stand out from within the movement. Boys who take on the important role of implementing new leisure practices and establishing what is consumed and communicated within their communities, thus presenting themselves as references (see Pereira, Maia & Azevedo, 2015).

This chapter introduces a reflection on the construction of these personalities, celebrities from shantytowns, based on discussions about media visibility and invisibility. If on the one hand we perceive the mainstream media's only interest on aspects related to violence and crime, mainly in news coverage (Alvim & Paim, 2000), on the other hand it is instigating to evaluate the rise of new idols and models of behaviour in these poor neighbourhoods. For this study, we make use of a methodology that combines literature review and documentary research along with analysis of social representations in the media—journalistic and entertainment—that makes reference to the *passinho* and its dancers. Distinctively, we turn our attention to materials that provides us with insight on the origins of the movement and the path taken by two youngsters in particular: Jefferson Chaves, known as Cebolinha, and Alessandra Ayres, Lellêzinha. Both got famous on YouTube, attracted attention in the 'battles' carried out in the *favelas* of Rio, became a reference to other young *passistas*³ and starred on TV shows and commercials. The girl was even cast to be part of a soap opera in one of Brazil's major TV networks due to the *passinho*. As for Cebolinha, he travels around the world showing his dance.

2. Social representations, media (in)visibility and the quest for recognition

At present, the media are a powerful propagator of representations in the social world, materializing instruments of the contemporary imagination in a way that

³ Portuguese name for the dancers of *Passinho*.

affects social practices of individuals and groups, such as the youngsters. According to Serge Moscovici (2001), social representations are a phenomenon, not only a concept, in which the interaction between the individuals and the negotiation of a common sense base the communication itself, essential to strengthen ties and connections, elaborating at last the construction of the reality symbolically lived and understood. For Moscovici (2001), given that we receive information all the time, we become dependent on models, parameters that help us understand and process that information.

In light of this necessity, social representations act with two functions. The first one is to give shape and sense to objects, people, events, to eliminate characteristics which are particular to individuals or observed situations, and to emerge a more familiar and general shape. The second function is the prescriptive character of representations that ultimately impose itself as an irresistible force upon society, incorporating itself into daily life, in a way that "are shared by many, enter into and influence the mind of each they are not thought by them; rather, to be more precise, they are re-thought, re-cited and re-presented." (Moscovici, 2001: 24).

Representations are collective, dynamic creations shared by the members of a group or society and strengthened by the tradition of the same group or society. Therefore, they emerge from human interactions:

Representations, obviously, are not created by individuals in isolation. Once created, however, they lead a life of their own, circulate, merge, attract and repel each other, and give birth to new representations, while old ones die out. (...) Being shared by all and strengthened by tradition, it constitutes a social reality *sui generis*. (...) In creating representations we are like the artist, who bows down before the statue he has sculpted and worships it as a god. (Moscovici, 2001: 27).

Under this perspective, Moscovici also states that social representations are closely connected to communication, for it is a product of this and of interaction. At the same time that they are spread out by communicative practices, they are also mechanisms that enable communication, since they aim at making the unfamiliar familiar, operating on the logic of recurrence to a past, to a pre-existing experience. Moscovici (2001) makes it clear that social representations may be the product of communication, but without representations there would be no communication. In summary, the representations founded by communication would constitute the realities of our lives and would serve as

primary means to establish the associations with which we interact with one another.

It is in this context that the role of the media in the configuration and conformation of social representations emerges: The media accelerate the changes representations must go through in order to penetrate into our daily life and become part of common reality. At the same time as it collaborates on the propagation of representations, the media also strengthen and legitimize such representations. Hence, the media are of essential importance in supporting representations and speeches. Mass communication disseminates ways of thinking, acting and being in the daily avalanche of information, advertising messages, films, soap operas, news, talk shows, reality shows, animations, amongst other products, creating symbolic structures where people, ideas and situations are, at all times, categorized, framed, associated to paradigms in the interest of establishing positive or negative relations with the public, and with one other.

Within this context, we present our discussion pertaining to the way in which youngsters from the *favelas* become visible or invisible in media speech. After all, for researchers such as Alvim and Paim (2000), journalism recurrently focuses on inhabitants of poor neighbourhoods under the perspectives of violence and crime. In analysing the construction of the 'gangs' in journalistic narrative, the two authors have concluded that the citizens of the poor neighbourhoods, observed in their real environment, present problems as delinquency, idleness and irresponsibility. For them, these youngsters from lower classes are recurrently portrayed in the pages of newspapers and they "attract attention not because of their daily life, but rather for the 'dangerous life style' they supposedly have" (Alvim & Paim, 2000: 15).

The idea of youth itself in modern western societies has its origin linked to delinquency (Groppa, 2000). In the 1950s post-war era, the gangs gathered on North American and British streets to encourage disorder, rebelliousness, and transgression. For the field of Social Sciences, youth became object of interest and study thereafter, and it has gotten media attention exclusively for crime-related stories. This perspective seems to have changed in comparison to the present moment when, apparently, other representations of poor youngsters from the *favela* are at display, as this paper intends to demonstrate.

In this context, we pay special attention to the youth from poor neighbourhoods who claim a place in society, often through artistic-cultural manifestations. We observe that according to Herschman, "the culture of poor

neighbourhoods has managed to, with some regularity, produce not only a counter discourse, but also trace new sociocultural borders (and space) that oscillate between the exclusion and the integration" (Herschman, 2005: 158) in the media representation. The dance and music produced in the *favelas* is recorded on video, transformed into video clips and made available on the Internet, offering the world the youngsters' real perspective on the place they live. In fact, the Internet was the environment in which *passinho* seems to have echoed, initially only inside the *favelas* of Rio. According to testimonials in the documentary *A batalha do Passinho – o filme* (Domingos, 2013), recording a video to register their dance and post it on sharing websites was the way these youngsters found to promote their style and also to present, rethink, recite and represent themselves (Moscovici, 2001).

Hence, a practice of communication as well as of representation that is very clear in the speeches chained in the documentary was born: "I watched the video and I thought I could do better than that"; "I started to dance watching videos of the other *moleque*⁴ on YouTube. I began to stare at my shadow at the wall and improve my moves gradually"; "Internet played a crucial role. There was no way for the boys to leave their communities, their *favelas*, in order to promote their work and go anywhere" (Domingos, 2013).

By using corporal expression as a means of representation, these youngsters were in search of a particular visibility, not one that would place them within the geographic centre of the cities, but one that would guarantee their inclusion, acceptance and recognition from other means of manifestation. *Passinho* insured the media visibility and consequent recognition they sought: "My dream is to be recognized, but not only in the world of funk. I want to be recognized abroad", confesses a young boy who participated in the documentary (see Domingos, 2013). We notice in his speech the alarming consequences modern society inflicts on 'invisible' children and teenagers: If they are not seen, they are not recognized; thus, they do not have a place in the world. "When socially invisible, the biggest hunger of mankind is the hunger for acceptance, affection and recognition" (Soares, Bill & Athayde, 2005: 285). It is pertinent to highlight the mechanisms in the construction of representations as possibilities of also recreating reality. The experiences of the young, their practices of consumption and communication expressed in Domingos' documentary reminds us exactly of the process described by Moscovici (2001)

⁴ In this context 'moleque' means mischievous boy; lad.

about the moment in which the representations that describe ideas can compose or decompose an object from a change of perspective.

3. Fame and media construction of celebrities

The youngsters from poor neighbourhoods' quest for recognition and visibility in the attempt of claiming their place in the world and the importance of media in this context can also be related to a complex and characteristic phenomenon of modern societies: fame. Contemporary authors point out that fame is connected to traditional values such as honour and glory and it is understood as something noble. For Coelho (1999), this concept constitutes ways to construct one's individual identity, which would necessarily occur through the interaction with another person. In summary, this notion is a means to find the singularity that, due to fame in contemporary times, assumes a more ephemeral nature, when in fact honour and glory traditionally reflected a desire of singularity for posterity, in opposition to the future of common people, fated to anonymity and oblivion.

Therefore, Braudy (2006) states that 'Alexander the Great' must be considered the first famous person ever registered. Despite all the recognition that his lineage assured him, the nobleman and warrior longed to be remembered for his own merit. He spared no efforts to ensure that his achievements were disseminated, which resulted in him becoming known far beyond the borders of his magnificent Empire. His death was overcome by the perpetuation of his accomplishments which remain cemented for posterity. Thus, public acclamation would be intrinsically connected to the need of being recognized which is peculiar of human condition, states Rojek (2008) and Coelho (1999). For Rojek (2008: 104), "the acclamation brings the sensual pleasure of being recognized as an object of desire and approval". Along these lines, Coelho (1999: 32) talks about a "supposed singularity that the public exposure of one's image would cultivate". In addition to this direct link with singularity, part of the seduction fame arouses is connected to the possibility of obtaining the most diverse privileges:

Thus, fame seems to perform double duty. Initially, it removes the individual from his or hers anonymous condition, making him or her singular in regard to ordinary people. This possibility to be distinguished, however, does not end in itself, allowing, if well managed, the acquisition of privileges that, in a

society marked by a relational and hierarchal ideology as the Brazilian, as DaMatta (1979) points out, are reserved to the people. (Coelho, 1999: 101).

The study carried out by the anthropologist Roberto DaMatta concerning the issue of fame is thoroughly examined in Coelho's work. Coelho states that celebrities approach those people coined by DaMatta as 'medallions' (or VIPs) and also that they possess prestige that grants them a different treatment in the most diverse situations. She says that celebrities are abstained from the search for privileges, once these privileges are consistent with their own condition of celebrities: "The celebrity is a 'superperson', that one who is capable of stating instead of asking: 'do you know who you are talking to'" (Coelho, 1999: 101). Fame is also associated to a number of varied values, seen as positive. Gabler states that the life of known people is seen as:

a secular paradise of money, sex, beauty, glamour, power, respect, affection, as well as all the small comforts of life, such as the best tables in good restaurants or the best places in stadiums, invitations for fancy parties and even titles of honor. (Gabler, 1999: 169).

After listing some of the reasons that explain the attraction fame has on the youngsters from poor neighbourhoods, we have made room to discuss this from the media point of view. We can now pose the question: how did youngsters like *Lellêzinha* and *Cebolinha* conquer their space in the mainstream media? Aside from participating on talk shows and giving interviews to the most diverse means of communication, both became well-known beyond the shantytowns. As reported by Rojek, this is a premise to acquiring celebrity status. For the author, "celebrity = impact on public conscience" (Rojek, 2008: 12).

The great impact celebrities have on the public can only be understood if analysed within the mechanisms of cultural consumption. Celebrities act as devices conducted by marketing motivations and they are a result of the cultural industry. Contemporary authors have been stressing the issue: "Celebrities are cultural manufactures" (Rojek, 2008: 12), "the mass culture is commercial culture, which sells cultural products for the audience" (Kellner, 2001: 364), and "the star manufactures itself" (Morin, 1989: 36). About movie stars, Morin states:

Stars are complete items of merchandise: there is not one inch of their body, nor a shred of their soul, nor a memory of their lives that cannot be thrown on the market. This complete merchandise has other virtues: it is the typical merchandise of capitalism on a major scale. The enormous investments, the system's industrial techniques of rationalization and standardization

effectively convert stars into merchandise destined for mass consumption. Stars have all the virtues of a standard product adapted to the market, like chewing gum, refrigerators, soap, razor blades etc. Mass distribution is assured by the greatest diffusers of the modern world: the press, the radio, and of course the movies. Furthermore, star-merchandise never wears out nor it diminishes after consumption. The multiplication of a star's images, far from decreasing, augments the image's worth and makes the star more desirable. (Morin, 1989: 76).

We may assume then that the media space gained by the two dancers analysed in this paper is related to a potential bond they might have established with specific groups of public, initially youngsters from poor neighbourhoods like them. Cebolinha and Lellêzinha started to be portrayed as attractive celebrities, merchandise for a consumer public. Part of the attraction has to do with the construction of an identity the fans can relate to, since celebrities offer roles and models to be followed. Morin (1989, p. 105) states that "the star offers and commercializes a 'knowing how to be', a 'knowing how to love' and a 'knowing how to live'". Inglis (2012: 22) writes that it is about "a way of being in the world". Rojek (2008: 58) points out that "the celebrities offer peculiarly strong affirmations of belonging, recognition and sense before the lives of their public". We have here a paradoxical aspect with regard to the relation between fame/celebrity and the formation of identities. Fame is one of the ways in which the construction of self-image resulting from the recognition of others is possible. For those few, however, who achieve fame, they become unique within the multitude of anonymous people, and they can be consolidated as celebrities who, due to media exposure, act as role models for the public's self-image construction.

4. The celebrities of *passinho*

On stage, six youngsters. Five boys and one girl performing elaborate moves. The dance routine takes place in a shed, on a street, at *Central do Brasil* or in *Lapa*.⁵ The protagonists—carefully chosen to be part of the *Dream Team do Passinho*—are all black and inhabitants of the *favelas* of Rio. They stage their dance to the rhythmic sound that makes reference to a known commercial soundtrack for a soft drink. The video *Clipe do Passinho – Todo mundo aperta o*

⁵ *Central do Brasil* is a train station. *Lapa* is a neighborhood located in downtown Rio de Janeiro.

*play*⁶ went viral after being posted on YouTube in September 2013 and was viewed 1.6 million times within the space of only two months, not including the number of times it was shared nor viewed on other people's social network profiles. By mid-July 2014, there were more than 5.6 million views. Another big hit, with more than 52 thousand accesses, was *Passinho da Latinha*.⁷ "Broadcasting Corporation stand by. Now, you are going to see Coca-Cola change your feelings forever, always Coca-Cola": This voice over is off-shot, and is, followed by a young boy entering the scene, drinking the soft drink, placing the can on the floor and starting to dance the *Passinho*. The well-known soundtrack is mixed with a funk rhythm. Two other youngsters also join the scene and dance around the can.

These two videos have many aspects in common, which are inherent to the discussion that we consider in this chapter: In addition to having young protagonists from the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, both videos make reference to the *Batalhas do Passinho* (Portuguese for Battles of the *Passinho*) in Rio de Janeiro, highlighting some personalities from this cultural scene. In actual fact, the first video clip was launched on the Internet to promote the *Baile do Passinho* (Portuguese for *Passinho* Ball), which took place over four Sundays in October 2013, in the communities of *Santa Marta*, *Macacos*, *Alemão* and *Rocinha*. According to the periodical *O Globo*, "The video clip of the group called *Dream Team* is a clear sample of this new phase of the *Passinho*: With impeccable production, it was filmed in different locations, there was a choreographer and an art director" (Filgueiras, 2013). Amongst the dancers is Lellêzinha, one of the few girls to venture into the rhythm. In the second video clip, the three dancers luri, Bolinho and Cebolinha shine through, they are the "celebrity trio" of the *Passinho*. They are the main propagators of the dance, even before the genre drew attention of the mainstream media (see Pereira, Maia & Azevedo, 2015).

Jefferson de Oliveira Chaves, nickname Cebolinha, is 24 years old, and the student Alessandra Aires, nickname Lellêzinha, is 16 years old. In their own way, the subjects of this analysis offer us insight into the stimulating journey that is the establishment of fame. Whilst partisans of the cultural industry's artistic production, they have been legitimized by the media who—not without being based on hard marketing and consumption parameters—have given more and

⁶ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rrtFy5C02Pc>.

⁷ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-hGOMJ4PrU>.

more visibility to these youngsters. The pair stood out in Rio's communities and on social networks (initial platform for disseminating the *Passinho* in Rio de Janeiro). When the movement, still on the web, drew the attention of Rafael Mike and Julio Ludemir, authors of the so called "battles", Cebolinha and Lellêzinha had a new door opened. "Actually, we 'was' already surfing the Web, observing the *moleques*. 'Holy Shit', look at this! Look at that one. 'Holy shit!' Bolinho, Cebolinha! Man, what is it? What is happening? All the *moleques de mola*⁸ in Rio de Janeiro were already mobilized. We just stumbled upon that on the Internet", says Rafael Mike in the documentary *A batalha do Passinho – o filme* (Domingos, 2013), produced by Osmosis Films and directed by Emílio Domingos.

Dance competitions also caught the interest of the anthropologist and filmmaker Domingos, who saw the possibility of making history and promoting the dance in the first organized "battles" carried out throughout 2011. Thusly, the documentary released in 2013 was born. Moreover, it has already covered the world,⁹ also disseminating the *Passinho* and the main names behind the movement. Cebolinha and Lellêzinha are amongst the young narrators of Domingos' film. Just like the other participants, they talk about their interest in dance, their desire to make a living out of *Passinho* and their longing for recognition. Cebolinha is featured several times in the documentary: during 'battles', during testimonials on the street, at home, interacting with other dancers, assessing the reviews and the compliments he receives on social media when posting his videos. He is mentioned by other *passistas* as a role model and an inspiration. In an environment where "he who has the power is either a drug dealer or a dancer of *Passinho*", as reported by another participant, the idols are cultivated internally. Lellêzinha, the only girl featured in the documentary, only appears once. She talks about the importance of the Internet in disseminating the movement and to conclude she dances to the sound coming from a mobile telephone, having as her improvised stage a mixture of grass and land. It is interesting to observe that this restricted female presence in the film translates, subtly but emphatically, the still predominantly masculine environment of the

⁸ 'Moleques de mola' are boys who dance with much skillfulness. Their bodies seem elastic because they have much flexibility while they dance.

⁹ Winner of Best Picture at the Rio Festival 2012 (*Mostra Novos Mundos*), and Best Feature Film at the 4th *Festival de Cinema Curta Amazônia*, elected by popular jury. According to Domingos' interview, the documentary *A batalha do Passinho* has been screened in courses of cinema and festivals abroad, in countries such as France, England, the Netherlands and Portugal.

funk world. *Passinho* is still mostly starred by boys, even though the style evokes elaborate moves and sensuality, which are typically feminine. Since girls are practically absent from the 'battles' registered in the documentary, boys are the ones who take the chance to shine. Lellêzinha seems to be the exception.

Domingos' (2013) film narrative makes it possible to understand the moment where these youngsters begin to leave their poor neighbourhoods and gain visibility beyond the *favelas*. The competitions, initially carried out in an improvised way, in the middle of the street, with a speaker and people around them, evolved to have a sports court with bleachers as a scenario. The court is still located inside the community but TV crews and large companies now have access to it. *O Globo* published on October 6th, 2013:

In one of the battles already sponsored by a soft drink brand, the boys (and only few girls, such as Lellêzinha) perform to an audience of thousands. They are stars: making money, signing exclusive deals, giving private dance classes, been encouraged by their families, measuring their popularity not only by the number of views of their YouTube videos, but also by the number of fans who have tattooed their names onto their bodies. (Filgueiras, 2013).

Alongside the news report, there is a photo in which Lellêzinha is given prominence, with the following statement: "My dream is to become a professional dancer. I was only accepted at a dance school after the battles of *Passinho*". When discussing the rhythm from the *favelas*, the article makes reference to Emílio Domingos' film and also to another documentary called *Da cabeça aos pés*, produced by Globonews. Lellêzinha and Cebolinha participate in both productions. The news report refers to him as "the young boy from Cascadura, considered one of the first great dancers of the genre" and portrays Alessandra as a "Beyoncé fan with voluminous, highlighted, curly hair". The article continues:

With the sponsorships from companies, the battles became frequent, and more youngsters showed up. They drew attention of TV programs and some of them were hired as main attractions. They participated in the opening ceremony of the Paralympic games in London, and at Rock in Rio as a parallel attraction. (Filgueiras, 2013)

Programa da Xuxa,¹⁰ *Caldeirão do Huck*¹¹ and *Esquenta*¹² are some of the TV shows that gave way and visibility to the *Passinho* and its protagonists. Lellêzinha and Cebolinha are examples of youngsters who gained worldwide fame beyond the *favela*. After having been chosen for the *Dream Team* of the *Passinho*, Lellêzinha now tours throughout Brazil with her show. The group, that recently signed a contract with Sony Music record label, has recorded a video clip with renowned singer Ricky Martin. They are also expected to launch a CD in 2015. Due to her beauty — even though she is black — and talent, Lellêzinha fell into the good graces of the mainstream media in the country and seems to have been chosen by them to represent this new Brazilian middle class: comprised mostly of young people from shantytowns, according to research.¹³ Lellêzinha in particular has achieved a space of prominence in *Rede Globo*.¹⁴ Between January and June 2014, she participated on three occasions as a guest on the acclaimed TV show *Encontro com Fátima*. Lellêzinha is introduced to the audience as a celebrity and a reference for other girls from the *favela*, according to the words of the show's host, journalist Fátima Bernardes: "We became interested to know Lellêzinha's story, and our crew went to the community where she lives, in Praça Seca, Rio De Janeiro, so that we could show how she influences many girls", and "Lellêzinha, you influence girls not only with your dance, but also with the way in which you dress, don't you?". On stage, five dummies are dressed with looks Lellêzinha came up with. As she talks about the outfits, she teaches the audience how to select the best occasions to wear them and establishes herself as a *fashion* icon for other girls. Lellêzinha herself, throughout her discourse on the show reinforces this role:

¹⁰ Retrieved from <http://globo.tv.globo.com/rede-globo/tv-xuxa/t/atracoes/v/fly-fez-o-encontro-do-frevo-com-o-funk/1798347/>.

¹¹ Retrieved from <http://globo.tv.globo.com/rede-globo/caldeirao-do-huck/v/luciano-huck-explica-o-que-e-a-batalha-do-passinho/2582748/>.

¹² Retrieved from <http://globo.tv.globo.com/rede-globo/esquenta/v/dream-team-do-passinho-agita-o-programa-especial/3308512/>.

¹³ According to study organized by the Secretary of Strategic Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil, the 'new class C' is predominantly composed of young people and an expressive number of Afro-descendants (retrieved from <http://www.sae.gov.br/assuntos/legado/classe-media/as-45-curiosidades-da-classe-media/>, on November 6, 2015). Survey conducted by Serasa Experian reinforces this scenario: making use of the credit analysis company, Brazilian Census and the National Research of Home Sample, the study revealed that young people from poor neighborhoods represent 31% of Brazilian new middle class (N/A, 2012).

¹⁴ The most famous Brazilian television network.

Passinho comes from the *favela*, and I am very happy to see these children coming up to me on the street to take a picture, to say they love me, it makes me feel emotional, you know, because I wasn't very confident within myself. Now I am the *Lellêzinha*, I need to have *Lellêzinha* attitude, I am a reference for these kids.

In a different instance, she states that girls from the *favelas* have for her the same admiration she has for American artist Beyoncé.¹⁵ In *Da cabeça aos pés*, directed by journalist Renée Castello Branco, *Lellêzinha* visits a very popular commercial area, analyses the clothes that are for sale, and comments on them, stating whether she likes them or not.¹⁶ Recently joining the cast of *Malhação*, a Rede Globo soap opera production for teenagers, *Lellêzinha* will be part of the cast for one season starting July 2014. When appearing on an almost daily basis as part of the country's largest TV broadcaster schedule, she will likely become even more well-known by the public, raising her fame to another level and becoming a national celebrity. In the plot, by performing the role of a girl who sings and dances, she will be able to show her talent beyond the acting performance in itself.

On the other hand, Cebolinha and his *Bonde do Passinho* participated in the DVD *Músicas para Churrasco – volume I*, from performer Seu Jorge, launched in 2012. They also performed at the opening ceremony of the Paralympic games in London in the same year. The year of 2014 gave the young man international experience: This time, he accompanied the Osmosis Films crew on a trip to New York, where he performed at the Lincoln Centre from the end of July to the beginning of August. According to Cebolinha, the idea was to shoot a video clip abroad, but they also had another project in mind: the beginning of *Passinho's* dance shows in theatres, starting September. The young man who recognizes himself as one of the creators of *Passinho* in the early 2000s explains that up until 2011 there were no real events, just simple competitions amongst the dancers. He confirms that the 'battles' created by Rafael Mike and Julio Ludemir have helped to give the movement and its dancers visibility. So much that he himself, from 2011 onward, started to make a living out of the dance, touring throughout Brazil and even giving classes to students from the appraised State

¹⁵ Retrieved from <http://globotv.globo.com/rede-globo/encontro-com-fatima-bernardes/v/lellezinha-mostra-visuais-que-usa-para-os-shows-e-festas/3105276/>.

¹⁶ Retrieved from <http://globotv.globo.com/globonews/globonews-documentario/v/da-cabeca-aos-pes-acompanha-o-mundo-dos-dancarinos-do-passinho/3171529/>.

School of *Dance Maria Olenewa*, belonging to *Fundação Teatro Municipal* of Rio de Janeiro.

Cebolinha is also in demand for interviews and presentations, although in a much smaller scale than Lellêzinha, and in a different way. Unlike her—who slowly built an individual image for herself apart from the group *Dream Team do Passinho*—, he always insists on linking his image and story to the rhythm he helped create. His biggest concern seems to be the perpetuation of his name and the rhythm together, a huge desire to ‘be remembered’, which can be recurrently observed in many of his interviews:

The film is helping us to become eternalized, isn't it? (...) I believe *Passinho* will last forever, it'll become one of the biggest dances ever created. One hundred years from now when people talk about *Passinho* I know they'll remember us, those featured in the film.¹⁷

In a different interview, also in the documentary *A batalha do Passinho*, he states: “I want one hundred years to go by and have people still remember our work. With the film, our art will be eternalized in images and also in people’s memory”.¹⁸ In the *Mais Você* TV show (*Rede Globo*), Cebolinha performed with the *Bonde do Passinho* and had the opportunity to comment on their fans: “We were exhibiting the film all around the state of Rio de Janeiro. We were in a shopping centre at Angra dos Reis for a show and an exhibit of the film, but we had to leave in secret because the fans wouldn’t let us leave”.¹⁹

5. Final considerations

The emergence of *Passinho*, stimulated by media exposure and the sponsorship of large companies, brings to light personalities who stand out within the movement, who introduce themselves as role models. These youngsters — because of the recognition given to their art form — are constructing their self-image and becoming unique in their interactions with others. Those who catch the media’s attention are the ones who contribute the most for the constitution

¹⁷ Retrieved from <http://globo.tv/globo.com/globocom/g1/v/diretor-de-a-batalha-do-passinho-o-filme-conta-detalhes-sobre-o-documentario/2859104/>.

¹⁸ Retrieved from <http://www.pontojovemnet.com.br/noticia/diversao/1033/passinho-vira-filme-e-mostra-expansao-da-cultura-funk-no-rio>.

¹⁹ Retrieved from <http://globo.tv/globo.com/rede-globo/mais-voce/v/ana-maria-braga-recebe-o-bonde-do-passinho-no-programa/2881810/>.

of new representations of youngsters from poor neighbourhoods, representations that used to be solely associated to violence and delinquency. Notwithstanding, new representations, now associated to positive values, are being disseminated by the media and becoming references that can be helpful in the process of identity construction of the public. From the contents analysed, we can point out that at first youngsters from poor neighbourhoods gained visibility amid their pairs through the help of social media: they became well-known in the *favelas* and, more specifically, in the dance circuit. At a later stage this visibility was broadened, reaching society in general, when *Passinho* and its main dancers first appeared before the mass media.

We cannot deny the benefits of the impact the media had on changing these youngsters' image (exponents of the new Brazilian middle class). Even though this paper is not geared towards discussing this issue, it is a very important aspect to take into account. Young citizens from the *favela* who got used to seeing their environment being depicted in a negative light by the media are now perceived differently, they have become masters of their own self-image, even if this is still on the consumption market's interest. These youngsters — Lellêzinha in particular — are providing the market with 'the style from the *favela*'. If before they were invisible to the media (with cases of visibility only by means of crime and violence), nowadays they are represented as people who can stand out as a result of their music, dance and fashion sense. They appear on TV shows and they are featured in documentaries and advertising campaigns due to their unique style. To conclude, we believe this reflection does not end here. Instead, it leaves us new issues for the debate on the representation of youngsters from poor neighbourhoods in Brazil, the construction of celebrities and media visibility.

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Redefining sounds, outlining places: Rock, scenes and networks

Tânia Moreira

Abstract

In this chapter we present the results of a research project conducted between 2012/2013¹ which sought to contribute to the sociological thought about musical events linked to pop rock, attempting to understand how and to what extent the NUT III Tâmega is able to support a rock scene oscillating between the global and the local. As a peripheral region In the Portuguese context, Tâmega is a region that promotes conditions in which culture and recreational areas take a strong role in the consolidation of young people's individual identities. The results show us a range of rock music fans, the development of musical projects as well as small events linked to the promotion and discussion of this musical genre. However, these same social, economic and cultural conditions of Tâmega end up working as an obstacle to further development of the rock scene: there are more bands, more events, more audiences, but, paradoxically, this intensity has an almost spontaneous nature, and these musicians, mediators and consumers continue to mobilize themselves especially in an informal, familiar, amateurish logic, making this scene not only a local but an affective one.

1. The interpretative possibilities of musical scenes

In a context of globalized modernity, pop rock's manifestations have gained greater visibility; this is a trend that has aroused the interest in sociological perspectives affiliated with the post-subculturalist current (Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003) in which the musical scenes are rooted (Bennett, 2004; Guerra, 2010). Thus, and following that theoretical affiliation, it was our intention to explain and understand the emergence of local music scenes considering a particular context of Portugal — Tâmega. The choice of this regional context is of utmost importance in our holistic understanding of music, given its peripheral status in the Portuguese context. Similarly to what happens in other artistic sectors in Portugal, the major dynamics of production, intermediation and fruition of pop rock have a central, coastal and urban distribution. As such, we

¹ Research carried out under the Master's Program in Sociology of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, under the supervision of Professor Paula Guerra (see Moreira, 2013).

were led to question the possibility of existence of scenes in peripheral areas, as well as the differences and similarities which these regions might pose. This intent was reinforced by the existence of a current and ongoing worldwide research focus on the urgency and relevance of music scenes, without much empirical expression in peripheral areas.

Through quantitative and qualitative techniques it was possible to design, analyse and understand a local, virtual and affective pop rock scene, marked by spaces, actors, institutions and private channels, which does not compete with central scenes, but has contributed to a musical (re)affirmation of Tâmega in recent years — something which is notable given it is one of the regions with most youths of Europe. In fact, in Tâmega there are several small groups feeding into the rock scene. Some things here, some things there, which emerge, stay for a few years, and then disappear: they are in all aspects perfectly characteristic of the scenes and tribes, with fluid and transient nature... Imagine a 'cloud', a 'rock cloud' that, over the years, seems to have been carried by the wind to other lands, spreading the interest and taste for this musical genre. This is a scene, we would say, inter/ independent: inter, because, as we will see, there is some exchange between different Tâmega zones, but always maintaining a certain independence at different levels of the scene. We could imagine a micro-scene (because, after all, Tâmega does not cease to be a micro-rock scene within a wider scene) with some micro-micro-scenes; some can support themselves better and last longer, while others require further external support. In the 1990s and early 2000s, it seems to have been the municipalities of Paredes, Penafiel and Castelo de Paiva that most moved this rock scene. With the advent of the new millennium, others have taken the lead: Marco de Canaveses and Paços de Ferreira.

The concept of cultural scene — based on the concept of field of Bourdieu and art world of Becker (Bennett & Peterson, 2004: 3) — is, according to several authors, the concept that best captures these cultural dynamics, although, as advocated by Paula Guerra (2010: 441, 465), it is a notion that cannot cover all the complexity of the cultural field (searching for such a concept would be painful, since it does not exist). Rather than originating in the scientific academy, it was birthed by journalists and tourists who, for a long time, talked about scenes to refer to certain clusters of socio-cultural activities (which are bundled together by its location — usually a city or a district — or by its type of cultural production — for example, one music style) (Bennett, 2004: 223; Straw, 2004: 411).

Only in the nineties was the concept taken seriously within scientific analysis, mainly due to a famous article by Will Straw — *Cultural scenes* (1991). Since then, the concept has been increasingly used as a model for the analysis of production, performance and reception of popular music (Bennett & Peterson, 2004: 3). Through an informative and synoptic approach, we could say (as does Alan Blum (2001)) that scenes are characterized, principally, by nine dimensions. The first is the spatiality of the scene. In this concept, the space — in the sense of territory — has a great importance; it is in space that different and interrelated practices occur, and which in turn have reciprocal relationships with space. Alan Blum (2001: 10) states that the scene has always been and is closely linked to the city. According to this author, there are some situations where the scene and the city are so indistinguishable that one might wonder if the hospitality of the city will not put into question the exclusivity and distinctive character of the scene. One can see similar questions in other theoretical contexts: we need only think of concepts such as *fantasy city* (Hannigan) or *new city* (Amendola), in which the simulation and the show are taking the everyday life, the spaces of inhabiting, and the metropolitan experience, and in which the city appears increasingly as an heterotopic space where we can no longer distinguish the city from its narrative (Gonçalves, 2002: 211).

The second analytical dimension of the music scenes is their regularity. The existence of scenes is possible only because people often visit them and have developed real commitment to them — if necessary, people are even willing to sacrifice themselves (e.g. to face the traffic; to buy high-cost tickets; etc.) in order to continue to attend it (Blum, 2001: 10).

The ephemeral nature, mortality and volatility support the third dimension of the scenes. The scenes make and break quickly, but this does not mean they are a less important factor to the city. This ephemerality allows them to have a role even more creative, productive and functional within the urban life. The scenes, most of the time, come by from the will of the locals, which (apart from restating the importance that scenes have) shows the existence of a collectivization (the fourth dimension), the existence of intense sociabilities, groups of individuals who have interrelated interests and externalize, share, exchange ideas about these interests and tastes, meaning that scenes influence the way in which cities are organized, seen and experienced (Blum, 2001: 11–13; Filho & Fernandes, 2005: 6; Straw, 2004: 412). But this collectivization has little to do with the concept of community. Bennett and Peterson (2004: 8) argue that this mistake is often committed, for example, when talking about the

appropriation of global musical styles by the scenes, as if the scenes create something totally distinct from the global mainstream. It is true that the scenes reflect the place and the people who gave them life. However, scenes constitute times and places that (re)appropriated cultural signs of other places.

In the scenes a certain performance is required, as a kind of social commitment in which people agree to act under a certain way, in a specific space and time. In the scenes, everyone wants to (and must) be seen seeing; everyone wants to be not simply voyeuristic (see) but also exhibitionistic (be seen) and, therefore, scenes end up working as occasions for the exhibition — matrix spaces of theatricality: this is the fifth dimension (Blum, 2001: 14–16).

Since in the scenes there is a desire for exhibitionism, it's not strange that transgression appears as another characteristic (sixth dimension). Rather than a transgression that evokes other lifestyles, other cultural values or esoteric doctrines, this is a transgression that invites for difference, exhibitionism, show and play, participation, as well as unwinding from everyday routine (for example, singing in a karaoke) (Blum, 2001: 16–18, 22–25).

If it is true that the scenes demand for a visibility of their participants, they have also to do something in order for it to happen. The scenes, more than impress and fascinate, want to seduce and attract; more than mere curiosity, scenes seek to incite continuous visitation through various programs — therefore, scenes are shows. Indeed, it is in the management of this characteristic that we find the answer to the success of some cities and the failure of others. The city becomes a memorable icon through the contents offered (Blum, 2001: 18–20). The eighth dimension of scenes (their inter-relationship) contributes to sustain their attractiveness: musical scenes are related to other cultural scenes (theatrical, literary, cinematic) which allows the creation of more attractive cultural programs (Blum, 2010).

The scenes are, also, steeped in political economy elements, for the reason that they represent

opportune occasions for investment and the creation of consumers (...) [and therefore] are made and unmade under the insatiable drive for maximizing profit and minimizing loss (...). Of course this desire to market the scene and vice versa, to make markets into scenes, expresses the concerted revenge of the idle onlooker upon the city, the attempt to make its creativity profitable. (Blum, 2001: 25)

If scenes are composed by fans, tourists and eccentrics, they are also made up of the business, trade, mediatisation and massification. "The mix of

commerce and creativity marks the city and its scenes" (Blum, 2001: 25; Guerra, 2010: 456). And it is this in itself which produces the specificity of the concept of 'scene', since they are not only "the result of purely social interactions, but also the consequence of the logic of production and marketing" (Filho & Fernandes, 2005: 5).

Considering these dimensions, we will then interpret the rock scene of Tâmega in its scenes and *micro-micro-scenes*.

2. Actors, spaces and dynamic musical sociability

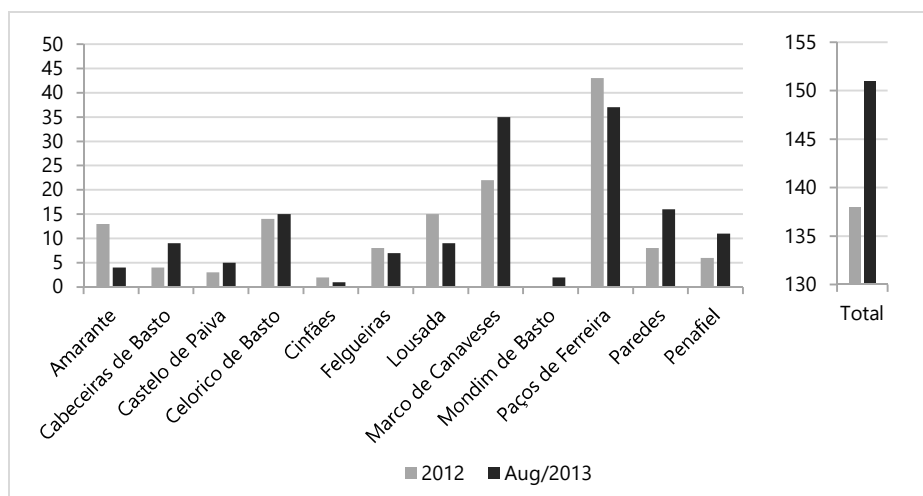
Almost all of our interviewees² say that, in the last decade, rock fruition spaces have decreased in Tâmega. In the transition from the twentieth to the twenty-first century the most important spaces were the Ribeira Bar located at Paredes, the Sunny Side of Lousada and the Sindicato situated at Castelo de Paiva. Today, other places take on that importance, such as Canecas Bar (Paços de Ferreira), Wood Rock (Marco de Canaveses) or Roque Bar (Paredes). However, we must highlight the existence of two types of movements in this rock scene: one that tries to be as professional as possible (anchored in a certain formality) and another more informal. These two movements are not new; they were visible throughout the first decade of this century, and exhibit a trend towards convergence: if a few years ago, according to our interviewees, there were more bars dedicated to rock (read: exclusively dedicated to rock and regularly had live acts) or 'big' festivals (recognized by the local rock scene), and there was also a more underground movement promoted by rock lovers in their most private areas; today, we watch as the first movement grows more precarious and the second grows in size and importance: the people who played for free in the past within their more private spaces, now play for free in the semi-public spaces of rock fruition. At the same time, the emporium of bars

² Between December 2012 and May 2013, we conducted 24 semi-structured interviews with key actors (musicians, producers/ promoters, bar owners, fans) from Tâmega's rock scene (born/ residents in the municipalities of Cabeceiras de Basto, Castelo de Paiva, Celorico de Basto, Felgueiras, Lousada, Marco de Canaveses, Paços de Ferreira, Paredes and Penafiel) as well as 7 interviews with actors from Porto and Matosinhos municipalities, in order to obtain a comparative view and better position Tâmega in the wider musical context. In socio-graphic terms, respondents are aged between 17 and 38 years; they are mostly single; they have an education ranging mainly between the Lower Secondary Education (Level 2) and Bachelor's or equivalent (Level 6); 5 interviewees were studying, 6 were seeking for a new job and 19 had a professional occupation.

exclusively dedicated to rock was shaken by the arrival of live acts in cafes and other spaces whose function is not rock and, sometimes, nor is the music. Thus, the number of rock spaces may have decreased, but the possibilities to act increased (regardless of the disadvantages that this has entailed, which we know not to be unique to Tâmega).

This shows us that the rock scene of Tâmega has a specific spatiality, regularity and collectivization: central dimensions of the definition of a scene. This explains the increasing number of events between 2012 and 2013 (an increase of about 9.4%, Figure 1). However, the density of this rock scene is also conditioned by the economic and social development that crosses Tâmega, which allows us to understand why only a few venues organize those events: as we can see in table 1, although 35.16% of the venues analysed by us had organized rock events at least once, only four venues organized more than 17 events.

Figure 1: Number of rock events in Tâmega, by municipality and total (2012–2013)³



Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

³ Data was collected from the internet. The results of this query include all the events that had been treated as such, namely by displaying posters and flyers. This criterion was important to exclude routine activities of artists (including disc jockeys) in the identified spaces.

Table 1: Number of rock events by fruition venues (outdoor venues excluded)⁴

No. of rock events organized	Venues (bars, cafes) which received the events	
	No.	%
17 – 35	4	4.4
8 – 11	4	4.4
4 – 7	3	3.3
1 – 3	21	23.1
0	59	64.8
Total	91	100.0

Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

In fact, the increase in the number of events goes against all identified negative trends. First, there is limited support from the city hall and private companies (whether in terms of licenses, monetary contributions or initiatives that promote rock). Second, there is a weak demand from people who reside in Tâmega, which, according to our interviewees, is (1) sometimes based in a preconception that (in an attempt to escape a categorization as ‘parolo’ [boorish]) values what is urban, cosmopolitan and mediatically well known, devaluing what is rural, local and unknown; (2) or, sometimes, is the result of choices made by those who have some money to spend and, therefore, choose to go to a more recognized concert; (3) or, other times, this is the consequence of a habit of the public to attend free events. Moreover, the lack of local media (radio, newspapers) to promote what is done in the area also seems to hinder the survival of this scene: according to our interviewees, even when there are some media outlets which promote rock music (namely radios), the local bands or events are left out of their agendas.

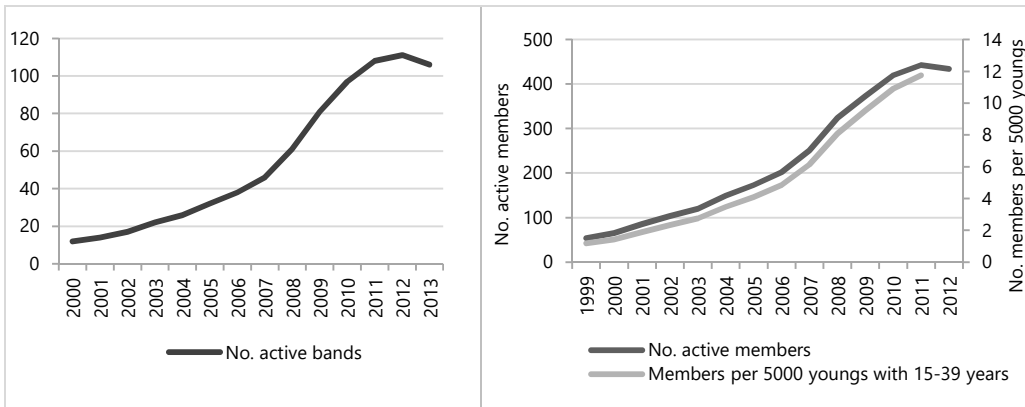
Another major difficulty noted by interviewees is the failure to pay the bands that act live. This has indeed become such a commonplace practice that even the artists (desiring to one day achieve the status that gives them the deserved benefits) promote these free events. Finally, these actors also refer to

⁴ The 91 musical enjoyment spaces were found through an online search and correspond to spaces that, by the end of August 2013, were active. The spaces are semi-public establishments with a legal framework and with permanent or temporary human resources; establishments with a daily or weekly recreational and cultural activity which provide (some) moments of musical content (concerts, *djing*) to their public, and may take the form of cafes, clubs, bars.

the crisis that Portugal is facing nowadays and which has further emphasized these constraints.

Despite all the difficulties, the will of the people tends to 'speak louder' and there are always those who organize and promote concerts. The increasing number of bands (Figure 2) dedicated to rock music is a clear example of this will among the youth from Tâmega — young people are, in fact, one of the main drivers of this scene. Here, it should be noted the importance of those bars most dedicated to rock music, namely Wood Rock and Canecas Bar or even the newly created Compaços Association from Paços de Ferreira, or the different music schools and rehearsal spaces that exist throughout the territory of Tâmega as influential organizations of the taste of young people of this region, and as the main sponsors of the meetings and exchange of ideas.

Figure 2: Evolution of the number of (a) bands and (b) of active members in the rock scene in Tâmega, by municipality (2000–2013)⁵



Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

These bands are mostly amateurs, often times garage bands, and their elements, often for economic reasons, had no music lessons: only in rare cases did these young musicians have access to this education, mostly due to the existence of music schools which have nothing to do with rock music — that is, focused on the philharmonic bands. Indeed, the importance of youth musical education through philharmonic bands is a constant in the North of Portugal,

⁵ Only bands with a minimum amount of information possible were admitted. Despite the extensive research, the results displayed are limited, because our main source was the internet and not all existing bands had a site, a blog or other online disclosure mechanism.

having been noted as an important instance of musical socialization in rural and peripheral areas (Tavares, 2011).

I remember that, at the time, I bought a second-hand guitar without knowing how to play... (...) I bought this guitar and a colleague of mine gave me some lessons with few chords, such as C–D–E–F–G–A–B, no more else... and let's go play! We didn't know play, we didn't know anything... "You're going to be the drummer, you're going to be the guitarist, and you're going to sing!" (Francisco, 35 years old, driver, musician, Paredes⁶)

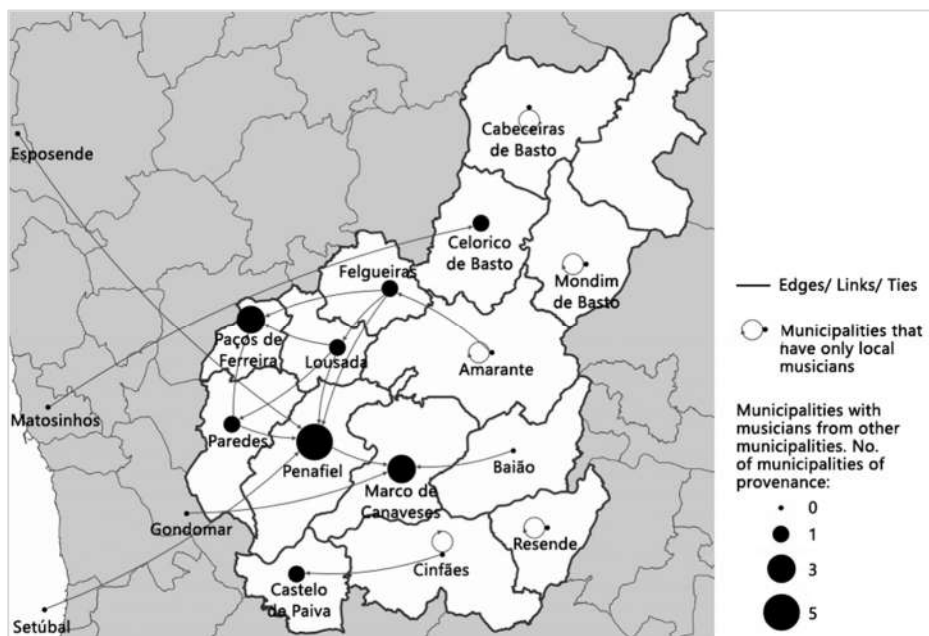
Another characteristic of these artists expresses what is happening in Tâmega scene: these musicians and their music bands are based on informality. Many of them are friends who studied together and, due their similar tastes, decided to join up and form a band. Figure 3 shows this idea of proximity and informality by revealing a weak relationship between artists from different cities: as our interviewees say, these bands exist to entertain a their members for a while and are often created between friends who live in the same city, especially when we take into account that these bands are mostly created when musicians are in the high school. This means that bands are formed mostly by members from the same place, which explains the shapes drawn in Figure 3. These artists seek then to join their friends who take advantage from the concerts, and are able to go out of home and be among friends, forming in this way a network of musicians and fans with very close ties.

This friendship with fans, though most often proven to be advantageous for the bands (they can have public more easily in their concerts), sometimes also creates rivalries between groups. This antagonism is reflected in the refusal to attend certain concerts, because the players do not belong to the 'friend band' or are opposite to it in some way. Due to the increasing number of bands in Tâmega and the reduced opportunities to play (if we match the number of bands with the number of events), the competition has increased and, with it, a higher probability of dispute between bands. However, this circumstance shows well how familiar this scene is. There is an important relational density that favours the creation of social capital and increases the effectiveness of reputation: since actors have relationships and information from each other, it often results in trust bonds, and creates informal cooperation and reciprocity (Crossley, 2008).

⁶ All names presented here to identify interviewees are fictitious.

In the band we are all family. We have the bass player who is not family... But it's almost as if he is. I've known him since I was 10 years and then we started to share ideas and decided to create the band. (Rui, 17 years old, student, musician, Felgueiras)

Figure 3: Musician mobility between municipalities (2000–2013)

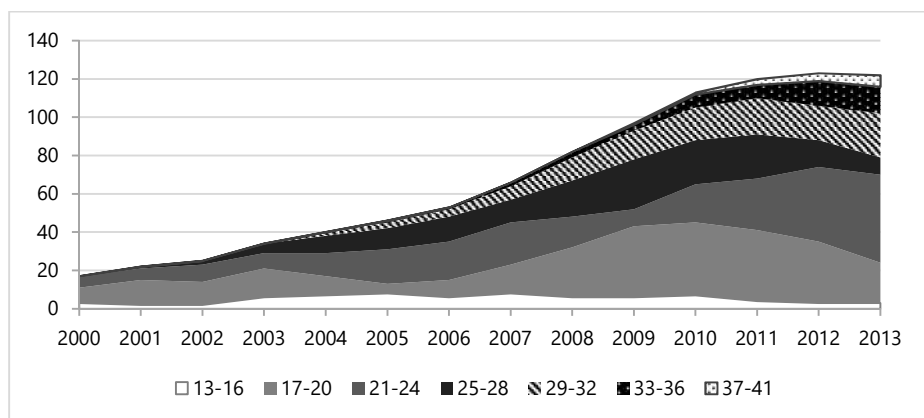


Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

This increasing competition, the lack of financing, together with the fact that these artists are mostly youths (Figure 4) who are still studying, means that music has to be taken as part-time activity, which, in turn, makes it difficult for artists to put in more time for rehearsals and, thus, for the evolution of the band. Even when some of these artists have chosen to interrupt their studies, insufficient financial resources will force them to find another activity which give them the support that music does not — and, again, the opportunities for rehearsals will be scarce. It is for that reason, that the so-called cover songs are so important for these bands: first, bands do not need time to create new songs; second, due to the 'pre-existing notion' that values what is 'from another place' and what is 'best known', bands that play covers will have more chances to act and are more likely to receive a cachet. Because of these same circumstances,

bands of Tâmega are characterized by a certain turnover of members between bands and ephemerality.

Figure 4: Evolution of the musicians' age in Tâmega (2000–2013)⁷



Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

Tâmega is likewise witnessing an increase in the number of disc jockeys (DJ) (Table 2) often coming from these bands and seeking to address the lack of a greater range of events which could better develop room for the existing number of bands. However, the limited number of spaces receiving this musical genre means that DJ's have a similarly narrow number of opportunities. In fact, in this region, we could identify a certain preference for live performance/bands.

Moreover, these youth are also faced with a negative bias on the part of the general population of the region. Not only does the association of rock artists to drugs, alcohol and delinquency persist, but the activity of these musicians is not recognized, as people associate it with a hobby unworthy of recognition. However, and while recognizing that this overall appreciation is almost impossible today, the motivation of friends and also the relatively good acceptance by the family, as well as their love for music, influence many artists

⁷ Ages were obtained through the duration of the members' activity, intersecting the age of entrance in the bands and the age of leaving (or the current date, in the case of still active bands). Only artists born in Tâmega were considered. There is no data for Resende, Baião and Ribeira de Pena: the first, because its members did not provide this information online; the other two, because they have no bands.

Table 2: Number of events per type of event (2012–2013)

Type of event	2012	Aug/2013	Total
Concert	89	88	177
Concert(s) + DJ Set	27	19	46
Bands Contests	2		2
DJ Set	13	31	44
Festival (more than 1 day)	7	13	20
Total	138	151	289

Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

in their quest for a place in the sun in the world of music, at least to attract more enthusiasts for this genre. There is, therefore, the assumption of a set of conventions needed to belong to the *art world* (Becker, 1982) which are mixed with the requirement of paid professional tasks intended for daily survival and *future*. There is a perspective of commercialization but, in practice, this is denied by the scene's real conditions (Blum, 2001: 25; Guerra, 2010: 456). Overall, this can be understood as a tribal network that is drawn by an irregular structure that, even by giving a general advantage to its participants, gives them advantages in different degrees, creating potential for conflicts between personal satisfaction and community acceptance or between family acceptance and economic compensation (Crossley, 2008; Filho, 2010). This community of belonging and interest, close to the Maffesoli's theorization (1998), points to a specific rocker lifestyle. So, if "a lifestyle can be defined as a more or less integrated set of practices that an individual embraces not only because these practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity" (Giddens cit by Filho, 2010: 99), we are dealing here with a lifestyle that we can name *antinomic*, which carries reasons and integrative and disintegrative forces of the scene.

The motivation is the love for music and to try to get as far as possible, with a band or another, my ideology is to get as far as possible. If I can sustain myself through music — which is almost impossible, but always thinking about it. Always thinking we can get it (...), because otherwise I would not play music anymore. My father does not care (...). My mother likes it. She likes to hear us and asks if we have concerts... she likes when I am playing and she feels happy, despite never having seen one of my concerts because she did not want to go. (Luís, 29 years old, gas station employee, musician, Penafiel)

Therefore, these actors are not afraid to 'put their hands-on' and, in a truly do-it-yourself movement, do everything themselves, from creating and recording their originals to the dissemination and music band promotion — to a great extent because the scarce economic resources prevent them from hiring other people to do this work. In this context, the new digital media have become very important, namely the ones available online, as they allow greater autonomy and quality.

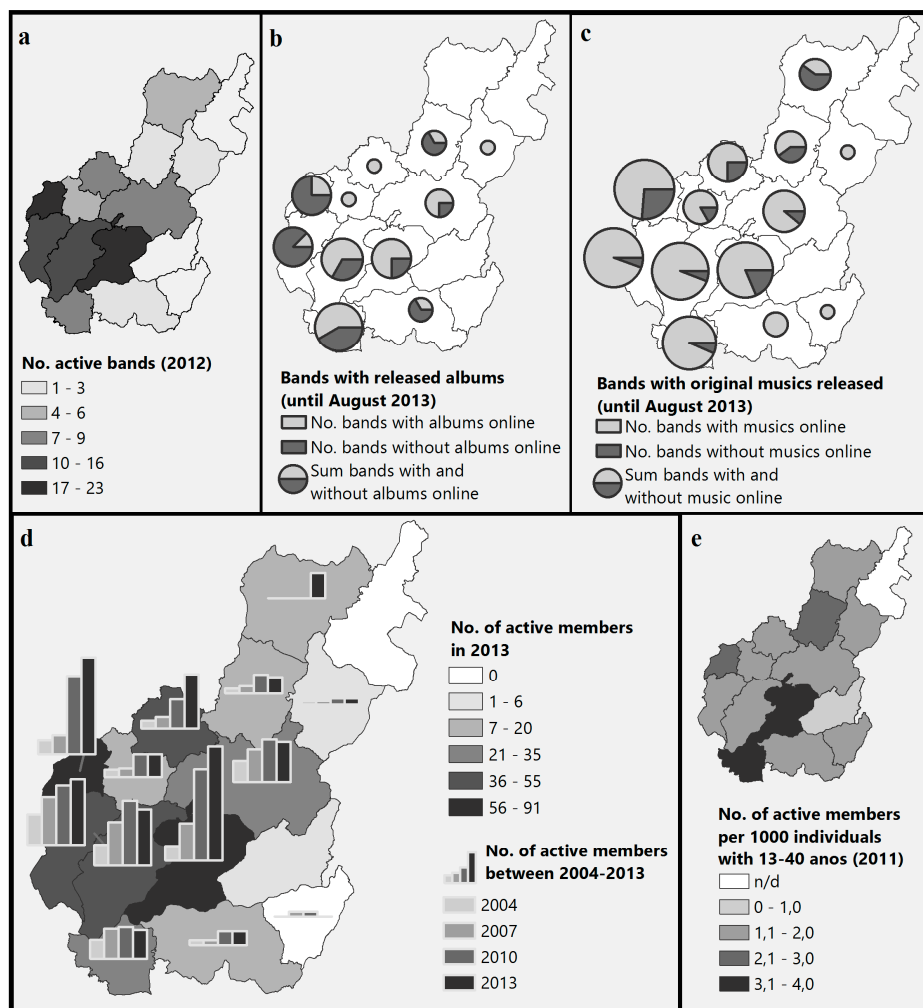
3. Musical scenes, networks and capillarities

Under this scenario, the question remains: is there a scene in Tâmega? We have seen that, despite all adversities, and despite being few in number (or in excess to the existing demand in the case of bands), there are still (precarious in nature) spaces, events, artists and an audience that sustains and keeps alive the *flame of rock* in Tâmega; more intensely in some locations, less densely in others; in some years more vigorous, less so in others, but this flame seems to have a drive (as real as its difficulties) to shine (Figure 5). Thus, new members join this community over time — young people looking for another way of being and who find in rock a possible solution to some of their concerns, values, and a way of transitioning to adulthood.

When we focus our analysis in the bands that constitute the current scene (Figure 5), it is important to note that between 2000 and 2013 their number increased in general terms, which gives rise to the hypothesis of a growing dynamism of the scene. The municipalities of Marco de Canaveses, Paços de Ferreira, Paredes and Penafiel are leading this dynamic. The availability of sound recordings on the web by the Tâmega bands has taken an undeniable relevance (more than half of the bands make albums and songs available online). If we add to this data the number of bands' active members in the region, we can recognize, between 2004 and 2012, a markedly positive increase, that is, from 120 participants to 434 (which represents an increase of 261%), reflecting the sustainability and reinforcement of the scene as we have been referring. It seems relevant to detect that, in 2011, the number of band members per 1000 local young people accounted for a total of 10.9 members (most notably in the municipalities of Marco de Canaveses, Paços de Ferreira and Felgueiras); between 2005 and 2011, the number of members per 1000 local young people in Tâmega increased 214% (especially in Marco de Canaveses and Paços de

Ferreira), corroborating the above considerations, but also the mobilization of the region's youth around the pop rock music.

Figures 5: Bands, members and discography in the municipalities of Tâmega



Note: Data obtained through web search for bands in Tâmega.

It is notable to remark that having kept track (up until June 15, 2013) of the number of likes on each band's Facebook we see this as symptomatic of what we have been explaining: 1035 likes (the highest number registered) is significant when compared to numbers of bands located in the metropolitan areas of the country (Lisbon and Porto). In this collection of virtual data, it was

also possible to register the predominant age group of people who talk about⁸ the bands on Facebook (until June 15, 2013): the predominant age range is between 18 and 24, which reveals the youthfulness of the scene in question.

The possibilities of demonstrating a regional pop rock scene seem to stand at the production, intermediation, consumption and enjoyment levels. That one stems from the diversification of music's supply and consumption and, of course, from the greater extent of musical activities and greater quantitative and qualitative range of publics and events. It is also worth mentioning the importance of certain practices of collaboration between promoters and bands in its sedimentation. We are, thus, bringing again Becker's concept (1982) of *art worlds*: some of the most important events like Acampa Rock or Chaos in Mesio result from initiatives of different people and promoters; some concerts, a bit throughout Tâmega, exist only by virtue of the will of the bands; many bands only exist because they share instruments in rehearsals and concerts; there are associative initiatives of management and information exchange, as the one launched by Compaços Association and Degradagem Records — for example, the latter provided spaces for concerts and rehearsals, instruments and recordings.

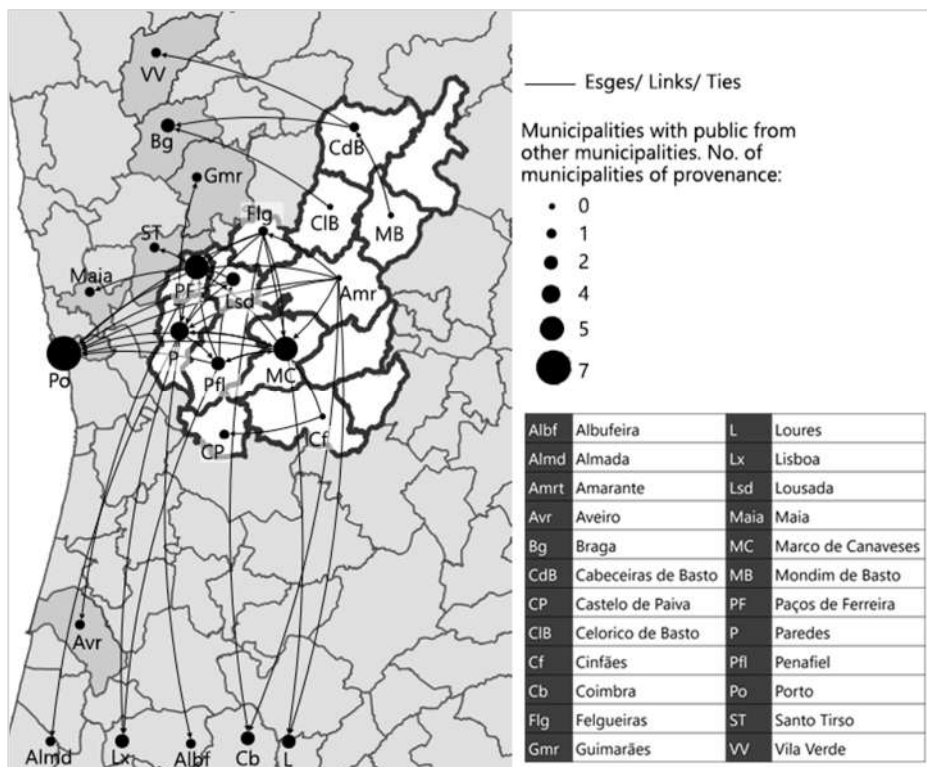
In an attempt to position the Tâmega region, as well as its various municipalities, in a relational network of social and spatial nature, we turn to the concept of a *social network analysis*. As shown in Figure 6, the region of Tâmega is dependent on the areas that surround it, highlighting the role of Porto as a tutelary city in terms of bands, spaces and audiences. In this regard, we cannot help but mention that Porto takes on an even greater role in the lives of these actors due the geographical proximity between Tâmega and Porto and a network of transport and roads which further shorten that distance, allowing musicians and fans to have the option of going to Porto.

However, there are municipalities that can curb the departure of these publics and even of these artists (Figure 6): Paços de Ferreira and Marco de Canaveses appear in the front, followed by Paredes, Lousada and Penafiel, cities holding a dynamic provided mostly by some bars which, for its exclusivity, can well meet not only the needs of individuals living there fairly well, but also the surrounding municipalities — exerting what is called a 'region of influence' in

⁸ 'People who talk about the bands' refers to the number of people who have created a 'story' from the publication of the band's page. The stories include: share, like or comment on its publication; answer a question; responding to an event; or claim an offer.

the classical term. We are talking about Canecas Bar (Paços de Ferreira), Wood Rock (Marco de Canaveses), Roque Bar and Indie Bar (Paredes), Old Rock (Penafiel) or Sunny Side (Lousada).

Figure 6: Destinations elected by the public: municipalities (bars/ cafes) with public from other municipalities



Note: Data obtained through survey by questionnaire.

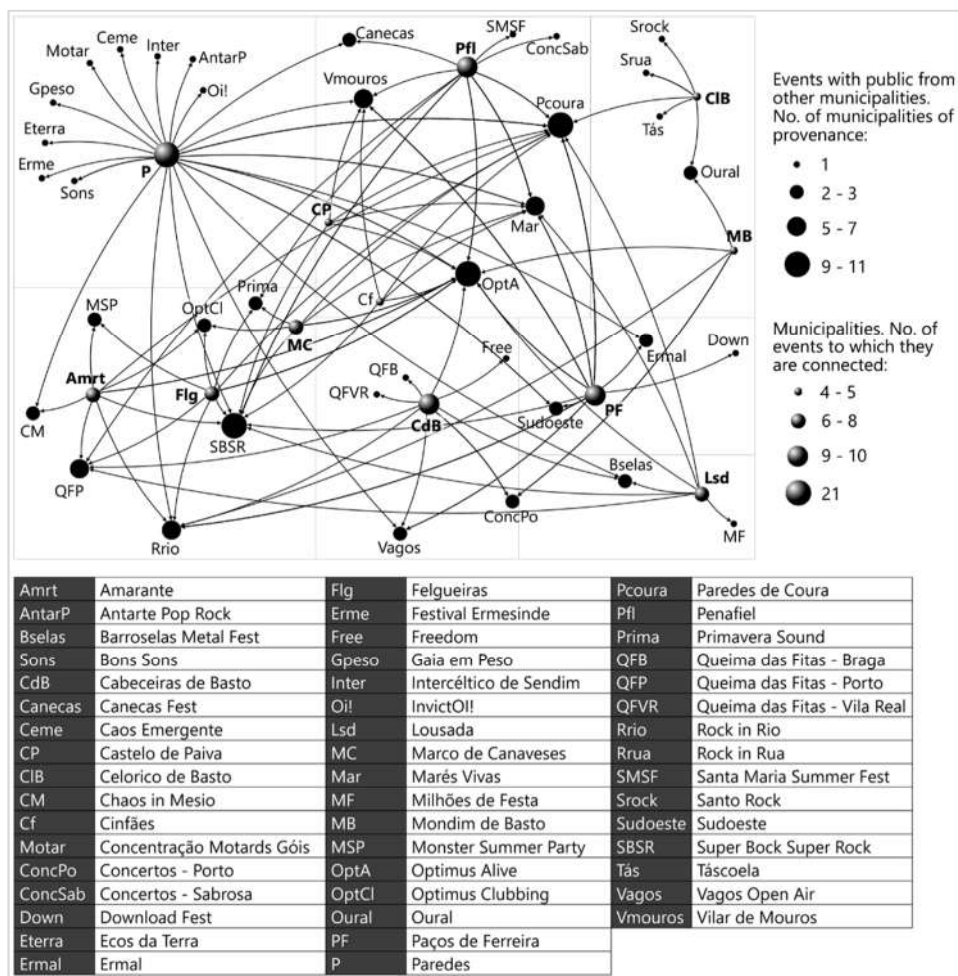
We should also mention the fact that this population is devoid of large monetary resources, which means that they are often unable to make long trips to go to other bars. Nevertheless, as shown by some interviewees, it is not that people who attend these rock bars are, strictly speaking, rock music aficionados. What they like is to be with friends, to have fun, to socialize. Crossley (2008), in his pioneering approach to the establishment of a punk scene in London and Manchester, had already called attention to the importance of sociabilities, including friendships and affections, in the structuring of musical networks. This is attested by the public dynamics to enjoy rock events, especially festivals, in

other Tâmega's municipalities. In the course of the survey (Figure 7) we conducted⁹, the actors declared they will often go to nationwide events (Optimus Alive, Paredes de Coura, Super Bock Super Rock). Given this cross regularity throughout the national territory, it is possible to demonstrate the existence of events in Tâmega that support much of the people's access to events, although they do not take place in their home county (Chaos in Mesio (Lousada); Canecas Fest (Paços de Ferreira); Oural (Cabeceiras de Basto)). Moreover, among some of the respondents to the survey, it is important to highlight the weight of friends and family as companions in attending musical events in Tâmega's pop rock framework. It is interesting to observe the affective and social proximity of this scene's design and structure, in the confluence of what Andy Bennett has recently called *affective scene* (2013).

If we focus on the bands' movement (Figure 8) in the Tâmega's area, we can see that there are local projects which have more performances and concerts on the intra-regional framework. Paços de Ferreira, Marco de Canaveses and Celorico de Basto municipalities hold the greatest number of events focused on projects that were born in these same places. Simultaneously, the municipality of Paços de Ferreira is receiving more projects from outside Tâmega region, followed by the municipalities of Marco de Canaveses, Lousada and Celorico de Basto. This means that the internal and external inter-relationship characteristic indicated by Blum (2001) is here. However, given the overall design of the profile and spatial distribution of the events, we can guarantee that this is predominantly a local scene (Bennett & Peterson, 2004) fed by a local *art world* without translocality contours, as can be seen in more metropolitan, cosmopolitan and coastal areas (Straw, 2004; Guerra, 2013, 2010).

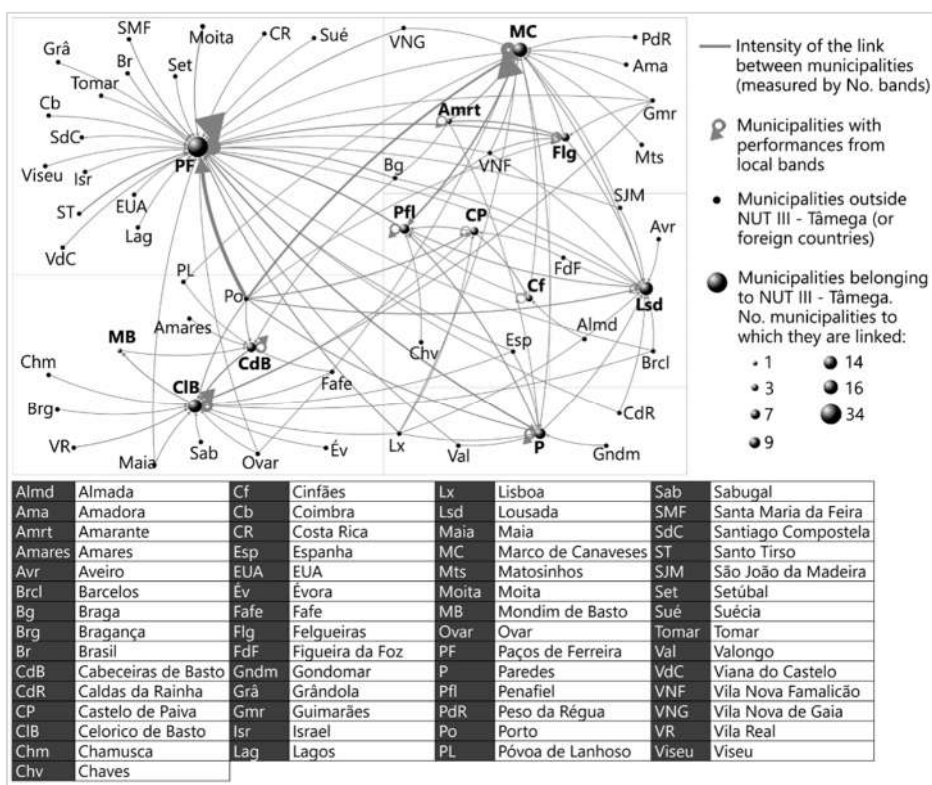
⁹ Within our data collection, 145 semi-structured surveys were applied to the attendants of musical enjoyment spaces in Tâmega (it was not possible to conduct the survey in the municipalities of Baião, Resende and Ribeira de Pena, for lack of spaces or events linked to rock music). In socio-graphic terms, these actors are mostly between 20 and 24 years; they live in different municipalities of Tâmega, are mostly males, singles, with 12 years of schooling. From the occupational point of view, we have a set of respondents where the majority takes a worker's condition, and mostly fall into the categories of executant employees and factory workers.

Figure 7: Destinations elected by the public: events with public from other municipalities



Note: Data obtained through survey by questionnaire.

Figure 8: Provenance of the bands that act on the municipalities of Tâmega (2012–2013)



Note: Data obtained through web search for events in Tâmega.

Let us return to the surveys to highlight the strengthening of Tâmega rock scene. In assessing the interest of musical venues and events to the region, respondents indicate the importance of the spaces for the promotion of rock and the incentives and support to the local bands that these produce. In short, these considerations settle a recognizable local (rather than translocal) scene, as well as the need for its material and emotional support. Without the scene's power — as studied by Stahl (1999) in the case of Montreal — it is possible in this particular geographic context to identify a music scene showing a diversity of actors and their web of relations, participations and affections (Bennett, 2004; 2013). We cannot fail to mention the predominance of musical projects (bands and artists) marked by what Becker (1982) called *naïve artists*, actors who have no formal contact with the musical world, particularly by the absence of musical training accredited and recognized as legitimizing an official place in the musical

world. So, they are not quite like conventional artists and have no entry credits in musical art world in general; but they have qualifications to enliven the local scene. It is also interesting to correlate our data with Mitchell's work (1996) for, as in our case, the author demonstrated that a global musical style can acquire specific appropriations for creators, fans, consumers, promoters and producers located in a social context. Mitchell calls this process location of musical style, resubscribing rock at a local level.

Tables 3: Reasons to attend the space/ musical event and the importance of the space/ musical event to the region (no. of respondents, 2013)

Reasons to attend the space	No.	Reasons to attend spaces outside the municipality	N.º
Atmosphere – music, concerts	65	Atmosphere – music, concerts	80
Friends/ Conviviality	56	Friends/ Conviviality	48
Friend of organizers, space owners and/or musicians	41	Atmosphere – behaviour of people	31
Atmosphere – behaviour of people	24	Near residence and/or school	12
'I feel good' (escape to problems)	7	'I feel good' (escape to problems)	6
Non-smoking space	3	There is nothing in residence area	4
Offer drinks and/or food	3	Distance/ price	1
'I came by chance'	2	Do not attend	32
Opening/ closing hours	2	Do not know/ Do not answer	2
Near residence	2		
Space (decoration)	1		

Importance of the space/ musical event to the region	N.º
Disseminates rock music	28
Encourages/ supports local bands	28
Disseminates/ streamlines the region (culturally and economically)	24
Promotes multiculturalism and open mind	23
Attracts new people	14
Promotes a 'culture of going out' for young people	8
Promotes the sociability	6
'It's open late'	2
Provides welfare	2
'Sometimes the music is too loud'	1
Encourages good practice, because prohibits smoking	1
Do not know/ Do not answer	8
Total	145

Note: Data obtained through survey by questionnaire.

4. Conclusive clues

In this chapter, we discussed some of the main achievements of a research project that sought to know the extent to which the NUT III Tâmega is capable of supporting a specific and particular rock scene oscillating between the global and the local. We have seen the ways in which it is possible, in this second decade of the XXI century, to define and characterize a rock scene in Tâmega, which is a local scene with a regional scope, with multiple poles, and is also the bearer of agents, structures, organizations, phonographic records and relationships, and displays all the antagonisms and contradictions that characterize modernity and, in it, the contemporary pop rock industry.

Tâmega, as a peripheral region in the whole of the Portuguese context, this NUT III is a region that ultimately promotes conditions in which the culture and recreational areas take a strong importance in the consolidation of young people's individual identities and paths in these days. In this context, it is not surprising that we find here a range of rock music fans and the development of musical projects as well as small events linked to the dissemination of the musical genre. However, we also saw that these same social, economic and cultural conditions of Tâmega end up working as an obstacle to further development of the rock scene. There are more bands, more events, more public but, paradoxically, this intensity has an almost spontaneous nature, and these musicians, intermediators and consumers continue to mobilize themselves in an informal, familiar, amateur logic, making this scene not only a local one, but also an affective one.

This is a context in which creators, consumers and promoters end up developing a range of action of a particularly intra-Tâmega nature, showing that it is a local and not translocal scene, with a strong emotional support. We sought to show how the will of the people speaks louder and there are always those who (supported by a small legion of fans — mostly friends) can organize, promote and create something. The increasing number of bands and members playing rock music is a clear example of this, of this musical will existing in the young people, and how it constitutes one of the greatest rock scene engines in Tâmega, giving it visibility, regularity and collectivization. The technological development has enabled greater access to music, to its records and events. In this context, the birth of the scenes (as well as their death) has become easier and, thus, we can found scenes not only in cities or urban areas, but also in areas considered more rural, more remote from major centres. Scenes follow one

another, even in Tâmega, because they are based on a cultural, symbolic, social, familiar, emotional, economic (besides territorial, of course) apparatus that stand behind them.

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Gospel *versus* profane music in Slovakia¹

Yvetta Kajanová

Abstract

This study provides a historical perspective on the establishment of church music as a market segment. The political changes after 1989 meant that sacred music became a regular part of Central Europe culture, and the previously homogenous market became divided between secular and sacred segments. Due to the communist ideology and strong atheist propaganda in the former communist countries of Central Europe, the separation processes followed a different path than in the western world. The research has shown that, during the communist regime, illegal recording studios and secretive distribution of sacred music were the basis for the later character of music market. Up to the present time, the music industry still maintains the secular-sacred segmentation even though the two music streams are tending towards convergence.

The author uses historical, analytical, and statistical methods to explain the particular case of the winners of the 2009 Eurovision Song Contest in Slovakia, in which both gospel and profane music singers participated and where the gospel music supporters outvoted the profane audience. From numerous historical facts obtained during a 2005–2008 study of oral tradition, those relevant for the formation of the Slovak audience, its self-confidence, and transformation have been selected to support this paper.

1. Beginnings

Contrary to the traditional idea of cultural identity, which spoke of a solid and fixed self, umbilically related to a territory and collective history, nowadays we must take in account the volatility of these identities. Crane's perspective on this is of course of the utmost importance (2002). The global music culture, spread in the media conglomerates, is mostly centred in English language countries (in that process excluding the remaining ones) (Guerra & Quintela, 2016; Guerra, 2015), with the repertoires of major labels focusing ever more in a small number of international stars. There is then a renovated model of "media imperialism based on global capitalism" (Crane, 2002: 6). In the advent of globalization two tendencies are in a struggle:

¹ This research was funded by Vedecká Grantová Agentúra (the VEGA Research Agency), grant no. 1/0086/15.

on the one side, the international media conglomerates are expanding their influence and control over certain types of global culture. On the other, the growing importance of regions as producers and market-developers of their own media, helps to develop a network system of cultural globalization. Regions exhibit their own sub-networks, with thicker nodes connected to a global network context, and other, less intense, communication vehicles with other areas. (Crane, 2002: 7).

Therefore, we have simultaneously globalization and localization in a complex web of network flows, showing progressive cultural homogeneity while assuring that identity and specific values are ever more crucial in understanding popular music (Huq, 2003, 2006). The case of Gospel versus profane music in Slovakia is paradigmatic.

Before discussing the segmentation of the music market, it is necessary to point out that sociologists consider polarization of music to be an important aspect in its development and innovation. We can see polarization not only between the secular and the sacred, but also between monophonic and polyphonic music, between vocal and instrumental music and so on. Polarization between sacred and secular music can also be seen globally, with gospel music in the USA, for example, being divided between Afro-American (Evans, 1976: 135) and the wider American spectrum, between gospel and rhythm and blues; gospel music and pop music... Finally results of this polarization can be traced also inside of the genre like gospel blues and Christian country music; gospel music and Contemporary Christian Music, and etc. Among them the European sacro-pop scene has also emerged as a new phenomenon developed from the hybridising Afro-American gospel and pop rock.

The initial development of the Euro-American music industry relied on the marketing of secular music as its principal product. Popular and salon music at the end of the 19th century, having recording qualities suitable for the sound media of the time, were well-placed to be successful on the music market (Tschmuck, 2003: 8). Such music mostly included short compositions and songs that, when recorded, could still evoke an emotional impact on their listeners, or otherwise entertain them. During the 20th century, all music genres came to be recorded and marketed. The other components of the music industry progressively developed: publishing houses, agencies, festivals and concerts, music organisations, associations, and media including magazines, books, radio, television and the internet. As the music industry developed, similar institutions also formed in the church sector in response to an increasingly secular world.

The church institutions objected to the secular organisations, particularly because their content preferences meant the selection of exclusively secular topics in the media and of secular repertoires at festivals, concerts and in broadcasting. Also, in the communist countries neither secular nor sacred music concerts were allowed in sacred venues. Sacred music, although permitted in non-church venues, was performed rarely. Let's use the sample of Czechoslovak music market as an example for analysing the process of dividing to profane and sacred segment.

2. The homogenous music market in Czechoslovakia

Between 1948 and 1989 the Czechoslovak music market was controlled by monopolies. In Slovakia the monopolies were held by the Slovkoncert agency (1969) and the Opus publishing house (1971); in the Czech Republic the Supraphon publishing house (1948) and the Pragokoncert agency had control. Similarly, there was only one television and one radio broadcasting company. In the former Czechoslovakia, Supraphon supplied the whole market until the establishment of the Opus publishing house in Slovakia in 1971. The government's atheistic propaganda elicited, particularly in Slovakia and Moravia, an illegal underground movement with its own subcultures. Gospel music or sacro-pop did not exist until 1948, and only sacred classical music was performed. The first underground attempts to create original songs with sacred lyrics were influenced by waltzes, polkas and 1950s' Slovak folk music. The first illegal gospel bands combined Afro-American spirituals, hard rock and pop music, and they were the seedbed for the music market's later division into sacred and secular segments. In 1958, the band *Matuzalem* and, in 1968 the girls vocal group *Polaris* were founded by the Baptist church; the Catholic band *Crédo* formed in 1968. The influences of hard rock and pop music, *Beach Boys* and the *Beatles*, together with new rhythmic and melodic structures, could be heard in their music. In 1968, *Matuzalem* and *Crédo* even gave public performances, hence becoming known to the secular world. *Crédo* performed the first big beat mass in a church in Bratislava. In 1969, the band had an LP recording contract signed with the Supraphon publishing house. However, due to the Prague Spring movement, the album was not released until 1989. Songs by *Crédo* were broadcast over Radio Vaticana and Radio Free Europe. Similarly, *Matuzalem* and *Polaris* were invited by JAS, the Czechoslovak Baptist choir, to perform at the

stadium in Vsetín 1969, Czech Republic. The musicians of the band *Matuzalem* were included on the American recording *Billy Graham: 'Euro '70: Where East Meets West'*² as members of a Brotherhood Unity of Baptist choir. All these events were prompted by the emergence of hard rock music around the world.

However, the influence of international TV and radio stations was deliberately 'regulated' by interference with their transmission signals, so making it impossible to tune into and listen to them freely. In the communist era, the support of domestic and Eastern European productions was another form of ideological intervention in the field of culture. A directive containing exact percentages regulated the amounts of domestic and foreign music that were allowed to be broadcast. However, the quality of the music programs and the trends they followed were related to development patterns in the media during particular periods. In the 1960s, the news of 'Beatlemania' was spread by newspapers and television, but mainly through the broadcasts of Radio Luxembourg. Musicians knew the *Beach Boys*, the *Beatles* and other hard rock bands via the radio broadcasts of the Voice of America, BBC London and Radio Luxembourg. Religious services and programs on Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America and Radio Vaticana were further ways that gospel and sacro-pop music spread into Central Europe. Czech and Slovak Radio immediately reacted to the development abroad and broadcast modern music for home audiences with the following limitations: 70% of home music production and 30% foreign production; the latter included western music and also the music of socialist countries. Influences from new rock bands came not only through radio broadcasts, but also directly from the performances of visiting foreign bands. Starting in 1966, many foreign musicians performed at the *Bratislavská lýra* [Bratislava Lyre] international festival, but bands were also invited for single night performances during their European tours. For instance, the hard rock-oriented *Manfred Mann* band performed in Bratislava in 1965 (Matzner, Poledňák & Wasserberger, 1987). *Mann's* music was characterized by a strong emphasis on improvisation. At that time, the band was developing the hard rock style and its performance in Bratislava, so to speak, preceded the establishment of the hard rock genre. The group showed a direction towards the psychedelic scene and its expressive means. Like the 1968 Prague performance of the British group *The Nice*, *Manfred Mann's* concert in Bratislava made an important contribution to foreign music appreciation in Slovakia with a significant

² World Wide Rec. LP 1970, B G 2932Z4RS – 2933.

influence on Slovakian musicians of the time. In 1968, Brian Auger and The Trinity with singer Julie Driscoll performed at the *Bratislavská lýra* to the critical acclaim of the press and public. Auger, an organist and singer from Great Britain, represented a rock scene that drew on blues and soul. His music was one of the first attempts to combine rock with jazz and, hence, to establish the jazz-rock style.

Julie Driscoll with Brian Auger and the *Trinity Band* from Great Britain supposedly knows how to foresee tomorrow's fashion and taste:

At Midem in Cannes, the audience and the experts both agreed and rejected this opinion. Today, we will see how she will impress our audience (N/A, 1968: 1).

Julie Driscoll and her band gave an extraordinary performance in Bratislava...in spite of the extreme anxiety in their music, the concert was very memorable (Dlouhá, 1968: 6).

Singer Julie Driscoll with the British Brian Auger and the Trinity band was extremely interesting (I regard their performance the most important event of the festival, along with the last minute replacement of Cliff Richard by The Shadows band) (Jurík, 1968: 7).

Another foreign band that performed at the same festival was *The Shadows*. Its engagement was a replacement of equal measure for Cliff Richard, who had cancelled.

Foreign groups' performances in Czechoslovakia did not always have the same standard as when these groups performed in their countries or elsewhere abroad. There are several explanations: sometimes the organizers and their agencies were not professional in their arrangements; also, the visiting musicians did not have sufficient knowledge about the cultural and artistic environment and they underestimated their audiences. In 1968, Dennis Wilson, the drummer of the American group, *The Beach Boys*, gave a concert in Prague and another in Bratislava several days later. Both performances were full of contradictions. In the early phase of their career in 1962–66 *The Beach Boys*, with their characteristic multi-part vocals and a sharp electric guitar sound, represented the modern rock style and evoked the atmosphere of Californian beaches and surfing. However, after 1968, their music deteriorated and the band's popularity declined. As with the Prague concert, at the jam session in the V Club in Bratislava the audience booed Wilson (Tesař, 1992). In point of fact, Wilson's performance in Bratislava juxtaposed and affirmed the styles and qualities of the emerging Slovakian musicians in the group Modus and the teenagers who later

formed the Elán band. These are only a few, but very important, examples of the receptions of hard rock and pop bands in 1960s' Czechoslovakia which proved that Czech and Slovak audiences built confidence in their ability to distinguish between good and bad quality music regardless of the musicians' provenances.

According to historical sources, during the time of political liberalisation in the 1960s' Czechoslovakia, sacred and secular elements were intertwined. The state radio made broadcasts of Czech-written songs with sacred themes which secular listeners also found very attractive, entertaining and humorous. Such songs included one about St. Dominic, a recluse desired by every girl. The song was made world famous in 1962 and became a hit in the USA and other foreign charts. It was sung by a Belgian Sister, a member of the Dominican Order Soeur Sourire, and it was also translated into the Czech language. Another song was about an errant church sexton who secretly drinks the church wine. Sacral symbols were also present in the songs of Marta Kubišová, whose 'Modlitba pro Martu'³ became the hymn of the Prague Spring movement.

Globally, divergence between secular and sacred segments continued, and gospel music was given a special category 'Best Gospel or Other Religious Recording' at the 1962 Grammy Awards. The category changed name several times and was repeatedly divided into smaller segments with new categories being created. The indirect influence of spirituals seeped into contemporary Czech and Slovak popular music, as some musicians included Afro-American spirituals in their concert performances. To them there belong *Juraj Velčovský Orchestra*, *Braňo Hronec Orchestra* and *Siloš Pohanka Dance Orchestra*, who performed such spirituals and folk songs like 'Oh Brothers, Oh Sisters', 'I Want to Die Easy' and 'We Shall Not Be Moved'⁴. Although Slovakia is a country known for its religious convictions, in 2011, as many as 73.5% of the Slovak population claimed Christian affinity (Tizik 2011, 2013)⁵, the music market at that time was

³ SP Soeur Sourire/Jiřina Fikejzová/Judita Čerovská: *Dominiku* [Dominic], Duba Karel: *Pražská nedele* [Prague Sunday], Supraphon 1964, 013163, SP Evžen Pach/Jiří Zmožek: *Ranní mše/Hříšnej kostelník* [Morning Mass, Sinful Sacristan], Supraphon 1969, 043 0655; *Jiří Brabec/Petr Rada: Modlitba pro Martu* [Prayer for Marta], LP *Songy a balady*, Supraphon 1969, 10 0587-1311, censored version 1970.

⁴ SP *Tanečný orchestr Siloša Pohanku* [Siloš Pohanka Dance Orchestra] with Zuzka Lonská, Zdeněk Kratochvíl and Tatjana Hubinská: *Ó bratia, ó sestry* [Oh Brothers, Oh Sisters], Supraphon 1965, 013780; SP *Eva Sepešiová and Traditional Club*, SP Supraphon 1969.

⁵ In 1950, 94.2% of the Czech and 99.9% of the Slovak populations claimed to have religious beliefs. In 2011, the figures decreased to just 21% for the Czech population and 73.5% for the Slovak population.

not yet segmented between secular and religious listeners and the two music types shared the same market place. The spiritual 'Down By the Riverside', for example, sung in the period of revivalism between 1947 and 1948, had revised Czech lyrics about 'boy meets girl', and another Slovak secular version about "the morning over the river... and a skylark above" (Dorůžka & Mácha, 1964; Výborná, 2007). Spirituals were regarded as a cultural heritage and their performance did not necessarily represent musicians' religious beliefs. There were, therefore, spirituals recorded in the Dixieland style and in contemporary pop music styles where rhythm and blues, rock and roll, soul, or twist elements were combined. The *Traditional Club* band recorded Dixie Party in 1969 where the spirituals 'When the Saints Go Marchin' In' and 'Down by the Riverside' were also listed. The album was released for foreign listeners in Zürich⁶ and also contained, together with spirituals in the Dixieland style, the Slovak folk songs. Three *Traditional Club* members (Igor Čelko, Peter Móric and Pavol Molnár) emigrated later to Switzerland.

Listeners also became familiar with Afro-American spirituals through traditional jazz bands like *The Ali Jazz Band* (1949), the *Traditional Club* (1961–1969) and the *Revival Jazz Band* (1963). Such bands, however, only attracted the minority of listeners interested in instrumental jazz pieces. A greater number of listeners were drawn to spirituals in their vocal-instrumental versions⁷. The spirituals 'Deep River' and 'Just A Closer Walk With Thee' sung by Elena Pribusová are included on LP *Traditional Club Bratislava*. The *Czech Spiritual Quintet*⁸, founded in 1960, was another key contributor to the popularity of spirituals in their vocal-instrumental versions. The spiritual, as a valuable cultural heritage, but not as a sacred music genre, was also reflected in the literature of the time; such books were, however, rarely published (Kožnar, 1955; Dorůžka, 1961).

⁶ Switzerland, Intercord 709-08 MB. It contained the Slovak folk songs *Slovenské mamičky* [Slovak Mothers] and *Pod tým naším okienečkom* [Under Our Little Window].

⁷ Edition *Jazzová edice Gramofonového klubu* [The Jazz Edition of the Gramophone Club], Supraphon 1969, 1150584.

⁸ EP Spiritual kvartet, Supraphon 1963, and EP Spiritual kvintet, LP Traditional jazz studio, Supraphon 1967.

3. The illegal distribution of sacred music

Gospel music audiences were associated with the same social classes as the audiences for the 1960s' rock movement. Some gospel audiences had the same background as audiences for other popular music broadcasted on radio. A very significant group of listeners came through the jazz movement, as jazz listeners were receptive to and eager for all forms of American jazz styles. Hard rock, pop music, jazz and gospel music attracted especially the younger generation. The alternative rock scene in the Czech Republic was orientated towards the dissident movement, which probably led to a divergence between the Czech and Slovak undergrounds. The activities of the Czech underground were connected with *Charta 77*, while the Slovak gospel scene was closely associated with the Church and musicians who focused on gospel music in 'silent' protest. The years 1969 to 1989 saw the grouping of Czech musicians in alternative rock bands such as *The Plastic People of the Universe* and *Pražský výběr*. Among the singers with *The Plastic People of the Universe* was Paul Wilson, a Canadian writer and translator, who, while teaching in Prague, learned the Czech language. Wilson also translated into English many of the works of the dissident playwright Václav Havel, who was later the President of the Czechoslovak Republic between 1989 and 1992.

Between 1969 and 1989 there were, according to available data, 37 illegally distributed gospel music albums in Slovakia. The data were collected through a field research among different Slovak church denominations in the period 2005–2009 (Baptist Church, Brethren Church, Blue Cross Movement, Catholic Church and Lutheran Church). Although in 1969 Supraphon legally released four LPs, their tracks were the European church music of minor religious denominations and consisted of classical choral music with religious lyrics, rather than gospel music⁹. The albums were a compromise between Church activities and state restrictions during the 1960s that were to finally culminate in the total prohibition of sacred music after 1969. The music on these albums were remnants of the sacred choir heritage from the first half of the 20th century.

Clandestine recording studios were established and producing music cassettes at the beginning of the 1980s. They used recording equipment sourced

⁹ Records were made by The Mission Youth Choir of the Church of Brotherhood and The Brotherhood of Baptists choir, Bratislava. LP *Misijný spevokol mladých Cirkvi bratskej v Bratislave: Rozhovory so synom* [Dialogus with the Son]. Supraphon 1969; LP *Zborové duchovné spevy* (*The Church Choir Chants*). Supraphon 1969, 029 9878.

from Western countries. In 1984, *Zázrak vykúpenia–Košíčania* [The Miracle of Redemption–Citizens of Košice], an illegal tape with music by Marcel Šiškovič, was produced. It was recorded in a secret amateur studio in Hýľov, near the Eastern Slovak city of Košice. A significant contributor was Anton Fabián, a Catholic priest, who already had previous experience with underground movements in Slovakia and in Prague. One hundred copies of *Košičania* were made in the studio, then distributed to priests, and young people secretly made and distributed many more. It is estimated that at least 100,000 copies circulated. Composers, musicians and lyricists became excited about working illegally and about young people having created a network for music distribution.

The following year, *Nový ľud* [New People] was recorded in the Hýľov studio and had a similar success. By that time, the portable studio was already equipped with a Fostex 8-track tape recorder, as well as a music mixer, donated by another priest, Dr. Anton Hlinka, who was a radio broadcaster in Radio Free Europa and later in Voice of America too. Electronic reverb units and other tape recorders were sent from Germany. Slavo Král, a composer and pianist from the Baptist community, tells of another way the recording technologies were obtained. The Baptist churches had close contacts with their Western counterparts, and visiting Western church singers often brought their own sound equipment into Slovakia, and then returned home without it¹⁰.

Between 1983 and 1989, another successful band *Radostné srdce* [A Joyful Heart] recorded eleven tapes in an illegal studio set up in the cellar of a house in Bratislava. Once again, the recordings were secretly distributed. In 1990, after the Velvet Revolution, the same band legally recorded the CD *Vianočné koledy* [Christmas Carols]¹¹ and sold approximately 90 000 copies with proceeds committed to a chapel¹². This album's success is comparable with the best-selling pop music bands of the time in the former Czechoslovakia. For instance, in 1987, the most successful Czechoslovak pop-rock band, Elán, sold 92 309 copies of its album *Neviem byť sám* [I don't know how to be alone]¹³. Despite the *Vianočné koledy's* success, the market for pop music was still significantly

¹⁰ From an interview with Slavo Král and the members of the Unity of Baptist Church choir in Sept. 2008.

¹¹ P.S.Publisher 1990, 2002; 7304.

¹² From the written interview with Marina Wiesner (June 2008), the band's guitarist, who performed in front of the audience from the Blue Cross Movement and Catholic Church.

¹³ Opus, 9113 1910-11.

greater than for gospel music. It should be pointed out that *Elán*, at the peak of popularity, sold 542 939 copies of its album *Detektívka* [Whodunit] (1986). In 1981, the most popular Czech rock band, *Olympic*, sold 170 000 copies of the album *Ulice* [The Street]¹⁴. Both *Olympic* and *Elán* were also promoted abroad and released five albums with English lyrics for foreign listeners.

4. The dual music cultures: Official *versus* private and youth education

During the communist era, the education of young people had a strong ideological focus. Composers wrote classical and special ideological songs which were sung by elementary school choirs and served as an instrument of communist education. In the 1980s, for example, there were slightly more than 2 780 school choirs in Slovakia (Medňanská, 2011), and the number of municipalities was around 2 891. It meant that almost every school had its own choir¹⁵. The communist hegemony meant that religious convictions became taboo. However, despite government controls, a majority of the Slovak population were able to maintain their religious beliefs, and church rituals such as baptism, first communion, confirmation, weddings and funerals were separated from public life and mostly held in secret. For example, for a baptism, first communion and confirmation some families had to travel to a place where they were not known. Others might have asked for a priest to come to their place. With funerals, some families organized a secular ceremony followed by a mass conducted in secret the following day. In the case of a wedding, only a civil ceremony was accepted for a legal marriage, but very often a church ceremony was conducted in addition to a secular one. Baptism, for instance, also had its secular substitute, a ceremony known as 'welcoming new-borns to society' which was held at municipal offices. In the vast majority of Slovak families, religious rituals were always followed by a private celebration where some sacred music was played.

Furthermore, Afro-American spirituals and gospel songs seeped into Slovakia through secular music, and sacred songs were sung not only at religious family rituals but also at other non-official occasions. Hence, church music became a part of everyday life and contributed to the dualistic nature of music

¹⁴ Supraphon, 1913 0376.

¹⁵ <http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=2213> (accessed 2 February 2015).

culture. Slovak bands also performed sacred songs in visits to Western countries. For example, the *Traditional Club*, a Slovak traditional jazz ensemble, was recorded for NBC's popular television program, the Bell Telephone Hour, at the height of its popularity. The program — sponsored by The Bell System and aired on Sunday, 26 February 1967 — documented the young musicians' performance at the 1966 Comblain-la-Tour International Jazz Festival in Belgium and their playing of 'We Shall Overcome' at Sunday mass in a local church. Benny Goodman's sextet performed in the second half of the program. Other opportunities for the *Traditional Club* to perform in a church came in 1967 when they played in a church in Munich, and at the wedding of the band's drummer at St. Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava. They performed the spirituals from their stable repertoire which included 'Just a Closer Walk with Thee', 'Just a Little While to Stay Here', 'When the Saints Go Marchin' In', and 'St. James Infirmary Blues', the last being a band's hit¹⁶. The situation changed after the 1989 Velvet Revolution when most school choirs dissolved and spontaneously emerging church choirs began to take their place. According to the data available in 2009, the number of choirs active at primary schools fell from the former 2 780 to just 35 (Medňanská, 2011). On the contrary, the number of church choirs as well as gospel bands has continued to increase and, at present, there are more than 2 000.

5. The music market after 1989

After the Velvet Revolution the Czech and Slovak music industries were divided into secular and sacral segments. State radio and television, though maintaining their monopoly positions¹⁷ began to allocate time to Christian programs. However, the now-legitimate sacred media and new commercial broadcasters became progressively established which created not only a competitive media environment, but also permitted religious plurality and a wider public discourse. In the first period, between 1989 and 1997, the newly established media included Christian Radio Lumen, several youth Gospel magazines, a large

¹⁶ From written interviews with Igor Čelko, June 2008.

¹⁷ Slovak television has been broadcasting since 1956; Slovak Radio originated from private Radiojournal broadcasts in 1926.

number of Christian publishing houses and agencies¹⁸ and also many gospel music festivals¹⁹. Some of the festivals were held locally, others were Slovakia-wide (for instance *Lumen*, *Aleluja*, and *Verím, Pane* [I Believe, My Lord]). As this period was characterized by the enthusiasm of artists and listeners, the early Christian festivals and concerts typically had high attendances, even though they did not reach the standard of those after 1997. In contrast with secular jazz, rock and pop music bands, which were successfully releasing CD recordings, Gospel producers were initially struggling with financial problems and were producing music on cassette tapes.

Hence, the transition of sacred music production from its amateur underground roots was inevitable, but complex, because it required many free-of-charge amateurs — editors, soundmen, managers, journalists, critics, lyricists, composers, singers and instrumentalists — to become professionally skilled. Simultaneously it meant using effective promotional methods and finding new opportunities for entering foreign markets, not only through festivals and concerts, but also in the marketing of music products. After 1997 however, the Christian music industry in Slovakia achieved professional capabilities. Lux television was established in 2008, in addition to the sacred media which became active in the earlier time. The competition between secular and Christian markets led the Slovak media into a cooperative arrangement with Czech Proglas radio, Czech Christian TV Noe, and also with the Polish Christian media (Radio Maryja, TV Trwam, CCM Media).

A specific for the Christian music industry is that the managers of Gospel festivals decline sponsorship from companies distributing tobacco or alcohol products; also Christian radio and television do not seek subsidies from state revenues. In the new millennium, the post-revolutionary enthusiasm of Gospel music authors and listeners has diminished. Some of the earlier festivals originating between 1989 and 1997 have ceased and the overall number of sacred music events has declined. On the other hand, in response to praise and worship — the sacred songs' new artistic form — other festivals have been founded. CampFest, an open-air-festival held in Tatranská Lomnica since 1999, is one example. It is a sports camp which features religious music presentations. The most challenging task in the transitional process was for the amateur

¹⁸ Poltón, Carmina Sacra and Cantante Publishing House, LUX Media, LUX Communication, and Spirit ART recording studio are examples.

¹⁹ Such festivals included New Sacro Song (1989); Aleluja and Verím, Pane (I Believe, My Lord, 1990); Spievajme Pánovi [Let's Sing to the Lord] and Lumen (1993).

Christian bands and choirs to transform themselves into professional music ensembles. In doing so, artists and spiritual leaders were faced with two issues: how to separate and differentiate themselves from popular secular music on the one hand, and how, on the other, not to lose their spontaneity and Christian enthusiasm while strongly re-focusing on a high professional standard of music and lyrics. Although the professionalism and high artistic standards expected from musicians provide the basis for their musical ascendancy, they might also stifle religious enthusiasm and emotionality. There is a thin line between professionalism and the highest artistic standard, but professional performers remain balanced within those boundaries.

Hence, being professional does not so much involve the risk of losing spontaneity, but it rather means finding ways to spark the young listeners' interest, and to be topical while still using the language of a Christian person. These issues have been presented as a problem concerning the relationship between religious and artistic experience (Podpera, 2006), and that of one between a presentational and representational performance (Scruton, 2003) in which the artists represent spiritual values, even though they do not represent the particular subculture or community. Podpera speaks of music's manifest social function as intended by the composer, and of music's latent social function which differs from the original intent.

6. The convergence of sacred and secular music

Today the music industry in Slovakia maintains a secular-sacred differentiation. Publishing houses and agencies recognize and reinforce the division by specific marketing strategies to their target groups. At the same time, within the music itself, there is an ongoing process of convergence between music genres and styles which confounds the strict separation of secular and sacred. Spirituals and gospel music, for example, have their counterparts in soul and contemporary Rhythm and Blues; God Rock shares common features with progressive rock; and white metal has the same musical characteristics as heavy metal. The distinctions between sacred and secular music are the lyrics, the semantic meanings they hold, and the emotions which the music evokes in its listeners. The gradual convergence of sacred and popular styles in Slovakia after 1989 and especially after 2000 was presumably inevitable and probably very similar to other post-socialist countries like the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and the

former East Germany (Lange, 2003). Comparative research between the two styles has not yet been conducted because there is a lack of available resources.

However, investigations have found several language variants of 'Here I am to Worship', an Australian Hillsong Church's worship song written by Tim Hughes (2001); the song was translated by young people of different religious denominations and is still sung in its Polish variant 'Jestem tu by wielbić', in Czech as 'Zde jsem, aby chválil', as well as 'Ich will dich anbeten' in German and 'Prišli sme ťa vzývať' in Slovak. Other songs with more language variants include 'The Heart of Worship' (1997) and 'Once again' (1997), both being written by Matt Redman; and there is also Richard Wayne Mullins's 'Awesome God' (1988). Resources for gospel music can be found on several websites; printed songbooks with national lyrics and scores made by fans are also available.

However, there are many Slovak Gospel groups whose lyrics contain both sacred and secular themes and, hence, complicate any endeavours in stylistic categorization. Such ensembles, if introduced to the market through Christian media and agencies, continue to hold a spiritual and religious identity. Once associated with a sacred label, these groups cannot establish themselves in the secular market, even though they have style characteristics common with secular ones. Since the new millennium a large number of Slovak artists have been able to make a transition from Gospel to pop. Many singers and musicians have even become active on both scenes and collaborate in numerous projects. Although the music industry still maintains its secular and sacred market segmentation there are occasional projects with a genre crossover. Listeners, on the other hand, have been largely indifferent to the genre segmentation. At the national round of the Eurovision Song Contest in 2009 listeners voted favourably for Gospel music singers who were performing pop songs. Three Gospel singers — Kamil Mikulčík, Mária Čírová and Janais (proper name Jana Dzurišová) — reached top places. Kamil Mikulčík, from the Gospel bands Fragile and the Continental Singers, and also the sacro-pop Trinity Group, became the winner of the national round (in a duet with Nela Pocisková) with the song 'Let' tmou' [Fly through the Darkness]²⁰. The duo then represented Slovakia in the Eurovision final in Moscow. Mária Čírová was another member of the *Trinity Group* and won the fourth place in the national final with 'Búrka' [Storm], while

²⁰ Music by Rastislav Dubovský; lyrics by Ada Žigová and Nella; English translation of lyrics by Pavol Janík.

Janais was the eighth place-getter with 'Taram ta rej'. She also began her career in the Gospel scene with several sacro-pop recordings.

7. Closing remarks

More than 250 contemporary Christian music albums were recorded in Slovakia between 1989 and 2012. Even though their production quality was not necessarily proportional to the quantity, it was a marker of a free democratic society where anyone possessing artistic skills, innovative ideas and an interest in music had a fair opportunity to develop their potential. The data from the Slovak branch of the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) have been used to compare gospel music production in Slovakia from 1995 to 2005 to the production of jazz, rock, pop, country, blues and folk music. Among approximately 100 albums produced annually, 10 to 15 were gospel music albums²¹. In 1990s' Slovakia (with the population of 5 445 000), the sale of more than 5 000 units was needed to obtain a Platinum Award. In the new millennium this limit was decreased to only 2 000 units, because the market changed in favour of new formats, new ways of distribution and promotion, which has also led to the closure of the Slovak branch of the IFPI after 2010.

The first post-revolutionary period (1989–1997) was characterized by the endeavours of Christian musicians to reach a professional standing; it was achieved soon after and sacred music became artistically comparable with popular music. In the post–1997 period, the music market remains strictly divided into secular and sacred. The divergence can be seen mainly in pop music market, which tends to reinforce the genre differentiation. On the other hand the artists, most especially, seek the opposite: a pathway to stylistic convergence. The strongest impetus for convergence comes from musicians collaborating in jazz and rock genres. Many singers have made a transition from the sacred to the pop scene, and some Gospel musicians have established themselves as accompanying instrumentalists for such pop celebrities as Zuzana Smatanová, Tina, Katka Koščová, Peter Lipa, and Soňa Horňáková. There are also musicians on both sides who balance their commitments across the sacred and secular fields. During the second half of 1990s, the commercial media industry became dominant over concert performances which resulted in a rising group

²¹ <http://www.edata.sk/ico/30811252/Slovenska-narodna-skupina-Medzinarodnej-federacie-fonografickeho-priemyslu--SNS-IFPI---v-likvidacii> (accessed 10 February 2015).

of celebrities whose performances were styled to audience taste and emphasized non-musical elements. Here 'superstars' are being created, not necessarily on the quality of their music.

In Slovakia, pop music faces problems with the quality of its original songs. Secular Slovak pop seems to be privileged solely for already-established artists, and there is a strict separation between the amateur and the professional scene, and between the mainstream and the independent; this intensifies the division between the mainstream and the alternative, and between commercial and underground music. Sacred media much more readily embrace newly emerging Slovak artists and groups and the broadcasts of new songs. They especially provide opportunities to the minority genres and styles which attract fewer listeners. The sacred media's openness to broadcasting secular music is in contrast to the secular media that refuse to broadcast the music of those with ties to Christian agencies or publishing houses.

In concluding, we can make some predictions about future music market trends. Where both secular and sacred music listeners accept certain lyrics and music visualization — particularly evident in video clips and stage designs — there is a like hood that their common interests will draw them together to attend the same concerts and festivals, and to buy similar clips and audio media. For example, secular listeners with an interest in progressive rock will lean towards God rock. Similar outcomes are likely in the currently segmented media. Since Christian media and festivals have not prevented the penetration of secular music and artists — even those discredited from the communist past — by the same measure, the penetration of Christian musicians and groups into commercial media should also occur. This convergence between pop and gospel music is common abroad, where great singers such as Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, Whitney Houston and Mariah Carey grew up in Baptist gospel ensembles.

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ART WORLDS,
CREATIVE COMMUNITIES
AND PARTICIPATION

4

Collaborative art: Rethinking the Portuguese theatre

Vera Borges

Abstract

In this paper, we analyse how artistic organisations and their directors are working in local communities and how their publics are experiencing theatre. Using a multiple case study methodology, we examine three different collaborative art profiles and geographies. We find that informal contexts, networks and partnerships foster the local collaboration of organisations and enhance both their recognition and the well-being of a small circle of local inhabitants. We also draw attention to relevant dynamics introduced by a scenario of collaborative and territorialised theatre such as the growth of local artists, which fosters art creation locally and cosmopolitan theatre groups which are working in neighbourhoods, cities and international fields; finally, the intensification of broader cultural experiences and the urban conviviality of artists and their participating publics.

1. Introduction: between collaboration and the territoriality of theatre

Since Becker published *Art Worlds* (1982), there have been increasing changes not only in the shapes of artistic work but also in their socio-spatial and temporal contexts. Becker could not have foreseen that artists would be ‘working together’ simultaneously in Portugal and EUA or Brazil! Geographically distant territories, organisations and people are brought closer together. New digital channels boost the dissemination and sharing of art. Artistic practices and networks may converge in a territory or within virtual territories and communities that connect with each other and are constructed on the internet (Gauntelet, 2011). Abbott, a sociologist of professions, recently reminds us of an old insight from the Chicago School perspective: social facts are located and they exist through a process that links and interlinks them with past contexts (Abbott, 2016: 40–41). Thus, we know a lot about how artistic organizations are internally organized, however yet little is known about how they evolve, how they are working in relation with others, in which context, territory, with which partners. In sum, how do theatre groups and their directors collaborate, with whom, when and where?

Recent research projects demonstrate that even though theatre audiences may not be large, they are more involved as makers, participants, sometimes experts who help artistic directors with its programming (see, for example, the participant observation research in a theatre group, Dias and Lopes, 2014). The artists' relationship with their audiences has been given new impetus to innovative socio-spatial artistic contexts. Artists and local participants challenge and are being challenged to increase urban conviviality and informality that steadily brings professionals and amateurs closer together in a kind of "partnering", to use Markusen and Gadwa's contribution (2010: 18–22). The local partnering is in different ways rooted in the communities and we believe it makes theatre groups sustainable, keeping the cultural diversity of its territories and local communities. For example, we found that in some cases inhabitants now experience theatre and cultural activities as a kind of local heritage, sometimes as amateur activities, where both younger and older members of the community can spend their time, as we will see in the next section.

In fact, in the American case, Markusen and Gadwa (2010: 3) argue that one of the main goals of art projects is to "(...) bring diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired". These authors consider that arts target the community by inviting people to participate and share different cultures. In turn, Menger (2010) and Urrutiaguer (2014) also consider that in the French case the nature of art and cultural activities local and regional authorities are willing to offer citizens has broadened. Menger yet suggests that the current institutional definition of art has become more anthropological, one that can foster cultural identity and the diversity of citizens and their plural interests; also, one that articulates cultural policy with education, urban and social policy, activism and social problems. The missions and objectives of artistic organisations, partners and territories are therefore more combined. Menger proposes us understand the phenomenon through the territorial-city dimension of culture. In his words: "(...) the city as the incubator of cultural generativity, to suggest how a city-centered approach to cultural development challenges the state-centered doctrine of cultural policy" (Menger, 2010: 1).

Moreover, we may consider the role of artistic organisations acting in major cities, events, biennials and capitals of culture as well as those acting in small communities with specific cultural and artistic programmes that involve young and old people, are stimulating the proximity of people with artistic processes and practices (Borges, 2015). Karpik similarly states that theatre depends on its groups' territorial proximity with audience, in his contribution to the

International colloquium *Desvendando o Teatro: Criatividade, Públicos e Território* (Lisbon, ICS-UL, 2012; see also Karpik, 2007). He calls our attention to one of its main specificities: the diffusion of theatre is more limited than that of other artistic areas and it is extremely dependent on the “networks of informal relations” that characterise for example the theatre groups of neighbourhood. This is how the publics today are reinvented in theatre and in cultural participation in general. This reinvention takes place by the proximity to the artists, in their performance spaces, be they theatres, cinetheatres or in the open air, as demonstrated by Markusen and Brown (2014): “People also seek active engagement in artistic creation and expression, even co-curating”. Theatres are struggling to maintain audiences and marketing and strategies often fail. And theatregoers increasingly value venues, not just performances, challenging directors to curate locations as part of their offerings (Brown & Leonard-Novak, 2001).

In the next sections, we will analyse the collaborative artistic work within local communities and how collaborative processes go beyond a more institutionalised logic of culture. Thus, our main hypothesis is that the relationship between artistic organisations and the territories where they are located is determined by the functioning of a specific cultural environment and by the position of directors. Firstly, we argue that although artistic networks are growing steadily, they are simultaneously becoming increasingly collaborative and territorialised (Section 1). Secondly, to make this point, we will analyse how organisations call for the local population's participation and how they provide the public with contexts of urban conviviality which can enhance people's well-being. We will describe cultural organisations, their missions and working dynamics based on directors' words and how they are rethinking their approach to artistic work and to interconnecting with local-residents and communities. We will introduce the idea that collaborative contexts are feeding and boosting organisations' work and local communities (Section 2). Finally, we will discuss our main empirical results showing multi-collaborative contexts in which art is involved today. We conclude by proposing avenues for further research and highlighting the opportunities for discussion on theatre missions and sustainability. We suggest possible future directions for the analysis of Portuguese theatre (Section 3).

1.1. Methodology

Using a multiple “case study methodology” (Becker, 1970; Ragin & Becker, 1992), and the results of our previous studies, we shed light on the missions of each art organisation and community through ethnographic observation. We consider that this demarche reveals the diversity of routines and rupture in their day-to-day artistic work, practices and collaborative interactions between people and territories. We will see that informal networks and partnerships foster the local collaboration of organisations and narrow the distance between performers and their publics, promoting the intensification of cultural experiences and increasing the publics' participation and conviviality. Our analyses are supported by observation, visits to theatre venues, in-depth interviews with the directors (Borges, 2007, 2009). Moreover, we draw on Yin (2009) and the idea of ‘multiple sources’ when building the ‘case’ to set the framework of our methodological strategy. Abbott also considers a way of understanding the nature of the social process and its “intrigues” (Abbott, 2001: 197–198): the cases are therefore built not only on ambiguities, complexities, contradictions, but also on what is relatively permanent in the art world. We therefore present three case studies from an empirical perspective. The systematisation of the information collected during the research allows us to anticipate and evaluate some scenarios that are evolving in cultural organisations: more localised cultural action, greater proximity, and the emergence of collaboration profiles with national and international partners. We are also inspired by the results of Brown and Leonard-Novak (2001) in cultural organisations and the research by Johanson, Glow & Kershaw (2014). These authors find that definitions of community participation vary in accordance with the characteristics of the municipality and the profiles of “markets along networks” (White, 1997: 177–220). We will use the same demarche but now identify how artistic organisations are working (or not) in collaborative contexts within local and inter-municipal communities and institutions; and how they take advantage of their past local connections and experiences. Our research is therefore very close to the social players; it is bottom-up research that values the rationale of the entity's local work and emphasises the diversity of the organisations' experiences and relationships with their audiences (Borges & Lima, 2014). Finally, we address the distinctive challenges of theatre and local contexts: the close relations between organisations, performers and publics through “small communities that are working together” (Borges, 2017); theatre

groups calling for the local population's participation which creates contexts of strong urban conviviality (i.e. socialising regularly with each other) and can improve the territorialisation of collaborative art.

2. Case studies

2.1. Case A: 'The city as a territory where I belong'

A. Anastácio (born in 1972) is *Alma d'Arame's* stage designer and puppeteer, founder and director. He started out in professional theatre as a light technician when he was still a student. Then he learnt puppeteering and it was in the late 1990s that he realised that this was what he wanted to do — 'I got a taste for it'. This feeling grew while he was training at the Cascais Professional School under C. Avillez, the director of the Cascais Experimental Theatre, where he did a course in scenography. He then went to Charleville in France where he learned the theatre profession of actor-puppeteer.

The first cultural activity organised by *Alma d'Arame* was a festival. "The festival was the group's flagship", Anastácio told us in our first conversation (field notes, 22.10.2014). The aim of this group's festival was to 'see how the people in the locality would react'. Anastácio believes that the most important part of artistic creation is "the people [they] are the ignition, the flame, the spark that makes us do art. I am not complaining. We have audiences of 100, 80 people". Anastácio is acknowledged in the city for his puppet work, but he attributes his recognition above all to the fact that he "comes from that city", he was born there and keeps up his links with the people, his neighbours, his public. The festival was produced in collaboration with the *Oficinas do Convento* (Convent Workshops), a cultural association for art and communication located in St Francis Convent in Montemor-o-Novo. In the past, Anastácio produced shows and events at the *Oficinas*.

In his own words, today *Alma* is "a small structure focusing on puppet theatre, performance, installation, scenography, sculpture" (field notes, 18.05.2015). It is not just a puppet theatre group; its artistic work is interdisciplinary and with a broader scope. After all, the organisation is based 101 km from Lisbon and gets involved in the challenges facing the territory where he lives: the puppets are welcome there, but the cultural action and social intervention requested by the group's social partners goes beyond this kind of

work. *Alma* is a non-stop work drive, which offers the city various cultural activities. The artist's relationship with the other local organisations and agents has become stronger since *Alma* became professionalised and Anastácio started to work full-time. The artistic work the team do is almost circular, because everything is concentrated in a space that is confined by the geographic boundaries of the city itself. *Alma* collaborates with *Oficinas do Convento* and *Espaço d'O Tempo*, in the Castle. To use the director's words, it was "difficult to reach", but the theatre group gradually set out its path and became an important satellite for the increase in the community's territorial collaboration. The local experiences and social dynamics of the artists and residents was fed by the co-existence of countless social, cultural structures and artistic groups.

On a daily basis, Anastácio's work is divided between artistic activities to develop the *Alma* project, conversations with the team, the construction and setting up of shows and the preparation of workshops, as well as meetings with colleagues from local partner structures to create joint programming. But there is still time to socialise with friends. Friends who belong to community organisations with whom Anastácio spends his free time and who also cooperate, for example, with the support project for the disabled, *Explorar'ARTE*, at the *Casa João Cidade*, near the Roma community outside the city centre. In these moments of socialising, a friend tells him: "I know a text that might interest you" (field notes, 18.03.2015). These moments provide the opportunity to hear a local story and they trigger spontaneous collaboration among people who have known each other for a long time and who just hang out together. As a rule, the residents in this community were at the *Espaço da Criança* (Children's Area) at some point in their childhood. This allowed Anastácio to meet other young people and build friendships that are still going strong even today. On the other hand, the youngsters go to the Youth centre. Essentially, the leaders of the local theatre groups and cultural structures of this community have a past context in common.

Anastácio is from this community and his relationship with it facilitates his artistic work and his acceptance by local people. How does Anastácio see his project? He described *Alma* as a structure that works "with a network to consolidate a project for a city" (field notes, 22.10.2014). As an artistic organisation that is on the margins, out of the city of Lisbon, it is ultimately this geography that brings it more visibility. Lisbon has so many organisations, activities and artists in the city centre. Anastácio described the feeling of this "excess" when he told us about leaving the Lisbon Puppet Theatre and his time

at the D. Maria II National Theatre in Rossio (Lisbon); it was just a question of time. Anastácio already knew that Lisbon was not his town. Through *Projet M*, *Alma* participated in a partnership in 2013–2016 that was led by a renowned organisation, *O Espaço do Tempo*, which was working in conjunction with other partners like *Oficinas do Convento* and *Projecto Ruínas*. Together, the organisations are associated to the municipality. The *Projet M* made its name locally by promoting artistic residencies, workshops and new creations. *Alma* developed and coordinated this cultural project and this allowed the team to establish and assert itself as a structure that programmes regular cultural activities for the local population. This was the case of the two workshops we attended, one with local students and teachers, and other with local professional and amateur artists (field notes, 18.03.2015).

2.2. Case B: A collaborative project with Facebook followers

Our conversation with L. Fernandes (born in 1972) began to the sound of an orchestra with a hundred or more local children and youngsters (field notes, 4.07.2014). The *Casa d'Orfeu* is an old building; it had been given to the Fire Brigade and later donated to this organisation. It has a small library with a valuable collection of documents about musical traditions, entire books on the history of *d'Orfeu*, told through articles, minutes of meetings and budgets. There are also a few rehearsal rooms, a showcase with publicity material, films, DVDs for sale. The *Casa* is occupied not only by the production team but also by youths, local-residents, who rehearse there. Fernandes confesses that he considers himself a "self-taught musician". He is the director of *d'Orfeu* because he was the only that resisted "tough times" in the 1990s. Those experiences must have strengthened his ties with the local agents responsible for culture, who could establish cooperative links with the institutions in the broader (regional) territory. From 1995, he accompanied the foundation of the school of traditional music. He concluded his degree in music at the University of Aveiro when *d'Orfeu* was in its fifth year.

Nowadays, this artistic organisation no longer limits itself just to musical activities. The shows in the group's 'portfolio' (i.e. shows that are put together to be sold) are described as performances of music-theatre and new circus. The activities organised by the team are more wide-ranging than ever and have an inter-associative slant. The seminars about folklore and amateur theatre groups deal with subjects like amateur associative organisations, marketing,

management, tax and accounting for associations; there are diction and communication workshops for the public in general, and the percussive orchestra for the young, the *opÁ*.

How do *D'Orfeu* work today? And who do they collaborate with? Fernandes talks of this organisation's similarities with *ACERT, Associação Cultural e Recreativa de Tondela*, located in Viseu. Why? He suggests that they do the same kind of cultural work with and for the local community, with a concern for local everyday life. In both cases, the team develops their work with the local residents and it presents themselves as a municipal co-producer of cultural activities. The work is linked to the community through primary collaborative networks that are mobilised and that Fernandes presented to us as a "curiosity of this group": *D'Orfeu* has members who do not pay fees but whose membership is based on their direct collaboration in the group's tasks. The social and relational capital that Fernandes and his team have been accumulating over the years has allowed them to consolidate local support, which was boosted by the allocation of central state funding; this was an important recognition factor. In Fernandes' words, the state funding "is the affirmation of the group's strength, of its credit". The director sees the institutional central support as an opportunity that organisations must take advantage of to be valorised in their "home territory". He adds that in fact the real recognition for their work comes from the local authority and above all from their local public who feel 'called' to see their performances.

Fernandes's day is always very intense: from organising publicity photos for the events, performances and festivals to updating the internet site, looking at clips of articles, audios and videos. He has little time to create new performances, but there are publics (real and virtual) to appreciate them. For example, *d'Orfeu* and the *Festim* event constructed a digital community on-line, and Fernandes showed us this on their website: "We did this here, you can see, it's registered, we've reached lots of different people, we've shared". It is a communication model that announces the group's activities where they can chat with their small community and 'followers'. His day progressed. Team preparations were made for the arrival and performance of the last *Festim* group. We travelled from Águeda to the Estarreja Cine theatre. It took less than an hour. But on the way Fernandes showed us a recording of a show in which he had played a leading part. He had acted in the Osório Repertoire. He told me it had been very rewarding because "the public participated all the time". And he explained he

enjoyed socialising with the international artistic groups that he promotes because they give him artistic inspiration.

Fernandes believes that his intervention model in local culture should be achieved in conjunction with the resident population and that it should respond to the region's needs. The institutional support that the organisation has managed to consolidate through its association with six municipalities results from the conception of a programming model and a specific institutional model that the group develops and reinvents at each step with their partner municipalities. The regional newspaper, *Soberania*, reported the festival as follows: "*Festim* 2014: a region united by the musics of the world". *Festim* is presented as an event that strives to unite territories through its cultural, social and educational offer. The artist-director told us it is more than a very artistic event; it is a "cultural happening". The event makes the structure and its artistic team sustainable, allowing the team to dedicate their time to their artistic work, developing the *Gesto Orelhudo*. According to Fernandes, this is the structure's brand and artistic identity. The international links that it started to explore with the *OuTonalidades* project are another aspect that d'Orfeu is developing, pursuing Fernandes' initial vocation for music as well as the interests of its partners. Fernandes uses his ingenuity and expertise to combine creation, programming and publicity activities; priority goes to promoting a model of "art for all" that articulates the structure's vocation, the trajectories of its professionals and the characteristics of the territory and local network of partners, boosted significantly by its digital capacity.

2.3. Case C: From 'breaking shale' to the Food Tent

Teatro Viriato has a long history. After 25 years with no activity, *Teatro Viriato* opened its doors in 1985 with an artistic project by *Área Urbana - Núcleo de Ação Cultural*, sponsored by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and with support from Viseu City Hall and the Civil Government of the Viseu District. The Architecture Faculty of Porto was commissioned to do the plans for the restoration and refurbishment of this theatre under the supervision of the architect Sérgio Fernandez. Between 1986 and 1996, the City Council restored the theatre in partnership with other funding institutions. In 1996, the theatre came to life through a programming and administration project by the Paulo Ribeiro Company, with the support of the Viseu City Council and the then Ministry of Culture; this gave rise to the *Centro de Artes do Espetáculo de Viseu*,

a Cultural and pedagogical association. In 1999, the first season in this new phase of Viriato's life was inaugurated with a performance that was put together specifically for the occasion, *Raízes Rurais, Paixões Urbanas* (Rural Roots, Urban Passions), by R. Pais; the title gives a clear picture of the context in which Viriato was working. Between 2003 and 2006, Viriato was directed by M. Honrado, when P. Ribeiro was working as the artistic director of the Gulbenkian Ballet.

Ribeiro (born in 1955) is a choreographer and director of the dance company with his name. In 2015, the *Companhia Paulo Ribeiro* celebrated its 20th anniversary. Ribeiro was born in Lisbon and began his career as a dancer in Belgium and France. He made his debut in choreographic creation in 1984 at the Stridanse Company in Paris. P. Ribeiro has received various international awards (the Humor award in 1984, 2nd prize in Contemporary dance in the Volinine Competition in 1985) and national awards (Acarte Prize for *Dançar Cabo Verde*). Between 1998 and 2003, he was General Director and Director of Programming at the *Teatro Viriato/Centro Regional das Artes do Espetáculo das Beiras*. In 2003, he became Artistic Director of the Gulbenkian Ballet, which was founded in 1965 and closed in 2005.

Our conversation with Ribeiro began in the atrium of the *Teatro Viriato*. The director-choreographer had been at the dance school, *Lugar Presente*, next door to see if everything was running smoothly. We went backstage in the theatre, which still smelled new, and to the rehearsal room where P. Ribeiro works and builds his shows with his ballet dancers. It is a large room full of light and with an inspiring view over the city (field notes, 19.05. 2015). It is occupied by a team that is doing an artistic residency at the *Teatro Viriato*. Ribeiro spoke about the local institutions' growing confidence in him and his team. He described his arriving in the city of Viseu, when he tried to collaborate with local entities. Ribeiro used the region's predominant stone as a metaphor to describe his first encounters with local partners and institutions. It was like 'breaking shale' (very, very hard), asking for collaboration, support, and managing to create an atmosphere of trust, a support network. They did not know him personally in the locality; he was an artist from Lisbon. He accepted the challenge but had absolutely no professional link with Viseu. Today, he admits that although he still enjoys the experience of living in Viseu, he needs to get away to see what is going on in the big cities; that is why he makes almost weekly trips to Lisbon where he can go to shows and participate in the city's cultural life.

The Paulo Ribeiro Company is in permanent residence at the *Teatro Viriato*, from which it creates, goes on tour and develops pedagogical activities. Since

2004, the dance school, *Lugar Presente*, has occupied the neighbouring building, which was restored and donated by the Viseu City hall and *Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Viseu*. The school offers classes in specialised artistic education: introductory dance courses, basic and secondary school courses in dance, free courses. The school's ties with the *Teatro Viriato* will grow as students participate in training workshops in the work space under the direction of the theatre's teachers and technicians.

"It wasn't like this some years back", confessed Ribeiro: the relationship with the city was initially marked by "caution", to use his words. He told us: "At first we rarely risked co-productions; it was always a risk, normally the programming was done with our partners, using our networks". Today, the collaborations with the other local structures and institutions make the *Teatro Viriato* a success. He recalled that it is largely thanks to its good relationship with the schools that Viriato is now "inside" the city. This relationship has a past which he describes as follows: "we went into the school (...) and now, we have become accomplices".

The *Teatro Viriato* is also able to support and receive other artists and structures that do not have their own work space but just float in the Portuguese theatre panorama; here they encounter an important collaborative relationship: "There are performances that tour ACERT [another regional art organisation], but [our] company doesn't go to Tondela. There is a crossover of publics, but not so much of performances", concludes Ribeiro. The Circus Lab project promotes a collaborative network with various municipalities (Viseu, Mangualde, Nelas, São Pedro do Sul and Tondela) and envisions artistic productions with partners like ACERT (Tondela), but also with Binaural / Nodar (São Pedro do Sul), the Paulo Ribeiro Company (Viseu), Erva Daninha (Porto) and Radar 360° (Porto), with the Viriato Secondary School (Viseu), School Groupings of Tondela Tomaz Ribeiro and São Pedro do Sul. The artistic processes culminate with the presentation of results in schools, with the students, and at the *Teatro Viriato*. This is followed by an international conference on the importance of artistic education in mandatory schooling. But the artistic and cultural programme is very diverse, with shows, workshops and *Tenda de Sabores* (the Food Tent). It is the gastronomic experiences that attracts the public in general. So, who is Viriato's public? It is children from the age of three, youths and adults. Ribeiro spoke about the gratification that motivates all the artists to continue their work in this city: "It is a fantastic night. We challenge people, and it is wonderful to see their confidence in us.... The cultural activities and the Food Tent were full!"

3. Discussion

The three case studies presented herein have diverse geographies, locations, arts profiles and specific collaborative contexts, which are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of case studies, arts profile and collaborative contexts

Case	Arts profile	Collaborative context
Case 1 Alma D'Arame Montemor-o-Novo (city) 17 437 inhabitants 1232.97 km ²	<i>Alma d'Arame</i> is in the centre of Montemor-o-Novo, a territory with a growing number of local professional and amateur artists. The director has a long-standing, informal relationship with the municipality and he has maintained professional relations with the main artistic organisations in the city (e.g., Espaço d'O Tempo) and socio-cultural and therapeutic institutions.	Multi-local collaboration of actors and very strong local conviviality with other cultural organisations and their publics. Key-alliances: Adam Bartley (Norway); Espaço d'O Tempo (cultural institution); Oficinas do Convento; Montemor-o-Novo school grouping.
Case 2 D'Orfeu Águeda (city) 11 346 inhabitants 335,27 km ²	<i>D'Orfeu</i> is in Águeda (Aveiro). The director has a past in the city. There is a close relationship with the young people of the local community and amateurs. For example, the organisation creates 'volunteer opportunities', and invites amateurs' participation: 'Experience festivals inside, sign up.'	Multi-regional collaboration with six different local municipalities, and a very strong local conviviality with local schools, and their young students. Key-alliances: Local municipalities; Estarreja Cine theatre and ACERT-Tondela.
Case 3 Teatro Viriato Viseu (city) 99 274 inhabitants 507.10 km ²	<i>Teatro Viriato</i> (Viseu) has been directed by a famous director for the last 16 years. The theatre is in a territory with a growing number of local professional artists and cultural organisations. The theatre has a close relationship with the artistic school of dance and their students. The team maintains strong and very good personal and institutional relations and alliances with the local municipality, cultural institutions and schools.	Multi-regional collaboration and strong local conviviality with participating publics (all ages). Strengthening of collaborative networks between creation entities and professional artistic agents, in search of wider territorial scope at national level. Key-alliances: Cirkus Xanti (New Circus Company, Norway), ACERT — Tondela and local artistic organisations.

Source: Own elaboration (the number of inhabitants and the km²: Census 2011).

We are now ready to review the principal issues of these three case studies and indicate some patterns in the way the cases can figure in our sociological

arguments (Section 1). We believe theatre has been expanding and reinventing itself as a process through which the relations of collaboration between interveners shape the territorial and social character of a city and region (Mulligan & Smith, 2010; Kester, 2011). At a global level, art and theatre are now understood as drivers of lasting cultural development; but this does not mean that art is seen simply as an instrument used to reach other more general development objectives, that are subjugated to models of “economic organisation in which social life needs to be justified by the market or in utilitarian terms” (Alexander & Bowler, 2014: 8). Instead, art, and theatre, should be an end and one of the ultimate aims of the sustainable development (see the case of French theatre, presented by Urrutiaguer, 2015: 16–18). Numerous artistic experiences open art organisations to local communities and publics, striving to consolidate their position in a specific territory and respond to local cultural and social needs. These experiences have been helping the public become more involved in culture and in the decisions made about it. Using our research experience and the Portuguese cases, three key challenges to theatre can be discussed considering the literature produced about it.

- i. The territories host the artistic and theatre experiences, their organisations and their artists. The territories shape and structure the creative practices, the cultural intermediation and fulfilment not only through the localisation but above all through the territorial nature of the cultural processes. The territorial dimension of theatre assumes relevance in the revival of the urban space and in the importance of the urban creative dynamics experienced by the local population in the cities. In the case of the theatre, there may not necessarily be larger audiences, but they are more committed, more active, from the youngest to the oldest, with new ways of participating and relating to the arts and with contexts of artistic fulfilment and co-creation.
- ii. Similarly, artistic innovation is the key in the artistic contexts and yet today this concept is broader than ever. Theatre groups are adopting artistic practices that are increasingly underpinned by broad concepts of art and culture, and this is boosting the social diversity of local inhabitants interested in theatre experiences. The supply of cultural activities is frequently coherent with local needs, and these differ from one ‘geography’ to other (Borges, 2017). Artistic practices are not always shows and performances, but sometimes meetings, workshops, ateliers that bring together people from different backgrounds and with different formal training (as we saw in *Alma d’Arame*). In some cases, artistic organisation care is taken to put not only shows on the theatre

programmes but also talks and seminars with the theatregoers. This kind of experiences are replicated in different Portuguese communities and cities.

- iii. The spread of creative placemaking suggests deep-seated changes in contemporary art itself. Some local cultural and artistic experiments have successfully fulfilled their mission of proximity and respond to the interests of residents and the new artistic challenges; participation comes from residents and work done by local organisations (this was the case of the new circus that started up in Viseu, in *Teatro Viriato*). The involvement of local partners could go beyond the personal sphere of a director and is made sustainable by a shared past, as we have seen from the mapping of interactions within the three case studies. Altogether they are examples of forms of multi-local management and collaborative art contexts.

4. Conclusion

The three cases of Portuguese theatre reveal the permeability of art to collaborative practices accompanied by new forms of production, participation and dissemination. In general, the artist-citizens show their political, social and environmental concerns and this results in theatre of civic activism, education through art, theatre and inter-generational communion; this may even take place around the table where the best products from the region and from partner countries (e.g. Norway in the case of the *Teatro Viriato*, the Food Tent), are tasted. The local mobilisation capacity of artistic organisations seems to play in their favour, although it involves adapting to collaboration and networking with all local partners. We can see this in *Alma d'Arame*, in Montemor-o-Novo, with the multi-local collaboration of different actors and a strong urban conviviality. The adaptation and mobilisation of people and artistic teams varies greatly in each local scenario and geography. For example, we find multi-artistic collaboration between different artistic organisations and conviviality between artists and their participating publics. Local projects consolidated pre-existing alliances and we show that it was built by each organisation and director over the years. The main trend in the evolution of this type of organisation is the stronger relations between artistic entities and the municipalities in the local and surrounding regions. This trend will increase the number of municipalities that partner cultural organisations, as we can see in *D'Orfeu*.

Like other European authors (Johanson, Glow & Kershaw, 2014: 44), we argue that there is insufficient documented public debate on the meaning, nature, missions, and strategies of local cultural support and how it could be used (Mulligan & Smith, 2010; Johanson, Kershaw & Glow, 2014). The evolution of Portuguese theatre groups, we analysed all over the time (Borges, 2007; Borges & Lima, 2014) shows us that strong local roots do not inhibit their internationalisation. Far from being contradictory, these dynamics are increasingly complementary. They tend to boost the territorialisation of culture and teams that are becoming more active in different action areas; they also tend to foster new artistic cultures and professional networks as can be seen in artistic creation *per se*; they enhance the cosmopolitanism of artistic organisations that work in a small location but are assured a place in international theatres, events and festivals; they increase participating publics and artistic and cultural experiences with specific segments of the population, notably children, youth and seniors. They bring new impetus to local conviviality and community-based art. As we can see, theatre organisations, publics, and artists are making their 'art' by using participative practices and social commitments to the local territory and communities. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly challenging to understand and evaluate creative placemaking and collaborative contexts; after all, it not always objects that are under analysis. We are now analysing processes and interactions between people and territories. And, at this point, Portuguese theatre also underlines the profound need for further studies on the interactional field of art, and on how it and its artists, publics and territories adapt and strengthen themselves as participants involved in the transformations of contemporary societies.

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Assembling the hybrid city: A critical reflection on the role of an Institute for (X) for a new urbanity

Carolina Neto Henriques

Abstract

This chapter introduces the question 'Can assemblage urbanism contribute to the fight for 'the right to the city?'' with a reflection on the role of a hybrid forum and the 'Hybrid City'. It first addresses the ongoing confrontation between assemblage urbanists and 'the right to the city' scholars, the critical urban theorists — focusing on the origin of the debate, arguments and main academics involved. Subsequently, the discussion presented here outlines the main potentials of the assemblage urbanism perspective on 'hybrid forums' as an instrument for the fight for 'the right to the city'. Furthermore, the paper presents a hybrid forum, Institute for (X), as a case illustration of a Hybrid City. Institute for (X) is a cultural platform for young artists and entrepreneurs where culture is produced through an open network of creative experimentations, innovative solutions and constant learning opportunities. The anthropologic investigation of this case study found that the community involved felt strongly about the area and defended its character as positive and good, for them and the city. This chapter questions if an assemblage perspective of (X) enables an understanding of a constant transformation of the area that makes it a sizzling representation of the kind of resilient character cities must learn to adopt, in the face of our fast-changing world.

1. Can 'assemblage urbanism' contribute to the fight for 'the right to the city?'

As David Harvey (2013) says, "Utopias are only possible through constant change". The Actor-Network Theory (ANT) -based urban approach, Assemblage Urbanism, *affords* a conceptualization of the city as a *network* of *actors* where space and time co-exist, shedding a light on *interactions* that are shaping the future of our cities. ANT is mostly known for its take on the way *human and non-human actors* are regarded — at the same analytical level — where the built environment, materials, things, ideas or people are equally capable of change through their *agency*.

This all started with the findings of a master's thesis research, which was carried out during 10 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Aarhus, Denmark. Institute for (X) is a municipality-promoted temporary urban project that was

established in the old DSB (Danish railways) warehouses, abandoned at the time, in 2009. The initiative took place due to Aarhus Kommunes's (municipality) will, to invest in creativity and art in the city, since it will be 2017's European Capital of Culture. Institute for (X) was set with the purpose of exploring potential ways to start a 'Cultural Production Center' with the targeted-community approval — as this specific kind of initiative is generally not started from top to bottom, but it's mostly decided bottom-up. The project was so successful that nowadays the official cultural production centre, Godsbanen, thrives as a separate entity nearby but serves a separate purpose. The community of people who adopted Institute for (X) is now showing signs of fighting for it to become a permanent area and not just a trial project. Institute for (X) was named after the idea that an 'Institute' is a traditional place for learning; and (X) is the global mathematical symbol for the unknown and the representation of infinite possibilities, depending on your equation (as in, your project, your idea) (Laursen, 2013).

The singular character of this urban experiment — with many cases of small details that were specifically thought to multiply uses; or areas that seemed to have a purpose but have often other hidden purposes, only accessible to those who are truly integrated — communicated that this project wanted to be more than just an arena. It was communicating; it wanted to make a statement: there are alternatives. And I remember thinking "this is only an area, an *assemblage* of things, of buildings and shipping containers. It couldn't want anything". Or could it?

Actor-Network Theory believes it could indeed. ANT started out in the context of Science and Technology Studies (STS) by arguing that knowledge is a "social product rather than something generated by through the operation of a privileged scientific method" (Law, 2003 [1992]: 2). Within this theory, *knowledge*, *agents*, *social institutions*, *machines* or *organizations* are equally seen as a product or an effect of a network of heterogeneous materials. Taking on a material form — either this comes in a paper, a talk, or in the form of skills embodied in scientists and technicians — ANT believes that *knowledge* or *agents* (or all above mentioned) are the end product of a lot of hard work which is made by all the bits and pieces (test tubes, chemicals, organisms, skilled hands, scanning microscopes, monitors, scientists, articles, computers, etc.) that compose a juxtaposed patterned network. It is not only a material matter but a matter of organizing those materials.

To ANT, both humans and non-humans can, democratically, exercise *agency*, as explained further by Farías (Farías, 2011). Sayers explains that, to

Latour, a non-human actor is only so because he is “necessarily seen as adding something to a chain of interaction or an association” (Sayes, 2013: 138). Non-humans, “like anything else that is placed between two actors, are understood as continually modifying relations between actors” and are both changed by their circulation and change the interaction through their circulation (Sayes, 2013: 138). In fact, non-human actors are even seen as gathering points of other times and spaces, which is the very notion of ‘actor-network’: “the assembling together of a network of actors of variable ontologies, of variable times, and of variable spaces” (Sayes, 2013: 140). Any actor is part of a structured network, which means it always *interacts*.

But to say that non-human actors have agency is not to just say that there are interactions. Latour’s standing point is that *intention* — as this being the characteristic that could be bluntly said non-human actors are missing — is only here conceived as a type of action and that there are many others, like “authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid and so on”. Through this perspective, we open more doors to all the possible interactions that *can transform* (Sayes, 2013: 141).

For Ruming (2008) *agency* becomes the “collective capacity of heterogeneous networks, in which the activities of the non-human count for as much, or more, than the activities of humans” opening a new window for interpretations of a *hybrid network* or *multiple agencies of hybridity* applied to society or city studies: a new way to look at networks made up of not only one *agency* but multiple, originating several layers or dimensions of interactions in a *hybrid network*; hence allowing the claim that present cities shape future cities by choosing a certain ‘path’ or ‘rethinking process’ — then, the ‘Hybrid City’ has to be one of an endless ability to change, physically and socially. According to *Urban assemblages: how actor-network theory changes Urban Studies* (Fariás & Bender, 2010), the conceptualization of *agency* plays a central role and I argue that assemblage urbanism can in fact bring a new agenda for western cities.

Central to assemblage urbanism is the ontology which regards the city as a ‘*composite entity*’. Such idea suggests a visualization of the city in terms of its composition (assemblages), in which the city is seen as ‘*an active assemblage of assemblages*’ (Fariás & Bender, 2010: 312), as mirrored in the work of other scholars, such as in Jacobs’ view of the city as a constant *dance* (Jacobs, 2003) and still be: “an open arrangement of human actors, infrastructural networks, architectural networks, security networks (...) not confined by a circumferential boundary” (Fariás & Bender, 2010: 316).

2. Assemblage urbanism *versus* critical urban theory

Central to assemblage urbanism *versus* critical urban theorists' disagreement is a discussion about this same ontology. Critical Urban Theorists is the somewhat opposite perspective on the city, that doesn't see 'simple' assemblages of things: it sees the city as an arena of numerous power struggles where the fights aren't being fairly or equally fought. As capitalism grows and some urban stakeholders grow their power, inequality and lack of social protection weakens the less powerful, which are no less entitled to the same arenas, the same city (Brenner, *et al.*, 2011: 225). The fight the 'Right to the City' cannot be fought by viewing the two sides as equal players. I agree. What I argue that if can, if we take 'the fight' into consideration into every single one of these exchanges, connections, interactions, actions or mediations — whatever happens, can happen with a purpose, if we are aware of this. This could potentially break the fight into smaller, multiple, hidden dimensions and networks and, I dare even say, turn the tables around.

Within this discussion, (McFarlane, 2011) offers his perspective on what assemblage thinking might offer critical urbanism by raising three sets of contributions for thinking the city politically and normatively. First he emphasizes that assemblage thinking entails a descriptive orientation to the city as produced through relations of the actual and the possible; second, assemblage as a concept disrupts how we conceive *agency*; and third, assemblage thinking, as a collage, composition and gathering provides an imaginary of the cosmopolitan city. The first and third points are particularly important if connected with Utopian Studies. The second, of assemblage conceptualization of *agency* discusses the point most relevant to this research — that in the materialized world we came to, these *things (whether they are policy documents, housing and infrastructure, new and old technologies, credit instruments, money or the material conditions of urban poverty and inequalities)* (McFarlane, 2011: 215) play an increasing role in our XXI century urbanity and offer unique perspectives to find contemporary resources or restraints to the political city.

McFarlane's perspective, though, distances itself from that of ANT in its purest in the sense that it's more focused on the potentials of these interactions

in relation to its human and non-human actors. Assemblage is, to this author, increasingly being used as a descriptor of urban production and change, but there has been little attempt to consider what this might specifically offer as a conception of *the city*.

But critical urban theorists critique such a view, as exposed in Brenner's work (Brenner *et al.*, 2011), with the claim that there is no 'assemblage urbanism' and that McFarlane's view offers a 'naïve objectivism' as it deprives itself of a key explanatory tool for understanding the sociospatial 'context of contexts' in which urban spaces and locally embedded social forces are positioned (Brenner *et al.*, 2011: 225).

As Farías points out, the two approaches concern different objects of study. Firstly, while critical urban theory focuses on a theoretical critique,

(...) it runs the risk of silencing the heterogeneity of human and non-human actors involved in the objects of critique, and of remaining innocuous. This is not the kind of engagement with the world that ANT and other assemblage perspectives stand for. They promote a more open and explorative form of engagement with the world; in a word, inquiry, not critique (Farías, 2011: 366).

Secondly, the object of the inquiry, *the city*, has a fundamental discrepancy in the two approaches: while Farías suggests that for critical urban theory, the focus on cities and space is only contingent — the ultimate discussion is the organization of contemporary capitalism — whereas the new work in Urban Studies, revolving around assemblage perspectives is not primarily about capitalism. The question Farías poses is not what is critical about critical urbanism, but how committed to studying urbanism it really is, since the city is one important site, but not the only one:

The central question we need to pose is whether we study cities as an instance of something else, of capitalism in this case, or we engage in an inquiry into the city and urbanization as a positive, actual and self-entitled process (Farías, 2011: 368).

Thirdly, the introduction of the concept of *assemblage* in Urban Studies, for Farías, is that it allows an idea of a city as a multiplicity, from the study of 'the' urban environment to the study of the multiple assemblages. Assemblages make sense of processes of construction by which cities and urban life are constituted (Farías, 2011: 369). This idea is also based on the general assumption that the world is constantly in the making and that there is no finished or completed version of it. In conclusion, "assemblages are self-contained

processes of heterogeneous associations calling for a positive description of their becoming, not external explanations" (Farías, 2011: 369).

Lastly, Farías claims that the political project of assemblages intends to bring a step further to the known democratization processes, with a redefinition of democracy towards participatory practices that might eventually recognize and represent humans and non-humans as political actors. Quite in accordance to Lefebvre, even, assemblage urbanism understands that the 'right to the city' should be primarily seen as the 'right of access to participation' or a 'right to citizenship for all, the right to shape and influence' (Farías, 2011: 371).

I argue that this is the most important focus: who gets to shape and influence. Despite human or non-human, as urban critical theorists reason, experimentation is reserved for the *intellectually and socially alienated* (Marcuse, 2009). These *alienated* (discontent from any economic class, youth, artists, a significant part of the intelligentsia, in resistance to the dominant system as preventing adequate satisfaction of their needs) represent the advocates to the cry to the 'Right to the City', whereas the *materially deprived* will mostly demand their right.

When fighting for Lefebvre's *Right to the City*, one may be seeking for *the agents for change*, those who act in 'spaces of hope' (Harvey, 2013) for different possibilities and which Harvey believes to be some sort of 'cultural producers'. Perhaps to be either experimenting with the *alienated* or demanding with the *deprived* can be a matter of where in the world the fight is being fought. Together, these *agents for change producing culture* make the *networks that create change* and can be said to be also 'implementing a vision' (Riot-Sarcey et al., 2008; Taleb, 2012; Jacobs, 2003).

3. Assembling 'hybrid forums': the case of Institute for (X)

Accordingly, what is Institute for (X) in an assemblage urbanism perspective? Newer forms of collective experimentation and learning, in which multiple forms of knowledge are brought together in novel ways, is often represented in the case of 'hybrid forums' (Farías, 2011: 372). These 'hybrid forums' allow the true purity of knowledge, (Farías, 2011: 372), to be achieved not by 'finding things out' but by 'knowing' them. When things are 'known' it means they are shared, socially accessible, discussible and open — a symmetrisation of knowledge positions between experts and laypersons. There were two main ways in which

this phenomenon was observable: in the relationship between Institute for (X) and the city; and in the promotion of the production of resilience mechanisms within the community, either fed from the previous relationship with the city or from the daily interactions at (X).

Hybrid forums could be hereby understood as physical or virtual places of knowledge, information and practice sharing for the community. In the study undertaken, the methodology followed — a mixed fieldwork of participant and non-participant observation and online ethnography — lead to¹ a chronological table (or calendar) with all significant inputs (events, workshops, festivals and others along with their online references, comments, Facebook events, pictures and debates). This table showed very important to understand the interactions between the physical evolution and constant transformation of the area and the community involvement and evolution, growth and network expansion with other organizations, the municipality and other cities similar projects.

The reading of this chronological evolution led to the following observations:

- i. Online advertised events progressively increased up until the end of my fieldwork, in a direct correlation with the number of new members joining the community;
- ii. The number of media articles written (0 in 2009 and 2010; 2 in 2011; 1 in 2012; 13 in 2013 and 18 in 2014, only until May) about this urban experience was generally positive, contributing to a positive image of the project to the public opinion; and
- iii. The chronological evolution reading allowed understanding the consistent increasing of events (both online and media articles), partnerships, with music and sustainability festivals, artistic residencies programs and academic projects (experimentation inside Institute for (X) in the form of workshops or exported to the city as exhibitions or art installations). This could be understood as successful in the sense that they help to *recognize the relevance of 'networking' and empowerment of the actor-network for the healthy development and maintenance of such territories* (Freitas & Estevens, 2012).

In terms of identifying *who* benefits from this bubbly new public life, the same data was crossed with a 'scheme for assessing urban interventions benefits' (Killing Architects, 2014) by relating every data point to one of the

¹ Henriques, C. N., 2014. Towards a Hybrid City: Rethinking Aarhus through an Institute for (X), Lisboa: ISCTE-IUL.

categories. This way it becomes visually clear who has *benefited* from this urban experiment.

Table 1: The impacts

For cultural producers involved	For land owners	For municipalities/ governmental bodies	For local people
It offers a platform for designers and artists to show case their work, propose ideas and receive feedback;	Temporary projects can raise the profile of an area, or of a particular site to help attract further investment;	Events can draw attention to areas of a city which are undergoing change and raise awareness of issues related to architecture and urbanism there;	Institute for (X) adds to the existing provision of public spaces and community facilities in an area with low-rent work and art spaces;
It provides networking opportunities the ground to establish new professional relationships;	Temporary uses can help to change people's perspective of a place, helping them imagine how it might be different;	They can help to educate people about planning and about how to get more involved with it;	Where building projects have been put on hold and sites remain unused and closed off by hoardings, projects as such can help by giving the public access to land, opening up a greater number of routes through an area and improve its permeability;
If offers the chance to prototype and experiment with the way that different parts of the city are designed and get feedback and ideas from the local people;	Where empty property is taxed, using the space for a temporary project until a permanent tenant can be found, may give exemption from this tax;	Events can help with effective community consultations. They can help reach a wide audience and attract attention for the launch of a consultation, so that it is possible to start a discussion about design proposals;	The strong community at (X) had an effect on the way that people view their local area, helping them to imagine that they are able to change things in the public space of the city, beyond their own homes;
It puts temporary projects at the heart of political decision-making, by involving contacts, partnerships and the local community and understanding the potential of the idea before it becomes permanent;			Temporary projects can help people imagine what an area will be like if a proposed project were to go ahead;

Table 1: The impacts (cont.)

For cultural producers involved	For land owners	For municipalities/ governmental bodies	For local people
As an example of a project placed in very expensive land, in the city centre, a temporary project like (X) can provide 'incubator spaces' for young creatives;			Experimentation and prototyping in public space can help expand people's design and urbanism vocabulary, so that they become aware of a greater range of things that it is possible to do to improve public spaces — to go beyond requests for more cleaning and better street lighting (although these may be relevant as well);
It provides a 'quick win' in the long-run — whereas an urban redevelopment can take years, a temporary project can be finished within months and have a smoother integration, as it is more flexible and open for change.			

The analysis of this table shows that not only a temporary urbanism-project like Institute for (X) benefits private and public/ governmental stakeholders equally, but also that the local community benefits almost as much as the people who are involved in the project, making this a truly *for-people-not-for-profit* project, and thus very aligned with the 'Right to the City' scholars' ideals.

The importance of understanding how this area is *changing* Aarhus' public life encompasses with understanding if this *change* promotes the learning of resilience mechanisms, which could be sustained, and thus said to have long-term impact, and in which ways.

Focusing on Folke's (Folke, 2006: 259) categories of *social-ecological resilience*, the analysis was organized in the following way: (1) resilience through learning (interplay disturbance and reorganization, sustaining and developing (adaptive capacity, transformability, learning, innovation); (2) resilience through

self-organizing and feedback skills; and (3) resilience through the conception of a creative environment (integrated system feedback, cross-scale dynamic interactions). The added value of the resilience conceptualization provided by Folke (2006) is that this framework incorporates several sources of knowledge and collective agency, relating resilience with the capacity for transformative solutions of 'adaptive' governance, through the mobilization of different actors and institutions, memories and social networks built throughout time, in different scales and different spaces (Freitas & Estevens, 2012: 7). This perspective justifies the capacity of people in a social-ecological system to build resilience through collective agency, understanding social processes like social learning, scenario building and adaptive capacity to "*achieve transformations towards more sustainable development pathways*" (Folke, 2006).

3.1. Resilience through learning

The kind of resilience through learning are mainly related to learning and literacy — either from workshops to learn a skill, from participation in groups, from the re-use of left-over materials and upcycling, or from the inherent skills one learns by establishing their own project, like building skills, mainly — are all possible due to Institute for (X) form of physical (and online) platform for sharing and knowledge exchange. The possibility to bring citizens to an area, or to projects related to this area, is therefore important for the 'rethinking' process for a transition towards a resilience future. By affording a higher level of informed participation in an experimental, creative area in the city, the learning processes provided here are a key to a population who knows-how-to adapt their places to their needs — also, by learning how to do-it-together (and not just 'yourself') the community feeling is enhanced, allowing better cooperation in future projects.

3.2. Resilience through Self-organizing and Feedback skills

Successful cross-scale interactions such as the relationship between the managing group and the municipality are also important mechanisms because it provides this place with a 'legal blessing' to continue what they are doing, freely; Self-organizing is an adaptive capacity afforded by an integrated system-feedback. By understanding self-regulatory procedures and how to take care of shared facilities and resources together, an important step is taken towards resolving the *tragedy of the commons* (Hardin, 2010 [1968]) problem, in the

sense that by learning through a community, community mechanisms are also learned.

Self-regulation here is achieved through a healthy relationship with the municipality, the city, and even international collaborations, shown by the identified outputs like projects, research or innovative transformations of public use of facilities.

The relationship with the municipality is “very tricky and should keep being loose”, according to Mads Peter Laursen, an informal ‘manager-in-chief’ of Institute for (X) and the ‘compass’ for future ideas, as described in his own words. When it comes to dealing with the municipality, there are rules but sometimes they are ‘bent’ for the sake of creativity and the artist community tries to show that a lot of cultural projects can be done without the need of corporate sponsors. The non-for-profit is strong about its position to not wanting to make money off the valorisation of the surrounding land, as the project is more concerned on studying alternatives for the development of human and urban life, without thinking about whether the idea will be profitable or not.

By being in these warehouses, we are showing that leftover industrial space can be a functional space where many creative projects can be made. Through this new approach the city can be improved allowing the public to use it more frequently. (Laursen, 2013: 25).

The learning of self-organizational skills is a key resilient mechanism for a constant process of ‘rethinking’ a city that requires a consistent power relation between citizens and policy-makers — bonded with the appropriate literacy, the more autonomy stakeholders have in making their own projects, the less bureaucracy and supervision needed, leading to a self-developed, self-thought, almost self-made possible rethinking pathway.

3.3. Resilience through the conception of a Creative Environment

It is through artistic creativity that the search for other possible futures is made, presenting itself here as leverage for the triggering of a bigger learning process and collective interaction — and it is this collective interaction that thus produces transformative resilience mechanisms, or, the possibility of change. (Freitas & Estevens, 2012: 13).

Being an inclusive space, for all minorities, all ages and all types of projects, Institute for (X) escapes de usual bureaucratic steps, giving all an opportunity to bloom according to their own time and effort investment. By allowing new trials,

it also promotes critical and rational thinking, providing its actors with a common creative but pragmatic approach.

The knowledge and experiences shared through dinner time or common breaks also provide a heterogenic feedback on the projects being developed, allowing the participants to shape them in real time, while still under development. The capability of changing in real-time, if faced with a challenge a peer has pointed out, gives these participants a much better 'school' in problem-solving. Also, the physical platform allows a tool-sharing that wouldn't be possible if these projects were scattered around the city.

The environment created through this creative feedback and pragmatic sharing of ideas, skills and tools provides these participants with another important asset, which is that of being able to bring innovative transformations in a rethinking process, which are at the same time doable, upcycled and pragmatic in the use of resources.

Institute for (X) is, therefore, contributing to the rethinking of Aarhus through the production of resilience mechanisms from learning new skills, working in a creative environment or adapting processes in real time, due to a self-organizing community that provides cross-scale feedback. It is only through such resilience mechanisms and objectives only that a 'rethinking' process can bring a city and its citizens closer to having the ability to constantly transform, improve, or be agents of their own future.

4. Future 'Hybrid Cities'

This chapter addressed the reflexions around the role of Assemblage Urbanism perspective in Urban Studies (Brenner *et al.*, 2011; Fariás & Bender, 2010; McFarlane, 2011) as a tool for understanding the networks and interactions behind the construction of resilience mechanisms (Folke, 2006). During an empirical fieldwork research at a cultural platform in Aarhus, Denmark — Institute for (X) — this research sketched the possibility of a new model for future cities: the Hybrid City (Henriques, 2014). I suggest that the scenario of 'The Hybrid City' is thus potentially conceptualized from Institute for (X)'s physical shape and social dynamics and the hybrid city idea was a product of an experiment by mixing emerging theoretical approaches with real-life observations of practice. The hybrid city's core idea is that a space that promotes constant transformation (Harvey, 2013; Wenger, 2009) — through creativity,

innovation and learning processes of resilience mechanism — in different network layers, will be better positioned for rethinking itself in the face of need for change and adaptation. This 'idea of city' was based on the recent notions of 'hybridity' (Blok & Jensen, 2011; Latour, 2010; Law, 2003 [1992]; rEvolutions, 2013) through non-human agents affording the democratization of interactions at an urban level. It is left for further debate if such an idea can exist in reality, at a micro-scale, where the intercourse of imagination, art and creativity empowered by access to resources and practical *know-how*, can afford new forms of exercising a right to the city (Marcuse, 2009) with new utopian visions (Friedmann, 2000).

5. Temporary urbanism and ephemerality – creativity, innovation and constant transformation

The outcome of the study undertaken in Institute for X (?) points positively towards a constant physical transformation and temporary uses of different spaces, with a particular acceptance and celebration for diversity and experimentation, creating what Latour would call a 'hybrid network' (Blok & Jensen, 2011). The Hybrid City is becoming a term increasingly used within urban studies, though not with the exact same epistemology. This concept was recently defined in the Hybrid City Conference 2013 Subtle rEvolutions: "Hybrid City is dedicated to exploring the emergent character of the city and the potential transformative shift of the urban condition (...)" (rEvolutions, 2013).

In addition to this conceptualization, this proposal of 'Hybrid City' grounds itself on an assemblage urbanism perspective aiming at bringing more rights to the every-day actors in the city and not profit-owners — being a complex multi-agent system, which gathers the conditions for its actor-network to continuously explore the emergent character of the city and the potential transformative shift of the urban condition — by enabling and *affording* constant new interactions and learning (Greeno, 1994) and thus being continuously socially innovative' (Wenger, 2009). And just as Farias suggests, "the focus [shall] rather be on the multiple ways of dwelling in the city, in the understanding that these involve multiple ways of constructing the city" (Farias, 2011: 369).

In short, being the creatively co-imagined and co-built hybrid forum focused on its urban actors enjoying their full 'right to the city'.

Probably (X) itself, just the idea that you can have this place exist in the middle of the city is quite amazing. Various communities can coexist with each other in the same place. The parties and events here are quite interesting, probably the most organic form of co-civilization I have ever seen. There were no lights back in the day; so you had to be careful when you walked around late at night. It was like a post-apocalyptic space, full of potential. (Laursen, 2013: 27).

This constant rethinking (and consequently, transformation) process is perhaps one that is bringing the idea of the Hybrid City closer. If *the hybrid city can eventually be mirrored in temporary urban projects* and the idea of Hybrid City is one of constant transformation, blurred limits, with a central focus on the levels of interaction and always searching for better solutions; then Institute for (X), with its creative environment promoting the learning of self-organization skills, D.I.Y. and D.I.T. skills, community feedback and support skills, knowledge and skills sharing and networking — or, empowering mechanisms for a better future resilience — can perhaps be said to mirror the Hybrid City.

A very short and accurate description of Institute for (X) and how it can be beneficial as an urban ideal is given by Pernille Madsen, interviewed during this study:

I concluded that there is sort of parameters that partly give citizens another space where they can just visit and its unplanned and everything is shifting... and also this space gives room to minorities or smaller groups that have a specific need, both unions or sort of sports, different types of sports (...) also small entrepreneurs, that sort of thing (...) and it gives another perspective on how to make cities in general (...) and the last thing is that people behind it are really a powerful resource for the city so they should start collaborating much more with these people in order to find alternative solutions... because they are really good for the city (...) because the temporality gives other possibilities of other rules and restrictions than you would have in normal architecture because it's all temporary. So you are allowed to experiment much more, which results in much more interesting structures (Madsen, 2014).

The characterization of the space given by Pernille puts creativity and freedom of experimentation at a high ground. For Freitas and Estevens (2012) the focus on change and transformation of the action-system within the development of communities is anchored in the need to achieve a *collective agency*² in order to foresee *real utopias*. In the authors' perspective, the desired real utopia happens through processes of transformative resilience and social

² Collective Agency is a concept used by the authors which is used here as the potential of agency derived by the network of actors, as ANT conceptualizes.

innovation (Freitas & Esteves, 2012: 10). In order to achieve it, a creative environment that promotes this transformation must (1) break with the traditional governance models; (2) adopt a trans-disciplinary approach in recognizing and respecting the different types of actions to incorporate; (3) appeal to an on-going joint learning process; and (4) postulate a generative co-production of its own necessary conditions to exist (Freitas & Esteves, 2012: 11) — hereby discussed as the relationship between temporary spaces and the production of resilience mechanisms.

As a collective practice, creativity — in this perspective — affords the improvement of a population quality of life, encouraging and promoting the construction of a participative and transformative city. Artistic creativity is, then, a critical sight over the questioned reality and affords the creation of new collective places assuming multi-dimensional shapes (Freitas & Esteves, 2012: 11). It is through artistic creativity that the search for other possible futures is made, presenting itself here as leverage for the triggering of a bigger learning process and collective interaction — and it is this collective interaction that thus produces transformative resilience mechanisms, or, the possibility of change (Freitas & Esteves, 2012: 13) — this transformative process is the goal that can be triggered by projects such as (X).

Translated into an urban scenario, this would signify that the *hybrid city* would never be fully complete, never fully finished, always ready to answer its internal and external demands — not only human, but also non-human, in short, a city that is constantly *rethinking* itself.

6. Final considerations

According to the city architect, Stephen David Wallacy in an interview to *Scraper* magazine (Wallacy, 2013), Institute for (X) is an example of how a city can still develop even during a recession (Wallacy, 2013: 12). “Development projects, specifically cultural ones have a big impact in the local economy of the city. (...) creative businesses (...) also promote life in their own neighborhoods”. After this fieldwork investigation, I found that Institute for (X)’s agency has contributed to a shift in mind-sets, in Aarhus city planning, that being also a product of the rethinking process behind it, contributes to a new way to think cities. Mads Peter statement helps us understand this contribution, when he says this ‘agency’ is experienced even in the small interactions that happen daily:

Yes, it has this agency, it makes things happen. Makes me saying hi to everyone possible — waves to people around — this wouldn't be possible, because he is here and I am here, and makes this happen. There is this connection between humans. They happen. And that's (X). And that wouldn't happen if all the projects were scattered around. They would exist but the interaction between the projects wouldn't. And that's very important (Laursen, 2014).

In conclusion, I hereby trust that an assemblage urbanism approach can be helpful in the fight for our collective 'right to the city' in the following ways:

- A creatively co-imagined and co-built hybrid forum focuses on its urban actors enjoying their full benefits and 'rights to the city';
- The Hybrid City wouldn't be possible without the constant transformation that a network-oriented organization affords and it does enable a faster reaction in the face of new needs and change;
- This approach emphasizes the role of art, experimentation and creativity as well as that of resources and the value of *know-how* as an empowering tool;
- Assemblage urbanism contributes to highlight the importance of resilience mechanisms produced by learning new skills, working in creative environments, self-organization capabilities and cross-scale feedback as tools to act upon one's future;
- Temporary urban projects embody the spirit of the assemblage urbanism fight for the right to the city by benefiting the community involved in the project, as previously demonstrated, making these a true example of a *for-people-not-for-profit* projects, by caring about details and alternative connections that might not exist if there were 'mainstream' options;
- An assemblage urbanism approach brings to light the agents of change who act in spaces of hope — cultural producers — who are responsible for the networks that create change and implement a vision.

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Art programming as a test laboratory for social questions: the case of Horta do Baldio, a vegetable garden for agriculture

Cláudia Madeira

Abstract

Since the beginning of the new millennium, the programming performing arts sector in Portugal has expanded, and also become a test laboratory for social questions, jointly shared by the artistic community, specialists from the different social domains and the general public. Various authors in different fields are researching or have made important contributions to explaining this kind of expansion in participation appeal, such as Claire Bishop, Hal Foster, Suzanne Lacy, in the Arts, Jacques Rancière, in philosophy, or Richard Sennett and Jeffrey Alexander, in sociology, among others. To discuss this process, I will analyse the wasteland Vegetable Garden, *Horta do Baldio*, which grew out of the artistic programme, *Mais para menos do que para mais* (or *More for Less than for More*) that took place in Lisbon in the period from April to June 2014¹. Today, this ephemeral and utopian green space in the centre of Lisbon still exists with the participation of the community. As one of the participants and 'guardians' of this project, I will analyse in this chapter, from one methodological strategy of research-action, not only this process of participatory citizenship but also the role of art and culture in the sustainable development of a city.

1. Challenges of performing arts

From the beginning of the new millennium the performing arts sector in Portugal has expanded in two directions. The first covers the area of cultural programmes, through an increase in the number of cultural organizations, mega-events and festivals, from the most official to the most alternative. The second involves transdisciplinary arts, through an increase in the number of artistic projects that combine different artistic disciplines and even the recent social and exact sciences researches in areas such as anthropology, sociology, biology, etc.

¹ See <http://www.createtoconnect.eu/vera-mantero-mais-pra-menos-que-pra-mais-rather-less-than-more/>.

At the moment, the correlation between the two areas — cultural programmes and transdisciplinary arts — is particularly obvious in cultural laboratory programmes, which lay greater emphasis on the artistic process than production/presentation of the final work. We can see that this specific programming format, in which the transdisciplinary and transcultural facets of art predominate, goes beyond the performing arts system (by incorporating the plastic arts, technological arts etc.), the Portuguese national art system (by incorporating influences/agents with different cultural origins) and even the art system itself (by setting its action in active civic, participation and intervention movements in the local or even global society).

The programming space is taken as a test laboratory for social questions, jointly shared by the artistic community, specialists from the different social domains and the general public. To discuss this process and its effects, I shall analyse the wasteland Vegetable Garden, Horta do Baldio, which arose from the artistic programme *More for less than for more* (2014), which was elaborated by one of the Portuguese choreographer Vera Mantero² more internationally recognized (with the collaboration of the architect Rui Santos and the performer Elisabete Francisca) in a production of the Cultural Association Rumo de Fumo³, Teatro Maria Matos and Culturgest⁴. It was one of the community gardens that this cultural programme planned to develop with the participation and training of volunteers, under the thematic banner of a *vegetable garden on every corner*, with the objective that they would serve as a 'temporary stage' for the artistic programme that took place in the period from April to June 2014. Nowadays in 2016 we still have this ephemeral and utopic space in our town with the participation of community. This paper aims to reflect not only this process of participatory citizenship, including my own experience applying a methodological research-action, but also the role of art and culture in the sustainable development of a city.

² See <http://www.orumodofumo.com/en/artistas/vera-mantero> 2.

³ O Rumo do Fumo is a creation, production, national and international tour managing, research, teaching and programming structure in the field of dance. For more details, see <http://www.orumodofumo.com>.

⁴ For more details, see <http://www.culturgest.pt/arquivo/2014/06/veramantero.html> and <https://www.facebook.com/ORumodoFumo/posts/648027161957694>.

2. Art programming for utopic planning of the city

With ever greater frequency, the spheres of artistic creation and programming are appealing to their potential public to be part of the artistic process, not only as receivers, or even participants or “collaborators” (Suzanne Lacy, 1996: 37), but also as active citizens. This can be seen when the public is encouraged to participate in the thematisation, problematisation and even resolution of social issues, within the scope of artistic or programming proposals. Underlying this addition of the idea of civic engagement to the concept of artistic participation is a new endeavour to relate art to the social sphere, a ‘return to the real’ (Foster, 1999) or a ‘return to social’ (Bishop, 2012) of which the nucleus is no longer ‘objects’ but the ‘issues’ themselves of the social sphere (Milevska, 2006).

Various factors from the artistic, social and political domain help to explain this expansion in the concept of artistic participation. In the artistic field, on the one hand, art has undergone a progressive invasion by everyday topics (Zolberg & Cherbo, 1997) — whose history can be seen in various artistic ‘movements’ that seek to re-connect art with social issues, from romanticism to realism, to performance and happenings, and on to situationism etc. On the other hand, it may even be said that underlying this emphasis on participation is the recovery of one of the structural functions of art, as a means of expression for the common person. In a manifesto article entitled *Art Alienated – An Essay on the Decline of Participatory-Art* (1989), Greg Evans emphasized the fact that in capitalist societies, in contrast to others (from primitive to pre-capitalist, e.g. mediaeval or Renaissance, societies), there has been a regression in artistic participation caused by the monopoly of art seen as a commodity/item of consumption and not as participation. In his view, this cycle should be reversed. To quote him: “we must start making our own art in order to begin the process of liberating ourselves from the alienation of commodity culture, and thereby regain our ability to fulfil our expressive needs” (1989: 2).

This proposal reflects what the philosopher Jacques Rancière (2007) calls the ‘emancipation of the spectator’, who should become a participant in artistic processes instead of standing by as a mere receiver, removed from the act of creation. Since the nineties, in particular, Claire Bishop has been producing a register of this type of ‘participative art’, which has been expanding the artistic field into post-studio practices and been given different names: socially engaged art, community-based art, experimental communities, dialogic art, contextual art and (most recently) social practice (Bishop, 2012: 1). One of the

characteristics of this 'participative art', as the author mentions, is that this art generally includes an ethical posture (Bishop, 2012: 23), where social transformation or change is sought.

In the social field, the sociologists Richard Sennett and Jeffrey Alexander offer a more structural explanation. For Sennett (1986), there has been a progressive erosion in the sphere of public life since the 18th century, through what he terms 'the tyranny of intimacy', in which public life has come to be evaluated on principles of intimacy, subjectivity and proximity. This mixture between the public and private spheres has reduced the common citizen's active participation in public life, resulting in a fall in the number of those who have kept an active voice (e.g. the politicians or artists), with the rest becoming a silent crowd, merely squashed spectators. For Alexander, Giesen & Mast (2006), this separation between the spheres has resulted in the loss of 'fusion' or 'organicity' in the elements inherent in social performances (which include the systems of collective representation, the actors, the audience, and the means of symbolic production, e.g. the space, costumes and props for the production, along with the social power and the staging). This is reflected in a fall in the creation of shared 'units of meaning', as happened in primitive ritualistic societies, for example. To regain that 'fusion', this author, like Greg Evans, recommends more active and participative integration of the agents in the public sphere (Alexander, 2006).

In this connection, the expansion of participation in art may be explained both as a basic process, to be set against liberal trends that tend to reduce art to mere consumption and, from a more structural viewpoint, as a form of guaranteeing a more organic and inclusive social performance in the public sphere. This latter factor provides a better justification for associating the concept of participation in art with the political dimensions of the concept of participation, which are operationalized through more classical ideas such as representation and community or more recent notions such as participatory governance (Rhodes, 1996; Rosenau, 1992), planning and sustainability. This incorporation allows participation in art to be assumed as an alternative power to politics itself, a parallel polis, which competes as a civil power of citizen engagement and intervention, on the basis of civil society and beyond the authority of the state.

In the political field, therefore, there are various factors that may help to explain this expansion in the concept of artistic participation: from the crisis in the legitimacy of the state to the claims of the actors (seeking to take in groups

that are generally excluded from participation or representation) and on to the complexity itself of the social problems and the diversity necessary for decision-making. In general terms, these factors may be included in the emerging paradigm of participation that is based on a re-interpretation of representative democracy and the need to complement it with participatory democracy, and perhaps extend it (Guerra, 2006; Fung & Wright, 2003; Dryzek, 1990).

In brief, it may be said that the expansion of participation in the artistic sphere emphasizes a creative and less ideology-driven desire (in relation to the traditional 'ideological' protest model) to become independent, on the part of the citizens — a need to articulate their own questions "and find ever more inventive modes of taking part in the processes that are determining their lives" (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008: 348). This code of political ideas not only extends to discourse but also the forms and methodologies used to develop participation in art. The process is based on a combination of the classical principle of a cultural programme (generally applied by cultural intermediaries to activities restricted to the artistic field) and the concept of strategic planning (mainly applied in land-use planning policies and associated at present with participatory governance) (Madeira, 2010). This process has been strengthened with the expansion of the principle of sustainability, which, in being inherent in the planning process, is also being included now in artistic discourse and practices. For some writers, it reflects a 'new frontier for art' (Kagan & Kirchberg, 2008).

Adopted from the principles of planning and sustainability, these methodologies have the following underlying elements: the importance attributed to a critical attitude; the notion of participation as a democratic value; and the problematisation of social issues (e.g. social justice, cultural diversity, conservation). This problematisation includes a more comprehensive perspective of the various aspects of sustainability (social, economic, political, ecological and cultural) as well as of the various spatial scales (including, on the one hand, local and global dynamics, or even new 'glocal' processes that stress an intercultural standpoint) and the various time scales (encompassing various notions of time, from the here and now to the long term or to future time). When associated with the artistic sphere, these methodologies are applied within platforms of collaboration, forums, composed of people from the art world, specialists in various social fields and the general public. These forums aim to develop diagnoses, beginning with urgent social issues in a specific (local or

global) territory that allow alternative and more inclusive scenarios to be generated.

3. Case study: Horta do Baldio

The mixture of art, ethics and politics, programming and planning, is reflected, at various levels, in Horta do Baldio. In the beginning, it was a wasteland, a vast space full of weeds and wild flowers, a shelter for the homeless and a place to take your dog for a leak, a place stuck behind apartment buildings near a very central zone of Lisbon, Campo Pequeno Square⁵. It was a space marked out by crumbling walls, a car park, the Roma Areeiro train line and a *cul-de-sac*. This space has had several uses and functions in Lisbon: an old panel of traditional tiles, on the other side of the train line, depict the meaning of the names of the different areas. These pictures show *Entre Campos* (*Between Fields*) and *Campo Pequeno* (*Little Field*), in former times, with their stately homes and farmed fields irrigated by the *River Alvalade*. The area was also the setting of a battle and civil war that didn't happen because a miracle. Two armies, son against father, divided by the *River Alvalade*, are kneeling before the saintly mother, who makes peace between them simply by her presence. More recently, in the first half of the 20th century, city life transformed this space that had, in the meantime, been surrounded by tall buildings, and a beer brewery (which has now gone). The brewery was replaced by a small lake created by an underground river where no miracle managed to avoid the drowning of two children playing there. Many good and bad memories are mixed in what was and is this space. There have been several projects for this valuable piece of land waiting for new constructions in central Lisbon, the most recent was for a new hotel and shopping center. However, building stopped when it was realized that there is a river under the land which makes it difficult to lay deep foundations necessary. The empty space became the perfect place for a social experiment: a garden and a community looking after it. In the artistic programme *More for Less than for More* this blending of art and the social was objectified by a manifesto:

⁵ Campo Pequeno square, set between Avenida da República and Entrecampos, is well-known for its historic bullring, dating back to 1892. Today, however, it is also recognized as one of Lisbon's central trade and service areas. Until the mid-twentieth century it was an agricultural zone, as the names Campo Pequeno (Small Field) and Entrecampos (Between Fields) indicate.

We wanted to dance among the vegetables, flow between roots, make music to encourage seeds, draw by listening to plants, humming to their growth, eating in front of the food (when it is still in the earth), talk to vegetables, recite great texts in the middle of the garden, have edible scenography. We wanted to counteract the train and see the food growing near our homes in idle land we passed every day, encouraging others to cultivate it with us. We wanted have a hand in the food. (Mais para menos do que pra mais program, Rumor de Fumo, 2014)

Based on this desire, four (almost five!) gardens were made: the Horta Mandala (which started as Horta Grande (*Big Garden*), then Horta Mandala (*Mandala Garden*) and was finally called Horta do Baldio (*Wasteland Garden*) after a vote by the volunteers); The Horta do Lago (*Pond Garden*) e a Horta da Cobertura (*Roof Garden*), which are both at the head office of the Caixa Geral de Depósitos bank; the Horta das Galveias (*Galveias Garden*) (a vertical garden in the Galveias Palace garden), and the site-specific instalation of small gardens grown in small fruit boxes and taken in procession on the streets by the volunteers to another wasteland in Bairro das Estacas, the so called Marcha do Orgulho Hortícola (*Horticultural Pride Parade*), which would lead to the Horta Súbita (*Sudden Garden*). These various types of gardens were designed and prepared by several gardeners with urban agriculture experience with the help of volunteers who wanted to participate in the project *Uma Horta em cada esquina* (*A vegetable garden on every corner*).

The volunteers were invited to participate in several permaculture workshops, such as *Dream a vegetable garden*, *Garden Management*, *Build a pond*, or *Aromatic plants for cooking and medicine*. Some private vegetable gardens appeared due to a part of this project called *Da varanda ao produtor!* (*From the balcony to the producer!*), where training was made available for building vegetable gardens at home and promoting a network of exchange of seeds and extra-production with other gardeners, encouraging the sustainability of proximity vegetable production. At the website, we read that

It is possible to define where it makes more sense to grow something (e. g, aromatic plants on the balcony, lettuces in the kitchen garden, carrots in one of the community gardens, potatoes bought from a nearby producer). We can organize ourselves in order to optimize all our resources!)⁶.

⁶ See <https://sites.google.com/site/umahortaemcadaesquina/parceiros>.

Other events were developed in this project: (1) A cycle of conferences and debates for experts and non-experts about urban agriculture, in order to discuss the current agricultural production system and explore alternatives for sustainable production and consumption based on national and international examples. In short, it thus created a social forum with the artistic community and theoretical specialists, to reflect on the social issues and “contemporary urgencies” (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008: 352) affecting contemporary societies and cities on a global level. (2) Exhibition of documentaries and *docfiction* on the relationship between cities, agriculture and food in the shop windows in a nearby shopping area in Av. Guerra Junqueiro in Lisbon, bringing together the idea of consumption and a criticism of the way it is done in our societies. (3) And also a group of artistic and performative events that had the city and the new gardens created as a set, promoting experiences calling for public participation: such as the performance *One to One - Ruminant Tours* where new details and sounds of the city were discovered and the participant’s feet were washed in a bowl in the Horta Garden; or the *Ação Aquática (Aquatic Action)* performance with improvised music and action in an aquatic environment, in the Pond Garden and where the participants also had the right to get their feet wet and walk barefoot or in rubber boots in the pond;

In the performance, *Notas sobre Hortas - Nortas (Notes about Gardens - Notardens)*, created at the Horta Súbita (*Sudden Garden*) in the Bairro das Estacas, there was an attempt to show what it is to create a vegetable garden:

1. To work in a garden is to work uncovered. A garden doesn't have a roof. 2. In a garden, there are always things happening, things that aren't yet (potentialities or possibilities). Seeds are, we could say, pure speculation. 3. The city's hustle and bustle contrasts with the slowness of the garden: a fast car passing next to a cabbage growing.

In Horta Mandala, now called Horta do Baldio, the *Teatro da Agricultura (Agriculture Theatre)* took place and included a harvest, drawing workshop, staged reading, audio-installation, a light meal and a dance performance: the harvest was a walk with each garden's gardeners, to harvest with cultivation tales. There were also several projects to hear the garden's sounds: Lisbon by sound/ Baldio (audio-installation) that presents with the historical impact of the train on the city's food consumption. *Exercícios para ouvir plantas (Exercises to listen to plants)* — a drawing workshop; A performance *Para uma grande horta grandes textos (For a great garden great texts)*, performed readings directed by

Vera Mantero where actors and audience got together inside the circular garden, “surrounded by edible plants and truculent thoughts”, followed by a picnic in the garden and a dance performance. This closed the *Mais para menos do que para mais* programme.

4. The past and future of Horta do Baldio

This practice of creative vegetable gardens is not completely new. In the 1970s, there was a community project developed by Bonnie Ora Sherk and Jack Wickert in San Francisco, in a zone surrounded by overpasses and affectionately called *The Farm*. With some collaborators and the local community, they transformed this no place into a farm, a community center, a school without walls, and a human and animal theatre. Several theatres and artists, poets, dancers, punks, children, gardeners, animals and members of the community took up residence there. It was around that time that performers like Joseph Beuys developed ecological intervention projects and land art came on the scene. Recently, for instance, Martha Rosler created a similar project within the scope of the 3rd Singapore Biennale creating a multifunctional garden with the help of the community in an avenue near the airport. In Portugal, the main ideologist of the restitution of spaces to cultivation by the urban population has been the architect Gonçalo Ribeiro Telles, distinguished⁷ in 2013 with the ‘Nobel’ of Landscape Architecture, the Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe Award. He began the process in the 1950s, in Pedrouços, an area which was built but later destroyed. Indeed, only at the end of the millennium, did municipalities such as Lisbon, Porto, Seixal, Oeiras and Odivelas, among others, start to invest in developing urban gardens. The process, however, is still relatively marginal and is not treated as a priority issue in the sustainable redevelopment of cities. Clandestine vegetable gardens, however, proliferate in various areas of the city, and several Portuguese artists have been recording these processes using photography in particular. In photography, for instance, there is the work *No name place* that Fernanda Fragateiro⁸ presented in 1998 in Sala de Exposiciones del canal de Isabel II, in Madrid, curated by João Pinharanda, where the artist documents the ephemeral

⁷ See <http://worldlandscapearchitect.com/goncalo-ribeiro-telles-wins-the-sir-geoffrey-jellicoe-award-2013/#.V8B7hGWUQxc>.

⁸ See www.fernandafragateiro.com.

vegetable gardens she photographed in 1989, in Martim Moniz, Lisbon. The catalogue tells us that

No name place documents a space that operated on the fringes of the system. These ephemeral gardens that, in 1989, were photographed at Martim Moniz, in central Lisbon, temporarily 'occupy' 'abandoned' spaces. A place where there are ruined buildings and new buildings are expected. During the dead times in between, people plant, laborers who left the fields to work in the city can thus maintain a link with the land, that they didn't own. These spaces, both private and public, displaced and integrated, and quietly squatted on were small pockets of resistance, impossible to classify (catalogue without references).

In 2001, during *Marvila Capital do Nada* (*Marvila Capital of Nothing*)⁹, Fernanda Fragateiro developed a participatory project to regenerate the flowerbeds in the Loios area. Aromatic plants and lime trees were planted and the public space was reorganized with artistic intervention.

In 2006, Ângela Ferreira also started keeping a photographic record through the series *Hortas na Autoestrada* (*Motorway Vegetable Gardens*) and continued it in the exhibition in Museu do Neorrealismo in 2009. Her work shows the gardens emerging around the IC19 motorways, occupied mainly by immigrant communities from Portuguese Speaking African Countries. As David Santos, curator of the exhibition, said, these photographs

stress the paradoxical meaning of concepts such as survival, community, economy, territory and ownership, observing in the gardens of the Lisbon suburbs an individual practice that still has a political sense, even if reinvented, a urban 'agrarian reform' (Santos, 2014: 118).

This author points out that the reading of these photographs "promotes again in Angela Ferreira the need for a political re-evaluation of human action, even when it is not determined by ideology, but only the expression of an urgent need" (Santos, 2014: 121). In artistic terms, Ângela Ferreira adds performative dynamics to this record. In 2006, she had stamped her presence on the photographs, walking with a red flag along the vegetable gardens. In the 2009 photographs, performance insinuates its way into the artistic actions left in space, blending with the vegetable gardens. In October 2014, Fernando Brito also introduced in the Avenida da Índia gallery, a photographic survey called *Nas Hortas* (*In the Vegetable Gardens*), where once again the precarious, order

⁹ See catalogue *Lisboa Capital do Nada* (Caeiro, 2002).

and disorder, and chaos are highlighted. Also in 2014, Rodrigo Bettencourt da Câmara produced a work he called *Transportadores de Memórias (Memory Transporters)*¹⁰, where he carries out a photographic survey of illegally cultivated land where Cape Verdean families residing in the Chelas valley cultivate sugarcane to ensure the reproduction of cultural tradition: the making of grogue, an alcoholic beverage, which otherwise could not be consumed because it is illegal. In March 2015, Teresa Palma Rodrigues also presented, at the Sala Veadó¹¹, a project where she exhibited objects found in an empty space in Chelas, where there is an illegal vegetable garden. Some objects are transformed into paintings, while others are placed in showcase tables: fossils found in the ground, lost playing cards, tiles left from manor houses that occupied those places in the past. These projects give visibility to the confluence of paths that run through these fringe locations: between leisure and work, between cultures, places and times.

Other projects have emerged in which a dynamic more programmatic or curatorial aspect is underlined. One of them was *Projeto Bloom - Arte e jardins efémeros (Bloom Project - Art and ephemeral gardens)*, in Fábrica da Pólvora, between 8th and 31st July 2005¹², with an international discussion forum on relationship between art and ephemeral gardens and the construction of several of these gardens in space. *Projeto 270* was a space dedicated to permaculture, where in 2007, when the project was still based in Costa da Caparica, two artistic projects of collective experimentation were created. The *Morro project*, organized by Vasco Costa and Hugo Canoilas¹³, was an ephemeral architectural project later dismantled and replaced by *Disco Batata*, a project by environmental activists and the artists Sophie Dodelin and Kazzas Tamás. This last project built a multifunctional performative space, that could serve both for future activist meetings for the ecologist cause, as well as a space for meditation and introspection, and also a space to play, among other possible functions. In 2009, the Cascais City Council launched a land art festival and, in 2010, the Museu do Design e da Moda hosted an exhibition called *Sementes - Valor Capital*¹⁴ (*Seeds. Capital Value*) (18th Dec. 2010–20th March 2011), curated by

¹⁰ See the article of Teresa Palma Rodrigues in http://repositorio.ul.pt/bitstream/10451/23711/2/ULFBA_PER_croma6_p165-172.pdf.

¹¹ See <http://teresapalmarodrigues.com/trabalho-work/>

¹² See <http://www.tracosnapaisagem.pt/projs/bloom.htm>, accessed 26/07/2016.

¹³ See <http://morroproject.blogspot.pt>, accessed 26/07/2016.

¹⁴ See <http://www.mude.pt/exposicoes/sementes-valor-capital> 30.

Barbara Coutinho. In order to awaken public awareness regarding biodiversity, the exhibition displayed 500 varieties of agricultural seeds grown in Portugal, stored in the old vaults of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, thus receiving another capital value on which the very survival of species depends: seeds. Other projects have been developed with less public visibility, but still showing an increase of interest from the artistic community. There was *Estufa* (Greenhouse) by Projeto Teatral¹⁵, which took place between 2005 and 2006, in which a greenhouse was built in the garden of an apartment in a street in Lisbon's historic center: Rua de Caetano Palha (in São Bento). The project, as if it was different scenarios, was open to the public during its various stages of development, culminating in the dismantling of the greenhouse.

These projects, however, bear little resemblance to what goes on in the Horta do Baldio as it exists today. For this project's name, voted for by its members, implies a utopian and performative ideal to transform an empty space into agricultural land for communal and creative sharing (Baldio means both 'wasteland' and 'common'). Its guardians are the participants, an open community consisting of fixed and occasional members, depending on availability and skills for the development of the garden. It isn't a community based on physical proximity, but on ideology, with participants going there from other areas of the city and even from the metropolitan area of Greater Lisbon, such as Oeiras, Almada, etc. There are also people from different projects that help with the Horta projects. This informality has been an ethical value of respect for the space: the space has remained assigned to Rumo de Fumo with the compromise of immediate eviction if the owner's construction project comes to life.

This has slowed down the project's progress and its development into an association, but hasn't stopped it being a laboratory of experiments for new situations. There has, in fact, been a *Dragon Dreaming* process where the volunteers talked about their ideas and ideals for the space and the Horta has, in fact, won an award sponsored by the electricity company EDP/ Visão magazine and the President of the Republic called *Todos Queremos um Bairro Melhor*¹⁶ (*We All Want a Better Neighbourhood*). In its application for the award, the Horta proposed (1) a community center/ research garden; (2) construction

¹⁵ See <http://www.projectoteatral.pt/projecto-teatral-english/>.

¹⁶ See <http://visao.sapo.pt/iniciativas/bairros/a-receita-para-melhorar-os-bairros-portugueses=f818082>.

of community gardens without individual plots; and 3) a communal outdoor cooking area with solar oven and a traditional clay oven.

However, if the existing type of open participation from the neighbours is an advantage, it can also be a weakness. The lack of constant local participation in the Horta makes it more difficult to keep the space up, in terms of agricultural maintenance, the creation of alternative solutions to become autonomous in relation to the water (which, for over a year, has been supplied by the police in the nearby carpark), or even in the difficulties maintaining the space clean and preventing vandalism. There is therefore a dissonance between participatory reality and the idealization of community involvement, which is fundamental for management on a daily basis. The project has, therefore, been reassessed, involving restoring the image of a clean garden, without wild vegetation, without waste and without vandalism, and establishing an artistic programming process to act as a bridge into the community. This last aim is being prepared by a group of students from New University of Lisbon¹⁷ (FCSH), the Performing Arts Masters I'm supervising in my seminar about cultural programming. They were to devise concepts and programme lines for the Horta respecting the informality of the space.

5. Research-action

In the Horta Baldio, I have worked on producing a research-action methodology in which I have combined my active participation in the project with the analysis of the Horta's development. My interest in the field of urban gardens is not new. In 2007, as a sociologist working at Odivelas Town Hall, I developed a project on existing 'clandestine' urban gardens in the area, which was originally focused on agriculture. Only part of this strategic planning project was implemented. A new space for urban gardens, it was developed in an agricultural college (Escola Agrícola da Paiã), with specific regulations, and managed by the municipality. The other part of the project, which involved the cleaning and reorganization of the 'clandestine' gardens, as well as their use for creative projects, ended up not being implemented. In 2014 I saw, with great interest, Horta do Baldio begin just a stone's throw from my home, and incorporating an artistic programme.

¹⁷ Miguel Simões, Filomena Mendes, Diogo Tormenta, Irina Raimundo, Sophie Pahlke Luz, Silvelene Melício, Rita Silva, Joana Henriques, Paulo Proença e Sezen Tonguz.

This lucky opportunity has allowed me to explore the possibilities of a methodology in which research and action intersect. Various figures over the years have influenced the definition of this methodology. John Dawey is a prominent example. In the mid-30s, he proposed that social research should focus on real 'conflictual' and 'confused' situations; i.e. where research itself could intervene to find better solutions for the problems arising. Urie Bronfenbrenner and Herbert Simon emphasized "science as a project", raising the issue of "how reality can become what it is not yet" with the support of scientific research. In addition there was Kurt Lewin, for whom action research is based on a "realistic level of action always followed by an objective self-critical reflection and evaluation of results" (Esteves, 1986: 265). The aim of this methodology is, through the researcher's participation, to promote "social experimentation" which results not only in "research" but also in "innovation" and "skills training" (Esteves, 1986: 271). One of the characteristics of this type of research is to be "a collective process that in the diversity of its actions and phases, involves as an active subject, (...) not only the researchers as a collective but also society, or part of it, in the study or moving towards transformation" (Esteves, 1986: 271). The same pressing elements in a strategic planning process are part of this one: the preparation of the action plan, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and redesign.

My role is to mediate the various analytical and practical aspects enabling the continuance of the *community research programme*. Thus, based on proposals from my students on the cultural programming course, some ideas have been selected for a collective project called 'Wasteland Washing Line'. Its goal is literally to set up a 'Washing Line' in the Horta that will serve to display activities related to the theme of sustainability in cities. The choice of the 'Washing Line' as a central device contains in itself a historical memory of the existing community washing lines in public places, whether in villages, towns or cities. This imagery is the starting point for the development of a public participation cultural programme that respects the ecology of the space itself, in its informality and accessibility: photography exhibitions, documentaries and films, performances and workshops, etc.

The first event, which took place on 12th June 2016, was 'Hanging out the Sheets' and featured printed photographs of pieces by Portuguese artists, such as Fernanda Fragateiro, Fernando Brito and Álvaro Domingues, who have worked on the theme of Portuguese urban gardens. The 'Washing Line' programme has involved the local population in the process, especially through

a performative workshop on the 'washing', 'printing' and 'drying' of the sheets, so that they could be 'hung' on the 'washing line'. Once 'hung', they became an installation in a temporary exhibition.

The project aims to include conversations with artists and experts, as well as showing documentaries on the creative work that has been produced on urban gardens. This whole process will be worked on collectively, with the guardians of the *Horta*, experts, the university community (students, teachers) and local people.

6. The effects/defects of art participation programming

Therefore, we can conclude that these programmers undoubtedly demand a space in society for discussion and even intervention. For this reason, as already mentioned, their action is based on a notion of participation in art as an alternative power to politics, that is, as the "will to be able to act in another way" (Giddens, 2000: 87) — on a form of action that not only implies reflexivity but also the variability necessary to find non-codified solutions within already known effects.

This form of action may be reflected in the notion put forward by Irit Rogoff and Florian Schneider (2008) of 'productive anticipation', which, when successful, may even create 'social fictions' that serve alternative and more inclusive scenarios, in relation to the prevailing reality. This is because the notion of 'productive anticipation' attempts to characterize a state that is simultaneously reflexive and participatory; not formatted or speculative (in the sense that it does not try to give directions on observing or to set out predefined ways of seeing) but endowed with a strong performing potential. As a form of action, 'productive anticipation' reflects an openness and a fundamentally experimental nature that is based on participant inclusion and factors that are not generally encompassed in the political powers' decision-making processes. And so, according to these writers, this inclusion of a multiplicity of voices and aspirations makes room for the 'productive' construction of 'social fictions'.

'Social fiction' in the sense of the creation of imaginary manifestoes and projects that may offer the chances of alternative scenarios, because they focus "on the possibility of the here-and-now of aspects that generally remain at the edge of processes" (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008: 350). So the main value of these 'social fictions' is "to experiment with the possible and, at the same time,

produce narrations that resonate in the present" (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008: 349). As these writers mention, it is a question of 'anticipation', in the more creative or productive sense, though it needs to be distinguished from reproductive anticipation, which operates on the basis of a predictable repetitiveness.

The potential of these 'social fictions' encounters its effects and defects in the same practice on which it is based: participation. Because here, too, or especially here, in this alternative space to the more conspicuous forms of politics, a discourse on the participation and 'emancipation of the receiver' is not enough for the latter to take place. Because, as some studies indicate, democratic participation by the citizens seems to be inversely proportionate to the importance attributed to it in the discourses: the traditionally excluded people's difficulty in participating is maintained, a factor that tends to be conjured away by the growing presence of 'middle-class' participation (Guerra, 2006). For this reason, participation processes must be assessed in order to achieve transparency not only in the form (which agents participate and how?) or their content (they participate in what?) but also the interplay of the inherent consensus and conflicts, and the effects of participation.

Paradoxically, evaluation seems to be the great absentee from these programmes that base their discourse and practices on the concept of participation in art. Generally speaking, no one questions who effectively participates or the results of that participation. This absence, which tends to be justified by the non-utilitarian nature of art, gives room for participation to be taken as a value in itself which needs no questioning. When this happens, it is not 'social fictions' that develop, based on a de-programming that promotes scenarios of 'productive anticipation' but, instead, Pandora's boxes are created — and their potential and their effects on the social sphere remain to be seen. Research-action methodology can, therefore, have positive effects because it involves the documentation and continuous evaluation of how a community garden can develop, at a time when organizations such as the *Global Sustainability Institute* are predicting a catastrophic future for how we feed our cities.

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IN MOTION

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CREATIVE COMMUNITIES
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