

4.3. A (de)(post)colonialist proposal of musical scene

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A b s t r a c t

This paper seeks to critically analyze the notion of 'musical scene' (Straw, 1991, 2006), in which, through its propagation in academia, as well as some of its methodological applicability, we find a discourse based upon a 'modernist' and 'universalist' ideal. Using decolonialist theory, we propose to rethink this notion, which in turn makes us critically review its archaeology and, at the same time, opens gaps through which we can apply this notion of musical scene and other musical forms which need to be anglophone. From that, we suggest to reconfigure the idea of musical scene by moving away, in a manner of speaking, from what is conventionally thought of as assumptions of scene, such as the anglo-saxon language and what is generally understood as cosmopolitanism.

Keywords: *Musical scene, decoloniality, decolonialism, Brazil.*

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1. Musical scene

Chronologically, Shank (1994)¹⁰⁷ is one of the pioneers in applying the notion of scene to visualize the geographical, youth culture and intricate local web aspects emerged from the 'Raul' club, connected to other production hubs around the world. Shank (1994), by using the notion of scene, and without citing Straw's (1991) seminal article about 'musical scene', points to the same floating signifiers described by Straw, in other words, visualizes Austin's scene within a wide network and observes its actors in a floating manner, however, these early formulations of scene are epistemologically distant from each other. While Straw's idea of musical scene is close to Bourdieu's idea of *field* and cultural prestige, the humanist and fluid geography of Doreen Massey (1998) and the concept of actor ressignification with its ensuing tactics and strategy studied by Michel de Certeau (Freitas, 2014; Shank's (1994) work on musical scenes about rock in Austin is based on lacanian psychoanalytic theory. In the article by Hesmondhalgh (2007, p. 41), he describes the context of the musical scene studied by Shank (1994) as a series of temporary identifications, which create a 'productive anxiety' (Shank, 1994, p. 131), that, in turn, stimulates the drive to participate live, face to face, on the scene. With this same reasoning, Hesmondhalgh (2007) interprets Shank's (1994) scene study as a productive achievement, but, in opposition to other studies about local music creation, bases it on a (lacanian) theory of human subjectivity (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p. 41).

This realization of distant applicabilities to a notion with the same name, 'scene', shows us, among other factors, the mobility and flexibility of the term. This fact was also criticized by Hesmondhalgh (2007) who considered this ambiguity confusing. To him, there has been an increase in such confusion exactly by the use of the term in studies of popular music, which could not define it very well, because the term may "sometimes to denote the musical practices in any genre within a particular town or city, as in Shank (1994), sometimes to denote a cultural space that transcends locality, as in Straw's approach." (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p. 42). Another problem, mentioned in the same text by Hesmondhalgh (2007), refers to the term 'scene' when it is exactly related to the metaphoric floating signifier. Straw suggests we observe it from two main prisms: the actors and the geography. Consequently, this flexibility creates wide margins by not allowing us to bind the volatility of the actors and of a living, constantly mutating object, the scene, to a set of tight, unchanging variables.

Surely, we have found problems in some applicabilities, and we feel discomfort due to a certain fetishizing of the term. However, its strength for some studies lies in and spans the spheres proposed by it: the territory, in other words, the geography surrounding objects and spaces occupied by music, as well as its actors, mobilities and contributions. We thus consider and propose this double starting point for future research. Within this perspective we found other interesting examples in the literature. The same reasoning can be found, for example, in Hillegonda Rietveld (2010) when she investigated the psytrance scene in the Indian state of Goa. According to the author, the participants on a local level perform emotional connections between their cosmopolitan experiences of technological acceleration and everyday life (Rietveld, 2010, p. 69).

The notion of scene, from Straw (1991), was quite useful for the author to understand space as a fluid crossroads in a dimensional multiweb of

¹⁰⁷ Will Straw himself corroborates this observation (2004).

influences and musical ideas (Rietveld, 2010). To her, this breakthrough, where the liquidity of the public melds into a vast network, resonates with Foucault's (1984) notion. In a recent paper (2015), written six handed, Benjamin Woo, Jamie Rennie e Stuart R. Poyntz visualize Straw's (1991) theory of musical scene as a more developed bourdiesian theory of a social space of circulation (Benjamin et al., 2015, p. 4). This movement is important to understand how musical scene research was, in part, established in academia, as seen, for example, in Sarah Cohen's (1999) suggestive paper. The author discusses the validity of the theoretical notion to study musical activities in specific geographical spaces. She cites Seattle's, south London's and New Zealand's rock scenes and Liverpool's indie rock scene (Cohen, 1999, p. 239-240). At another point, she mentions the intricate network needed to support the musical scene, with its structure, institution and actors:

The scene is created through these people and their activities and interactions. Many forges close relationships with each other and form clusters or cliques, while others are part of looser networks or alliances. Such relationships involve a regular circulation and exchange: information, advice, and gossip; instruments, technical support, and additional services; music recordings, journals, and other products. Such relationships comprise an informal economy. Through them, knowledge about music and the scene is generated, distinctions are made between being inside or outside, and the boundaries of the scene are thus marked. Central localitions for interaction between scene participants include record shops and rehearsal and recording studios - most of which are frequented by men who shared the jokes, jibes, and jargon, the myths, hype, and bravado surroundings bands and band-related activity. Live performance venues also act as a social hub of the scene, providing a space where musicians and musical styles can interact and where the scene is made more visible, physical and real (Cohen, 1999, p. 240).

Cohen's (1999) comments are well defined as to the structure and circulation of people and, principally, to what they do when they gather together around music. We have, in other words, the actions of the actor's center stage, such as gossip, information, advice and the establishment of wider or narrower groupings which still utilize subjective socialization techniques to include or exclude someone from their friendship circle. All these actions are preferentially put into practice exactly on the sites dedicated to music production/circulation, especially in concerts, which, according to the author, are "a space where musicians and musical styles can interact and where the scene is made more visible, physical and real" (Cohen, 1999, p. 240).

This same reasoning applies to Straw's (1991) notion of musical scene. In his text, he states that it is not enough to designate particular cultural spaces as one or the other, he, however, suggests to examine the forms by which particular musical practices "work" to produce a sense of community in

metropolitan musical scene conditions (Straw, 1991, p. 373). As such, beyond the actors and their actions to shape this circuit around musical practices, Straw (1991) also suggests as a distinctive element to think of musical scenes, “cosmopolitanism”. Upon analyzing the differences and similarities of punk scenes in Canada and the United States, for example, we find, in his text, a similar dialogue of continental and intercontinental traits of these expressions in both countries, especially the use of a certain musical vocabulary of the global culture of alternative rock music. We must, in this case, devote care and regard to our investigations to locate, identify and suggest the tensions emerged from this relationship between cosmopolitanizing and local cultures.

This cosmopolitanism has been one of the main vectors to investigate and locate the musical scene in countless places the world over. The assumption of cosmopolitanism led many studies to highlight and direct their investigations toward global metropolises, such as London, Austin, Liverpool and countries like New Zealand, Canada and the United States.

2. Anglophony

In an attempt to better understand Will Straw’s proposal, we must be mindful to a remarkably active author in the seminal work on musical scenes. Edward W. Said (1990), who inspired the Canadian researcher to use the term “System of articulation, logic of change (...)” also present in the title of his leading article. Said’s work, cited by Straw (1991), is “Figures, configurations, transfigurations” (1990), initially featured in *Race & Class* magazine. The beginning of Said’s article is a contextualization of the Anglo-Saxon language’s massive presence in certain spaces, from commercial aviation to financial institutions. From technology to, later, countless other types of media.

Thus, the author illustrates what he called “system of universal articulation”, using examples from literature, and his field of study at Columbia University in New York, and to stake his claim on intellectual and thinking spaces which go beyond essentialist discourse. Will Straw (1991) reread this from the perspective of music and stated: “If the status of the local has been transformed within contemporary societies, this is in part through the workings of what Edward Said has called an ‘increasingly universal system of articulation’ (Said, 1990, p.8). This ‘system’ is, obviously, shaped by economic and institutional globalization (...)” (Straw, 1991, p. 369). In other words, and once again, looking at Said’s (1990) statement, we must be mindful to

[...] the world system map, articulating and producing culture, economics and political power along with their military and demographic coefficients, has also developed an institutionalised tendency to produce out-of-scale transnational images that are now in the process of re-orienting international social discourses and processes (Said, 1990, p.8).

This last statement from Said refers to, for example, the emergence of images about terrorism and fundamentalism during the 1980s from mediatic and metropolitan centers like Washington and London, practically in unison. Said also states: “Moreover, they are fearful images that seem to lack

discriminate content or definitions, and they signify moral power and approval for whoever uses them, moral defensiveness and criminalisation for whoever they designate" (Said, 1990, p. 9). In this way, the Palestinian thinker highlights their use to create hierarchical spaces and reductionist keywords, preventing us, from expanding our gaze and investigations into other territories which surpass the constructed idea of the "System of universal articulation" grounded in Eurocentric and North American ideas.

In the following quote from researcher Felipe Trotta (2013), we can see, in a closely related reasoning to that of Said (1990), another element of the strong presence of metropolises and the symbolic and conceptual power of language in scene studies: "the centrality of English in Social Sciences". There are also other elements suggested by the Brazilian researcher in the same text toward the hierarchizing character of the term "musical scene". To illustrate the geopolitics of the term's proliferation as well as its applicability we suggest the following considerations:

The terms employed in the interpretations of cultural practices reveal processes and thoughts tied to the context in which they were produced. In this regard, the word "scene" is shaped in some way by the thinking related to given styles and genres of music, which approximate ideas of cosmopolitanism such as those experienced in anglophone environments. The centrality of English in social sciences in general facilitates the diffusion of this terminology and its attempts at adaptation and translation to similar, local contexts. It is not hard to see that such translation tends to be more effective when local practices resemble, formally and symbolically the original contexts in which such terms emerged. That is why it is much easier to talk about "scene" when referring to electronic music than to samba in Lapa. The English language and the term itself denote conceptual, symbolic, social and linguistic strategies of valorization of specific musical practices, hierarchizing even tastes and ideas (Trotta, 2013, p. 68)¹⁰⁸.

Trotta (2013, p. 60-1) compares the discomfort and the non-applicability of the term to musical movements located in Brazilian and Portuguese speaking territories, such as *Carioca samba* and *Pernambucan frevo*, even if both genres meet, a priori, the requirements of musical scene's topics of conceptualization (Straw, 2006), such as movement of people; microeconomic networks which allow for sociability; a bigger and geographically dispersed phenomenon etc. In other words, we have the notion of musical scene initially forged by sociologist Will Straw (1991) in his investigations of alternative and punk rock and a few cities of Canada and the United States. Therefore, from this perspective, we emphasize two points in our line of inquiry: a) the idiomatic and b) the geopolitical. The reverberations of Straw's (1991) text - written in anglo-saxon language - from reflections about expressions of a musical genre - punk and alternative rock - brings forth all the idiomatic ideological power and, at

108 This and all quotations from Portuguese were translated by the author, with some stylistic freedom, into English.

the same time, the cosmopolitan and diffusing presence of genres emerged in anglo-saxon countries and with a large technological communication infrastructure inherent to their places of origin.

As we deepen our observations, we can see the United States and Great Britain as the birthplace of alternative and punk rock movements. In other words, “alternative rock” acts as an umbrella genre which hosts numerous other subgenres, mainly those related to small record companies and labels. As such, the emergence of “alternative rock” as a term derives from two musical scenes which arose in the late 1980s and with strong media presence in the 1990s, the first one being North American “Grunge¹⁰⁹” and the other British pop, or “Britpop¹¹⁰” for short.

The massive presence of these two countries in the creation of (sub) genres of music, musical scenes as well as their global mediatic proliferation is unquestionable. So, to discuss musical scene almost invariably leads us to talk about *grunge*, *heavy metal*, *hardcore*, *punk*, *glam rock*, *rock*, *indie*, *pop* and other, related genres.

If, by this line of thinking, we have the designation of the musical scene from these assumptions, as stated by Trotta (2013, p. 68), consequently we have a kind of centrality of studies around the axis Europe-North America. Therefore, this geopolitical pattern also informs us, from numerous studies undertaken in these regions, minimum standards for the recognition of a musical scene which may, not necessarily, include the structure (records, bars, pubs, labels, studios, venues for concerts); a given infrastructure (including local, regional and international mobility which facilitates the interchange and live performances of bands, for example); a set of signs (important elements in the sharing of a market culture for music); scientific and technological production (education and training of human resources and availability of media resources which strengthen the circuit of diffusion of sounds); the economic (from simple capacity to afford a musical instrument to the possibility to enhance the circulation of music through trade of artifacts).

It is worth mentioning that these data and, sometimes, scene studies, carry with them a part of these minimal details needed to understand a movement as a musical scene. There are movements and research about music problematizing scenes, however, they frequently ignore regional context and, consequently their connection to local everyday life and also fail to acknowledge the role of public policy for culture. It is as if we were presented with investigations in which the musical scene had a life of its own, completely independent and disconnected from its urban and social environment.

After these considerations about the issues brought up by the use of certain terms, which carry in their etymology and/or applicability assumptions of value hierarchies; where the presence of the anglo-saxon language is almost a prerequisite for the existence of a musical scene¹¹¹; the importance of going beyond the idea of investigating what might be seen as “cool or subcultural” (Straw, 2012); an uneven distribution in the geopolitical scales of scientific production and the concentration of studies in large cities/global megalopolises, we ask: how do we rethink our local countryside appropriations in Brazil, for example, beyond cosmopolitanism and the idea of modernity so dear to eurocentric and north American discourse? And, drawing from Grosfoguel (2008) we wonder: is it possible to devise a critical cosmopolitanism which helps us to think about the musical scene while, at the same time, going beyond localism, nationalism and colonialism?

109 Born in Seattle, in the United States, “Grunge”’s main figures in the 1990s were bands Nirvana, Pearl Jam and Alice in Chains. Their sound was a mix of indie rock, heavy metal, hardcore and punk elements.

110 “Britpop” was, in a way, a response to the explosive success of North American “Grunge” around the world. So, bands like Oasis, Blur, Suede and Pulp became its cornerstones and put into practice a kind of return to the sounds of British bands from 1960s, 70s (glam rock and punk rock), and 80s (indie pop).

111 The adverb “almost” is necessary in order to represent exceptions to musical scenes without anglophony in their main genre. However, as Trotta pointed out (2013) about Tecnobrega in Pará, where Portuguese language is present in the songs and brega is the genre, there is an intimate dialogue with cosmopolitizing elements of mediatic culture. “The cultural circuit of tecnobrega processes (...) a strong localism (the city, the venues, the brega tradition) and its cosmopolitan impulses (technology, samples, djs [...]) (Trotta, 2013, p. 67).

3. Musical scene off-the-rails

An interesting study which reiterates the notion of “urban” scene (Irwin, 1997 [1970]) comes from Slovenian researchers Miha Kozorog and Dragan Stanojevic (2013) in which they seek to reconceptualize the notion of musical scene from authors John Irwin, Barry Shank, Will Straw and Keith Kahn-Harris. Their approach to theatricalization from Irwin (1997 [1970]), Kozorog and Stanojevic (2013, p. 356-357) conceptualized scene as a metaphorical reflection of the actor, upon acting. That is to say, he takes on roles in order to perform and, later, leave the stage - possibly to join another actor or scene. We can see this movement as twofold: on one hand it contains the same claim to pluralism as Irwin’s and, at the same time, it makes us rethink how fluid the scene also is and how it cannot be disconnected from its surroundings. The authors go on about theatricalization, understood as a metaphor for a cognitive modulator which represents an individual and his power to choose between several available lifestyles where by he exercises his acting. That is, the individual, called actor by Irwin (1997 [1970]), is encouraged by peers to move between scenes, which are defined in different locations and temporalities, which may not necessarily be his own scenes.

In order to understand the main concepts behind the idea of scene, such as the cognitive operator “actor” and, consequently, its derivations “role/performance/acting”, “theater”, “meaning/signifier”; identify elements of sociability such as “behavior protocols”, “communication”, “negotiation”, “interaction” and the geographical “localization” element, we emphasize below John Irwin’s (1973) five topics whereby he seeks to theorize the notion of scene from Californian surf.

- (1) Referring now to *The Scene-that is, to the dominant genre-the most important distinguishing feature is that it is explicitly recognized as a life style by a large group of people. This distinguishes it from other very similar sociological concepts such as “subculture” and “behavior system” which may be entities recognized only by social scientists.*
- 2) *Participation in most scenes, and certainly The Scene, is voluntary. This is strongly suggested in the metaphor and points to an important dimension in the collective phenomenon. People as they have come to recognize scenes and participate in scenes, by their use of the metaphor, indicate that they can participate voluntarily.*
- (3) *The scene is a non-instrumental system. Though participants may join into collective goal-oriented enterprises, the scene members can and do interact together in an orderly fashion because they share a set of meanings, and understandings, interests, and not because they have to cooperate to attain some goal. The source of cohesion, then, is the shared meaning world or shared patterns of the scene and not goal attainment and other attendant social system problems.*
- (4) *Commitment to scenes and especially The Scene is highly variable. For some, it is a permanent way of*

life; for others, it is a passing fad. (5) The scene supplies its members with an important identity. Persons who surf think of themselves and are referred to as surfers. This identity does not refer to their position in some social system such as an occupational or family role, but to a category in the meaning world, the system of beliefs and values of surfing (Irwin, 1973, p. 133).

This initial conceptualization offers us a few ways other theorists have used to refer to musical scenes, from which we might extract a few keywords. Respectively: in topic number 1) the “lifestyle” of the scene and its distinction from the sociological definition of “subculture”, 2) the theatrical metaphor of term “scene” and its voluntary nature; 3) a non-instrumental system of sharing of meanings, something along the lines of “subjective protocols”; 4) commitment to the scene. This element didactically illustrates how fluid, diverse, vast and complex is the participation of actors in the scene and 5) “identity” as a system of beliefs and values.

As we have seen, the notion of scene as understood by Irwin (1973) is vast, open and manifold. There are no *a priori* elements which might be used to designate or exclude a given configuration/city/bar, even if it meets these criteria. The same expanded notion, but deeper and more detailed, we see in one of the self-revised definitions of Will Straw (2006) about musical scene, he argues: 1) the recurring gatherings of people in the same location; 2) the movement of these people between similar spaces; 3) the streets where these movements take shape; 4) all the places where activities about a particular type of cultural preference develop; geographically scattered phenomenon of this movement where there are examples of local preferences; or 6) networked microeconomic activities including sociability and connecting the scene to the city (Straw, 2006, p. 6).

In this definition by Straw (2006), the geographic elements include all of its six topics, in an apparent evolution of Irwin’s (1997 [1970], 1973, 1977) idea of scene, in which the Canadian sociologist (not unlike Will Straw) already reflected upon urban change and the volatility of its inhabitants. To reinforce this exclusionary element of the application of the notion of scene let us take, for example, Felipe Trotta’s (2013) article. Regarding the understanding of scene by Straw (2006), Trotta states: “By this definition, it is hard to envision musical practices which could not, in principle at least, be associated with the notion of scene. However, the strength that arises from the breadth of the term is also the source of its frailty” (Trotta, 2013, p. 60).

4. Conclusions

At last, we would like to emphasize that the theoretical applicability of the notion of scene does not, at least not naturally, debate the first versions of the term coined by Irwin (1997 [1970], 1973, 1977). This happens because, in much research, it corresponds *a priori* to only a few genres of music, therefore assuming a pre-shaped and closed definition of what can and cannot be included.

Just as the initial idea by Irwin (1997 [1970]) is derived from a youth group located on the fringes of society, such as surfers, while his research is tangled with the epistemological presence of the Chicago School - we thus have

a foundational sociological reading for further studies, as well as for debate around *musical scene*, especially from Will Straw (1991), who developed the notion of scene from a “system of articulation”, where there is intense media influence in the proliferation, audience and consumption of specific genres, primarily those originated in euro-north-american countries.

Another element is the idea of urbanity, present in the first discussions around scene, but that, in much later research, became a synonym to large cities and metropolises. An exclusionary double movement which prevents us from recognizing other scenes from the outset, such as those not anglophone in their genre of music and/or located in so-called “peripheric” cities/regions. Anglophony in musical scene - from the initial idea of Straw (1991, 2006) and applied by numerous researchers - has become practically synonymous with the “outsider” found in Irwin’s surfer groups (1973), but with the trappings of “alternative” or “cool” usually reserved for expressions of genres outside the major circuit of communication. The same observation was made by Trotta in the following example:

It is unnecessary to make an exhaustive list in order to identify the deep connection between musical practices which most easily adapt to the term “scene” and use of English. It is alternative rock, jazz from New Orleans or city-based styles mentioned by Straw on his analysis of dance music: “Detroit ‘techno’ music, Miami ‘bass’ styles, Los Angeles ‘swingbeat’ etc. (1991, p. 381).

In his research about electronic music in Brazil, Simone Sá mentions the style variants which make up the “scene(s)”: “*electro, disco-punk, minimal, retro-rock, new wave*”, in an endless classificatory effort, which multiplies by the day from the unfolding and fusion and mixture of more consolidated subgenres of electronic music such as *house, techno, drum & bass* and *garage* and *trance*” (2013, p. 65, author’s highlights).

It is worth mentioning the Brazilian author’s comments, through which he recognizes the anglo-saxon language as one of the main vectors of cosmopolitan *status* for non-anglophone countries. “It is as if (...) English monopolized cosmopolitanism, placing cultural practices which make use of this “universal” language higher up on the hierarchy (Trotta, 2013, p. 66). Within this perspective, cosmopolitanism asserts itself through anglophony, as a symbol of “eurocentric modernity” exported to non-anglophone countries.

We stress that we do not intend, once again in line with Trotta (2013), to discuss in a reductionist or dualist manner the discourse about north-american cultural imperialism, on the one hand, or close our eyes completely to the ideology embedded in language as an instrument of power. What we wish is to enumerate these elements, problematize and critically review their proposition, especially because, studying musical scenes in small towns in the Brazilian interior is to overcome the idea of “large cities” as the “rightful” birthplace of musical scenes. In our ongoing research about musical scenes in small towns in Brazil’s interior, we introduced, and still do, an inquiry into its constitution. We could see something vibrant in the bars and concerts of local bands. It was something potent, but we felt the literature did not help us to fully understand it from previously debated scientific perspectives.

We were investigating musical scenes in small towns in Northeastern Brazil from the geopolitical issue of the centrality of studies and, for a brief moment, our provocative - in a manner of speaking - starting point was geography, which classified us as a “peripheral” region. As we reflected upon the ideas of musical scene, we started to realize that our questions were legitimate, but the search for an understanding of the phenomenon was on a collision course with them. This was a result of us naïvely seeking to question the geopolitical, ignoring the importance and presence of other elements (language, bands, means of communication), we noticed that it was impossible to disentangle the geographical - like the use of the “peripheral” term - from the political, including the constitution of the Brazilian state - which went through colonialist, slave-based and class-based experiences - our nation’s foundational triad whose reverberations we encountered throughout everyday contemporary life.

In the same vein we revisit Irwin’s (1997 [1970]) central idea, in which he states that scene “refers to a set of patterns followed by a collection of actors in various moments and locations in their everyday lives” and, in a conversation with other researchers, mainly Straw (2015), reflect upon the understanding of scene also as the sharing of a configuration of behavior patterns, in a similar manner to Will Straw when he refers to ethical worlds shaped by elaboration and preservation of tastes, identities and rules of behavior in a group of actors, however, it should be added, not restricted to only one city, neighborhood or bar. We also suggest thinking about musical scenes as byproducts of our political and social constitution. In our case, we think about bars, which we researched, and other spaces as privileged locations for the materialization of the scene, and, at the same time, an interconnection between these cities in the activities surrounding music.

We can therefore, not only expand and think about the materialization of musical scenes in non-metropolitan realities, but also attempt to observe this urban phenomenon in a macro or regional scale. Questioning modernity mainly through decolonialist theory creates a geographical and conceptual displacement by inserting the Americas into modern discussion, much in the way that it also creates a temporal redefinition by displacing their “beginning” from the XVIII century to the XVI century arrival of the europeans at the continent. Such a thought, commonly shared by decolonialism theorists such as Mignolo (2003, 2008), Grosfoguel (2008) and Dussel (2005), helps us rethink the map of modernity and its dynamics as well as rethink the notion of musical scene and some of its most hotly contested elements, which a few studies deemed “distinctive”.

In other words, our endeavor is to rethink musical scenes from a Latin American viewpoint, consequently expanding the original idea of musical scene (Straw, 1991, 2006, 2015) while also putting us on the map of global discussion of urban phenomena of musical scenes in another perspective. That is, ours is a decolonial perspective of musical scene. Hence, we believe in the possibility of opening gaps to think beyond large cities, metropolises and the euro-north-american model and, thus, provide a few escape routes and openings to think of musical scenes of non-anglophone genres and/or other territorialities, as well as other forms of cultural expression.

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