CHAPTER 8

FROM THE FANZINE TO THE INTERNET: THE EVOLUTION OF COMMUNICATION CHANNELS THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH SKA SCENE

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Abstract

Since its inception in Jamaica in the late 1950's and its subsequent adoption in many countries through following decades, ska music has been often the center of underground local scenes that have managed to survive with limited resources. The underground situation of the genre has evolved throughout time and space along with the communication channels that have been in charge of its subsistence, determining how each scene develops and relates to the cultural mainstream. This article traces the evolution of ska in Spain through five different periods of its history, analyzing the connection between the media involved in the diffusion of this music and its entity as a scene, its underground status, its cultural image and its participation in the local industry, with an emphasis on the contrast between the roles of mass media and DIY strategies as a crucial defining factor.

Keywords: ska scene, Spain, communication channels, alternative resources, underground media.

8. 1. Introduction

The following lines are intended to introduce some thoughts around the notions of scene, underground and media which emerged during my doctoral research about ska in Spain (Fernández, 2012; Fernández & Bajo, 2015). One of the tasks for this work consisted in the construction of a global image of the evolution of ska in the Spanish popular culture history, which had never been done before for this topic attending to academic criteria. This wide range perspective uncovered a much more complex itinerary for the life of ska in this country than what we can infer from the most extended discourse of the global history of the genre[76]. In order to provide a broad picture of this itinerary, I will make a brief examination of the main distinctive features in the development of ska in Spain through five different periods by chronological order.

8.2. The ska dance craze

The first period comprises the central years of the 1960s, not long after ska had originated in Jamaica accompanying the political Independence of the country and thus becoming a national cultural expression, serving as a means for the forging of a local identity and promoted as such internationally by the Jamaican Government[77]. Beyond the isle, ska manifested itself as a dance craze which added up to the dozens of dance rhythms consumed by young audiences in the Western world.

[76] According to this discourse, ska has developed throughout three waves —the original Jamaican style, the British revival of 2 Tone, and the USA pickup of the genre paralleled with a wider cultivation of ska around the Globe. To make a critic analysis or description of this historic model is beyond this paper. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that it constitutes the structural and conceptual basis of most historical reviews of ska.

[77] A well-known campaign of promotion of ska as the national sound of Jamaica was its presentation in the New York World Fair in 1964 by initiative of Jamaican minister of culture Edward Seaga.

This was exactly the role ska played in Spain between 1964 and 1968, when this music was not yet considered as a genre but simply as a kind of dance song, being used as an uncommon addition to the repertoire of a couple of bands devoted to easy listening music. Among these bands we may cite Los Blues de España, a dance orchestra from Galicia that released an extended play with four songs of ska and yenka (another popular dance craze at the moment), and also the trio Los de la Torre, from Barcelona, who promoted ska as a summer rhythm in 1966-7 after their success with a cover of the Italian song "Operazione sole" by Peppino di Capri; around that date ska was also presented in the national television (with an appearance of Los de la Torre in the show El Musical) and enjoyed some brief popularity among the ye-yés[78]. Note that, in spite of its limited and ephemeral success, there's no way to consider this manifestation of ska as an underground phenomenon, given that the bands and channels that participated in its diffusion, even when the attempts to do it were very modest, were clearly oriented to the general public.

Very few information about the origins of ska or its current relevance in Jamaican popular music culture was broadcasted through Spanish media in the sixties. Jamaican recordings didn't reach the national market easily either, at least not until the last years of the decade, when frontline rocksteady and early reggae artists such as Desmond Dekker and Jimmy Cliff began to arise the interest of local labels. Digging through the documents that constituted the official means of information for people interested in popular music in the mid 60s, specialized magazines mainly oriented to youth people (Discóbolo, Fonorama and Fans), we can find but a couple of brief reports about ska and blue beat[79], as well as some reviews of imported albums such as The Authentic Jamaica Ska (published by Amy Records in 1964) – one of the many compilations destinated to promote this sound in the United States. An examination of these texts today reveals a profound misinformation about the history and status this music carried in Jamaica by Spanish journalists who tried futilely to attract the attention of the public towards this "reiterative, insistent and easy" rhythm (Halpern, 1964, November). The following review of the work of Jamaican singer and producer Prince Buster, one of the most reverenced artists of the period, speaks clearly about the difficulties experimented by the Spanish audience to assimilate this kind of music:

> *"30 pieces of silver", "Tongue will tell", "They got to go" and "Everybody ska" give us back an unsophisticated and bad-tasting flavour from Caribbean rhythms, as calypso or limbo. It is always convenient to have these recordings as an alternative for gatherings and parties, but just and only for these cases. (N/A, 1965, January)*

[78] The term 'ye-yé' was used in France and Spain to refer to the popular culture movement represented by a young generation eager of the new tendencies, deeply involved with the latest dance rhythms and the beat explosion. This movement had its peak in the mid-sixties.

[79] Blue beat' was the name ska adopted in British lands. Nevertheless, this term was used outside the UK to designate a kind of dance rhythm with, presumably, no connection with ska (Fernández, 2008).

8. 3. The 2 Tone era

Jumping forward to the next period of the history of ska, the 2 Tone era, we land in British territory where a set of post-punk, working-class racial-mixed bands impacted the 'new wave' whirlwind of styles with an attractive reinvention of ska. This ska revival was developed between 1979 and the early years of the following decade, and spread rapidly to other countries of Europe and America. At that precise moment, an intense cultural movement was beginning to take place in Spain which would evolve through the 1980's in what was known as La Movida, resulting in an explosion of cultural creativity that included a pronounced openness to the freshest musical proposals from abroad. Being one of the most known independent labels of the moment, 2 Tone Records was praised in this context as a model to follow, and its music emerged as one of the representative styles of the vanguard during the few years the craze lasted. Madness, Bad Manners, The Specials and The Beat made their way through the Spanish culture via the recording industry (their albums and singles were promptly published by labels as Chrysalis, RCA and Ariola), the national TV (with noteworthy participations in the musical show Aplauso in 1980), and also in live concerts in Madrid, Barcelona and the Basque Country.

Frontline music journalists made critics and reports in the main music magazines of the moment like Popular 1, Vibraciones, Sal Común, Disco Actualidad and Rock Espezial. These texts show a much better knowledge about the origin of the music and its social and political implications than those found in the first period of ska: the information channels began to reveal themselves as reliable sources for those interested in this music. In addition, the past history of ska was much more accessible and understandable for the general public since Jamaican popular music had broken into the Western culture in previous years, by the massive spreading of reggae music, making Jamaica visible to the rest of the world (Constant, 1995: 22-23). 2 Tone ska was closer to the sympathies of the Spanish public in both ideological and musical terms than sixties ska had been, also lacking the image of an exotic and trivial dance craze it had had then. Jesús Ordovás (1980, April) qualified this style as an "irresistible, awesome, exciting" blend, while Diego Manrique (1980, May) described it as "important music —in the sense that it says important things— and at the same time festive —for it gives joy to feet and guts"; a huge gap is revealed between these evaluations and the previous quotations from sixties' magazines.

In any case, ska conserved its identity as a dance rhythm and would still not acquire a solid entity as a genre till the next period and, for the moment, became a musical option to be integrated in the style of bands devoted to other genres. During the 2 Tone era and in subsequent years through the eighties, some Spanish bands included a couple of ska songs among their repertoire with no intention to reach a specialization in this music. These included famous names devoted to pop music as Ejecutivos Agresivos, Tequila or Hombres G, as well as other inscribed in more obscure and provoking tendencies of punk, such as Seguridad Social, PVP or Ilegales.

Though we can't still talk about a definite ska scene referring to the Spanish eighties, already in this period this music began to play a significant role among certain social sectors moved by specific interests in politics or ideology. Since ska occupied a central place in the preferences of mods and skinheads, bands that explicitly identified themselves with these cultures made a recurring use of this music through their career. This was the case of Decibelios and Skatalà, two bands from Barcelona that were deeply involved with the emergence of the skinhead movement in Catalunya; Skatalà became, in fact, one of the main references for national ska-punk bands in the following years. Basque bands, inscribed in what has been named Rock Radical Vasco also made frequent use of ska throughout the decade adapting it to the local situation for social commentary. Interesting examples of this are: the song "Arraultz bat pinu batean" by Hertzainak (1984), in which the band presented a utopian idea of the Basque Country turned into a tropical paradise and free from political repression; "Sarri Sarri" by Kortatu (1985), a punk-rock cover of Toots & the Maytals' "Chatty Chatty" with new lyrics that celebrated the escape of two known Basque political activists from prison, and thus becoming an explicit political manifest; or the proposal of the band Potato, who stood for a more relaxed, witty and peaceful form of militancy as an alternative to the aggressiveness and violence some punk bands of the movement tended to provoke in their live concerts.

In short, during the 1980's ska was adopted in a wide range of cultural and musical contexts in which it was used as a response to diverse motivations, still failing to achieve the status of an autonomous genre represented by a tangible scene. This would be accomplished eventually through the following years, not only in Spain but on an international level, so in the nineties we can say ska had finally acquired the status of a genre – and more, it began to constitute a stylistic family formed by its own set of subgenres, while being itself part of the Jamaican music family. The line between ska and other genres often blurred as ska retained its quality of musical resource that could be adapted to other kinds of music.

8.4. The Spanish ska scene

As I have suggested before, from the nineties on we can talk about the existence of a specialized Spanish ska scene, understanding the term, in a broad sense, as "groups of people and organizations, situations, and events involved with the production and consumption of particular music genres and styles", according to the definition provided by Cohen (1999: 239). The first initiatives that led to the establishment of the necessary infrastructures for the construction and maintaining of a local ska scene concentrated in the city of Barcelona; these included the broadcasting of the radio show Sound System FM, from the community station Radio Sant Antoni, and the manufacture of the first thematic fanzines (skazines) such as FBI and Skaville Bcn, among whose pages a feeling of belonging to a scene, by fans and promoters, was beginning to become evident. By that time, a number of bands that had chosen to specialize in ska music had

begun to emerge in cities like Barcelona (Skatalà, Dr. Calypso), Mallorca (Skarabajos), Madrid (Guaqui Taneke), Vitoria (Little Feet & The Prenatals) and La Rioja (Banana Boats). In 1990, a huge step was made in the consolidation of the feeling of being part of a scene when the creators of FBI managed to publish, under a label created for the occasion – Sock It Records –, the first compilation of recordings by Spanish ska bands, motivated by the growing emergence of similar recordings in Europe, such as the series Skankin' 'Round the World (released by British label Unicorn since 1988) or Ska... Ska... Skandal! (initiated by German label Pork Pie in 1989). The Spanish compilation was entitled Latin Ska Fiesta and served as an official proof of the existence of a still incipient but already palpable national scene; it was soon followed by a second volume, Latin Ska Fever, the next year. Although the label 'Latin ska' didn't last very long in the Spanish ska followers' discourse, its application to these milestone publications speaks clearly about the intentions of promoting a phenomenon that was starting to have enough entity as to need its own name.

The Spanish ska scene has survived since then through alternative media and low budget initiatives as the ones that gave it birth. Already in the early nineties, in spite of the international status of the genre, and even though the growing interest of local bands and promoters announced the beginning of a promising specialized scene, ska had no presence in the mass media, major labels didn't pay attention to local ska bands, the national TV and main radio stations had no longer broadcasted ska since the 2 Tone era, and music magazines failed to inform properly about the ska being produced in or outside of the country. Even ska recordings from abroad were, again, difficult if not impossible to find in local stores. This situation has maintained, with minor ups and downs, until today, resulting in a severe aridity of information and a perpetual difficulty in the upkeep of the infrastructures of production and consumption, deeply conditioning the internal working of the scene. Since the first stages of its development, however, this didn't dissuade ska followers to fight back such situation via the growing publication of fanzines, the creation of groups and societies formed by fans that carried out multiple promotion tasks, the opening of specialized recording stores, the founding of independent labels and management companies, and the adoption of self-production strategies by the bands.

8.5. Ska thrives on the underground

A fourth significant period in the history of ska in Spain runs parallel to the ska boom that took place in the USA where, during the last years of the century, this music became a mainstream phenomenon for the first time. Similar movements of ska to the mainstream were registered in places like Mexico or Indonesia though, interestingly enough, other scenes that had already proved their potential by then didn't reflect so drastically the impulse ska had experimented in the most influential country of the planet. This was the case of Spain, where ska was never even close of occupying a mainstream position, albeit the favorable situation of this style

beyond the country resonated to some extent within the national scene, that experimented a notable thrust in various fields: the number of specialized bands grew considerably and their origin and range of action became more diverse, which resulted in the emergence of new local scenes across the country (as in Valencia or Tarragona) that added to those we could identify in the previous period (mainly Barcelona and Madrid); thematic festivals were increasingly frequent, especially in Catalunya (the Dr. Martens International Ska Festival held in Lérida between 1998 and 2004 stood out among lots of other events) but also in cities like Granada or Romo-Getxo (Basque Country), the latter with a long-lasting annual ska-reggae festival since 1998; radio shows and fanzines also grew significantly in number, which included an acclaimed comeback of FBI, the most prolific of the local fanzines, in 1999.

International connections with analog scenes from other countries were also strengthened during this period. Transnational tours were usual, both for Spanish artists acting abroad and foreign artists coming to Spain, and eventually motivated the mutual collaboration between local and foreign artists in common projects which would be considered of high value for the scene. Examples of this were the association between Cuban-Jamaican singer Laurel Aitken and the band from Madrid Skarlatines in live concerts and at the studio, or the alliance between singer Begoña Bang Matu (also from Madrid) and the Italian band Ramiccia in 2000 to share the recording of the album Ramiccia meets Begoña. The Spanish ska scene was beginning to achieve a transnational status and had reached a maturity that motivated among its members a new awareness of its own past; this was reflected in the writing of the first extended review of the history of ska in Spain by a Catalonian follower, and published as a fanzine in 1998 entitled Historia del ska ibérico ('The history of Iberian ska'). Another significant initiative was the reedition of the previously mentioned Latin Ska compilations in 1999, as a statement of renewal of the general interest in ska.

This bonanza experimented by the genre in Spain during the turn of the century transcended the frontiers of the specialized scene to the extent that ska gained some visibility in the Spanish culture. Certain bands acquired high popularity within their respective regions, being some of them places where ska was becoming a well-known music, as was the case of Dr. Calypso in Catalunya or Betagarri in the Basque Country, but also in provinces where this music didn't seem to find its place among the tastes and knowledge of the general public, as happened with Skalariak in Navarra or Ska-p in Madrid. In fact, Ska-p enjoyed a quick and vast international success that could have positively affected the presence of ska in the country, if they hadn't positioned themselves away from the specialized scene in Spain, even systematically repudiated by its members, so that they never were really considered as representative of it . Some less successful bands also collected little victories for the scene in the form of isolated but meaningful appearances on film and TV. Simultaneously, ska was still heard in the work of successful pop-rock bands in a sporadic manner, with well-known examples in the Spanish culture by bands like The Refrescos, Celtas Cortos or Seguridad Social. Nevertheless, these achievements didn't imply a major change in the underground situation of the genre nor in the communication channels and

strategies of subsistence that already had consolidated as characteristic of the national ska scene: the main (and almost only) platforms of information were still resource-limited and low-range fanzines (to be soon relieved by the Internet), community radio stations and regional TV channels. To sum up, we can say that the national scene thrived while remaining underground.

8.6. Ska is alive and well

According to Robert Walsh (2002: 3), after the 2 Tone era British ska had not disappeared but had "burrowed back in to the underground where it is most comfortable"; this statement could also describe the global situation of the genre during the years that followed the ska boom at the turn of the century. Even though we can't say the same for the Spanish scene (where ska could not "move back" to the underground because it had never really moved away from it), this once more serves as a good starting point to understand what has happened with the transnational scene during the 21st Century. In Spain this period started with the general impression that the good times of the scene were definitely over: "lean times after a climax", as the specialized journalist Jaime Bajo stated (2002: 43). It was clear that the prior achievements of the scene had not been enough to find a place for the genre in the mass media, the tastes of the general public or at least the basic knowledge in popular music – indeed, 'ska' has remained as an unknown term for a great deal of the Spanish population. It seemed that the opportunity to achieve those goals had passed once and for all. Paradoxically, this also preluded a relatively prolific period in the history of ska in Spain that continues the present day, with a rich activity and of course no hint of a definite extinction of the scene. In my opinion, the explanation for this phenomenon relies in the understanding of a critical transformation in the scene marked by the adoption of new forms of communication and by a change of mentality by its members.

Regarding the first of these aspects, we have to consider the implications of a shift from the fanzine to the Internet as the main resource of information within the scene. If in 1999 we have found over twenty titles of fanzines specialized in ska or Jamaican music, only around six survived the turn of the century and by 2006 the making of a skazine was a very uncommon practice[80]. Around 2000, the inauguration of some online portals that would become the main Spanish platforms of information and debate about ska the following years, such as boss-sounds.org and reggae-news.net, had already taken place. The giant improvement in distribution implied by the use of the Internet not only caused a quantitative boost in the availability of information: it impacted the very core of the machinery that had been in charge of every communication between followers of the music, its promotion and

[80] This quick extinction of the skazine as the Internet became prominent reveals that the role of the fanzine in the ska scene responded to a practical need rather than to an ideological matter: as soon as a more efficient platform for the transmission of information was available, the fanzine was no longer necessary and disappeared.

sharing, for over a decade. Before the Internet, the only way of keeping in touch with the scene implied direct initiatives of interaction such as attending certain clubs with regularity to find the newest local fanzines and to meet other members of the scene; and, given that the scene could not count on mass media resources as national press or TV, long-distance sharing of information and music had to be accomplished personally by phone, traditional mail or travelling. Though these extra efforts were considered by members of the Spanish ska scene as an inconvenience derived from the humility of resources inherent to a non-desired underground condition, they were, however, responsible for a distinctive way of living the passion for ska, creating a sense of having a unique and selective taste, enhancing the feeling of being part of an exclusive collective, and providing a strong identification with one's local scene. Since the normalization of the Internet, anyone could follow the scene, collect and pass information, obtain recordings, be in touch with other followers (by e-mail or in collective debates and discussions) and even broadcast specialized radio shows, without leaving their homes. In addition, the feeling of belonging to a local scene gave up ground to the idea of a virtual scene, with a clear strengthening of translocal links which led to a better assembled and defined transnational scene[81]. In short, while the Spanish scene certainly remained at an underground layer, its working was notably transformed. Remnants of the previous attitude, however, were – and still are – detectable among its members (after all, many of them had lived the previous phase), for example in the constant hunting for recording rarities or in the natural tendency of the ska fan to research the history of the genre and instruct friends and family about it.

Besides the arrival of the Internet, in the years that followed the international ska boom the scene was marked, as has been already mentioned, by a general feeling of having failed the attempt to settle in the mainstream. This, however, didn't provoke its extinction: at least in the Spanish case, the sheer acceptance of the permanent and seemingly unavoidable underground status of the scene seemed to contribute, instead, to generate a new kind of stability for itself. Ska bands, promoters and followers kept on doing their job without wasting too much effort in calling the attention of the mass media. Moreover, after their extended use of limited resources and alternative strategies through long years, the members of the scene could manage them now with a high level of expertise and relative comfort – keeping this in mind, the aforementioned quote by Walsh makes perfect sense.

Further research should be necessary to confirm this theory of becoming efficient from resignation and to find correspondences with other scenes that perhaps show some resemblance to the Spanish one, such as the French or German scenes. In any case, I consider this a good explanation of the way in which the Spanish ska scene has developed in the last decade. Though it is difficult to summarize this

[81] Peterson and Bennett (2004) provided generic definitions of virtual and translocal scenes. Note that local, translocal and virtual scenes are not mutually exclusive and do not refer, in this case, to different kinds of scene, but different facets of a broad and complex phenomenon.

development in a few lines, the points we are interested now could be the following. To start with, the national landscape of ska and Jamaican music keeps on being formed mainly by a group of provincial scenes, mutually interconnected but rather independent from each other. Some of these scenes feature a central initiative that is responsible for a great percentage of its activity. For example, the Valencian scene has maintained through the work of promoters Bredda Jamaican Music Club and the small recording labels Jamaican Memories and Golden Singles; the Madrilenian scene has concentrated in the initiatives by management company Ska Town; and the Basque scene has largely relied on the activity promoted by the recording store and label Brixton. As modest as each of these initiatives can be, they have managed to maintain fairly stable local scenes with no major interruptions. The emergence of new bands has not stopped, and some of them have eventually climbed positions in the mass media reaching places of privilege in the music industry, such as Alamedadosoulna, Granadians or Pepper Pots – some of them have achieved a meritorious presence in foreign markets, as the Japanese one. Concerts, if not abundant, are programmed frequently and recordings are released on a relatively steady basis. Thematic festivals have been still held regularly in regions such as Cataluña, Valencia, Madrid or the Basque Country. And, what could be considered as a major achievement for the scene and a definite proof of its good health, international relations with other ska scenes have been more than fruitful through these years, with frequent collaborations between Spanish ska musicians and frontline artists from abroad such as New York Ska-Jazz Ensemble, Roy Ellis (Jamaica), Mr. T-Bone (Italy), Dr. Ring Ding (Germany) or Daniel Flores (Argentina). A recent and ultimate triumph consisted in the move of the Rototom Sunsplash European Reggae Festival, one of the biggest events dedicated to Jamaican music in the world, held in Italy since 1994, to the Spanish summer city of Benicassim (Valencia), where it has been held annually since 2010.

8.7. Conclusions

This quick review of some key aspects of the history of ska in Spain serves to inspire a series of thoughts around the machinery of a scene and the definition of underground, which I'd like to sum up here as a conclusion, susceptible of further discussion and research. In the case explained through these pages we have examined how a kind of music – ska – has arrived, spread, been adopted and produced through several decades in a specific though changing and multiple cultural context defined by geopolitical limits – Spain. We have been able to distinguish between different periods which differ in the form ska was portrayed and treated by the mass media, used by local bands, received by the general public and protected by its followers: in the 60s it was seen as a dance craze with no sociopolitical meaning, quite misunderstood by critics and sold as easy listening music; from the British revival and through the 80s it was received as an avant-garde product that was sometimes used as a good-sellable musical resource by pop-rock bands, but also bearing a strong social charge that was wielded to

express sociopolitical protest or ideological positioning by certain communities, such as the skinheads and the Basque activists; in the nineties a specialized ska scene (with every implication this term carries) was shaped, sustained by a growing net of followers working with alternative resources for its upkeep and distribution (fanzines, community radio stations, self-production strategies), and by the emergence of bands that took ska, now undoubtedly treated as a genre, as their style of preference; at the late nineties, the international ska boom failed to relocate this music in the Spanish mainstream, but served as a fulcrum for a drastic growth of the scene, that achieved some noteworthy triumphs in the great industry and the still reluctant mass media; finally, after the turn of the century the scene continued developing as an underground-buried reality but with a fairly high level of stability and being part of a large transnational phenomenon, its internal working radically affected by the use of the Internet.

Several conclusions can be inferred from this trajectory. In the first place, it is interesting how the line of separation between underground and mainstream has changed its nature as ska developed in the country throughout the years. At the first stages of its history there was no point in considering such division given the condition of this music as a dance rhythm that eventually enjoyed brief moments of glory to be quickly forgotten afterwards. With the consolidation of a scene, the genre acquired the typical features of an underground phenomenon including its subsistence by alternative media and limited resources, its minority presence within the industry and a lack of awareness about its development by the general public. Note that this underground condition did not always include a countercultural attitude or a voluntary positioning against the mainstream –though ska is consumed by certain communities that follow this attitude, this is not a consequence of being a ska follower, and many attempts have been done from inside of the specialized scene to bring this music out to the general knowledge. Particularly through an examination of the last period of the Spanish ska scene, it is also proved that 'underground' doesn't have to imply 'unstable' or 'small': in fact, the national scene had grown into a rich and healthy situation, with strong transnational links, by remaining underground.

As a second major conclusion, we can assert that the communication channels that participate in the circulation of a kind of music have a direct connection with the way it is promoted, broadcasted and judged, how it is used by bands and followers and the way they live it as a scene, a genre, a musical resource or a temporary fad. In the case of ska in Spain it is remarkable how the involvement by mass media, as frontline TV shows and magazines, failed to create a communication infrastructure with enough reliability and scope as to make possible the consolidation of a specialized scene. Furthermore, this consolidation was only reached when alternative media was put at the service of the music: fanzines, independent labels and other humble, localized initiatives gave a decisive impulse to the creation of the scene[82] and served as the first reliable and efficient channels

[82] The very notion of scene, in fact, already carried implications of 'underground' and 'alternative' identity since its inception in the journalist discourse (Peterson & Bennett, 2004, p. 2).

of information and distribution for those potentially interested in ska, beating clearly in this sense every prior attempt to do it via mainstream magazines or TV. Indeed, an important level of clumsiness have been shown in the managing of ska by the mass media (best exemplified in the critics found in sixties' Spanish magazines), and, ultimately, it seems that the existence and promotion of this genre is better handled by the use of specialized resources distinctive of the underground, even considering the severe limitations these tend to carry. In short, the use of privileged channels of communication doesn't necessarily imply an improvement for the scene, and sometimes short-range initiatives with limited resources have proven to be more efficient to cover the bare necessities of its subsistence. In a broad sense, the shift in the use of communication channels should not be regarded as a drawback or benefit for the scene but rather as a transformation in the ways of production, consumption and following. This is best understood with the advent of the Internet and its use as a replacement for the fanzine, sensibly altering the way fans related to the scene, and promoting its transnational facet.

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