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AN APPROACH
TO UNDERGROUND
MUSIC SCENES
(VOL. 5)

Paula Guerra, Sofia Sousa (Eds.)

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Keep it Simple, Make it Fast!

An approach to underground music scenes (vol. 5)

Paula Guerra & Sofia Sousa (eds.)

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DOCUMENTING STREET IN LONDON LOS ANGELS & TOKYO by CHRIS LOW (EXHIBITION)

5 JUL – 31 AGT

OPENING JULY 5 2021 – 19H

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7·8·9·10 JULY
21H — 00H

DJ COLLECTIVE
DJ'S KISS MY F
presents:

DJ SET

MAKE BENNETT NOT WAR!

HAPPY

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NEVER MIND THE BOLLOCKS

"THIS AIN'T NO PICNIC. THIS IS A BANQUET! THIS IS LUST!"

KISMIF CONFERENCE DINNER 2021

+ DJ SET "I WANNA BE YOUR FOOD" BY RICARDO SALAZAR

21H00

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'NOT JUST HOLIDAYS IN THE SUN'

Inscrição antecipada: AGORA ATÉ 15 DE ABRIL
Inscrição tardia: AGORA ATÉ 30 DE ABRIL

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KISMIF 2021

KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021 | DIY CULTURES AND GLOBAL CHALLENGES | 5–10 JULY 2021

SCREENINGS

AMA ROMANTA
Uma Utopia que Fazia Discos
[Ama Romanta – A Utopia That Made Records] by Carlos Mendes and Vasco Bação.
Salão Nobre da Reitoria da Universidade do Porto
[Main Hall of the Rectory of the University of Porto]
>July 5th, 21-23h

UM PUNK CHAMADO RIBAS
[A punk called Ribas] + Q&A Session with Paulo Antunes,
Pequeno Auditório
[Small Auditorium]
Rivoli Theater
>July 6th, 20.30-21.30h

BASS CULTURE + Q&A
Session with Mykaell Riley.
Pequeno Auditório
[Small Auditorium]
Rivoli Theater
>July 7th, 20.30-21.30h

ELA É UMA MÚSICA
[She is a Song] + Q&A
Session with Francisca Marvão.
Pequeno Auditório
[Small Auditorium]
Rivoli Theater
>July 9th, 18.00-19.30h

um Punk chamado Ribas

UM FILME DE
PAULO ANTUNES

KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021

A PUNK CALLED RIBAS
BY PAULO ANTUNES

(DOCUMENTARY)

6 JULY 2021
20:30

SMALL AUDITORIUM
RIVOLI TEATRO MUNICIPAL DO PORTO

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GIGS
LIVE ACTS
DJ SETS

KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021
DIY Cultures and Global Challenges
5-10 JULY 2021

LOOKING FOR A KISSmif
by DJ Collective DJ's KISSMyf
Casa Comum
[KISMIF WARM UP ONLINE DJ SET]
July 5th, 23-24h

SUNFLOWERS
Subpalco [Under Stage]
Rivoli Theater (GIG)
July 6th, 22.30-23.30h

DJ Collective DJ's KISSMyf
presents MAKE BENNETT, NOT WAR
Casa Comum [CLUBBING ONLINE]
July 7-10th, 21.00-00.00h

TÓ TRIPS
Subpalco [Under Stage]
Rivoli Theater [GIG LIVE ACT]
July 7th, 21.00-00.00h

RICARDO SALAZAR
Surprise Venue [DJ SET]
July 8th, 21.00-00.00h

A BOY NAMED SUE feat. KISMIF
Spotify [PLAYLIST], July 8-10th
21.00-00.00h

MATRIARCA PARALÍTICA
Subpalco [Under Stage]
Rivoli Theater (GIG)
July 9th, 22.30-23.30h

ALL TOMORROW PARTIES with KISMIF by A Boy Named Sue and Victor Torpedo
Ferro Bar
[KISMIF (AFTER) PARTY DJ SET]
July 10th, 18-23h

Poster 1 — Exhibitions

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X-RAY VISION

EXHIBITIONS

UP YOURS! Tokyo Punk & Japanarchy Today
A photo documentation of five years
in the Tokyo underground punk scene by Chris Low
Casa Comum
[OPENING July 5th -15h00 - 15h30]
>July 5th-31st August

SUB-CULTURE CLUB: Documenting street culture
in London, Los Angeles & Tokyo by Chris Low
Casa Comum
[OPENING July 5th -15h00 - 15h30]
>July 5th- 31st August

MACKINTÓXICO
From the Edge to the Galaxy by Tó Trips
Mercado Municipal de Matosinhos
[OPENING July 6th -17h30 - 18h30]
>July 6th-31st July

AN OUTSIDE LOOK. Photographs of migrant women
exiled in their own art by Elizângela Pinheiro
Lost in Room [Anfiteatro 2]
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
of the University of Porto
[OPENING July 8th -12h30 - 13h00]
>8th-18th July

KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021
DIY Cultures and Global Challenges
5-10 JULY 2021

MATERIAIS INFLAMÁVEIS: Culturas de resistência, média
alternativos e fanzines (1982- 2020)
by Paula Guerra and Pedro Quintela
Gabinete Gráfico, Museu da Cidade do Porto [Graphic
Office, Porto City Museum]
Biblioteca Municipal Almeida Garrett
[OPENING July 8th -15h00 - 16h00]
>8th-15th August

WHITE PrIVILEGE
by Jubilee Street
Domination Room [Bar dos Professores]
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
of the University of Porto
[OPENING July 9th -12h00 - 12h30]
>9th-18th August

ONDINAMIX
by Ondina Pires
Online [OPENING] July 9th -12h30 - 13h00]
>9th-18th August

Poster 2 — Summer School

> KISMIF
SUMMER SCHOOL 2021
"NOT JUST HOLIDAYS IN THE SUN"
CONVENORS: ANDY BENNETT and PAULA GUERRA   VENUE: TEATRO RIVOLI, PORTO - PORTUGAL

Poster 3 — Conference

> KISMIF
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PLANO B,
CLUBE UNIVERSITÁRIO
DO PORTO

Poster 4 — Bass Culture

KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021

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BASS CULTURE
BY MYKAELL RILEY

DOCUMENTARY
7 JULY 2021 | 20:30

SMALL AUDITORIUM, RIVOLI TEATRO MUNICIPAL DO PORTO
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KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021 DOCUMENTARY

KISMIF C 2021

ELA É UMA MÚSICA   SHE IS A SONG
DE FRANCISCA MARVÃO   BY FRANCISCA MARVÃO

9 JULY 2021 - 18:00 | SMALL AUDITORIUM, RIVOLI TEATRO MUNICIPAL DO PORTO
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HAPPY EASTER
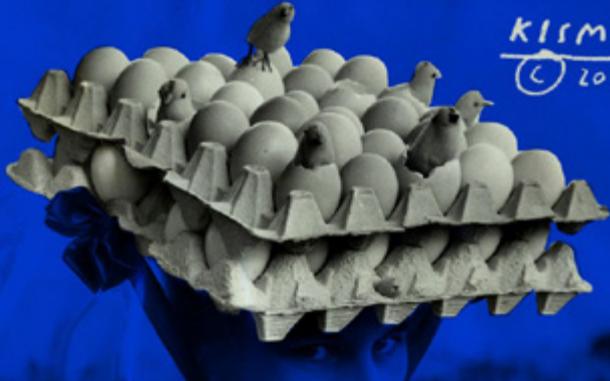
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KISMIF CONFERENCE JULY 7-10 2021

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(AFTER) PARTY
KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021

aLL TOMORROW
PARTIES WITH KISMIF

FERRO BAR
JULY 10TH
18:00 - 24:00

DJ SET
a BOY
NaMeD
SUE

AND
VICTOR
TORPEDO

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MORE INFORMATIONS
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8-31 JULY 2021   SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIETAL CHANGES
LIBRARY OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PORTO

EXTENDED
REGISTRATION DATES
FOR KISMIF
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KISMIF CONFERENCE
DIY CULTURES AND GLOBAL CHALLENGES

KISMIF SUMMER SCHOOL
'NOT JUST HOLIDAYS IN THE SUN'

Early Registration: NOW UNTIL APRIL 15

Late Registration: NOW UNTIL APRIL 30

For more informations: www.kismifconference.pt
Contact: kismif.conference@gmail.com

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KISMIF CONFERENCE 2021
UP YOURS!
TOKYO PUNK & JAPANARCHY TODAY
EXHIBITION   BY CHRIS LOW
FROM JULY 5   OPENING
TO AUGUST 31   JULY 5 2021
2021   19:00

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CASA COMUM - REITORIA DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
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DEADLINE
FEBRUARY 15, 2020

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KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:
ANNA SZEMERE - HYUNJOON SHIN - JOHN STREET -
MARK FERRY (SNIFFIN' GLUE) - MATT WORLEY -
MYKAELL RILEY - THURSTON MOORE (SONIC YOUTH)
- TONY DRAYTON (RIPPED AND TORN).

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privilege

exihibition
jubilee street
exposição
9th — 31st . july 2021
9 — 31 . julho 2021

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Faculdade de Letras,
Universidade do Porto

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MÁVEIS

curadoria
paula guerra &
pedro quintela

BARBIERISMS
BY MARIAS.
GÉNERO, IDENTIDADE E DIFERENÇAS NA CULTURA CONTEMPORÂNEA
GENDER, IDENTIDES AND DIFFERENCES IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

PAULA GUERRA
AND ISABEL LEITE (EDS.)

Contents

THIS is NO BORING CONFERENCE

We dedicate this book to the inspiring and wonderful

Jordan Mooney

(1955-2022)

A prologue of pain and hope in the face of the high priestess of punk

Paula Guerra[1]

With her peroxide beehive, Cubist face paint and Kohl-eyed stare, Jordan Mooney provided punk with some of its most enduring – and provocative – images. Born Pamela Rooke in 1955 and raised in Seaford, Sussex, by ultra-conservative parents (her mum was a seamstress; her dad a WW2 commando), she moved to London in the mid-70s, where her fearless attitude and outré wardrobe secured her a job at Malcolm McClaren and Vivienne Westwood's King's Road boutique, Sex. Pivotal to the aesthetic of both the Sex Pistols and Adam and the Ants, and a muse to Derek Jarman – who cast her as Amyl Nitrate in cult movie Jubilee – her influence can now be seen everywhere from Lady Gaga's wardrobe to Cara Delevingne's eye make-up. (Moody, 2017, s/p).
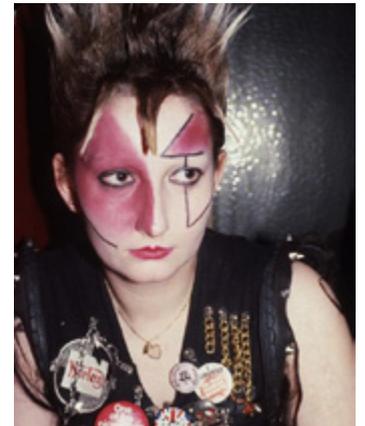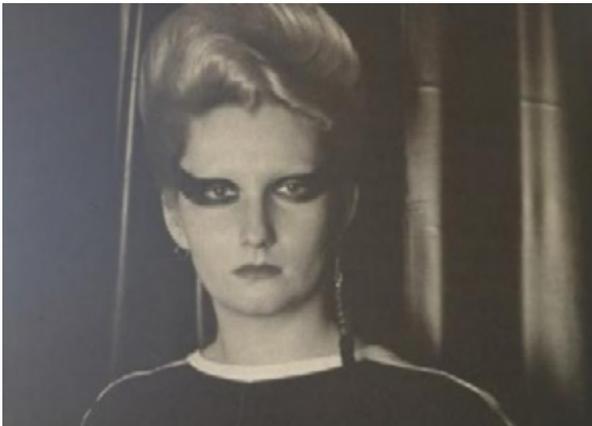
▸ Figures 1 – Jordan in the late seventies
▸ Source: https://www.mylondon.news/news/celebs/londons-queen-punk-jordan-who-23597124

Jordan[2] Jordan was a special guest speaker at the 2018 edition of the KISMIF Conference. Her coming to Porto and Portugal - for the first time - fulfilled a long-standing dream of many of the KISMIF community members. Indeed, we were all able to chat, eat, laugh and dance with the eternal Diva of punk. Jordan in Porto was one of us. She established contacts, friendships. She was so paradoxically simple and human and therein lays her greatness. This text and a tribute to a star who from July 2018 began to call me 'my love'. And a cry of pain and of hope: of pain, because she will never call me that again, as she passed away on April 2, 2022; but of hope, because her legacy is memorable, namely when she said - repeatedly – 'Don't dream it, be it.'

I knew from a very early age that I wasn't cut out for an ordinary life. Growing up my two style icons were Spock from Star Trek and Margot Fontyen. At secondary school I was always in trouble. I'd go up to London to shop at Big Biba in Kensington or for gigs – I saw David Bowie at the Rainbow – or I'd go over to Brighton then hitch home. When I was 14 I went up to Smile in Knightsbridge to get my hair done by Keith Wainwright like Andy Mackay from Roxy Music. I had a big red mohican stripe down the middle and two pink stripes down the back. I got suspended from school for that but I really couldn't understand what all the fuss was about.

▸ Figure 2 – Jordan at Vivienne Westwood's 'Sex' shop on the Kings Road in 1976
▸ Source: Mirrorpix/Getty Images

▸ Figure 3 – Jordan and Adam Ant backstage at the Roxy Club in 1977
▸ Source: Mirrorpix/Getty Images

It was around the time that I changed my name. I didn't want to be called Pamela Rooke any more. I'd read F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby and there's a very powerful androgynous female character in it called Jordan Baker so I became Jordan. (Jordan in Moody, 2017, s/p).

Pamela Rooke (1955-2022), better known in the London punk scene as Jordan Mooney, was the face of punk, or its avatar, as Green (2022) says in her obituary in the New York Times. Jordan was just 19 when she walked into the SEX shop. But she was already an unmistakable presence, with a style all his own. The designer Vivienne Westwood, who ran the shop along with Malcom MacLaren, who was not surprised by much, told her she had never seen anyone like her. It was inevitable that she would offer her a job in the shop. But she was more than an employee, she was the face of the shop, the thing that stuck in people's memory the most. You can see this in photographs from that time, where she is leaning against the entrance of the shop and men would stop in surprise looking at her. Dressed in torn S&M clothes, with political and Situationist slogans, and even swastikas, she embodied the ethos of the shop, its transgressive and revolutionary idea (Cardoso, 2022).

▸ Figure 4 – Vivienne Westwood, Jordan, Chrissie Hynde, Alan Jones, unknown, and Steve Jones
▸ Source: Mirrorpix/Getty Images

I wore a skirt in Brighton one day and someone asked me if I'd bought it at Let It Rock in London, and I'd never heard of the place. It was a fifties skirt, with musical notes done in gold filigree. Watermarked, moire... whatever it's called. I asked them where this shop was, cos I thought if I'm making this stuff up myself down here, scraping around, why not go up there and see if they've got anything to sell me direct, rather than search around for things. It was an original skirt, but someone was doing this stuff up in London, it was new. So already I was working on a parallel,

Jordan herself tells in her biography 'Defying Gravity: Jordan's Story' (Mooney & Unsworth, 2019) that travelling to work was an adventure. Because she took public transport and didn't shy away from dressing in SEX's style, she provoked equal doses of loathing and attraction. Either people would 'run away' from her or – mainly men - go to her side and pretend to read the paper. She admitted that 'men were confused by her. They would whistle, shout anything and everything, even offer me money, this was because they didn't understand why I was dressed like that' (Jordan in Tierney, 2019).

▸ Figure 5 – Jordan c.1977 wearing her self-customised Westwood/McLaren t-shirt, 'Let It Rock' labelled, 1974-75
▸ Source: https://www.kerrytaylorauctions.com/story/remembering-jordan-the-high-priestess-of-punk/

▸ Figure 6 – Jordan c. 1975 in a 'wet look' ensemble in SEX, circa 1975
▸ Source: https://www.kerrytaylorauctions.com/story/remembering-jordan-the-high-priestess-of-punk/

It was just my attitude. I thought I looked better than anyone else. I was very introverted, I know people thought I was an exhibitionist, but I was pretty stand-offish. Even today I don't take pictures smiling, because I think I look better when I don't smile. I felt powerful, and I think I looked powerful, I know I looked very intimidating. People were very worried, even the guy who eventually became my husband was very worried about coming in to see me. Adam was the same. By that time I'd built this reputation for myself. Yeah, and I didn't wear a coat or anything. Whatever I wore at work, because after I got the job I moved back here so I had to commute. I lost my flat in Sloane Square, Drayton Place, so I had to come back here and commute. I had a lot of trouble when I did it but there we are. What did I expect? The reaction was mixed, sometimes I'd get on a train and all I had on was stockings and suspenders and a top, that was it. People say it must have taken guts, but if it needed guts to do it, you wouldn't do it. You would look stupid creeping around the streets looking like that, worrying about what people were going to say. The fear part didn't come into it. Some of the commuters used to go absolutely wild, they loved it. Then you'd get ladies who'd say I was corrupting their son, and would I move? And I'd say, "well, you were here last, you move", or I asked the boy, "Am I corrupting you?" I even got the whole carriage once, "put your hands up if you think I'm corrupting this boy!" And everyone laughed, nobody put their hands up. The woman was absolutely furious, she went red with rage: "If I wanted my son to go and see a stripper on a train, I'd go and pay for him to see one!" – crazy. There's always one of those. That particular woman got up and left. Some of the men got rather hot under the collar, paper on the lap, yeah, there was absolutely nowhere you could

go where people wouldn't say something. It was just too blatant for them. People up on scaffolding would shout, there'd be tourists running, trying to get photos. This is long before it all burst, taking pictures of punks and what have you. I threw a camera out of the train one day. I know that German tourists are renowned for it, but they are really rude. (Jordan in Savage, 1988, s/p).

The SEX Shop's, and we might say Jordan's, most defining moment was when the Sex Pistols came out in 1975. Much has been written about the genesis of the band as a form of promotion devised by McLaren to promote the Sex shop. Jordan was part of the group's entourage and although he did not sing or play, he helped create further chaos by throwing chairs into the crowd or taunting the media when they appeared. The SEX Shop's, and we can also say Jordan's, most defining moment was when the Sex Pistols emerged in 1975. Much has been written about the genesis of the band as a form of promotion devised by McLaren to promote the Sex shop. Jordan was part of the group's entourage and although he didn't sing or play, he helped create further chaos by throwing chairs into the crowd or taunting the media when they appeared.

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Through her tight-knit friendship with McLaren and Westwood, Rooke was introduced to some of the most significant musicians and bands of her day. They included the Sex Pistols, for whom she became a de facto stylist, helping to shape their signature look of studded leather jackets, ripped T-shirts, and black suede creepers. She also served as an influential figure in the early years of Adam and the Ants, acting as the band's manager during their iconic Kings of the Wild Frontier days and even serving as a guest vocalist on their song "Lou," an ode to Lou Reed, during a BBC Radio 1 session overseen by the agenda-setting DJ John Peel. After marrying Rooke, bassist Kevin Mooney split off from Adam and the Ants to form Wide Boy Awake, which Rooke continued to manage throughout the 1980s. (...) Another pivotal friendship forged during these years—and arguably the one for which Jordan herself is best known—was with Derek Jarman, the genre-defying filmmaker and activist now remembered for his collaborations with a young Tilda Swinton in Caravaggio and Edward II. Rooke appeared in Jarman's debut film, Sebastiane, a queer retelling of the Saint Sebastian myth, before starring as the nihilistic Amyl Nitrate in his sophomore feature, Jubilee, the cult classic that pays homage to the rip-roaring spirit of '70s London punk. (She also made an appearance in the highly controversial first airing of the Sex Pistols' "Anarchy in the U.K." on British national television, standing at the front of the crowd in a T-shirt that read "only anarchists are pretty."). (Hess, 2022, s/p).

In addition to his Sex Pistols wanderings, Jordan also played an important role in the new wave or post-punk movement. She worked as manager and stylist for the band Adam and the Ants, and even featured in one of their songs called "Lou". In 1978 he had his cinematic role in the film Jubilee, directed by Derek Jarman and currently considered a classic. It was a film deeply influenced by punk aesthetics, and if you're talking about punk aesthetics, you can't miss Jordan, and that's exactly what Derek Jarman thought.

The 'Anarchy' shirt includes a swastika armband, which triggered a very serious argument. I was taken downstairs into the bowels of Granada TV to discuss it – I think it all happened in the Coronation Street dressing room, with all the clothes around us! The Sex Pistols wouldn't go on stage unless I was there. I wouldn't take the armband off; Malcolm wouldn't let me take the armband off; The Pistols wouldn't let me take the armband off, so there was a total impasse for a couple of hours. I wouldn't take it off because it was part of the make-up of the shirt, and I've always seen it as (a radical art statement) a desensitisation of the swastika as an emblem. It should be remembered that there was Karl Marx on one side and the swastika on the other. (Jordan in Baron, 2022).

► Figures 7 – Left: Jordan in British Vogue, December 1977. Right: New Musical Express magazine, 1977
► Source: https://www.kerrytaylorauctions.com/story/remembering-jordan-the-high-priestess-of-punk/

▸ Figure 8 – Jordan and Kevin on their wedding day, June 1981. Jordan is wearing a complete Westwood/McLaren 'Pirate' ensemble with a pair of 'Platypus' shoes
▸ Source: https://www.kerrytaylorauctions.com/story/remembering-jordan-the-high-priestess-of-punk/

In the early 1980s Jordan married Kevin Mooney, then drummer for Adam and the Ants. Apart from being immediately fired by Vivienne Westwood, for whom the marriage would be nothing more than a bourgeois remnant and irreconcilable with SEX's ethos, the truth is that the marriage was short-lived and very unhappy. It was a time when she reinvented herself and became a Burmese cat breeder and a veterinary nurse. Animal advocacy was one of her causes until the end of her days.

Defying Gravity, her candid new memoir, follows punk's rapid rise and fall, as well as her own evolution from keen ballet student to the Boudicca of new wave. It's the poignant tale of a small-town girl who dared to be different. "My mother wanted a girly kind of girl and that was never going to happen," she says. "She absolutely hated the way I looked and would walk several yards behind me on the street. I regret the anguish I caused." (…) Why Jordan decided not merely to be different, but to cause chaos with her appearance remains largely unexplained by the book. "Ballet taught me a lot of things: how to be strict with myself, how to work through pain," she says. "It taught me how to dress up and express myself. I didn't want to be scripted. I wanted to live my life in an impromptu and spontaneous way.". (Jordan in Tierney, 2019).

Few people are better prepared than Jon Savage to talk about English punk. Savage says that if there are people who embody an era, Jordan was one of them. Young people, dissatisfied with the England of the 1970s and the beginning of Margaret Thatcher's rule, looked at her and saw an icon.

The only thing I think is very clear is that England is an enormous source of fashion, music, hair, the lot. You have this artistic freedom, no matter who's in government, Thatcher, whoever. I still believe that Thatcher will not get us down. I know we're under another repressive phase now, as you say, possession-gaining, of being in your own plot and being safe and happy, but the rest of the world looks to England, and every now and then England comes up with it. I really believe that this is the place to be if you want to express yourself in any form of art. If you want a really great haircut, England is the place to get it. And I've been

all over America, lots and lots of places. I can't put my finger on what was the catalyst for it all. I think that quite a powerful part of it was the particular English sexuality. The key to the whole thing is Sex, whether in the shop Sex or in the Sex Pistols. It was important in those days to be able to express yourself. I found very quickly that I was the advert for the shop, and there was no rehearsals, there was no indoctrination. I had to go to do an article with a Russian journalist who was sure that there was a hard and fast political reason for this happening here. Because that's the way Russians think. He thought the whole culture of punk was politically based somewhere. Like the Labour Party, that we all went to a place and had a meeting and it was the overthrow of the government, this terrible Russian paranoia coming out. I could not make him understand that there is still, amongst all this repression, that there was a certain amount of freedom that allowed people to do this, that nobody was going to jump out with a cosh, the police weren't going to come storming down the street in armoured cars and beat up all the punks. (Jordan in Savage, 1988, s/p).

It stayed that way for the rest of his life. Whenever punk was mentioned, Jordan was mentioned. With the return of nostalgia, as Reynolds tells us, there was more and more interest in his life, which resulted in the biography 'Defying Gravity: Jordan's Story', published in 2019. And it was with great pride that Jordan was present, as key-speaker, at the 4th edition of KISMIF 2018, "What difference do DIY cultures make?", in which she even addressed the issue of ageing as a punk and especially as a punk woman who does not bow down to social conventions. Very soon there will be a mini-series about the Sex Pistols called Sex. One of the main characters will be Jordan, of course. She will be played by Maisie Williams, a British actress who became world-famous playing Arya Stark in the TV series Game of Thrones.

▶ Figure 10 – Jordan with John Robb at KISMIF Conference 2018 in Porto
▶ Source: KISMIF.

Adam and I lost an awful lot of confidence in the punks because there were still a lot of punky people who were fans of Adam, believe it or not, even though he caught all that young audience, and they begged him to go and do these concerts and he went and did the Hammersmith Odeon as a warm up for the American tour, and no punks were there. So they were a big let down. It was all these young kids who had grown up a bit that turned up. I don't quite know what goes on with punks any more, I don't see many around, I don't know where they go, I don't know if they have revival meetings, or what. I was on the train not so long ago and there was this girl sitting opposite me, in a floral dress and a big hippy hat and lots of bells around her neck, flowers in her hair, and she looked at me really odd for about half an hour and said, you're Jordan, aren't you? I can tell by your profile. I said yes. 'She used to be a punk', I thought, this is really odd. (Jordan in Savage, 1988, s/p).

Today as we remember her memory, perhaps it is time to remember her words as Amyl Nitrite in the film Jubilee: 'Our school motto was "Faites vos désirs réalités" … Make your desires reality. I myself preferred the song 'Don't Dream It, Be It''.

Following the deaths of Sid Vicious and Nancy Spungen and her divorce from Mooney in 1984, Rooke retreated from the scene that made her name, returning to East Sussex to live a significantly quieter life as a veterinary nurse and a breeder of Burmese cats. "Things had become too hectic," she told The Guardian in 2019. "It sounds really corny, but normality saved my life." In recent years, she had begun a return to the spotlight with the 2019 release of her memoir, Defying Gravity: Jordan's Story, for which she made a number of public appearances and began granting interviews once again. So too is there set to be a revival of interest in Rooke's life story with the release of Danny Boyle's FX miniseries Pistol, a retelling of the Sex Pistols' rise to notoriety in which Rooke is played by Maisie Williams of Game of Thrones. Among those who paid tribute to her today were Glen Matlock and Boy George, who honored both her fearlessness and her pioneering sense of style. "The world seemed very gray, and I was determined to brighten it up a bit," she told Another Magazine in 2017. With her enduring legacy across the worlds of music and fashion, Rooke did just that. (Hess, 2022, s/p).

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▶ Figure 10 – Jordan with Matt Worley and Paula Guerra at KISMIF Conference 2018 in Porto
▶ Source: KISMIF.

► Figure 11 – Jordan with Paula Guerra and John Robb at KISMIF Conference 2018 in Porto
► Source: KISMIF.

'Transgressio global'. An introduction to DIY cultures and its connection to global challenges

Paula Guerra[3] **and Sofia Sousa**[4]

> ## Here in this Babylon
> ## Where matter comes from
> ## How much evil the world creates
> ## Here where pure Love has no value
>
> (Pop Dell'Arte, 2020) [Our translation]

The fifth KISMIF International Conference "Keep It Simple, Make It Fast!" (KISMIF) with the theme "DIY Cultures and Global Challenges", was held at the Faculty of Arts, University of Porto, Portugal, between 6 and 10 July 2021, according to a hybrid format. As usual, the scientific programme of KISMIF was accompanied by a diverse cultural and artistic programme, overcoming the difficulties imposed by the world pandemic, caused by the commonly known coronavirus. The highlight of the conference, in our understanding, was the participation as key speaker of Paulo Furtado, also known as Legendary Tigerman[5] - an artist of national renown - and the performance - at the Rivoli Theatre - of Tó Trips[6], member of one of the most infamous Portuguese bands, Dead Combo[7]. Given the restrictions caused by the pandemic in the culture sector, having the opportunity to take part in a conversation with two such important artists - and getting the chance to see a show after almost two years - was undoubtedly a milestone. It is unique moments like this that highlight the KISMIF Conference and make it a unique space for sharing, as well as the epitome of multidisciplinarity. Furthermore, we cannot fail to highlight the importance of the KISMIF Summer School - which precedes the KISMIF Conference - entitled 'Not Just Holidays in the Sun'[8], which took place on 6 July 2021, at the Rivoli Theatre. The KISMIF Conference offered a unique forum for discussion on DIY Cultures and Global Challenges. KISMIF is, to date, the only conference that provides a scientific and cultural programme focused on the debate around social change as well as dedicated to underground cultures and movement. Thus, in this fifth edition, debates that combined DIY, punk movements, gender, and other global challenges were a touchstone, along with artistic contents (photo exhibitions, documentary screenings, concerts and performances) that also marked a position vis-à-vis the current situation experienced in contemporary societies of the Global North and South.

Importantly, since the 1970s, conceptions around do-it-yourself (DIY) cultures have evolved. They are no longer associated with an ethos focused on punk movements but are now intertwined with a broader aesthetic of supporting alternative modes of production (Bennett, 2018; Guerra, 2018). While by no means eschewing anti-hegemonic concerns, this transformation of DIY into what might reasonably be termed a global 'alternative culture' has also seen it evolve to a level of professionalism aimed for ensuring cultural

and, where possible, economic sustainability. During a period in which the very concept of culture is the object of various attempts at hyper-commodification under the ever-broadening banner of the 'cultural industries', those many cultural practitioners who wish to remain independent have, at the same time, benefited from the increasing emphasis on cultural production, performance and consumption in urban centres. Indeed, such individuals have often been able to hone creative skills acquired while they were participants in underground and alternative cultural scenes to be used in ongoing careers as DIY cultural entrepreneurs (Bennett & Guerra, 2019). In the 1950s, DIY assumed a critical resonance within the Situationist International, an artistic and cultural movement that sought to satirise and denounce the contradictions of capitalist consumer society (Debord, 1992) through the creation of countercultural artistic objects that opposed dominant cultural representations and used new forms of communication, such as manifestos and fanzines, to awaken a feeling that the ordre des choses [the order of things] could be changed. This artistic and cultural movement advocated the reconversion of symbols representing the status quo into forms of symbolic and ideological resistance. Due to the artistic Dadaist movement; a movement that defended spontaneous art - at the beginning of the twentieth century - the Situationists turned these practices of re-appropriation into something recurrent, taking as their motto the rupture with the original meaning of symbols and objects, to emphasise forms of resistance, logics and discourses that denounce societies and behaviours that oppose capitalist society. Twenty years later, the DIY ethos of the Situationists was dramatically resurrected in punk, a scene that coalesced youth sensibilities and aesthetic understandings of music and style at a critical point of socioeconomic crisis (Hebdige, 1979).

Now, fifty years later, we see that this DIY ethos and praxis is used in a comprehensive way, no longer tied to punk movements. In fact, what we intend to demonstrate in this book is that the DIY ethos is currently used as a combat weapon in the face of global challenges – environmental, social, economic, political, cultural, amongst others (Berglund & Kohtala, 2020) -, as well as being seen as an oppositional tool in the face of still striking social inequalities. Moreover, sustainability, green movements, ecology and other social movements are the greatest exponent of DIY representation in the societies of the Global North and South. In this way, we can see that DIY and global 'alternative' culture are much more than music. They are also spaces, gender inequalities, migrations, communities, production challenges and intermediation, tribes and ageing. Indeed, DIY and global 'alternative' cultures also fit into heritage, theoretical and methodological dilemmas, pedagogies and social interventions, while they are present in political agendas, aesthetics, micro-economies, peripheries and social emancipation. They can also be found in music-making, cultural work, contemporary processes of decolonisation, well-being and global health crises. The notion of DIY cultures has undergone significant transformation since the mid-1970s, when its associations with youth, music and style first manifested in the shape of punk. With this project, we intend to delineate and define a new framework of DIY culture and cultural practice that can be applied in more contemporary global settings.

The underground—the loose term that brings together notions of youth conviviality, artistic production, mainstream defiance and ritual performance—is essentially a collective creative network (Willis, 1977) that expresses everyday aesthetics in youth culture contexts. The DIY ethos is represented as a strongly valued asset in community-based amateur music practice that goes hand in hand with the underground world (Guerra & Bennett, 2015; Bennett & Guerra, 2019). The underground appears, then, as a claim from artists-activists to a unique artistic expression, or a counterpointed authentic experience—not without its internal contradictions and ambiguities—against the market and dominant artistic conventions. It is, however, possible to analyse this space as including multiple socialisation processes in a social sphere in which stratification factors, such as class or school capital, are played in a symbolic experimentation, opening up the possibility for new cultural practices and trajectories, including artistic therapies, citizen participation in the arts.

DIY cultures, lifestyles, and vibrant new forms of sociality. Clearly, while practices of cultural production remain core to the ethos of contemporary DIY, it is most clearly distinguished from its early years by a broader lifestyle philosophy and a more diverse approach that extend across a range of everyday activities. The concept of lifestyle was originally applied in sociology to consider how aspects of social status and standing were articulated through displays of material wealth and conspicuous consumption. Lifestyle again became fashionable in sociology during the late twentieth century when, in the wake of the cultural turn (Chaney, 1994), the significance of cultural consumption again came to the fore as a means to explain the basis of individual and collective identities in late modern social settings. The appropriation of DIY principles

and practices by many individuals in late modernity speaks of their opposition—both personal and in many cases collective—to the tightening grip of neoliberalism in a global context (Day, 2016). By opting to pursue a lifestyle based around DIY ideology and practice, individuals can articulate more incisively their sense of distance from the institutional and cultural politics of the neoliberal urban existence, showing that their differences—usually regarded as excluding in the current framework—can become their inclusive power in a European project with manifold fragmentations. As themes of culture and creativity are sucked into discourses framed around the related concepts of the 'creative class' and 'creative city' (Banks, 2007), adopting a DIY stance that spans aspects of work and leisure, public and private, individuals create and maintain habitable spaces on the margins of this rapid urban transformation (Kirchberg, 2016). In addition to the rhetoric of creative industries, DIY culture and practice also signify vibrant new forms of sociality. In the late nineteenth century, Simmel's (1950) innovative writing on cities and urban crowds pointed to the dual effect of anonymity as simultaneously liberating and exposing the ongoing desire of individuals to achieve a sense of community and belonging.

44 Indeed, in this book we can get a glimpse of the plasticity of this concept, in the sense that it can be adapted to various axes of social life, individuals and communities, as well as often being understood as a life-board in relation to the world of life. A set of characteristics of DIY culture make it simultaneously an object for study and a starting point for pedagogical modalities that enable the social inclusion and empowerment of individuals and groups at the margins of society. Understanding DIY as a cultural form defined by a set of values in opposition to normative and mainstream cultural modalities—as a 'space' of freedom—we present our viewpoint to mount a critique of formal models of education, focusing on inequalities inherent in or associated with these models and addressing the 'hidden curriculum', the ideological apparatuses of the state and new forms of 'pedagogy of the oppressed' (Santos & Guerra, 2017).

According to a contemporary philosophical viewpoint, the very notion of truth is deconstructed; this applies even to artistic truth, in terms of questioning the extent to which its perception depends on the relation between dominant forces in a specific context, on the established powers. The consequent struggles of power to maintain aesthetic and artistic structures are regarded as authentic and dominant. Given the multiple narratives, creative processes, aesthetics, social artistic and non-artistic actors, professional

and/or amateur careers in play, DIY cultures were and still are essential to deconstruct those absolute truths about the arts. They are particularly relevant today for post-truth purposes — as a critical stance aiming for the relationship with information and truth to be decolonised from its power as a means to an end. There is a greater public need for ethical/moral awareness of the rapprochement of world perceptions and the experienced reality. Going against the traditional established divide between the work involved in art and science, the collaborations between social scientists and artists call into question the standard view of scientific practices based on the assumption of a clear divide between its methodical and discursive procedures and those that shape the art practices (Horner, 2016; Zamenopoulos & Alexiou, 2018). Yet a distinct assumption is embodied by the art worlds regarding the unfeasible nature of discourses and reflexive and interventionist practices of social science and humanities on this very world.

According to Guerra (2021), DIY is a hot topic. Co n everything, despite the existence of immense studies on DIY, the same continues to reinvent itself and emerge with new mutations and associated with different practices. The term do-it-yourself has itself become a common term in most research on music. In parallel and in more recent times, the term has been increasingly associated with issues such as those of resistance or survival (Guerra, 2021). For many, more than resisting, DIY has emerged as a way of surviving at the heart of capitalist societies. This issue is even more evident in countries of the Global South, but also in countries that belong to the Global North, but which have characteristics of countries of the South, such as Portugal. In the case of artists, the difficulties they face in maintaining themselves or standing out within the music industry often make DIY the only way or alternative for their survival. Concomitantly, DIY has also emerged as a means to connect with others who have similar life experiences

Drawing from the KISMIF Conference 2021 Programme, this book is organised into ten parts, or rather ten 'Theme Tunes'. The first Theme Tune is entitled 'Not the Last of the Mohicans. Punk, Metamorphosis, Reinventions and Utopias'. This theme discusses punk as a form of resistance and its links with the various local contexts that characterise it, as well as its relationship with territories. Moreover, its metamorphoses are also taken into account, especially with regard to the transition from the 1990s to the early 2000s and, of course, the ways in which this subculture has adapted to the most diverse geographical and digital contexts. The first chapter emphasizes the bias gender representations

in the rock press in 1980, that is, it addresses how sexism by language stereotyping. Such analysis is made sharing the collection and treatment of the speeches referring to the magazine Rolling Stone (U.S), to NME (UK), and Vibraciones (Spain), during the decade of 1980. The second chapter, traces concepts of authenticity and social ethics of punk rock communities in Detroit from the origins of punk to the 1990s Garage scene. Thus, the author sketches the social context as well as ideas of what it meant to be punk and make punk music. The third chapter in this Theme Song, focuses on an investigation into older subculturists, and their involvement in punk communities and other subcultures, with youth-based movements as the starting point. The fourth chapter aims to analyse the relationship between hardcore punk and skateboarding, highlighting the fact that many artists with a background in hardcore punk, skateboarding and/or DIY ethics are developing a very influential career in a current art scene. The fifth chapter focuses on a constant resignification of punk since the early 1980s, based on the analysis of ethnography with participant observation, interviews and documentary research.

The second Theme Tune 'One Way or Another: Underground Cultures, Alternative Economies and Creativity' is composed of diverse contributions, of which three are performances. This is an anchor line of our programming that has been highlighted and consolidated since 2014. This programmatic line is dedicated to the multiple manifestations of underground cultures, alternative economies, and creativity, with DIY being the aggregating element of the enunciated communications. Thus, themes such as fashion, creative processes, careers and music industries are a constant and the basis that supports the organization of this theme. The first chapter presented emphasizes DIY in (sub)cultures like Rebetiko - a style of folk music that originated at the end of the nineteenth century by marginal people in prisons and ports of Greece - and blues. On the other hand, the second chapter is about immersive technological DIY environments, that is, it focuses on a reflection around improvisation and the creation of instruments in a DIY logic. The third chapter of this Theme Tune, highlights the panorama of the new sustainable cultures, having as starting point the perspectives of Cultural Studies. The focus of the chapter is on the analysis of the uses and discourses of Brazilians on collaborative consumption application devices. The fourth chapter that composes this Theme Tune approaches the significance of the Tokyo district Harajuku for the fashion scene, based on a reflection around its historical origins. In parallel, the fifth chapter emphasizes the emergence of a DIY praxis in Thessaloniki Greece, during the 1980s, a

decade in which Greece was facing the effort of the neoliberal political and ideological domination and institutionalization.

Moving on to the third Theme Tune, this one is called 'Last Gang in Town: Archives, Memory, Heritage, Alternative Media and Nostalgia' e seeks to create a debate around themes such as archives, memory, heritage, alternative media and nostalgia. Thus, topics such as local identities and modes of resistance are issues that will be emphasized, as well as heritage and the performativity of memory. The first chapter of this Theme Tune is related to metal album covers, that is, it highlights the connection of black metal to ambience, emphasizing the presence of nostalgic feelings. The second chapter is about presenting the relationship between the countercultural tradition of do-it-yourself (DIY), alternative media production and

non-traditional skateboarders, that is, it is a chapter that aims to affirm the weak representation of the skateboarding industry in the media. Therefore, the third chapter focuses on Resurrection Fest and its origins, as well as establishing a historical diachronic analysis about its programmatic lines. The fourth chapter refers to the evolution of the concept of 'festival', namely its social effervescence and the fact that this evolution has given rise to new perspectives on cultural sciences. Finally, the fifth chapter demonstrates the potential of the application of visual ethnography and netnography to the (ethnographic?) musicological analysis of online sound cultures, with the cyberculture of Alma do Norte and The Twisted Wheel club as an empirical base.

As for the fourth Theme Tune 'Turns and Strokes: Places, Spaces, Networks and Music Scenes', we find
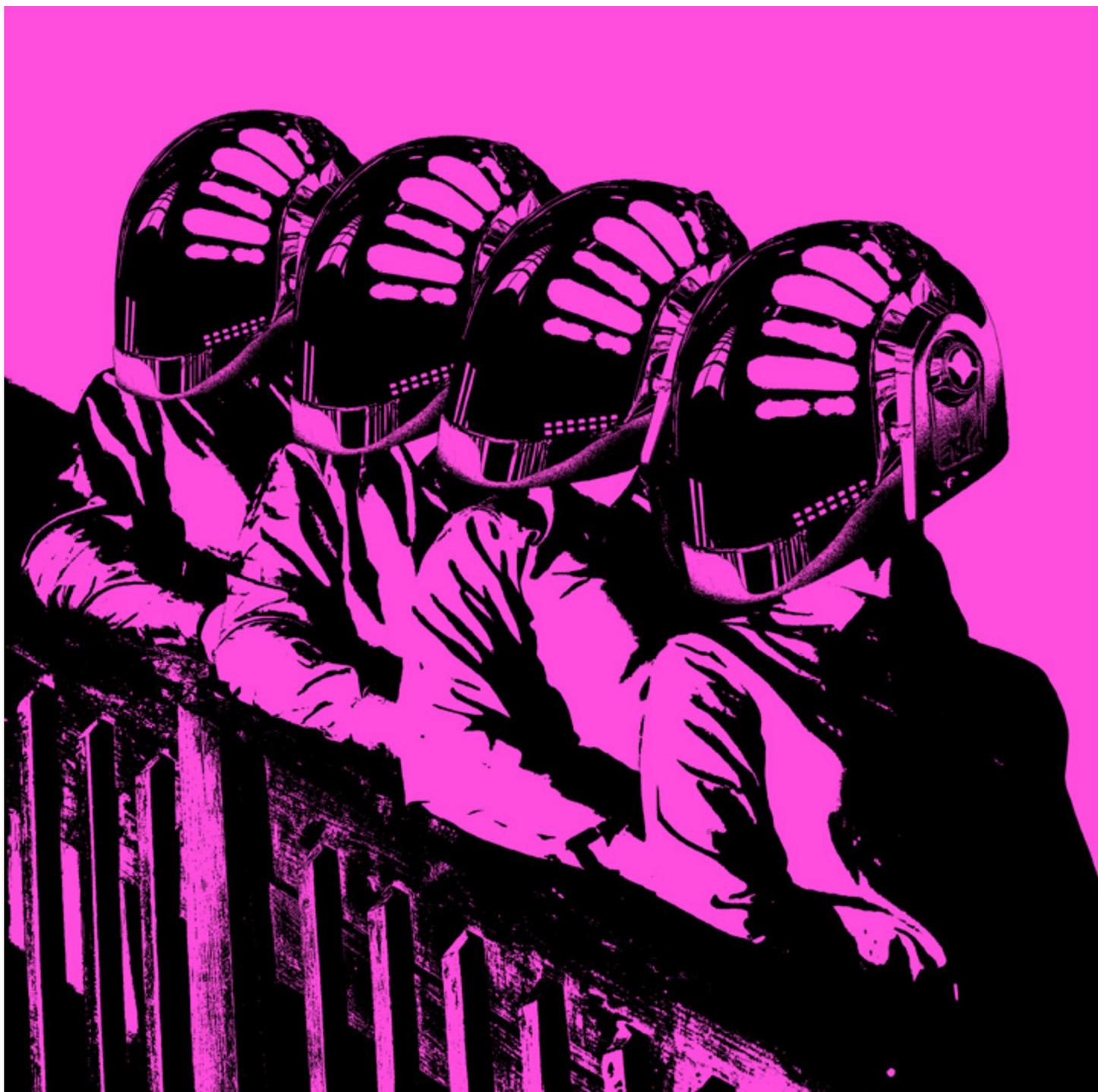
reflections and approaches around cities and the changes provoked in the urban space through the arts, more specifically through music, eventually also being present cultural heritages and territorial resistance. The first chapter of this Theme Tune is concerned with a reflection around the growing emergence of urban transmedia festivals in the European cultural landscape and beyond, constituting an alternative to other, more dominant, conceptions of music festivals. Concomitantly, the second chapter involves a discussion about the independent experimental music scene in São Paulo, namely at the level of its organization, as well as the factors that make this scene resist to the obstacles imposed by the pandemic. The third chapter links rock performances and lifestyles, in the sense that it advocates an approach to the epitome sex, drugs and rock'n'roll in the Portuguese context. It is a chapter that aims to analyse representations and stereotyping. The fourth chapter examines the difficulties experienced by Brazilian musicians within the indie rock genre, based on Deleuze's philosophy of difference. The fifth chapter looks at the role of technology in the construction of Latin American culture and identity as a complex and everchanging topic, applied to the Latin American context. The sixth chapter that makes up this Tune Topic emphasises the racist, sexist and homophobic referential framework of the world's big clubs. In an interesting approach, an author describes how black and white lesbians created their own queer music scenes in liminal spaces in London in the 1980s and 1990s. The seventh chapter, set in Curitiba, Brazil, enlightens the reader about the elements surrounding the subjective and cultural expressiveness generated from the popularisation of music composition and production methods.

Moving on a little further and having introduced about half of our Theme Tunes, we introduce the fifth Theme entitled 'Gender is Dead. Pink is Forever: Gener, (Post)-Feminism, Gender and Sexual Politics and Artistic-Cultural Work'. We started with the theme of the body. In the first chapter, the development of fat activism in Brazil is analysed considering Elisa Queiroz's artworks, that is, the works of this artist develop dialogues related to visual arts and her body, reflecting on prejudices still strongly present in Brazil and offering a rethinking and re-envisioning of the fat body. In the second chapter, Dancehall becomes a touchstone, in the sense that this genre is presented as a means of conveying acts of resistance to the difficulties faced by the Jamaican population. The third chapter focuses on the presentation of ways of re-reading the photomontages and paintings of Dadaist Hannah Höch: an avant-garde female member of the Dadaist movement. Thus, the disruptive language in her photomontages and photomontage paintings is emphasized, evidenced by the selection and decontextualization of images/forms and their relocation in terms of dialogue or conflict. In the fourth chapter of this Theme Tune, pop music and its statement in musicology is described. So, in this chapter genesis is portrayed as the impact of the 1980s genre of pop music. In the fifth chapter, we advance to the field of visual and written artistic productions: the fanzines. This chapter aims to confront the idea of space around feminist and queer zines in Spain and Portugal, based on the contributions of gender studies. As for the sixth chapter, a cross between camp aesthetics and the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute is made, while establishing a relation with the LGBTQIA+ community.

In the sixth Theme Tune 'Critical Pedagogies, Artistic Cultures and Alternative Cultures', the focus is on critical pedagogies and on artistic and alternative cultures. Within such a broad theme, we can highlight the presence of papers that will address topics such as participatory cultures, music education and punk pedagogies, but also alternative and emancipatory methodologies. Thus, in the first chapter, we present an analysis of the educational potential of cycling, questioning its impact on biopsychosocial development, participation in urban space and the construction of educating cities. In the second chapter of this Theme Tune, we begin with a framework referring to the pandemic, which temporarily transformed the way music was heard in East London. From this statement, the author argues for the emergence of a radical and empathetic listening that transcends taste and the perceived right to silence, i.e. the creation of ad-hoc, temporary music spaces is a joyful aestheticisation of the city. In the third chapter, we are faced with an ethnographic analysis of the gypsy community, which aims to overcome some ethical constraints. The fourth chapter analyses a self-managed network of women who are dedicated to the musical promotion of women, seeking to strengthen their self-esteem and awaken in them an interest in music. The members are feminist artists and activists, many linked to the Porto Alegre punk scene, which is predominantly occupied by men.

As for the seventh Theme Tune 'Out of Control: Underground Music Scenes and DIY Cultures Facing a Global Health Crisis', it is important to mention that we are facing a theme that is experienced worldwide, that is, the effects, consequences and challenges imposed by the pandemic of COVID-19. The focus lies in understanding the challenges imposed by the pandemic on artistic activities, both at the level of consumption spaces and in terms of music-making processes. In the first chapter of this Theme, the impact of the pandemic on the cultural sector is discussed, a couple of a focus on possible alternatives to mitigate the negative impacts of

future crises through the analysis of digital options and small-scale collaborative spaces in Berlin, Germany. In turn, the second chapter studies how participants' reflections in dance music scenes regarding the impact of the COVID-19 regulation, starting from an ethnographic approach, carried out from Facebook Group discussions, an online survey, and interviews. The third chapter - in an interesting and innovative approach - presents a field guide to the creation of an art installation as a case study of the research process, its entanglement with the more-than-human and casual. Then, the process of creating the art installation is presented in relation to an epistemological corpus intertwined by its recognition of e-aesthetics as a disruptive form of conjunctive sense perception and collective prehension. The fourth chapter has as case study the Electronic Music Studio, and in this interstice, the author develops a reflection around the ways studios adopt experimental methodologies and defy a hegemonic definition of the laboratory. In the case of the fifth chapter, an investigation is proposed based on the structuring of this theatrical performance through the media apparatus, and the expansion of the notion of presence in an increasingly connected world. In the sixth chapter, DIY and its importance in times of global health crisis are discussed, i.e. the processes of resistance and adaptation on the part of musicians during the quarantine periods in Turkey. Similarly, a theoretical and empirical reflection of the same nature is presented in the seventh chapter, focusing - in this case - on the Portuguese context.

In the eighth theme 'Protest and Survival: Protest, Artivism and New Social Movements', we presented chapters that revolve around protests, artivism and social movements, namely at the level of new forms of protest and claim for the right to the city, artivism, resistance and new life policies. Once again, the digital field has great emphasis, especially in the field of resistance, assuming itself as a weapon of contestation and claim, as well as of innovation and creation of protest imaginaries. Thus, the first chapter hypothesises that the recognition and appreciation of informal housing can provide relevant contributions to the construction of such alternative discourses. The authors examine its contributions to aesthetic and social diversity, and the opportunities it presents for participation in the construction of Western urban landscapes. In the Second chapter, we turn our focus to Turkey, and in that sense, the analytical gaze resides on the Darağaç Collective to discuss the effects of independent art spaces and artistic initiatives on regional and urban transformation, from the adoption of a methodology of a qualitative nature. In the third chapter, the construction of networks for women within the music industry is discussed, focusing on two projects from the Global South: Raia and Women Walk Together to reveal important changes in digital activism, the feminist movement of the 21st century, and the music industry itself. In the fourth chapter of this Theme Tune, Odin Teatret is presented: a theatre company based in Denmark since 1964; with the aim of discussing strategies, such as theatre research, artistic and intellectual encounters, working demonstrations, and publishing practices; and how they have influenced the company's artistic work and theatre pedagogy. In the fifth chapter, the focus lies on an analysis about Russian Hip-Hop and the anti-Rap campaign, Academically under investigation in the last quarter of 2018, with the underlying aim of illustrating identity processes and feelings of belonging.

In the ninth Theme Tune 'Transglobal Artistic Conspiracy. Cultural and Creative Work and Public Policies', public policies and their relationship with cultural and creative work are emphasised. On the one hand, the new processes of artification and contemporary perspectives towards art, cultural management and ecosystems of creation and cultural dissemination are mentioned. As it could not be missing, the challenges that creative and cultural work faces, projects and mediations and, of course, professional participation in cultural and artistic activities will also be emphasised. The first chapter deals with Graffiti Writing - a visual movement from the 70's - the aim being to define representation strategies and narrative reconstruction to document the revelation and memories of this subculture in a specific geographical context, through the project of an animated short film. In the second chapter, the development of a perspective for the cultural manager is discussed focusing on the demonstration of the importance of communication as a fundamental tool to capture and retain local audiences, having as principle the adoption of a hybrid and exploratory study. As regards the third chapter in this Theme Tune, it is concerned with the discussion around the use of personas and proto-personas on the experience of art museum visitors. Its object of study is the educational services of art museums focusing on children and young people up to the age of 18. As a hybrid and conceptual/ exploratory study, qualitative methodology, constructivist paradigm and a design approach are used. The fourth chapter aims to highlight the importance of the 1975 Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen exhibition at the Palazzzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara, Italy, and Pier Paolo Pasolini's writings on the theme of the exhibition: transvestitism, adopting a perspective of interdisciplinary intersection in the artistic field.

Finally, our tenth and last Theme Tune 'Decolonized Art Worlds. Global, Societal Challenges and Artistic

Urgencies'. Here we find approaches concerning the decolonisation processes of the art world, but also global social challenges and artistic urgencies. In this analytical interstice, themes such as protest song, indigenous communities, migratory movements, new movements and different individual and collective transits and their respective impacts on a transglobal society of arts and music emerge. Furthermore, the Global South and issues such as precarity, decolonisation and gender are highlighted, along with divergences between the Global South and the North. Indeed, the first chapter addresses debates within the Western/Northern academic circuits about the value of subculture, and about the conceptualisation of the everyday lives and realities of various cultural phenomena around the world. In the second chapter, the theme of colonial narratives is emphasised, as well as introducing the concept of post-photography. Then, in the chapter is referred to a hybrid and existential reflection on the potential of path-pointing images, or "resolving" images, a term used by the farmer and quilombola leader. As for the third chapter, a Greek-Cypriot dialect hip-hop is discussed from a triple framework of dissidence, using the pillars of language, market and society, while they are recognised as ways in which DIY cultures and the possibilities brought about by technology and the media are developed. In the fourth chapter an analysis is made of the band Mano Negra, a group famous for different cultural elements in language, music and art, as well as for their punk rock attitude. Thus, global challenges are the focus of this chapter.

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Theme tune 1
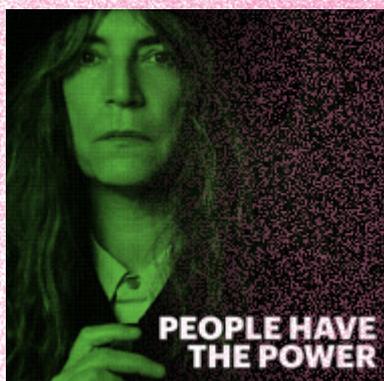
'Not the last of the mohicans'. Punk, meta-morphosis, reinven-tions and utopias

1.1 Misogynism in music press and punk feminism in the 1980s

Angels Bronsoms[1]

✕ Abstract

The present research emphasizes on the bias gender representations in the rock press in 1980, and how sexism was executed by language stereotyping, a factuality that transcended time and geographies. To prove this hypothesis and the *modus operandi* of the gatekeepers within groups and institutions, the methodology consisted of both a quantitative and qualitative content analysis with a gender perspective of a sample of 35 magazines: Rolling Stone (U.S), NME (UK), and Vibraciones (Spain) in 1980. In that scenario, the empowerment of a pioneering punk generation of females favored inclusive representations of gender breaking with current sex-gender stereotypes. The interviewees: Exene Cervenka and Alice Bag in the US, Gaye Black and Gina Birch in the UK and Loles Vazquez in Spain demonstrate how their resilience allowed them to overcome the obstacles of a patriarchal and androcentric music industry.

Keywords: gender, music press, punk feminism, stereotypes, 1980.

Introduction

The current research emphasizes the role of music press in the invisibility of women in the pop and rock music industry, and how today it is still difficult to break gender stereotypes and be marketed equally. The period of study is focused between 1975-1985, both in the US (California), U.K and Spain, in order to stablish a comparative between societies and provide with a deeper study of behaviors and its effects. The analysis of gender bias is crucial to understand the discriminatory impact. The research is focused on the precocious, and pioneer, generation of women in the punk subculture born in the late 50's and 60's. The aim is to understand how their contributions have been erased from music history and to what extent is the media responsible for misogynic paradigm. Byerly (1999, p. 99) refer to this pattern as "…persistent problems of omission, stereotyping, and trivialization of women's lives in media content…"

The social and economic context in which these women started their careers is relevant to understand how decisions about their bodies were made and what were the canons of femininity dominating the music industry. Women maintained a secondary position in society where they had to claim an identity, deconstruct traditional stereotypes that came along from a patriarchal society -perpetuated in rock music- and overcome obstacles like sexual aggression, exploitation, unfair pay, condescension, and exclusion.

The study expands previous research by the author: *How pop music influenced young women's fashion in Spain in the late 70's and 80's* (Bronsoms, 2017). In that paper, one of the objectives was to prove the sociological implications of music industry influence in the fashion choices within a generation in Spain, illustrating a common pattern in other capitals of the world. In addition, the author's research proved the media's influence on cultural inputs like street art, movies and music videos. The research proves that women in the pre internet era, with their attitudes, corporal aesthetics, sexuality and style were defining their fashion through music. Music served the fashion industry in the construction of identities and individualities.

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Gender and music were the subject on the foundation of *Animals de rock & roll* (Bronsoms, 2007). The book is formatted as a series of interviews with key figures in the multi-formed post hippy culture in Spain. The 1970's zeitgeist in Spain introduced new artistic trends, defining how women used body aesthetics, such as hair and garment styling, to claim the glamour. That movement could not be synthesized with the reductionist slogan of sex, drugs, and rock'n'roll, because its texture was far more complex.

Both studies did only scratch the surface of a powerful and rich subject. A transformative critical thinking was shaping through learning about dress and identity. Women were learning how their body could serve as a means of communication expressing obedience or rebellion to social norms within predetermined social and cultural contexts defined by time and place.

Although the presence of women in music is an indisputable fact, the proportion of women performing live music is not representative of the number of women in the music industry or even in the world. Women's roles in the media in the 1970's were relegated to music journalism, which represented a minority, often excluded from popular discourse. The male dominated and often misogynistic media field, driven by a patriarchal society, has made the contributions of the artists in rock music invisible. "Perhaps the most common way in which journalists treat female performers is to ignore them completely" (Davies, 2001, p. 302).

The quest for more answers has become the object of study of the present PhD research.

Theoretical framework of the research

At a theoretical level, and through the feminism theory (Millett, 2017; Hooks, 2000; Mulvey, 1975), we have positioned the subject as the main agent in the constitution of their gender identity (Butler, 2002; Lauretis, 1989), and how socially, this gender assignment, entails a series of roles and stereotypes (McLeod, 2002; Quin, 1996). The importance of dress and appearance in the subcultures was approached with an ethnological angle (Albertine, 2017; O'Brien, 2018, 2012). Leblanc (2008), debates how to reconcile the identity encoded as masculine, with the rebellion of women against gender stereotypes admitting that in the punk scene women and femininity were not entirely welcome.

There were also outlined the references in the analysis of the gender representation (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011) that allow us to provide a categorization of gender stereotypes with variables focused on visual elements and in the gaze of the interpreter and the recipient of the same. It was also revealing and fundamental the work of categorization of stereotypes carried out by the specialists in gender and communication, Franquet, Luzón and Ramajo (2007) as well as Lagarde (1996):

> *This perspective recognises the diversity of genders and the existence of women and men as an essential principle in the construction of a diverse and democratic humanity. The gender perspective gives a different name to known things, makes hidden facts evident and gives them other meanings. (Lagarde, 1996, p. 13).*

The sources considered included Indicator's Manual (GISM) prepared by UNESCO (2014) to evaluate the sensitivity in media content which cites the media as responsible for the opinion formation about gender equality and gender-based stereotypes. Other sources included the *Manual sobre Género en la investigación* (European Commission, 2009)[2] and *The Sager Guide, Sex and Gender Equity in Research* (Heidari, et al., 2016)[3] prepared by the Committee of Gender Policy of the European Association of Science Publishers.

The chosen literature has provided the framework to illustrate the role of media as gatekeeping[4] actors in framing and excluding women's participation. "Gatekeepers are those who, very often, mediate not just between artists and audiences, but between artists and opportunity" (Hooper, 2019, p. 137). The herstory of women in music journalism and photography helped to fulfill the blanks and reinforced the argument that feminist empowerment and their struggle was crucial to vindicating the right of women to be present in the music discourse.

2. Available at: https://www.csic.es/sites/www.csic.es/files/manual_de_genero_en_la_invesigacion.pdf

3. Available at: https://researchintegrityjournal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s41073-016-0007-6

4. Gatekeeper is used in communication to name the person, group or institution that has control over the information and, therefore, it has the ability to decide what is published or broadcast, in what form and in what quantity. In press this figure is represented by the director and editors-in-chief. jefes. https://www.marketingdirecto.com/diccionario-marketing-publicidad-comunicacion-nuevas-tecnologias/gatekeeper

Methodology: objective, hypothesis and research questions

Media imposes certain ideological and exclusion frames, deriving, in the case of women, in a concealment of their contributions and the consequent invisibility in the history of music. The mechanisms and strategies to legitimize this messages of the media, as socializing agents-builders-reproducers of meanings, discourses, and stereotypes, we use the terms agenda setting and framing. These messages, apparently natural, are encoded and elaborated carefully crafted constructions, leaving nothing to chance. The media, as Orozco (1994) states, acts as a mirror, a window, and a construction of the reality but they also mediate, since they are systems of signs that must be read critically, instead of reflections of a reality that as an audience we must accept.

We have approached the object of study with a gender perspective based on a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of three of the most iconic music publications in each country in the year 1980. At the same time, a political and social context of the era of study 1975-1985 in the U.S, U.K and Spain, was also stated.

Rolling Stone (U.S.), NME (U.K.) and Vibraciones (Spain) were chosen for this analysis. The criteria adopted on the choice of publications was determined on the personality, fashionableness and contemporary ideology of the magazines.

In brief, the content analysis helped us to categorize the presence-absence of women in rock music discourse and was the principle to substantiate the following hypothesis.

H1: The responsible in women's discrimination of the mainstream music were the gatekeepers. The methodology adopted to support such assertion was a quantitative analysis of texts and images of the sample of 35 music magazines segmented by journalistic genres. Ex: report, interview, record review, concert review, as well as a qualitative approach in order to reinforce with examples the extent of the manipulation performed over the creativity of the female artists.

H2: Gender bias enacted by the music press was proved by the analysis of stereotypes. Stereotypes are the frames of reference that the music press has established to spread its hegemonic socializing-constructor-reproducing discourses of meanings. A specific method for the measurement of stereotyping in images and text was designed taking in consideration variables: vicarious mentions, females portrayed predominantly individually, in a group, in a small picture on a record sleeve. It was also considered if they were depicted passively, objectified, fragmented, or if their faces were purposely hidden, or represented with eyes shut, emphasizing aspects of their public or private life.

A comparative analysis of the presence and prominence of the artists was also taking in consideration. Finally, all the entries were registered by journalistic authorship as well as comments and remarks that were to be analyzed.

H3: The interviews proved how resilience helped punk women fight and oppose the press exclusion driven by gatekeepers who boycotted their careers and goals.

A qualitative analysis of the opinions of 5 female players of the pioneering punk subculture was carried out to corroborate how their feminist empowerment endured them to overthrow barriers and demolish the gender stereotypes in a patriarchal and androcentric music industry.

In the selection of the participants three criteria were established: gender, validity of their activity during the punk movement (1975-1985) and geographic location.

At the same time four axes were purposely chosen to apprehend the magnitude of the discrimination:

* *Details about the context of the beginning of his career*
* *Equal opportunities and visibility of their music*
* *Obstacles in the performance of their career*
* *Identity and empowerment*

The interviewees are the following:

✖ Exene Cervenka, 1956 co-founder of X in Los Angeles in 1976.

✖ Alice Bag, 1958 co-founder of The Bags in Los Angeles in 1977.

✖ Gaye Black, 1956 Bass player The Adverts (1978-1979) in the U.K.

✖ Gina Birch, 1955 Co-founder of The Raincoats in 1977 in the U.K.

✖ Loles Vázquez, 1965 Founder of Las Vulpes in Spain in 1982.

Results

The interviews, as a qualitative method, have allowed us to justify how the music press, and the industry, tackled the female artists in the punk genre based on the lack of visibility and prominence they have obtained in mainstream magazines. Drawing upon direct sources has allowed us to measure the ostracism applied to this music genre. The ethnographic task of recover the life-stories of those five female punk musicians, in the three different countries during this period, will reveal us how they turned their personal struggles into a political movement. The interviewees testify to the importance of this pioneering scene and how their feminist empowerment and their resilience allowed them to overcome the obstacles of a patriarchal and androcentric music industry.

Alice Bag was the singer and founder of The Bags in Los Angeles in from 1977 till 1981. She is considered a pioneer of the California punk scene. Her real name is Alicia Armendariz and she was born in Los Angeles in 1958. Armendariz, self-managed her career and confronted gender stereotypes identifying with the queer movement and the Mexican cultural identity. She defines herself as a philosopher, writer and documentarian from the punk scene[5].

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Punk in its origins was not sexist, it entailed a period of opportunities for a strong and creative woman; it enshrined diverse and unapologetic genre representations, but when these voices reached the mainstream channels, they were progressively erased as co-creators of the punk scene. Being a feminist was an empowering motive encouraging many young women to make their way as professionals within the music industry.

5. Available at: https://alicebag.com/women-in-la-punk

Exene Cervenka was born Christene Cervenka in 1956 in Chicago and founded the punk rock band X with John Doe in Los Angeles in 1976. She is a singer, composer, guitarist and poet. Rolling Stone awarded their album "Los Angeles" # 24 of the 100 best albums of the 80's and #286 among the 500 of all time. Cervenka had a successful career influencing widely other musicals styles like punk rock or folk-rock. Her lyrics are considered contemporary poetry books. Cervenka has created other bands: *The Knitters, Auntie Christ, The Original Sinners* and she still active with her band X.

In her opinion:

The Californian punk scene was a group of very independent rebels. Exene did not feel objectified because she did not represent a model of a sexualized woman. Conciliation of career and motherhood compatible led to feelings of guilt due to the idealized perception of motherhood in a patriarchal society. In her opinion, the feminist label was a condition that created certain discomfort with her tribe.

Gaye Black was born in Bideford (U.K.) in 1956. She is considered one of the first female icons of the punk rock era for her role as bass player in the British band The Adverts founded in 1976. The pressure of the press made her abandon her professional career in 1979. Gaye Black was trained in graphic design, became a manager in social services and today she is a painter.

Punk was a mentality, 'a way of being in the world'. The sexist business cultures of the music industry, the gatekeepers, tampered with her aspirations causing her to abandon her career. Gaye Black evokes a non-identification of the feminine gender. These alternative punk femininities boycotted the conventional male gaze stereotypes and replaced them with more androgynous representations, promoting the normalization of new, more inclusive gender identities.

Gina Birch was born in Nottingham (U.K.) in 1955. She was the bass player and founder with Ana da Silva of the postpunk female band The Raincoats, in the UK in 1977 till 1984. Her band gained visibility and recognition back in the 1990 for being the opening act for the group Nirvana and recording an album. Birch is a composer and filmmaker, producer, author of video installations and painter. She has directed 'She punks', a documentary that brings together more than 20 female pioneers of the punk scene.

Punk recognized their peers by sharing an unmistakable sense of community, commitment and belonging to their tribe in which women felt protected and empowered to carry out their professionalization in a more inclusive environment: 'it was a clan brimming with creativity, anarchy, ideas and courage'. The inclusion of women in punk did not reach all levels of the industry or the media.

Loles Vázquez is from Bilbao (España) and was born in 1965. She was the singer, bass player and founder of the first Spanish all-female punk rock band Las Vulpes in 1982 dissolved in 1985. They were stigmatized for the scandal and court case of the performance of the song 'Yo quiero ser una zorra' back in 1984. Her work as a pioneer has not been recognized. Loles holds a Degree in Tourism, and assistant to Nursing, she still musically active and defines herself as self-taught. Currently she prepares a book with music

Nothing was going to truncate my will to express myself musically and creatively, it was not a question of gender, of virtuosity or skill but commitment. The exclusion of the patriarchy of rock and the stigmatization she suffered forced her to abandon her career. Women in the music sector had to negotiate gender norms, confront the glass ceiling, and be condemned to subordination and concealment of their cultural production.

Conclusions

The total words in the three magazines accounted: 1,211,545 and the total of photographs published in 35 magazines 1,887. The percentage of women words accounted for only 151,533 (12.5%) and the photographs amounted to a 16%.

The answers of the interviews have offered conclusions in line with the starting hypotheses: gender bias executed by the gatekeeper in mainstream music press favoring women's discrimination, boycotting their

careers and goals. In return, resilience helped punk women resist and fight the iniquity. Some feminist referents in history, not only in music, offered them perspectives of transformation, which bolstered to redefine their agency identifying with a punk feminism. The D.I.Y ethos in the punk subculture, led to the normalization of new, more inclusive gender identities for these female musicians facilitating its acceptance in masculinized work environments. Finally, the sexist business cultures of the music industry obstructing conciliation and shielding discrimination in contracts were factors of abandonment of their careers. As a recapitulation, empowerment helped them break stereotypes and combat sexism.

But to the doubters and naysayers and everyone who gave me hell and said I could not, that I would not, or I must not — your resistance made me stronger, made me push harder, made me the fighter that I am today. It made me the woman that I am today[6].

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6. Madonna's acceptance speech "Woman of the Year, Billboard Women in music" in 2016. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c6Xgbh2E0NM

Composing 'Down on the Street' Music: quests for authenticity and ethics in Detroit underground rock from early punk to the garage revival

Ben Thomason[1]

✕ ~~*Abstract*~~

This article traces concepts of authenticity and social ethics of punk rock communities in Detroit from the origins of punk to the 1990s Garage scene. Comparing Detroit with other American punk scenes, I sketch the social context as well as ideas of what it meant to be punk and make punk music. I then show how these influenced, and were influenced by, the politics and demographics of punk musicians and fans. Using oral history, fanzines, and documentaries, I argue that that independent punk rock musicians and fans were motivated by a sometimes-contradictory politics of aesthetic and economic, sonic and political, authenticity. This made punk communities, and Detroit specifically, vulnerable to social conflicts, exclusiveness, and violence in the 1980s, but ultimately pushed punks to create alternative culture producing systems and spaces that were non-exploitative, socially and musically progressive, and sustainable.

Keywords: authenticity, ethics, Detroit, punk, memory.

Detroit rock lived and died a few times in its history if one believes the rock critics in old **Cream** magazines or punk fanzines. This often occurred when the writers did not particularly like the direction music seemed to be heading, whether bands or music spaces got too popular, drew smaller crowds, released music that was too overproduced and safe or too low fidelity and grating. Though it had its ups and downs in popularity and cultural impact, Detroit rock never went away. But when punk and independently produced rock arrived in the 1970s, a preoccupation with ethics in rock performances and commodity production, marketing, and consumption was paramount, calling for rock to fulfill a higher purpose than simply making quality music for people to enjoy.

Using cultural theory and key texts on popular music and punk rock, this article will trace what authenticity meant to fans, writers, and artists in punk rock communities, using oral histories and locally produced independent media to zoom in on the cultural and political nuances of punk in the Detroit area. Authenticity is a powerful but often vague and floating signifier that gives meaning to many musical experiences and often decides what music gets considered valuable. For critical theorists like Stacy Thompson (2004), Punks in America made their claim to authenticity first as an aesthetic one in making rock gritty and dangerous again, and then as an economic one as the scenes evolved and they developed alternative production and distribution methods. They claimed a mission of taking back an edge that rock lost as it reached the top of the charts, and in an early herald of Attali's (1985, p. 143) dream of the 'Composition' era of music, they called on everyone listening to become active producers, building up the labels, stores, and venues needed to do it.

Like many throughout the country, young Michigan punks felt they were bringing real rock 'n' roll back

to Detroit after it had been lost in the malaise and musical corporatization of the 1970s. Here they had a rich history from which to draw inspiration, which they did selectively to establish their roots in the punk rock canon and ethics. The striving for authenticity created sonic and political contradictions and progressive developments in Detroit punk from the first 1970s punk wave to the 1990s garage scene. This reflected a broader national politics of authenticity starting with early 1980s hardcore punk colored in important ways by the class and cultural environment of Southeast Michigan.

There were two major streams conceptualizing what it meant to be authentically punk. For those like the Ramones or the Germs, punk rock meant simple playable music and a confrontational iconoclastic attitude that was not afraid of, and in fact valued, offending traditional values and sensibilities. Other punks like the Clash, Minor Threat, and the writers of Maximum Rock 'N' Roll saw punk as a music of innovation and experimentation, which valued social responsibility and fighting against injustice (Yohannon, 1982). This did not necessarily mean a conflict between the two viewpoints, more of a dialogue and a spectrum. Principled and serious anarchist groups like Crass released simple music that grated the ears and made spectacles that unashamedly bashed religious or family life. Snotty bands like the Descendents or the Ramones were not afraid to make serious songs about war or politics while other juvenile groups like the Butthole Surfers made experimental and innovative music.

Punks in America thought popular rock music had become corporate, decadent, and separated from regular people. Artists like Joey Shithead from D.O.A in Vancouver Canada to Boston fanzine writers said they were driven to punk because of their alienation with popular music and rock generally. These sentiments could be understood as a search for authenticity in a corporatized rock world that seemed calculated for the lowest common denominator. The punks viewed their own music mission as creating an alternative culture to the mainstream and to rebirth the spirit of rock 'n' roll as they imagined it; small-scale, made for the love of the art, and relatable to the day's youth (Blush, 2006).

Authenticity in music can be seen as a language of power developed by interpersonal dialectics between people and between people and cultural products. In this view, it is wielded by those with the power to express themselves as an authority in deeming a person or thing authentic and hence worthy of consideration, purchase, and even praise. This has motivated many historical declarations of rock's death politically, musically, or economically

(Dettmar, 2006). However, it can also be seen as a quest for expressing and experiencing meaning and truth sought by all from casual music consumers to record company executives to musicians playing anywhere from arenas to basements (Barker & Taylor, 2007).

The 1970s were certainly a time that disaffected youth could demand a deeper ethics and genuine dialogue and recognition between their fellow citizens. Simon Frith in *Performing Rites* (1996) argued that because of growing baby-boomer consumption capacity as the rock generation aged and gained more wealth and cultural sway, the music industry began an intense period of professionalization and vertical integration of the means of producing, distributing, and marketing music.

Because punk rock was not an organization collectively acting in concert with class or identity-based activist groups, but itself a culture of commodity forms functioning within capitalism, their resistance to monopolization had to be expressed through more ideologically fragmented and liberal forms. David Ensminger (2016) in *The Politics of Punk,* argued that in the especially atomized world of the US and UK, this desire for resistance expressed itself in the form of a resistance of everyday life. For fans this was creating an ethical practice of consumption. For labels it became about ethical production of their commodities. For artists it was about expressing their alienation through their performances. Kevin Dunn (2016) in his work on global punk argued for similar everyday political resistance common across all punk communities of the world. Of course, punk scenes and artists also engaged in more traditional forms of direct action or raising money and awareness for certain causes or groups, but as an insular community this was the main mode of resistance. In this way, punk expressed in culture what Raymond Williams (1997, p. 121-127) called 'emergent' ideologies that spoke to the boredom and alienation among contemporary youth of the 1970s onward which they could not express through the traditions of the dominant culture.

The young punk fans of the late 1970s and early 1980s living around Detroit started their own quest to revive the spirit of rock 'n' roll in the area. They took inspiration from the UK, LA, and DC punk scenes, but also had a local tradition to borrow from and look to for an authentic sound and ethics. In the 1960s and early 1970s, music was everywhere in Metro Detroit. Motown had reached an iconic status as an interracial crossover hit factory that all Americans could enjoy. It helped redefine Detroit culture and black American identity as it offered

a vision of black middle-class achievement and integration (Smith, 1999). At the same time Detroit lived up to its reputation that would be enshrined in KISS's 1976 anthem 'Detroit Rock City' with bands like the Amboy Dukes with Ted Nugent, Iggy Pop and the Stooges, MC5, and Bob Seger with his Bob Seeger System and later Silver Bullet Band. These groups were not just releasing influential art or chart hits. They were also local figures entertaining at high school dances, fairs, and mall openings in the area (R. Faleer, Personal communication, February 27, 2019).

Much of this had gone away by the late 1970s. Some of the musicians from MC5 and the Stooges stuck around like Fred 'Sonic' Smith's Sonic Rendezvous Band, and Ron Asheton's Destroy All Monsters. This early punk scene was more diverse including female musicians like Niagra from Destroy All Monsters and Diana Balton and Kirsten Rogoff from the band the Algebra Mothers, and more friendly to LGBTQ+ people. They formed the nucleus of the short lived early punk rock scene in Detroit that existed out of the disco club and gay bar with an art deco interior, Club 870, commonly known as Bookie's (St. Mary, 2015). However, when a new wave of punk rock came to Detroit in the wake of the breakup of the Sex Pistols and the independent punk releases from SST and Dischord records, a new group of teenagers with early memories of the Detroit music scene came into being.

For the second wave of punk in Detroit, the authentic spirit of rock had to be revived, and the existing punk scene consisting of older performers and fans of the former glam and proto-punk scene were not the ones to do it. Relations between the older punks at Bookies and the predominantly teenage crowd who would form the initial hardcore punk scene was sometimes combative. The mostly young middle-class white boys from the suburbs enjoyed some of the local Bookie's music sneaking into the bar with fake IDs, but others saw the Bookie's bands as rehashing New York or British new wave and unwilling to give their new bands a chance. The older patrons and artists detested the younger fans' homophobic epithets and penchant for a new more aggressive form of expressing musical experience, slam dancing (Miller, 2013). While the patrons may have conflicted with each other, this was where the young teenagers got their first taste of live punk music and the well-respected national acts, they saw their inspired them to get serious about their own music.

A few months earlier, a music fanzine started in the Fall of 1979 called *Touch and Go*, named after a Throbbing Gristle song and inspired by the DIY punk magazine *Thrash*, also looked to create authentic rock and punk. Started by Michigan State graduate and elementary school teacher Tesco Vee and his former classmate Dave Stimson, the magazine immediately made it clear that they were writing to advance new, interesting, and independent bands against the stagnant establishment of arena rock, radio, and the record industry. The first issue started with an opinion piece by Stimson, who wrote that, with the advent of record shops and clubs that regularly feature punk and new wave, 'we can see the beginning of a serious alternative to the crap we've been subjected to for so long now. You know the kind of noise I'm talking about — *Led Zeppelin, Foreigner, Styx, Foghat* — the list is agonizingly long.' Stimson then stated the purpose of the magazine saying, "we represent an alternative to mainstream rock 'n' roll journalism, which you probably know is just as banal as the music they write about." (Vee et al., 2010, p. 3).

The first few copies of the fanzine sold just 50 to 100 units each, but they made their way to Barry Henssler, Andy Wendler, and Todd Swalla; middle-class high school students and record collectors from Maumee Ohio who had just begun to play shows with their own punk band, *Necros*. *Touch and Go* inspired them to start their own fanzine in the same style, *The Smegma Journal*, and they quickly got in contact with their older colleagues, becoming good friends and occasional partners in delinquency (Rettman, 2010). The next connection to spark Detroit hardcore came from Steve Miller, Mike Achtenberg, and Craig Calvert, living in East Lansing near Vee and Stimson, who started a band called The FIX, initially inspired by seeing UK punk band The Stranglers play in Lansing.

This independent style of recording and distributing music was brought over to Detroit by 1981 when Black Flag played their first Michigan shows at Lansing's Club Doo Bee, and Detroit's Bookies bar, both opened by *Necros*. Their first Bookies show turned out to be a significant one for the Detroit scene in July of 1981 (Swalla, 1981). More importantly for Detroit hardcore, the show was attended by John Brannon as well as Larissa Strickland and Dave Rice of L-Seven and the fanzine *Anonymous*,[2] future Fate Unknown vocalist, Shawn Snow, and dozens of skaters from the local Endless Summer skatepark who would go on to form local bands like Bored

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2. Dave Rice had been an experienced patron and artist at Bookies as he was an original member of the earlier Detroit punk band the Algebra Mothers.

Youth and McDonalds (Rettman, 2010, p. 51). Corey Rusk, who became the bass player for *Necros*, recorded one of these Black Flag shows, passed it around to friends and spread the word about the new documentary releasing that summer, *The Decline of Western Civilization,* directed by Penelope Spheeris (1981). A wave of networking and inspiration had come to the young hardcore fans around Southeastern Michigan.

That same Summer saw the release of singles by *Necros* and *The FIX*, released on the newly founded Touch and Go Records, and could be ordered via *Touch and Go* or *Smegma Journal* magazines through the mail or bought at record stores in Lansing or Ann Arbor for $2.50. Tesco Vee created the label, though he partnered with Corey Rusk of *Necros* to get it off the ground. One hundred of the *Necros*' single and two hundred of *The FIX*'s single were pressed. Almost a dozen of Touch and Go's earliest releases were recorded just in Rusk's basement (Rettman, 2010, p. 30).

The musicians and fans looked to local contemporary bands for inspiration and identity as well as some choice artists of the past. They had great respect for the *Stooges* and *MC5*, and *Touch and Go* showed a respect even for old founders of rock like *Eddie Cochran, Gene Vincent*, or *Chuck Berry* (Vee et al., 2010). But it was more their attitude, the danger that more conservative elders felt about them at the time, and the impact they made on rock that they wanted to emulate rather than copying their sound. They looked to contemporary British and American punk bands they saw live or read about in local fanzines and UK magazines like *Sounds*, *Melody Makers*, or *New Musical Express* to develop their sound and methods of making and distributing music (T. Vee, Personal communication, September 9, 2018). Tesco Vee and members of *Necros* began a correspondence with Glenn Danzig of the *Misfits* and Ian Mackaye of Minor Threat, took inspiration from their music, and shared pointers on how to produce and disseminate their music and publications. When Black Flag and *D.O.A.* came to Michigan in the Summer of 1981, they gave *The FIX* encouragement, contacts, and information on how to tour, which they did across the West Coast that Fall (Rettman, 2010).

From the affordability of the magazines, shows, and releases, to the encouragement of others to make their own bands and perform and record original material, punk was imagined by those in the scene as a populist project. John Brannon, when recalling the peak days of the hardcore scene, said, "The whole thing about being in a band at that point, there was no separation between the kids and the audience and who's on stage. It was music for the people." (Miller, 2013, p. 211). John Kezdy of the Effigies in Chicago said that to the kids in the broader Midwest, the scene was about understating themselves by shaving their heads and dressing in simple jeans and T-shirts. In their view this was a statement against narcissism and elitism, and it placed the music and the message they tried to communicate at the center of attention (Blush, 2010, p. 237). Their hatred of any artistic pretensions ran so deep that some got upset at *The FIX* just for changing into performance clothes at shows rather than playing in what they wore on the street (Rettman, 2010, p. 66).

This romanticized view of the folk, living punk ethics and attitude every day, and performing for the community rather than self-aggrandizement produced an effect of authenticity and belonging for those that engaged in the scene. This reached its height for many with the six-month life of the Freezer Theatre between 1981 and 1982. Situated on Cass Avenue and Alexandrine Street in the blighted neighborhood south of the Wayne State University campus known as Cass Corridor, The Freezer Theatre was an abandoned storefront that was briefly a calypso and reggae venue. Band members from *Necros*, *L-Seven*, and *Negative Approach* worked out a deal with the owner, a 'speed-freak' and 'liberal hippie' simply known as Fred, for them to build a stage and host all-punk weekend shows in exchange for a cut of the proceeds. They spray-painted the walls with names of bands that played there from in and out of town, and got their own all ages venue with, "no fuckwad promoters ready to throw ticket stubs away and pimp the bands." (Vee et al., 2010, p. 406).

This was where the hardcore punks felt like they had crafted a real scene for the first time as it was a central hub where people met every weekend. Touch and Go Records celebrated its first compilation EP *Process of Elimination* (1981) showcasing eight local bands with a show at the Freezer that all featured bands played in. They reveled in their Cass Corridor slumming, emphasizing in their oral history statements and music from the era the abandonment and hopelessness in both the city and their own lives. Necros and Negative Approach published some early examples of horror punk. This is part of what attracted the Misfits, who became personal friends with Tesco Vee and members of Necros, to play in Detroit so often that the local hardcore scene became like a second home for them (Mock, 2014). The young punks had created the basic economic bones needed to have a coherent scene with the ethics of DIY and a scrappy independence that characterized more famous scenes in DC or LA.

Their dedication to a narrow punk attitude and aesthetics however also acted as a gate-keeping tool that contributed to the scene's demise. The over-emphasis on fast, simple songs and the denunciation of added complexities or slower tempos made some feel that the scene had become just as stagnant as the music industry they all railed against. The ideal for groups like *The FIX*, *Necros*, *Negative Approach*, and the *Meatmen* was to create music that was new and exciting, so they celebrated and pushed for novelty. Barry Henssler of Necros said, 'This was supposed to be a music of no tradition! The whole point of it was to say, fuck the past!' and wrote a song about the stagnation and intolerance of the scene called 'Count Me Out' (Rettman, 2010, p. 157). Members of *The FIX* thought the scene became stale even by the time the Freezer opened because the young men became so caught up in trying to out-hardcore each other they forgot how to make, or even let others enjoy, good music (S. Miller, Personal communication, March 3, 2018). For them, the scene was about experimentation and individual expression, not trying to be faster or more aggressive than everyone else, like they thought it was becoming.

Rising violence at shows also led to the initial scene's decline, and this came from both new punk fans asserting their right to the space, as well as neo-Nazi skinhead fans (M. Deck, Personal communication, May 10, 2018). Neo-Nazi fans at punk shows became a problem throughout the US and UK starting with the rise of the National Front in Britain in the 1970s. People like Tesco Vee and members of *Negative Approach*, *Necros*, and a newer band called the *Allied* were fans of Oi! rock from the UK which was associated with the skinheads, and they promoted it in their publications, performances, sound, and social circles. However, while they were either not aware of were not interested in the contemporary struggles between Rock Against Racism and the fascist National Front in appropriating the culture of Oi! and skinheads in the UK, some of their fans picked up the racism and violence associated with it (J. Brannon, Personal communication, August 8, 2018; T. Vee, Personal communication, September 9, 2018). By 1984 many of the initial hardcore bands had broken up or moved to new genres.

Indie punk continued through the mid-1980s out of the Greystone Ballroom, an old theater on Michigan avenue owned by famous manager of the *Grande Ballroom*, Russ Gibb. This was run by Corey Rusk of Necros who also took control of Touch and Go Records. Greystone along with a few other venues like Blondies, the Hungry Brain, and St. Andrew's Hall helped Detroit punk get through the low ebbing years from 1984 to 1988 when punk and hardcore nationally seemed to have lost its original coherence and popularity in independent rock. During this time scenes still held independent music venues, stores, and labels that distributed new records, but bands found it harder to get reliable punk gigs and the bigger labels like *SST*, *Dischord*, and *Touch* and *Go Records*, which moved to Chicago in 1987, were not putting out music that sounded like their original hardcore days. Instead, they released more experimental or melodic music like Sonic Youth, Hüsker Dü, The Butthole Surfers, and Dag Nasty (Azerrad, 2001). In this era, the two streams of punk rock conceptions of authenticity reached new heights on both the side of social responsibility and on the side of angst and nihilism.

In the late 1980s, GG Allin was at his most active releasing music and touring, though never for very long stretches as he quickly ended up either in prison or the hospital during his tours. GG Allin took the nihilism and love of offending traditional mores and manners to new extremes during performances, frequently bloodying himself with sharp or blunt instruments, physically and sexually assaulting audience members and threatening them with further physical violence or rape, masturbating or defecating on stage and engaging in coprophagy (Phillips, 1993). In the classic 1970s punk style of 4-power chord guitar driven songs, short simple bridges and solos, and snarling nasally vocals, GG Allin made Misfits' songs seem utterly quaint.

At the same time *Fugazi*, the succeeding band of *Minor Threat* and *Rites of Spring* were taking the ethics of social justice and independent community building to their peak. Beginning in 1987, Fugazi created experimental melodic hardcore sounds combining heavy driving baselines and drum patterns with guitar riffs and vocals that moved back and forth between soft and melodic to noisy and chaotic denunciations of misogyny, intolerance, and consumerism. This was unified with an intense dedication to music production and performance ethics against violence, intolerance, exploitation, and profiteering (Brannon & Jayaswal, 2003).

If punk in America was caught in a dialectic between the violent offensive nihilism of G.G. Allin, and the earnest social justice and unshakeable ethics of *Fugazi*, Detroit in the late 1980s and early 1990s was more on the side of G.G. Allin. This was partially because after Touch and Go Records moved to Chicago, there was no iconic organization to unite groups of people into a coherent scene where newer perspectives and diverse struggles could be negotiated and organized like in DC with Dischord or LA with SST and later Epitaph. Also, the initial Oi! influences, which always emphasized a sort of working-class disillusionment and rebellion rather than the more middle-class social responsibility, remained influential in the scene. Some of the more

prominent bands at the time included The Almighty Lumberjacks of Death (ALD), with a rough mid-tempo Oi! sound and attitude with songs about drinking beer, street prostitutes, and hard living in the working-class residential areas of Detroit, and Cold as Life, a metalcore influenced band whose shows were infamous for their violence. Both bands had their own 'gangs' made up of local friends and fans like ALD's West Side Boot Boys (Doom, 2015). Unlike the bands in the original hardcore punk scene, ALD and Cold as Life actually started in Detroit with members who had grown up in the city.

If anything could be described as a central organization to bring people in the punk scene together, it might have in fact been the biggest white nationalist record company in America, Resistance Records, based out of Detroit (Dyck, 2017). Whereas by the late 1980s most of these types had been violently forced out of punk spaces, the scene in Detroit continued to have issues with right-wing violence as well as bands and fans associated with groups like the Northern Hammerskins at shows. Drummer 'Jiney' Jim, who briefly played in ALD, also played in the Oi! band the Rogues at the same time, and when he left ALD the Rogues went openly far-right in their politics releasing on the white nationalist label Rock-O-Rama in 1991. Other white nationalist bands from the Detroit area included Max Resist, Liberty 37, and Hellbilly. This is not to say that the performers encouraged reactionary people like that. In fact, the singer for Cold As Life Rodney 'Rawn Beuty' Barger, became notorious for violently persecuting neo-Nazi types who revealed themselves as such at shows (J. Doom, Personal communication, 22 September 2018). The gritty, gruesome angst and nihilism of punk was alive and well in Detroit and with pockets of violent punk and skinhead gangs and clubhouses in the residential areas of the cities they became for some the face of the scene.

This was not total however, as other bands with explicitly progressive politics developed and remained active within the Detroit scene throughout this time as well. An anarchist band The State, who's guitarist and singer came from Ann Arbor and had connections to the left-wing White Panther Party, played throughout the 1980s into the 1990s (P. Woodward, Personal communication, November 16, 2018). A communist band called Forced Anger played from the mid-1980s until 1991 and the guitarist 'Commie Scott' from Flint then formed the band Mount Thai. One of the biggest punk bands to come out of the Detroit scene in the 1990s was the Suicide Machines whose rapid hardcore and ska infused songs had explicitly anti-bigotry, anti-violence, socialist, and anarchist themes. In terms of bands that included women and people of color however, that would largely need to wait until Detroit indie music branched out, most prominently in the Garage scene (S. Koskinin, Personal communication, November 16, 2018).

Perhaps counter-intuitively, the more diverse acts in Detroit were also less political, at least outwardly. As a sort of bridge between the punk and garage scene there were the *Gories* and the *Laughing Hyenas*. Both bands infused blues beats and guitar riffs into their punk, the Gories faster and looser, and the Laughing Hyenas darker and heavier. The Laughing Hyenas had Larissa Strickland on guitar while the Gories had Peggy O'Neal on drums and African American Mick Collins on guitar and vocals. The Laughing Hyenas had songs about hard living and petty crime in the poor residential areas of Detroit and Ann Arbor while the Gories were more in tune with classic rock 'n' roll themes of fast living, good times, and social alienation (Detroit Punks, 2015; J. Brannon, Personal communication, 10 August 2018). Later, in 1998 the Soledad Brothers, three white Detroit men named after the three Marxist Black Panther activists who were imprisoned in Soledad Prison in the 1970s, continued this blues rock sound infused with punk attitude. What is interesting about these bands is that they recognized and emphasized the African American contributions to their sound. Many in the original hardcore scene, where John Brannon and Larissa Strickland of the Laughing Hyenas originally came from, denied that there was anything black about the music they played despite the hardcore sound being largely developed by an all-black band, *Bad Brains* (Rettman, 2010, p. 94; Miller, 2013, p. 211).

Once the initial wave of simple, aggressive, macho punk rock died down across the US, the scenes had more space and labels had more interest in more sonically innovative bands, and this created more opportunities for women and African Americans in the Detroit area looking for artistic expression. The Gories front man Mick Collins would form an early Detroit garage band in 1992 called the Dirtbombs, performing with guitarist and Taiwanese American Ko Melina and a revolving door of Detroit musicians. The *Detroit Cobras* had a female singer, guitarist, and bassist. *The Demolition Doll Rods* started in 1994 also had a woman lead singer and guitarists as well as drummer. The *Von Bondies* had founding member Marcie Bolen on guitar as well as a series of women bassists, and of course there was drummer Meg White from the *White Stripes*. Most of these bands released not on Detroit based labels but indie labels based in Seattle like *Sub Pop* or *LA like* In *The Red Records* and *Sympathy for the Record Industry*. These bands emphasized simplicity in dress and sound which Eric Abbey (2006) attributed to an inspiration from the early hardcore scene as well as a postmodern nostalgia and kitsch from mid-century rock n roll.

In some ways this was a return to a sound and authenticity similar to early punk from the Bookies scene as well. Their music was simple to play, and several of them like the *Gories* and the *Demolition Doll Rods* did not even have a bass player. While still largely dominated by male artists they also did not have the hyper-masculine aggression of 1980s Detroit punk and even played with androgynous aesthetics on stage. One could argue, particularly with the Doll Rods, that these groups continued to objectify women's sexuality, but the fact they had women on stage as lead guitarists, drummers, and singers in the first place is a notable change. The *Doll Rods* and the *Detroit Cobras* having women sing assertive songs about getting or leaving lovers, and the *Doll Rods* putting their male member in extra skimpy, feathery outfits provides an interesting example of what Mimi Schippers (2002, p. 16) called 'gender maneuvering' in underground rock scenes that questioned and transgressed traditional gender norms.

By the end of the 1990s Detroit had a unique independent punk and garage rock scene that was notable by the number of women musicians and the stripped-down sound and aesthetics that echoed the values of the older independent punk and hardcore scene. It went through developments like other punk scenes that pulled those involved in different directions for their sound and message. From the beginning there had been a debate within punk on whether it should be a populist, easy to play and participate in music, or a music of personal expression and experimentation, and whether the message should be one of shock and angst or of resistance against injustice. Bands played with these ideas and styles, mixing them together, taking them to extremes, and neither one really triumphed over the other. The hatred has stuck around in punk music in both Detroit and the wider US. But thanks in large part to the communities of production and exchange punks managed to build, it got channeled toward more coherent progressive ends rather than lashing out at the world and in the process reproducing some of the same discriminatory violence and power hierarchies as the general society they were alienated from.

The development and success of the garage rock scene is a significant development for homegrown Detroit music that has not received enough scholarly attention, especially given Detroit's unique racial, cultural, political, and economic history going back at least to the 1960s. Tracing a line between the early punk and hardcore scene through the declining years of the middle to late 1980s until the punk and garage revival from the mid-1990s to the 2000s will be an invaluable task as even the popular history sources dry up largely after 1984 and don't pick up again until the mid-1990s. This will bring opportunities to parse out how and when the Detroit punk scene matured, what perspectives this can give regarding the trajectories of the national punk scenes, as well as provide a unique cultural lens for an America and Detroit emerging from the Cold War into a globalized economy and culture.

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1.3 Punktopia: An alternative to resistance?

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

Despite a growing body of research investigating how older subculturalists engage with their communities, punk and other subcultures are still seen as primarily youth-based movements, with older members participating from the fringes. However, in Sapporo, the younger generation is greatly outnumbered by their seniors, with the largest and most active being those of an age (mid-to-late 30s) when they would often be expected to have left the scene – either temporarily or permanently – to concentrate on more 'mundane' concerns, such as career and family. My research shows that 'punk' in Sapporo is conceived, not as a space of 'utopic' resistance, but rather as a space of 'heterotopic' potentiality, within which members are free to construct meanings to suit their individual needs. It is this – as opposed to any focused ideology or practice of activism or resistance – that has afforded the community such longevity while not suffering any significant loss of membership from generation to generation. Japan currently faces issues of population decline and aging, economic disparity, dealing with the recent Covid-19 pandemic, and the ongoing recovery from the triple disaster of March 2011. The heterotopia of Sapporo's punks offers an alternative way of being: one that allows adherents to balance the person they need to be, with the person they want to be, and one from which there is much anybody – punk or not – can learn.

Keywords: punk, aging, heterotopia, subcultural resistance, Japan.

1. Introduction to the Research

1.1. Introduction and research aims

The city of Sapporo in northern Japan, the prefectural capital of the island of Hokkaido, plays host to an active community of punks. They form a close-knit group who not only enjoy socializing together, but also collectively express a specific set of subcultural values. As 'punks', they do so, in part, through the appropriation or subversion of popular material culture, and by deploying spectacular forms of fashion and music centred on a supposedly anti-capitalist ethos of 'Do it Yourself' (hereon, DIY) (Dale, 2012; Hebdige, 1979).

The definition of 'punk', like that of any (sub)cultural phenomenon, is plural and contested. For the purposes of this research, I consider punk to be a fluidly bounded subcultural community (Haenfler, 2014), at once both real and imagined, based around shared values and practices. These include – but are not limited to – distrust of authority, marginalization from and/or resistance to so-called 'mainstream' society, the encouragement of self-expression, and appreciation and/or participation in the aforementioned DIY aesthetic (Haenfler, 2014; Dale, 2012).

Despite its almost 50-year history, punk is still primarily seen as a 'youth' movement. It is widely perceived as an outlet for rebellious adolescence, one which most participants inevitably 'grow out of' as they reach

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adulthood. The defiant spirit of subculture is considered no match for the pressures and responsibilities that maturity brings (Davis, 2006; Hall & Jefferson, 1975; Weinstein, 2000). While there are many who continue to draw meaning from their youthful subcultural practice (Andes, 1998; Bennett, 2006), those few who choose to remain active in their communities often do so in supporting roles or from the periphery. They prefer to make way for their more energetic juniors to take on the principal roles of subcultural performance (Andes, 1998; Klien, 2020).

Sapporo's punks, however, counter this trend. The predominant age-group in the scene are those in their mid-to-late 30s, followed by those in their mid-40s to early 50s. The younger 18-30 demographic tier – while present and active – constitute a minority. This suggests that the punk community in the city has not experienced the rate of adult dropouts which previous scholarship on subcultural participation infers is inevitable. This trend can also be seen to some extent in other punk communities elsewhere in Japan (Ishiya, 2020).

Sapporo's punks and their apparent achievement in breaking the cycle of generational boom-and-bust that has plagued similar groups elsewhere bring to light important questions. Namely, what lessons can be learned from them regarding the building and maintenance of intergenerational communities? This is particularly important in a country known to be at the forefront of global, post-industrial aging and shrinking demographics (Kavedžija, 2019). Moreover, what light can a theoretical framework which takes the Sapporo scene's specificities into account – specifically, 'heterotopia' (Foucault, 1998; Letson, forthcoming) – shed on the lacunae extant in current scholarly understandings of 'punk', 'subculture', 'aging', and so on?

While there is a growing body of research on aging in subcultural communities, such research is still sparse, particularly when considering non-Western contexts. Furthermore, in contrast to the generational make-up of the scene in Sapporo, such aging subculturalists are more-often-than-not positioned as peripheral actors, participating behind the scenes or from the side-lines (Bennett, 2006; Klien, 2020; Fonorow, 2006). As such, this research is the first consideration of the role of subcultural participation in Japan that focuses not on youth, but on older members of such communities, while also positioning those older members as central to their community, rather than as marginal participants. Previous studies of Japanese subcultures almost exclusively deal with their related issues through the framework of youth, rebellion, and self-making in young people (for example Kawamura, 2012). Such research is, of course, vital in exploring non-normative paths to adulthood, especially in a nation that is all-too-often reductively described as traditional, conservative, or conformist. However, Japan is now unequivocally an aging, post-growth nation (Chiavacci & Hommerich, 2017) at the forefront of the shifting cultural conceptions of age, youth, and maturity being experienced in post-industrial societies across the globe (Cook, 2013). This paper aims to provide an (albeit brief) opportunity to open a discussion on these issues from the viewpoint of Japan's thus-far most enduring subculture, punk.

In this paper I look at trajectories of aging and maturity both in contemporary northern Japan and in the current literature on punk and other subcultures. From this I go on to suggest a framework for study based on Foucault's (1998) concept of 'heterotopic' spaces. I also explore how, through the construction of punk-as-heterotopia, the city's subculturalists have imbued their community with a longevity that seems to have eluded many of punk's proponents elsewhere. Finally, I consider the implications these findings may have, not only for further research on punk and subcultures, but also for Japan and other societies with greying populations.

1.2. Methodology

Building on ongoing fieldwork begun in 2018, this paper uses ethnographic data gathered from participant observation, interviews, and *deep hanging out* (Clifford, 1997) in the Sapporo punk community. Thus far, my interlocutors have included members of the punk community whose ages range from 21 to 54, and who work in industries as varied as construction, care, nursing, education, and hospitality, as well as many who run their own small businesses or who identify as 'freeters' (people who work in part time or casual employment either out of choice or economic necessity and who harbour little or no desire to pursue traditional or stable career paths – (Allison, 2013).

There are five main age cohorts active within Sapporo's punk scene: late teens, mid-to-late 20s, mid-to-late 30s, mid-to-late 40s, and early 50s. While there are members of the community who do not fall neatly into one of these groups, or who move easily between them, these groups nevertheless shape how most participants interact. They influence who they with, and how they interact with other members of the community. Those

in their mid-to-late 30s comprise the largest and most active group in the community. As it happens, I also fall into this demographic tier.

This coincidence was on the one hand serendipitous. It gave me access to the group most currently involved in the production and performance of subcultural activity in the city more easily than may have been the case had I been younger or older. On the other hand, this close association with a particular cohort has in many ways shaped and defined my interactions with the community. It has become – for good or ill – the generational vantage point from which I view (and am viewed by) the city's punk community, as well as the central hub of the social networks built during my fieldwork (Letson, forthcoming; Klien, 2020).

During my initial research in Sapporo (Letson, 2021), this was a boon. I was able to gather data and form networks of interlocution with relative ease. A fact which enabled me to build a picture of the city's contemporary punk scene and its most active participants and gave me a unique insight into the current shape of the community. This led me to investigate the role of older generations and the multiple foundations on which this scene has been formed and shaped, as well as how it has shifted and transformed over the years. However, when my focus shifted away from those near my own age, I found extending my social and research connections to these older subculturalists to be more challenging.

These older punks were often skeptical when approached for anything that seemed too formal. Attempts to organise interviews were met with a barrage of questions: why did I want to speak to them? Why couldn't I just talk to them at a gig? Why couldn't I ask someone else? Or, sometimes, no response at all. My approach to older interlocutors soon became one of respectful deference, as a junior to a respected '*senpai*',[2] or, 'senior' (Letson, forthcoming). When I framed my requests as a young person seeking to understand how things were done, rather than as a researcher looking for data, I found older interlocutors were more likely to make time to speak to me (albeit, sometimes grudgingly).

2. Aging punks in Japan and beyond

2.1. Aging Japan

It is widely recognised that post-industrial nations are facing dramatic and long-term demographic change as populations age and birth-rates decline (Vollset et *al*., 2020). In this regard, Japan holds the unenviable accolade of being the first nation in the world where the number of over-65s has surpassed 21% of the total population; the threshold required to be considered a 'hyper-aged' society (Muramatsu & Akiyama, 2011). In fact, the latest data puts the total of retirement-age citizens in the country at around 28% of the population (Statistics Bureau, 2020).

 Accordingly, since the turn of the millennium there has been a broad and ever-increasing body of scholarship on Japan's aging demographic; its origins, determinants, and consequences. Japan's 'hyper-aged' population has emerged from a complex confluence of social trends and changes, many of which are common across post-industrial nations. A post-Second World War baby boom was followed by a steady decline in the birth-rate, while ever-improving healthcare and hygiene has increased life expectancy. Simultaneously, increasing urbanisation and the adoption of a more individualistic life-view has led to a dramatic decline in the number of multi-generational households and a steady rise in divorce rates (Coulmas, 2007).

This, along with rising national debt and the increasingly precarious position of the national pension fund (Hirata et *al*., 2008), has resulted in ever more people in need of care, but who find themselves unable to rely on civic institutions to provide it for them (Allison, 2013). In addition, the rise of the nuclear family, and the tendency for those of working age to have social lives built around their workplace, means older people on retirement often find themselves abruptly severed from the social networks upon which they had relied throughout their adult lives. As a result, many Japanese people find themselves socially adrift upon retirement, forced to find new ways to build and maintain social networks that might support them as they age (Coulmas, 2007; Kato et *al*., 2017). However, recent statistics show that Japanese citizens of retirement age are becoming less likely to involve themselves in community-building activities such as clubs, neighbourhood associations, and volunteering (Cabinet Office, 2018; International Longevity Center, 2015).

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Scholarship on aging in Japan has done much to highlight the diverse and locally contingent ways in which older people in both rural and urban Japan deal with the trends outlined above (Kavedžija, 2019; Matsumoto, 2011). However, there is very little research which has considered the place of marginal communities in this process. Furthermore, there is no current scholarship which considers non-normative communities which are not based on ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and so on, but rather on shared ideologies and practices in relation to material culture. One such example being Japan's active – yet largely unobserved – punk community.

At first glance, participation in a subcultural community seems to offer the kind of alternative social networks of which Japan's rapidly greying population is in desperate need. However, as I will discuss below, current scholarship depicts subcultures as primarily centred around the experiences and activities of youth. Those older participants who continue later in life tend to do so in a limited capacity, either working to support younger participants or excluded from them (Andes, 1998; Klien, 2020). By contrast, in the Sapporo punk scene, it is the older generations – aged from mid-30s up to early 50s – who engage the most assiduously. As can be seen in the next section, this form of longevity is unusual in subcultural terms. As such, Japan's punks provide a unique vantage point from which the possible roles of subculture as regards age, maturity, and wellbeing in a hyper-aged society may be considered.

2.2. Aging subcultures

There is currently a dearth of scholarship connecting subcultural participation with experiences of aging in Japan. This follows the general conception of subculture as primarily a 'youth' phenomenon (Bennett, 2006). There is, however, an increasing body of work on how older members of punk communities elsewhere in the world interact with younger participants, and how age affects the ideologies and practices connected to their subcultural identities (Bennett, 2006; Davis, 2006; Hodkinson, 2006; Weinstein, 2000). Despite this, it remains the broad consensus that punk communities are driven by youth. As each new generation ages, their population thins; either through disillusionment with the apparent 'failure' of their resistance (McKay, 1996), or because of the general pressures of 'growing up', such as employment, family, and so on (Bennett, 2006; Hall & Jefferson, 1975). As the senior generation fades away into the background, a younger group appears to breathe new life into the community. Those few older members who remain active in their community mostly do so from the fringes. They either take on positions of organisation and technical support within the community (Andes, 1998; Klien, 2020) or see themselves as advisors and mentors to the younger generation (Bennett, 2006). This peripherality even extends to their physical position at events, as music fans tend to watch performances from further towards the back of the venue as they grow older (Fonorow, 2006).

Outside the punk subculture, but within Sapporo, Klien (2020) has noted a similar tendency among older generations of hip-hop practitioners. Here, too, it is common for members to step back from the scene as they age. In turn, scene elders are kept at arms-length by the younger generations, who treat them, "with a mix of respect, awe and derision" (Klien, 2020, p. 10). This perhaps points towards an uneasy meeting of Japanese cultures of seniority with a subculture that is perceived (by both insiders and outsiders) to primarily be the territory of youth (Letson, forthcoming).

While much of this can be explained by the physical and social changes that aging brings, the notion that the driving force of punk – or any other subculture – is 'youth' is also inextricably tied to the central focus of much subcultural practice; namely, the performance of resistance (Haenfler, 2014; Hall & Jefferson 1975). Notions of 'punkness' are often centred on ideas of the 'purity' of DIY production as a form of resistance to mainstream cultural and commercial forms (Dale, 2012; Pearson, 2019). Classic studies of punk and other subcultures assert that once a movement's creative DIY output has been assimilated into mainstream culture through the insidious processes of capitalist commodification, the resistive spirit of the community is effectively destroyed (Cohen, 2002; McKay, 1996). Those who become commercially successful are considered to have 'sold out', or to have lost touch with the ideals of the wider punk community (Pearson, 2019). The youth who had poured their creative efforts into the scene become disaffected and, in a sense, grow out of their punk phase. This is followed by a new generation who take up the punk ethos and begin the cycle of resistance again. Sometimes, they are even aware of a kind of generational time-limit attached to their activities (McKay, 1996).

Despite a concerted effort to move away from the classic subcultural theories of the 1970s-80s, the view of punk as a generation-based, youth-focused, and ultimately doomed cycle of resistance continues to haunt

punk studies to this day (Bennett, 2006). Moreover, this notion has had a strong influence on studies of other subcultures, particularly hip-hop. Scholars of hip-hop, too, often bemoan the commercialisation of the movement's resistive roots (Rose, 2008). Although, it is important to note that here, too, there is a growing effort to move beyond this narrow conception of the processes and practices of subcultural life (Maxwell, 2009). However, as such research focuses on the coexistence of aspects of resistance and conformity, it arguably remains broadly within the framework of the classic studies of subcultures, albeit with an emphasis on hybridity over purity. Like punk, hip-hop is constructed as a space for, and an object of struggle between the mainstream and the underground (Maxwell, 2009). This conception is a common trope within articulations of subcultural identity, both scholarly and from within the communities themselves (Dunn, 2016). Yet, it fails to account for those who continue to participate – albeit from the fringes – even after they have resigned their youthful aspirations of resistance (Davis, 2006).

Moreover, a community like that of Sapporo's punks, where older generations both outnumber and out-participate their juniors, calls this framework of resistance vs. cooptation even further into question. The generational makeup of the scene, along with its longevity, is completely at odds with the cycle of resistance and resignation outlined above. There are also a significant number of community members who do not actively participate in 'resistance' yet perform pivotal roles within the community (Letson, 2021). These people are largely absent from both classic and contemporary studies of subcultures, or are dismissed as mere walk-on actors, "playing at resistance" (Matsue, 2008: 49). A further complication is found in the oft-noted tendency for subcultures to mirror or even uphold some elements of mainstream culture even while resisting or rejecting others. One example being many music-based communities' propensity to uphold heteronormative ideals of masculinity and male dominance (Downes, 2012).

While I am by no means suggesting that scholars (including myself) are mistaken, Sapporo's punks highlight the partiality of current understandings of subcultural identity and resistance. Without addressing this, studies of subcultural communities are destined to be stuck in a dialectic tail-chase, unable to escape from the dichotomies of dominant vs. subaltern, DIY vs. commercialism, youthful subculture vs. the all-consuming hegemony of the 'adult' mainstream (Ertl & Hansen, 2015). In doing so, scholars may miss the chance to discover what subcultural communities like those in Sapporo have to share with and to teach us about possible responses to aging in the post-industrial world (Ingold, 2018).

3. Punk as heterotopia

It is clear an alternative framework is needed to better understand punk identity and practice, particularly in a community like Sapporo's. In short, an understanding that seeks to move beyond the traditional resistance-cooptation binary (Hannerz, 2016; Hodkinson, 2015). Previously (Letson, 2021), I have suggested that Vinthagen and Johansson's (2013) notion of everyday resistance provides a possible alternative (Dunn, 2016; Moog, 2020). However, in much the same way as the studies noted above, this still relies on a conceptual model built around the assumption that it is 'resistance' which is at the heart of subcultural practice. In this section I argue that this may not necessarily be the case.

One of the defining features of punk in Sapporo is the inclusivity of the community. This includes not only acceptance of members regardless of gender, sexual orientation, age, ethnicity, and so on, but also tolerance of differing views regarding punk ideology and practice. In Sapporo's punk clubs and live venues, right-wing skinheads rub shoulders with left-wing anarcho-punks, and 'classic' punks, replete with brightly dyed mohawks, safety-pin accessories, and studded leathers, sit down for a drink with hardcore fans dressed in their plainer shorts, t-shirt, and baseball cap ensembles. While such disagreements have occurred in the past (a more detailed history of Sapporo punk is planned for a future publication), in the contemporary Sapporo punk community there are no arguments over what punk is, was, or should be (Pearson, 2019). Within the group it is tacitly accepted that each member has their own interpretation of punk and that they each put that into practice in their own manner.

It is my contention that this inclusive eclecticism is what has allowed Sapporo's punks to maintain their community membership even as participants have aged beyond when they would perhaps otherwise be expected to quit or, at least, scale back their activities. In creating such a social space, the punks of the city have constructed a site of *heterotopia* (Foucault, 1998). That is, a place of 'otherness', in which members are able and even encouraged to explore and express their difference from mainstream society, without it being necessary to sever their ties from it (for a more in-depth discussion of heterotopia, (Letson, forthcoming).

Heterotopic space allows those who gain entry to it to accept the impossibility of complete escape from their wider social bonds (family, work, civic membership, and so on), yet allows them to in some way disrupt those bonds spatially, socially, and/or temporally (Foucault, 1998; Johnson, 2006).

In short, constructing 'punk' as a space of heterotopia has afforded the Sapporo community a social and physical site (albeit a constantly shifting one) in which it is possible to resist without resisting. Simply by being a part of this space, one is actively participating in the building of a place of difference where one can express their distaste or disagreement with the perceived mainstream. However, one is able to do so without necessarily clashing head-on with society in the way that 'resistance' is commonly practiced (Dunn, 2016; Hall & Jefferson, 1975; McKay, 1996). This allows Sapporo punks to be accepted by the community as a 'punk', without needing to engage in more overtly resistive activities (demonstrations, political activism, and so on) (Letson, 2021). Simultaneously, those who do wish to engage in a more confrontational form of resistive are similarly free to do so without jeopardising community coherency through possible disagreements over political viewpoints or methodologies.

If we apply this view to wider punk histories, then the popular mainstream did not 'coopt' the 'resistance' of punk. Rather, in line with understandings of power relationships as complex, fluid, and intersectional (Foucault, 1978; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013), subculture and pop culture entered a mutually negotiated – if inherently uneven – relation of difference. Certain aspects of punk and other subcultures have indeed been integrated into mainstream material culture. Yet, they still maintain a degree of separation, allowing adherents to build identities and practices which diverge from sociocultural norms. In effect, they provide a liminal space "of contestations and alternatives... embedded in a broader urban fabric" (Faubion, 2008, p. 37) with the flexibility necessary for continual adaptation and longevity.

Furthermore, by taking heterotopia as a foundation from which to understand subcultural groups, we begin to find potential answers to some of the issues raised above. Older punks who continue to actively participate in their communities are no longer anomalies of 'arrested development', but rather people who have chosen to continue their negotiation of difference with mainstream culture. The processes of commodification are no longer a force of coercive cooptation, but rather a conversation between DIY producers, mainstream retail, and their numerous intermediaries (Laing, 1985). The conservation of heteronormativity or other societal norms that have been observed in many subcultural communities around the world (Downes, 2012) is no longer a blemish on the purity of underground resistance, but rather a reflection of the heterotopic bottom-line: however, much we might transgress from the norm, we can never fully escape our connections with the world(s) both in and around us.

It is undeniable that the spirit of resistance and rebellion associated with punk is what gives this subculture its energy and impetus to explore difference and contest norms. Unfortunately, as has long been observed, this struggle for a non-conformist utopia is ultimately doomed to failure (McKay, 1996). However, this resistive energy can carve out a space for heterotopia; the imaginative transgression and contestation of norms while simultaneously recognising that those norms can never fully be transcended. It is this aspect of punk in Sapporo which has allowed it to shift and adapt while still maintaining a coherent and cohesive community and which has afforded it such enviable longevity.

4. Conclusions

I am not suggesting that all of Sapporo's punks will continue their subcultural practice as they age (although my interlocutors all insist that they intend to do so). Neither am I inferring that Japan's elderly populace should become studded leather-wearing punk pensioners in an attempt to find life's meaning beyond retirement. What is clear from this study, however, is the usefulness – and perhaps, even, necessity – of heterotopic space. These spaces provide opportunities for the contestation and negotiation of sociocultural norms and the freedom to (re)interpret them in a way that best suits each individual and/or the groups with which they identify. Indeed, such processes are becoming increasingly prevalent in Japan's hyper-aged, hypo-social society (Kavedžija, 2019).

As they age and change, the different generations of Sapporo's punk community have employed the heterotopic qualities of punk to contest and transgress, not only the boundaries and norms of Japanese national society, but also the boundaries and norms of 'punk'. They have created a space where each individual, age cohort, generation, or social group may find their own lines of flight down which they may de/

reterritorialize what it means to be 'punk', 'hardcore', 'skinhead', 'Japanese', '50 years old', 'resistive', and so on. This has allowed them to maintain a space in which they can continue to contest commonly held norms even as their own personal ideals evolve with the flow of life's changing times.

Due to this, and despite many of them being employed in lower-paid or precarious jobs (Letson, 2021), none of my interlocutors in the community's older generations showed any of the concerns for their retirement which are common among Japanese seniors (Cabinet Office, 2016). Punk in Sapporo has provided them with a community which maintains many of the shapes and contours of the wider Japanese society with which they are all intimately familiar yet is different in some advantageous ways. The close-knit friendships of an age-based cohort provide a social safety net, but – unlike their peers outside the punk scene – this safety net is not based in the spaces of school and workplace which often become inaccessible after retirement (Coulmas, 2007).

Many of these benefits may be provided through other social activities available for Japan's retirees, such as club membership, volunteer activities, and so on (Matsumoto, 2011). However, the heterotopic nature of Sapporo's punk community produces a space in which people may age in transgressive ways. That is, they are able to contest how their aging affects and is affected by community expectations. Instead of being left to find 'age-appropriate' retirement activities, punks have access to somewhere they can safely navigate – and, indeed, have already navigated – the twists and turns of getting older both individually and as a social group. Thus, providing them with the means and the opportunity to (re)determine the balance point between self and community as their needs shift with age (Kavedžija, 2019). Furthermore, they may do so in a way that negotiates the fine, ever-shifting lines between their plural identities: punk, family member, employee, local, cosmopolitan, Hokkaidan, Japanese, and so on.

This view of a punk community as heterotopic, as opposed to something based purely on resistance, adds to understandings of subculture and its role in contemporary, transnational, urban space. In the case of Sapporo, it offers a vision of an inclusive ground for aging and inter-generational negotiation. This is a space in which both individuals and generational cohorts are free to reimagine the shape of their community as it befits them, while remaining grounded in their wider social relationships and identities. As the post-industrial world faces the challenges of hyper-aged, shrinking populations, the punks of Japan's northern frontier offer a viable approach for those who wish to maintain their wider social ties while aging (dis)gracefully.

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1.4 Hardcore Punk and skateboard and its relation with territory photography within Contemporary Arts

Javier Fernández Pérez de Lis[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

The idea behind this paper is to point the fact that many artists with hardcore punk, skateboard and/or the DIY ethic background are developing a very influential career in a nowadays art scene. This influence was not only aesthetic, but also conceptual. At the same time, there is a self-publishing tendency that emerges from zine practicing and ends in a large number of artist-books or photobooks. The main idea is to configure a wide corpus of work where we can establish a genealogy of artists under the influence of these subcultural practices. I subscribe the words that Fugazi´s member Ian Mackeye in this quotation on May the 7th, 2013, in the Library of Congress, Washington DC.

"… Skateboarding is not a hobby. And it is not a sport. Skateboarding is a way of learning how to redefine the world around you. It is a way of getting out of the house, connecting with other people and looking at the world through different set of eyes. …"

Keywords: hardcore, punk, skateboard, DIY, Contemporary Arts, self-publishing

1. The Black Flag show and NY art rock scene. Some starting points

As the beginning of my paper, I should point to this Black Flag gig. The crowd was formed by people like Dan Graham (the one who narrates this gig). Graham went with his neighbor Thurston More and Kim Gordon, later on *Sonic Youth*.

Dan Graham´s (1984) 'Rock my Religion' evolves in some way thus, ethos of punk and DIY and he used *Black Flag* and *Minor Threat* as the main BSO for the film.

The Black Flag recognizable logo was designed (or painted) by Raymond Pettibon. Raymond is the brother of Greg Gin, *Black Flag* guitarist and designed and drew many covers and flyers for Black Flag and SST records.

We also can point to the New York art scene where punk was related. Thinking on Arto Lindsay´s DNA performing 'Blonde Red Head' (1981) in Downtown 81.

Anyway, I would prefer to focus on Ian Mackeye and the post Minor Threat band *Fugazi* as inspiration. That drive us to the late eighties and the nineties and it is a good starting point for all of us who are around our 40´s to stick to just punk, skateboard and the DIY ethos.

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2. To the Point. Art and the scenes. Some examples

I do not want to make another history or just create an anthology about the topic. I would prefer to set down the creative atmosphere that has grown from these scenes.

Punk and Hardcore exploded internationally, as Eric Hannerz (2015) studied in *Performing Punk,* and I would like to think that this ubiquity permits that someone like me in a small town in Spain, could share ideas, manners and aesthetic with people from far away.

Talking about artists, I would like to point different examples here.

Sergej Vutuc, grew in Zagreb, between skate and DIY Hardcore scene. His practice is mainly focused on photography, film and overall, books and publications. He also appears as a performer, with great roots of punk ethos on his appearances.

Growing in the late 1990´s as a punk kid in Spain was probably not the big thing. This is the case of Aleix Plademunt, grown in Catalonia and with whom I share Hardcore friends. He also played in bands and was infused by urban scenes, human behavior in the cities, history, etc. And this could be a way to describe Plademunt photographic work: human vibes around cities.

There are plenty of others, almost every week I find new ones. Cristian Ordóñez, for example, a Chilean artist living in Canada is one of them. He works with space, shapes, memory and human traces and, for sure, his skateboarder background has influenced him.

The photographic and sculptural work of Pierre Descamps, who intervene city spaces with his 'skater gaze', makes skate spots grow. He built banks, grind boxes and different skate utilities and just install them in the public space.

Another remarkable artist is Raphael Zarka, with skatable structures installed on museums or with his research about the construction of skate ramps. He also works archiving Contemporary Sculptures as skate spots and using photographs selected from skate magazines.

I recently found the work of Eugene Shinkle analyzing the construction of her neighborhood skatepark.

And, of course, the big names like: Ed Templeton, Deanna Templeton, Jason Lee, or Trevor Paglen, are examples of this idea of people connected between hardcore music, skateboard, politically, ethically and aesthetically that has influenced so much the Contemporary Arts.

3. Conclusions

I would point out again Mackeye's intervention in the Library of Congress. That 'set of eyes' that affected us to see a different world in many ways. Something that influenced the way we built ourselves.

Hardcore Punk and skateboard were part of the subcultural movement in the 1980´s and 1990´s and stated this vision of a new way of doing things.

Once grown, the way we occupy the public space, the way we attended shows, designed posters or flyers, or the way we communicate is somehow alive with us.

Many architects, writers, and finally artists, that is my case study, keep this influence on his/her work.

It may be causal that many artists come from the same roots, but, by the moment, I keep on researching the hypothesis that there is a connection between Contemporary Arts and the participation in these scenes. I am glad to show several provers, as the examples shown before in the text.

Maybe there is a big creative aspect in both, Hardcore Punk and Skateboard is growing a scene from scratch, creating all the images, aesthetics, fashion and image by themselves.

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1.5 Symbolic exchanges, connections and territorialities in southern Brazil: an ethnography of punk resistance in Porto resistance in Porto Alegre and Curitiba

Tatiana de Oliveira[1]

✗ ~~Abstract~~

The constant resignification of punk since the early 1980s allowed it to be experienced by multiple actors, many of whom seek in punk a strategy for survival and resistance. In order to understand how punks have been using the DIY forms in Curitiba and Porto Alegre, cities located in southern Brazil, I carried out an ethnography with participant observation, interviews, and document research. The results show the relation between the symbolic forms of circulation of wealth in objects, people, and events and the survival of both people and punk itself. This study is part of my undergraduate dissertation on Cultural Anthropology, which was completed in 2020.

Keywords: anthropology, gig, social total fact, punk, DIY.

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1. Introduction

With some Brazilian bands celebrating their fortieth anniversary, punk persists both in big and smaller cities, assuming different conceptions and forms of action and organization. My interest in studying this movement from an anthropological point of view arose from an experience that crossed my personal life: I realized that people who experienced punk along with me in the 1980s are currently in a privileged socioeconomic situation. This allowed me to ask, on the other hand, what would have happened to a certain segment of punk - the one comprised of people who were distinctly perceived by virtue of their behavior and survival strategies. Where are the 77 punks who came from the neighbor areas and stayed on the streets of downtown Curitiba in the 1980s? And what about the anarcho-punks who have organized events to support animal rights and fight homophobia since the 1990s (Figure 1.5.1.)?

► Figure 1.5.1 – Anarcho-punks on downtown Curitiba
► Source: The author (1994)

When I first started to read some studies on punk, I realized that many of them focused on a part of the movement in which the researcher had participated. Although this does not necessarily constitute a

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problem, people who did not have access to higher education and who live in unprivileged social contexts are still not addressed in many of these studies. Thus, they represent the continuity of a certain 'official history' of punk, which was inaugurated in Brazil with the work of Bivar (1982) and reinforced by the visibility that the movement acquired since then, especially in São Paulo, the biggest city in the country. Furthermore, I also realized that the production of gigs[2] by people in a privileged social context was often motivated by a concern with maintaining the punk scene. However, these producers were unaware of how punk was being experienced in social contexts different from their own.

Among the people who understand punk as something essential and incorporate its elements in everyday life, some recognize themselves and are recognized by others as punks, while others are seen with reservations for not being 'real' punks. Called 'sympathizers' by the former, these, in turn, are named 'dirty punks'. Despite sharing some habits and preferences, they differ in certain behaviors and practices, which are claimed as legitimate. The ambiguity pointed out by Becker (2009) is present in this dispute for legitimacy.

It is from this point of view that I define my interest in this research: punks who, both in their conditions of material reproduction and their frequently stigmatized social representations, approach a situation of abjection, which was addressed by Butler (2002) and Rui (2012). By discussing these issues, the purpose is to bring to light the ways of being and doing that constitute these punks in their particularities and differences, collaborating for a dialogue about edges and centrality in this disputed scenario. Additionally, according to the perspective of Mauss (2003), understanding how the forms of autonomous construction are produced allows us to relate them to the survival of both people and the punk movement, as well as to highlight symbolic forms of circulation of objects, people, and even different activities. Thus, my central question was: how do they articulate the recognition by others and by themselves individually and collectively as a punk? To discussed it, I divided this study into two articulated units: being and doing.

2. Methodology

I carried out an ethnography with participant observation, interviews, and document research. Although preliminary contacts and experiences have enabled an initial approach, the gigs were a particularly fruitful opportunity for establishing a network and start conversations. I highlight three of them: the one with the Finnish band *Rattus*, on 02 May 2019, at 92 Graus pub in Curitiba, Paraná State; the one with the bands *Discrença* and *Besthöven*, on 12 October 2019, at the recording studio *Trilha Hub Cultural*, in Sapucaia do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul State; and the one in honor of the shop *Kayser Tattoo*, on 08 March 2020, at *Nova Embaixada pub*, in São Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul State.

To establish a network, I always informed the respondents of my research planning. Moreover, an important stage of the research process occurred after the gig with the bands *Besthöven* and *Discrença*, when I was invited to discussion groups in which spontaneous testimonies emerged. This invite facilitated my approach during the *Kayser Tattoo* gig and allowed me to make home visits and interviews regarding the research theme.

Some of these interviews were recorded on video. Additionally, to facilitate the approach in some situations, I also distributed a pamphlet about my work. Regarding the image usage rights, I prepared a Free and Informed Consent Form by adapting several models used in my undergraduate dissertation.

3. Being Punk: meanings

3.1. 'We exist and resist': the paths that lead and remain in punk

The results pointed out the meanings of being punk. There are several motivations for each person to join the underground scene, as Campoy (2010: 41) discusses in the case of extreme metal. Regarding the paths that lead to punk, Gordo, vocalist of the band *Exclusão Social*, from Caxias do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul State

2. In Brazil, most people use the English word 'show' to refer to musical performances. However, as in other groups, the term 'gig' became popular among the punks addressed in this study. In Becker (2009), it is possible to find mention of the term, used by jazz musicians to refer to a musical performance that is part of their work.

(Figure 1.5.2.), says that, besides being attracted by the punk aesthetic, he also saw a possibility of inclusion. For Tchaina, who plays bass guitar in the same band, what initially attracts a young person to the scene is the music and outfits. Therefore, their appearance is built from the interaction with the group and the development of ideas. In addition, Gordo points out the need to combine punk conceptions with everyday practices.

▶ Figure 1.5.2. – Band *Exclusão Social* [Social Exclusion]: Gordo, André, Tchaina, and Dadau
▶ Source: The author (2020)

There seems to be an agreement on the fact that punk represents resistance. For instance, when remembering the phases of his band, Rodrigo Sauro, drummer of *Discrença*, mentioned the street fights against fascists throughout the 2000s. Isadora HC, who lives in Santa Maria, located 292 km from Porto Alegre, values the history of those who have resisted for 20 or 30 years. Lídia, from Rio Grande, a town located 317 km from Porto Alegre, says: "Here in the extreme south, we exist and resist."

In the 1990s, Rodrigo Sauro spent some time at *Kaaza* - the first Curitiba's squat[3] with Moska, drummer, guitar player, and vocalist of the bands *Destroy System*, *Mentes Livres* [Free Minds], and *Disbiopsia*. He also mentions the strengthening brought by the Social Forums that occurred from 2001 to 2004 in Porto Alegre, which had the participation of people from other countries and Brazilian states, and also provided a better articulation between Porto Alegre - the capital of Rio Grande do Sul State - and the countryside.

Likewise, Marcelo, from the band *Escöria* and also resident of Rio Grande, shows how this geographic displacement can reinforce the bonds between people by organizing excursions to attend the gigs and stay with friends, revealing that this affinity is built in the peripheral regions. Rodrigo, for example, when narrating the history of *Discrença*, mentions important places for the band in Esteio, Sapucaia do Sul, Gravataí, and Canoas, towns of the Porto Alegre metropolitan area. Remaining in punk is generally seen as a way of resistance. Regarding this issue, Zé Carlos, owner of a tattoo shop in Porto Alegre, said:

We have to organize ourselves so the punk doesn't die. There's no renovation anymore, today everyone is old, but even so, we need to be on the streets showing the idea. It's not just the look or the sound.

3. In Brazil, both 'squat' and 'occupation' are terms used to refer to squatted buildings that serve as shelter and political-cultural base.

When gigs happen during the day, some parents attend with their children (Figure 1.5.3.).

▶ Figure 1.5.3. – Kelly, Frank, and their son Max. Marzon, the man on the right, played with them in the *Féretro* band
▶ Source: The author (2020)

3.2. 'Simply punk': legitimacy and ambiguity

The dispute regarding the idea of true and false was always present in several underground cultures, and it is not something new in the punk scene. Oliveira (2015) includes this subject among the most mentioned ones in fanzines published between 1982 and 1984. Until now, this debate has crossed different punk branches.

Although the definition of who is or is not punk is not precise, it can produce a distinction between the ones who identify themselves as punks and those who circulate in these environments without participating in certain rituals and ways of life. This dichotomy produces a tension that contributes to understanding some of the questions proposed in this study. In the perspective of Gordo:

> *We're punk, simply punk. Regardless of whether you're a raw punk, an anarcho-punk, or a street punk. We're a street culture from the suburbs. We're for punk. Any other culture has to come after punk. First, it's punk, then, the rest.*

This idea is expressed in a T-shirt made by the band (Figure 1.5.4.). Roger, vocalist of the band *Discrença*, is more emphatic:

We're punks, we're in this for life. It's been 20 years and we've played for the punk. Here at the Rio Grande do Sul State many bands call themselves punks but we've never seen these people in the punk scene we belong to.

▸ Figure 1.5.4. – 'Simply Punk' T-shirt
▸ Source: The author (2020)

According to Becker (2009), since groups and individuals are mixed, values and practices oscillate, which provides ambiguity to the norms of a given group. For him, deviation is not a homogeneous category and it does not end with simple adherence to certain diacritics, but rather in a complex mesh of circumstances and control of impressions that allow us to be categorical in relation to some situations and malleable in relation to others.

Constantly occurring in punk, it involves internal codes linked to what is considered to contribute or not to the consolidation of this culture. The ways people behave in the scene play a central role in controlling impressions and what they represent in this context. Therefore, the greater the collaboration for organization, production of materials, and personal and collective trajectories, the greater the possibility of a person to be recognized, despite the oscillations.

Goffman (2004, p. 28) points out that a given group of people, which he calls informed, can sympathize with the condition of the stigmatized ones without, however, experiencing it. Due to the ambiguities above mentioned, punks who do not have regular work, access to higher education, or money to attend a gig that is not produced by their group are often stigmatized by their supporters or the 'weekend punks' who circulate in the same environments and share the same musical taste.

Much more than a conditioning dichotomy, I intend to take seriously the otherness expressed in the production of legitimacy, which distinguishes the equal from the different, those from inside from those from outside, as well as determines the existence of a us and them perspective. These distinctions, meticulously controlled and exposed in the individuals' preferences, clothes, and behaviors, allow the collective celebration or denounce of what is or is not recognized as real punk, that is, those people and groups legitimized by the representatives of what is being punk.

3.3. 'They just drink': the dirty punk's abjection

To explicit the rejection to the standards that punk culture, in its broadest sense, fights, the punks intentionally use outfits strongly linked to their identification. However, this same aesthetic can be used as a beacon and related to public appearance issues by those who do not experience this group's daily life. A person involved in the gigs' production gives his opinion:

punks don't like all bands because some have members who went to university, are teachers, have a more stable life.

On the other hand, according to same person, some of them:

> *(...) go to the gigs and stand at the door asking to come in without paying. They say they want to change the world, but they just drink and don't help with anything. They don't even collaborate for an event where the bands they like will play.*

He concludes:

> *We call them dirty punks, but it's just a way of speaking, because we're always doing many things with them.*

The figure of the dirty punk is a kind of virtual identity that aggregates characteristics perceived as negative: the dirty punks are the ones who do not contribute to punk maintenance, who do not join the gigs because they spent their money on drink and, therefore, need to stay on the sidewalks (Figure 1.5.5.), who have difficulty in making a living from a job. They are seen as enemies of punk culture.

This negative perception of the dirty punks led me to Rui (2012), who, when studying scenarios of the use and trade of crack cocaine in São Paulo, came across the figure of the *nóia* (an equivalent of the 'junkie' figure), whose degraded representation is a materialized image of what is not desirable. Not by chance, *nóia* is often an accusatory term, i.e., a pejorative label. Butler (2002) brings the idea of abjection as an illegitimate human life that is practically impossible to materialize. Although it is idealized, at the same time, it is an illustrative and concrete image.

Similar to this interpretation of the *nóia* image, the dirty punk is perceived with demerit not only by those who do not participate in this culture but also by those within the punk scene. Both knowledge and practices of dirty punks are minimized by the different groups that promote or participate in events in which punks play or attend. This stereotype originates dehumanization speeches that do not consider their geographical mobility, organization, work, relationship with band materials, or personal and collective trajectories. As in the *nóia* case, it is hard to empirically apprehend the figure of the dirty punk since it is more evoked than practiced.

However, besides producing distance, the dirty punk figure can also produce closeness to the extent that abjection is desired and cultivated since it integrates the repertoire of meanings and practices of punk culture in a more comprehensive way. These actions are intentional. People actively approach this place of abjection as a praised value expressed in the aesthetic, music, nicknames, and attitudes that allow one to recognize themself and be recognized as a dirty punk.

Thus, what these figures experience is part of the process of dispute and control over the impressions on who they are, how they are perceived, and their strategies to adhere to certain situations instead of others.

4. Doing Punk: practices

4.1. Territorialities

The tendency of certain groups to appreciate a given punk tradition more than others is also expressed through the bands they are affiliated with, and their aesthetic and ideological choices. Always permeated by oscillations, the most popular punk perspective can reveal the meanings of each group or person's practices, although it cannot be taken as an exclusive criterion.

These diverse traditions blend in the field's everyday practices in different ways. Several punk branches, such as anarcho-punk and raw punk, present a diversity of understandings and actions that manifest themselves differently depending on the place.

In the 1990s, for instance, Curitiba's anarcho-punk was more related to those who considered punk as a central element of their lives than those who refused to leave the comfort of their homes, for example, to live in a squat - as did Moska, who created a performance that is still respected and recognized in the current punk scene.

However, despite his reputation, Moska is no longer recognized as an anarcho-punk since he left this branch aside after concluding that it has many rules of conduct and demands for compliance, preferring to follow a different path.

On the other hand, the anarcho-punks of the Great Porto Alegre are seen by those who understand themselves as real punks as socially more privileged people, as reported by Gabriel. Curiously, the anarcho-

punks do not participate in the traditional May 1st demonstration, which is promoted by the anarchist Brazilian Workers' Confederation (Confederação Operária Brasileira - COB). The content preparation and promotion, bands' presentation and audience have a major participation of the dirty punks.

Therefore, the ways in which individuals affiliate with a particular branch and their motivations differ according to the localities and arrangements that consider numerous aspects.

4.2 Mauss, Durkheim's punk nephew

By announcing the central question of his essay, *The Gift*, Mauss (2003) proposed an understanding of the exchange system not only for the named archaic societies — on which he massively listed data related to different exchange modes — but also for the contemporary ones. Far from dealing only with material assets, the exchanges also involve the intangible and are described in a wide range of situations.

The author realized that this dynamic is composed of donations and counter donations, as well as benefits and counter benefits, through three gestures that, together, constitute what he named total benefits: to give, to receive, and to repay.

For Mauss (2003, pp. 188, 212, 251-252), the thing given is not inert but shall possess a force that leads it to circulate through what he named gift, a conception that originated the idea of the 'Maussian spirit of things'. Although Lanna (2000) has criticized the methodology adopted by Mauss (2003) in one of his formulations, he recognizes that the principle of reciprocity can be applied as a universalizing theory.

For Martins (2016), the main movement of Marcel Mauss was to insert a symbolic dimension in his analysis, which was based on the understanding that objects, people, and events carry affections that, when circulating through the gift, promote the circulation of life experiences and social practices.

In this sense, Mauss's work is the theoretical framework of this study, offering analytical possibilities. Caillé (2002, p. 19) inscribes the gift in a place beyond individual actions and market relations, proposing a way to overcome the boundaries of both the base, where individuals are separately located, and the top, where the social totality is situated. The gift, in this way, can analyze social bonds from a horizontal structure, which connects individuals in their social relationships. Although at this moment I will not further the dialogue with other authors and the modalities listed by Mauss (2003), I will present some fieldwork results.

▶ Figure 1.5.5. – Isadora and Crânio, 'dirty punks' on a sidewalk of Porto Alegre
▶ Source: The author (2020)

4.3. 'Usually, I don't buy': affects involved in the circulation of objects, events, and people

For the studied group, their productions represent more than profit since they are a way of spreading ideas. The narratives I collected allowed me to approach some aspects of the punk culture in Curitiba, Porto Alegre, and their metropolitan areas. During the fieldwork in 2019, I met Gabriel and PJ, residents of the metropolitan area of Porto Alegre. At that time, Gabriel lived with his mother in the district of Itapuã - a rural area in the town of Viamão, located 57 km from Porto Alegre - and PJ played bass guitar for the band *Discrença*. After listening to a CD with songs of the band, Gabriel spoke with PJ through a messaging app: "Awesome, bro! Two decades of friendship and I only knew the sound from gigs. That's why physical media is so important". PJ answered: "Physical media may already be outdated, but it's still the bands' way to earn some cash". The amount collected from CDs and t-shirts sales is usually used to replace strings on instruments or record new songs. However, there are reports of disagreements regarding the money administration, as when a band member decides alone how to spend it.

Next, Gabriel shows an album and speaks with his then-girlfriend, Elisângela Morte:

> *This one is from an Italian label. A double album, R$160.00. The guys push the bands and they send new records. They arrive here with abusive prices.*

She answers:

> *Yes, the dollar's exchange rate is R$4.25[4].*

Information on how to eliminate intermediary steps when acquiring a coveted album easily circulates among them. Knowing the advantages and disadvantages, Gabriel advises:

> *Don't buy online, look for physical media with cover bands and friends.*

More than listening on a digital platform, access, in addition to the auditive, visual, and tactile material, is a valued experience.

Despite involving commercial transactions, both the purchase and sale of band materials are not related solely to it since people understand this procedure as a way of supporting practices closely related to the meanings of being punk.

Gabriel addresses the importance of the records:

> *Records are an addiction. The guys who introduced me to vinyl records admitted being addicted to it.*

He explains how to have access to the materials without necessarily buying them:

> *Generally, is making something for the bands. Buying is complicated, so I have few copies. It's time to produce a material. Screen printing. A friend of mine customizes t-shirts for bands when they go on tour and he don't charge anything, he asks for stuff.*

In fact, the production of materials for exchange has a cost, but it is reduced due to the labor involved.

The central role punk plays in Gabriel's life is expressed through his list of priority expenses:

I have to pay pension, put spikes on my jacket, and buy records.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
4. On 07 September 2021, the exchange rate of the dollar was R$5.17 and the euro, R$6.14.

The jacket ornamented with studs, pins, and patches - pieces of printed fabric - is an emblem that expresses a preference that is not just musical but resides within the punk culture.

A situation that involves the circulation not necessarily of objects, but people is the gigs. Marcelo reports:

> *We try to bring together an affinity group, go on an excursion. We agree with our peers to stay in someone's home and accommodate ourselves.*

In addition to band formation and rehearsals, recording songs requires some logistics. Marcelo explains:

> *We record everything at home. We got some equipment here, others there, and we produce the recordings ourselves.*

He adds:

> *We don't just record to ourselves; we also record bands we have an affinity with.*

Fofão, from the band *Besthöven*, has been playing all the instruments in his recordings since 1995. For the gigs, he invites two more musicians to the performance. He explains this dynamic: "I record all the stuff alone in the studio, all my records are me recording alone. I play guitar, bass guitar, drums, and voice. When I play on the gigs, I invite some crazy ones to play with me".

4.4.'On the fringes of capitalism': work as resistance

Sometimes practiced in association with the circulation of material and immaterial goods in the gift circuit, sometimes in an attempt to continue providing meaning for the punk ways of understanding the world, sometimes formally inserted in a relationship between boss and employee: work expresses different possibilities of resistance. It is inserted into the system through different contexts and permeated by its structural precariousness and the formation of a new proletariat. Below, I present two types of work arrangement that are directly associated with Mauss's gift.

4.4.1 'My dream is paying the bills only with the t-shirts': the search for autonomy

As mentioned previously, punks are often involved in activities related to gift production and circulation. Many people, like Gabriel, have the ability to produce specific items, but the urgency to meet the minimum expenses often prevents them from dedicating exclusively to this practice. Likewise, Pereba, from the Curitiba's bands *Destroy System* and *Bomba Caseira*, for a long time was unable to carry out his plans of printing t-shirts. It was only with his new job as an assistant in a garment factory that he started to receive a salary, which allowed him and his partner Taiz (also a member of Bomba Caseira) to purchase inputs for the new productions of their brand, *Total Krude*.

By observing the everyday life in a small French working-class town, Weber (2009) realized that the social practices outside the factory could be arranged in several ways that were not, in the first instance, considered work, as they were usually associated with home and leisure. However, the author noted that such categories were mixed with parallel work, with no exact delimitation between work and domestic relations.

Similarly, the activities carried out by Gabriel, Pereba, and Taiz, who also have formal employment, are not fully considered work, despite their desire to make them their main source of livelihood. This is the case of Lucas, who since 2018 has managed to survive on sales of t-shirts and patches printed on his brand *Sangue de Barata*. Frequently, he establishes partnerships aiming to use the physical structures of his friends' screen printing workshops, where he also produces for other segments. Lucas is often requested by bands from Curitiba, consequently increasing his participation in the scene.

Although the majority of this group cannot manage to survive through such activities, some individuals stand out, as in the case of Fofão (Robson Felipe). With prolific, uninterrupted, and diversified production, Felipe (2020) registered in his first book the *Besthöven*'s discography from 1995 to 2020, accounting for more than 100 independent phonographic releases, including cassette tapes, vinyl records, and CDs.

Perhaps the main DIY aspect evidenced in Felipe's production is autonomy. Since he plays all instruments and records alone, he has a greater possibility to travel, which influences the cost and planning of the tours. He is also responsible for the conception and execution of *Besthöven*'s graphic projects - which until 2007 was analogical, about which he (2020) declares:

> *my arts on the records were made the same way I make music: sometimes with very little in my hand, but with a lot in my head and heart.*

In the same year, Fofão released three more books, with reproductions of articles (from 1990 to 2012) and images (from 1980 to 2007), that were already published in his fanzine *Vermynoze Pütrida*, and in the journal of the *Besthöven*'s European Disaster Tour, in 2011 (Figure 1.5.6.). Endorsing one of the precepts of punk, Felipe (2020) declares:

> *I have learned to survive with what I have within my reach, without caring about expensive guitars and instruments that cost the same as a car.*

▶ Figure 1.5.6. – Books published by Fofão in 2020
▶ Source: The author (2020)

Such autonomy, however, does not relegate teamwork to the background. On the contrary, the DIY in punk, as the gift in Mauss (2003), presupposes alliances. Without Felipe's ability to establish and maintain them, his production might not have reached such a large scale.

4.4.2. 'Mangueio' in the streets

Although the cases addressed until this point reveal a relationship approved between those who belong to punk or are somehow interested in it, not always the ways of obtaining resources from the production in punk involve people of the scene. At the central area of Curitiba, it is common for groups of punks who, carrying fanzines, stickers, or just a paper sheet with a printed image, constantly approach strangers asking for some financial or material aid, a practice known as *mangueio*.

By observing this practice among homeless people, Melo (2014) points out that this is an alternative used to obtain resources for survival. Under those circumstances, even if the person has access to shelter and food, the *mangueio*, unlike other donating practices, provide them access to money.

In punk, as in the *mangueio* illustrated by Melo (2014), both approach and request vary according to location, time, and audience. On nightly occasions, for example, *mangueio* practitioners usually obtain only money, cigarettes, or drinks.

Furthermore, Melo (2014) also highlighted in the case of homeless people their fear of being considered parasites when they are unable to meet their own material needs, thus requiring help from their peers. The image of the parasite is accusatory both when it originates from those who do not share the same ways of life and from those who belong to the same group. Graeber (2013, n/p) emphasizes that more than an economic aspect, the idea that "anyone who is not willing to submit to an intense work discipline deserves nothing" is related to the moral value of work.

Although in a particular way, the risk of being considered a parasite is also present among the punks and comprises their concerns regarding what they represent and the control of impressions on those who are part of the scene. The punk who practices *mangueio* is often seen as a parasite not just by people outside the movement but also by people who attend the gigs. In relation to this, Lucas, owner of the brand *Sangue de Barata*, declares:

> *a new modality of the 'Olympics of Hypocrisy' is criticizing mangueio but making crowdfunding on internet.*

Despite being considered parasites, these punks can get involved in events without dealing with the weight of this accusatory figure. For example, many punks who practice mangueio in Curitiba attend the free lunch distribution at the Hare Krishna temple. Food is distributed through the window, and the punks sit on the sidewalks with homeless people and others who go downtown to eat. In January 2020, these punks were involved in the production of the gig *Punks Against Hunger*, in which the bands *Destroy System, Dysbiopsia, SOS Chaos, Final Notice*, and *Crotch Rot* performed in order to help the Hare Khrishna's project by gathering food. Once again, the system of benefits and counter-benefits seems to explain the dynamics of these relationships.

Besides a method for obtaining resources, many punks understand the *mangueio* as a means of disseminating ideas and strengthening the punk movement. In this context, the production of materials might occur collaboratively. Moska, who, in addition to his bands, also administrates the Facebook page *Cuspindo no Sistema*, creates fanzines and distributes them for other people to use in their *mangueio* practices, refers that "Sometimes the guys can't produce anything to change in the streets, so I give a boost to those who are interested".

In other words, although the practice of *mangueio* can be characterized as a survival strategy for accessing consumer goods that involve mainly the exchange of objects and stories for money or even the attention of the interlocutor, it is not limited to this. The practice is also justified beyond its utilitarian purpose of obtaining economic results since it is a substantial part of the values that represent the punk perspective. It is a life alternative based on practical needs that also articulates and represents the meanings attributed to what is being and doing punk.

5. Final considerations

With the proposition of the total social fact, Mauss (2003, p. 187) took a step forward to the work of Durkheim and pointed out "an enormous set of facts", which present a great complexity. According to him, in these facts, everything that constitutes the properly social life of societies is mixed and able to express, at the same time, the most diverse institutions - political, familiar, and economic. As it is also an experience that occurs in individual terms, the total social fact has a three-dimensional character, encompassing sociological, historical, and psychological understandings.

From this perspective, I suggest that, through the gigs, the production and circulation of materials and events in the punk scene have its total social fact. Almost as a ritual moment, it constitutes a climax where several aspects related to its values and practices are lived intensely and can be perceived in the same place: music, aesthetics, the meeting of different generations, the celebration of friendships and partnerships, bands' performances, commercialization of food prepared especially for the occasion, and exchange of contacts, fanzines, and materials regarding the bands. Moreover, it is also allowing the realization of joint performances and tours that were previously planned.

As people show interest in such objects and situations, the economic issue becomes less important than the circulation ones. This brings the market value to the background, ceasing to be a mere prosaic commercial relationship in order to become a moment of exchange between people, mediated by shared interests and belongingness.

As stated by Mauss (2003), such moments provide the exchange of rites, pleasantries, dances, and parties. However, they also reveal internal contradictions. I believe the value of the gig as an analytical category resides in this fact. Therefore, I intend to follow the continuity of the research.

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Theme tune 2

One way or another: underground cultures, alternative economies and creativity

2.1 The commonalities between the DIY cultures of rebetiko and blues

Nassos Polyzoidis[1]

✕ Abstract

Rebetiko is a style of folk music that originated at the end of the nineteenth century by marginal people in prisons and ports of Greece. It has always been associated with instruments of the bouzouki family yet has been characterised as 'the blues of Greece'. For economic reasons, early musicians of these traditions collected cans, tins, cigar boxes or turtle shells from the trash, the fields, and prison yards to build their own instruments. Inspired by these musicians, the singer-songwriter Georges Pilali attempted to connect the two worlds by mixing their sounds. He covered *rebetiko* songs by fingerpicking and playing slide on resonator guitar, whereas he performed blues standards on *bouzoukobaglamadhes*. The similarities of these handmade instruments, accompanied by analysis of two original songs by the author that combine their individual styles, demonstrate the common ground between these two distinct cultures that grew far apart for over a century.

Keywords: *rebetiko* and blues, Georges Pilali, DIY instruments, *rebetoblues*.

1. Background

The term *rebetiko*[2] has been used to describe a style of urban folk music that originated at the end of the nineteenth century by marginal people in prisons (Tambouris, 2008, p. 7) and ports of Greece. Yet, it is still quite unclear what the word *rebetiko* in fact means and is still a subject of some debate. The songwriter, *rebetiko* records collector and enthusiast, Panos Savvopoulos, has collected various definitions of the term from dictionaries and books on *rebetiko*, as well as multiple references about what *rebetiko* is, and compiled his 2006 book that concentrates on that subject (Savvopoulos, 2006). Others support that *rebetiko* is a 'state of mind', rather than a genre of music, as the journalist Maria Kostala claims on the Culture Trip website (Kostala, 2017). By contrast, several authors have contributed to the creation of a myth around *rebetiko*, such as the author of the first book on the subject by the folklorist and urban historian Elias Petropoulos. This has led to a debate that Daniel Koglin analyses in *Greek Rebetiko from a Psychocultural Perspective* (2016). Despite such discrepancies, Petropoulos's book is well cited as he was the first to collect songs of different themes, such as prison songs, hashish songs, *mourmoúrika* (murmur) songs, and others, homogenizing them under the same label of *rebetika* songs, which was also the title of his 1968 anthology (*Rebetika Traghoúdhia*). Moreover, he divided *rebetiko* into three distinct eras: *Smyrneiko*[3] *rebetiko*; the 'classic' period, when Piraeus-style *rebetiko* was the predominant sound; and the period of wide consumption, when *rebetiko* evolved into

laïkó[4] and *archontorebétiko* (posh *rebetiko*). Finally, the second edition of his anthology was a sizeable tome that included a substantial archive of photographs. In 1968, the Regime of Colonels, a far-right authoritarian military junta (1967-1973) banned his book, and he was sentenced to five months in prison (Tragaki, 2007) for "pornography" (Taylor, 1981, p. 9). In fact, *rebetiko* has previously been banned for long periods of time, in different eras of Greek history and since the beginning of the twentieth century. Even holding an instrument that has been associated with *rebetiko*, such as a bouzouki or *baglamas*, could result in a prison sentence, and lyrics and stories exist about policemen who would break the bouzouki of a *rebétis*[5] in the middle of the street. Within the last few decades, several books have been published, including comic books and digital anthologies with fresh illustrations. Some of these can be seen as a repetition of the key points of previous publications, such as Dimitropoulos's recent anthology of illustrations (2020), while others, such as Koglin (2016), try to shed light on the *rebetiko* debate. On several occasions, the term *rebetiko* has been implying the classic period of Piraeus-style *rebetiko*.

In 1962, Dick Dale gained worldwide popularity from his American surf rock version of the 1927 *rebetiko* song 'Misirlou' (Egyptian girl). Dale used the tremolo picking technique, which is quite common in surf music, but it is also a typical *bouzouki* technique. The song regained popularity in 1994, when the director Quentin Tarantino used it in the opening credits of his film *Pulp Fiction* (Grow, 2014). Once more, it renewed popularity in 2006, when sampled by the band *Black Eyed Peas* in their song 'Pump It', while concurrently Dale's version was included in the video game Guitar Hero 2 (Erlewine, 2019). Finally, it was heard in venues and at the closing ceremony of the 2004 Summer Olympics. In 2017, *rebetiko* was inscribed on the UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity[6].

2. The Greek blues

Rebetiko had been described as 'the Greek blues', or 'the blues of Greece'. Although the precise origin of this definition has not been established, these descriptions have been repeatedly used in articles, interviews, album covers and promotional materials, including posters. In some cases, it has been used as the title for an article, regardless of whether the author presents this idea, or not. For example, Maria Kostala (2017) has used the title *Rembetika: The Blues of Greece*, but there is only one superficial mention of the blues. This idea remains a subject of debate in for a of *rebetiko* enthusiasts. Examples of commercial use can be observed in the 2015 album *Rebetiko Au Bouzouki* by Paraskevas Grekis, which is subtitled 'The Greek Blues', or the 2018 poster *Rebetika: Birth of the Greek Blues*, of the Greek Rebetiko Trio. Savvopoulos has contributed to the debate by disseminating his observations in different media, identifying similarities between *rebetiko*, the Portuguese *fado*, the Spanish flamenco, the Argentine tango, and especially the African American blues.

Dafni Tragaki seems to confirm that "one of the most commonly applied descriptions of rebetiko song was that which described the music as 'the Greek blues'" (Tragaki, 2007, p. 116). Most recently, Daniel Koglin states that "it is mainly Piraeus-style rebetiko that has been mixed with globalized musical idioms. Blues has been tried by several artists" (Koglin, 2016, p. 101). In the same page, he adds a footnote stating:

> *It is interesting, though hardly surprising, that rebetiko is often mixed with various older and contemporary 'subcultural' or 'underground' styles such as the blues (cf. the albums by Pavlos Sidiropoulos, 1992; George Pilali, 1994 and Stelios Vamvakaris, 1995), [...], post-punk (Kyriakides and Moor, 2010) and Gypsy swing (The Burger Project, 2013; Gadjo Dilo, 2013). Metaphorical statements like the common 'rebetiko is the Greek blues' or 'rebetiko is protest music' have their musical equivalent in these stylistic fusions (Koglin, 2016, p. 101).*

Stathis Gauntlett of the University of Melbourne also reports Pilali's record, as well as Vamvakaris's collaboration with the bluesman Louisiana Red that led to the 2009 album *Blues Meets Rebetiko* (2001, p. 135). Additionally, *rebetiko* has been mixed with the blues in Sidiropoulos's posthumous EP (2003), and in the 2017 album of *rebetiko* and folk guitarist Dimitris Mystakidis (Polyzoidis, 2019, p. 4). Recently, Gauntlett (2019) published the article 'Rebetika, the Blues of Greece – and Australia' in the edited volume Greek Music in America.

4. 'Song of the people', often described as 'urban folk song"4' or 'the Greek working-class song'.

5. A *rebetiko* musician, or a person that embraces the *rebetiko* ideology and lives a certain 'marginal' kind of life.

6. Available at: https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/rebetiko-01291

## 2.1. George Pilali and his album Theocomodia

The 1994 album that Koglin describes as a mix of *rebetiko* with the blues is by the musician, singer-songwriter and satirical poet, George[7] Pilali: *Theocomodia* (Divine Comedy). This album contains more covers than originals, but Koglin based his observation on the fact that Pilali performed *rebetiko* songs with instruments that are associated with blues music, such as resonator slide guitar, and conversely, blues standards with instruments that are associated with *rebetiko* and Turkish music. More specifically, he presents himself, his guest artists, and his hired musicians in the liner notes of his album, declaring that Georges Pilali sings, and plays National Steel slide guitar, 12-string slide guitar, *banjoline* (mandolin-banjo), [Greek] *baglamas* and *sazi* (Turkish *bağlama*, or *saz*); The American blues singer Big Time Sarah sings; The American blues guitarist, harmonica player, and singer Louisiana Red sings and plays electric guitar and National Steel guitar. He refers to the musicians as 'the people', which is a slang, similar to the blues or jazz term 'the cats'. They play percussion, *santoúri* (the Greek cimbalom), washboard, bass guitar, saxophone, bouzouki, acoustic guitar, *kanonáki* (the Greek kanun), accordion, *tsaboúna* (the Greek bagpipes), [Turkish] *yaylı tambur*, [Turkish] *ney*, *oúti* (the Greek oud), tambourine, clarinet and *laoutokítharo* (a lute guitar). The result is an unusual mixture of a Greek out-of-the-ordinary artist, with two African American blues artists, and musicians playing electric instruments, Greek folk instruments, and Turkish instruments. The last two categories had previously been used in *rebetiko* music, the former mostly in Piraeus-style *rebetiko*, while the latter in Smyrna-style *rebetiko*. Pilali is a distinctive figure believes that, since the art of theatre is hidden in every Greek's subconscious, every concert is a theatrical play. He has always been introducing his songs to the audience by reciting a fantastic story that happened to his character, influenced by the *rebétis* George Baté.[8] Pilali's character has been wandering around America, where he accidentally finds Muddy Waters and other bluesmen. Two of his best-known covers are: the song 'Teketzis' ('The Teké[9] Runner'), that is Yiorgos Batis's 'O Boufetzis' ('The Buffet Runner') performed with a resonator guitar and the use of the fingerpicking and slide techniques (Polyzoidis, 2020), and Robert Johnson's 'Sweet Home Chicago', performed with bouzoukis, *baglamádhes*,[10] *banjolin* and accordion.

3. Typical instruments

Nowadays, *rebetiko* is strongly associated with bouzouki but that is not the only instrument that has been used to play *rebetiko* music. There are a number of variations. For example, *Smyrneiko* would not involve bouzoukis, but, according to Tragaki (2007, p. 7), *kanonáki*, *laouto* (lute), *santoúri* (zither), and *klaríno* (clarinet) were the main instruments. According to Nikos Papakostas, the instruments were violin, *santoúri*, guitar, *Polítiki* lyra[11] (Constantinopolitan lyre) and *kanonáki*. In the Piraeus-style *rebetiko* the chief instruments were *tríchordo*[12] bouzouki(s) and *baglamas* (Papakostas, 2015, p. 56), and sometimes folk guitars were also involved. The extensive use of *bouzouki* during the 'classic' period made it a symbol of the genre of *rebetiko* in general. *Bouzoukobaglámadhes* is a compound word from *bouzouki* and *baglamádhes*, highlighting the *tríchorda*, and removing the guitar from the picture. Another relatively common *tríchordo* is the *tzourás*, but Petropoulos also mentions, among others, the *bouzoukomána*,[13] the *gónato*,[14] and the *baglamadháki* (Petropoulos, 1991, p. 17). The guitar has mostly been used for accompaniment purposes, except the guitar playing of the *rebétes* who migrated to the US at the beginning of the twentieth century: they copied the local musicians,

. . . .

7. Pronounced in a French accent, and thus it should have been transcribed as 'Georges'. Also transcribed as 'Zorz', for that reason in other sources.

8. Pronounced in French accent. The nickname of the *rebétis* known as Yiorgos Batis or Abatis, whose real name was in fact Yiorgos Tsoros.

9. A pothouse/dive where *rebétes* used to gather to smoke hashish.

10. Plural of baglamas.

11. The equivalent of the Turkish classical *kemenche*, or *klasik kemençe*.

12. Literally translates as 'three-stringed', but in fact it involved three pairs of strings, so it could be transcribed as 'three-course'. The plural is *tríchorda* and can be used to describe the whole family of bouzouki that has the standard tuning of D-A-D, except for the contemporary version of bouzouki, which involves four pairs of strings, hence it is a *tetráchordo* (four-course).

13. A compound word from bouzouki and *mána*, which literally translates as 'bouzouki-mum'.

14. Literally translates as knee, because of the shape of his body.

adapting it to their own style, so they could make a living. Many rescued pictures of the 'classic' *rebetiko* era reveal that the majority of *rebétes*, either known or unknown, hold *trichorda* of various shapes and sizes. Similarly, pictures of the country (or folk, or downhome) bluesmen hold acoustic guitars, and the fingerstyle was the predominant technique. Until today, regardless of the transition from the acoustic to the electric blues, the guitar remains the main instrument to play blues music. Nevertheless, musicians of both traditions experimented with other instruments, and some of them built their own DIY instruments out of necessity. For instance, in his recent digital art anthology, Spyros Dimitropoulos illustrates how *rebétes* would convert mandolins into bouzoukis, or more specifically, to what they would call a *mandolo-bouzouko* (mandola-bouzouki) or a *miso-bouzouko* (half-bouzouki) (2020). Since the mandolin was not banned, because it was associated with serenades and other Western European styles, it would be easier to find than a bouzouki. So, the mandolin's neck would be replaced with a longer one, and the converted instrument would imitate the bouzouki, as seen in Figure 2.1.1.
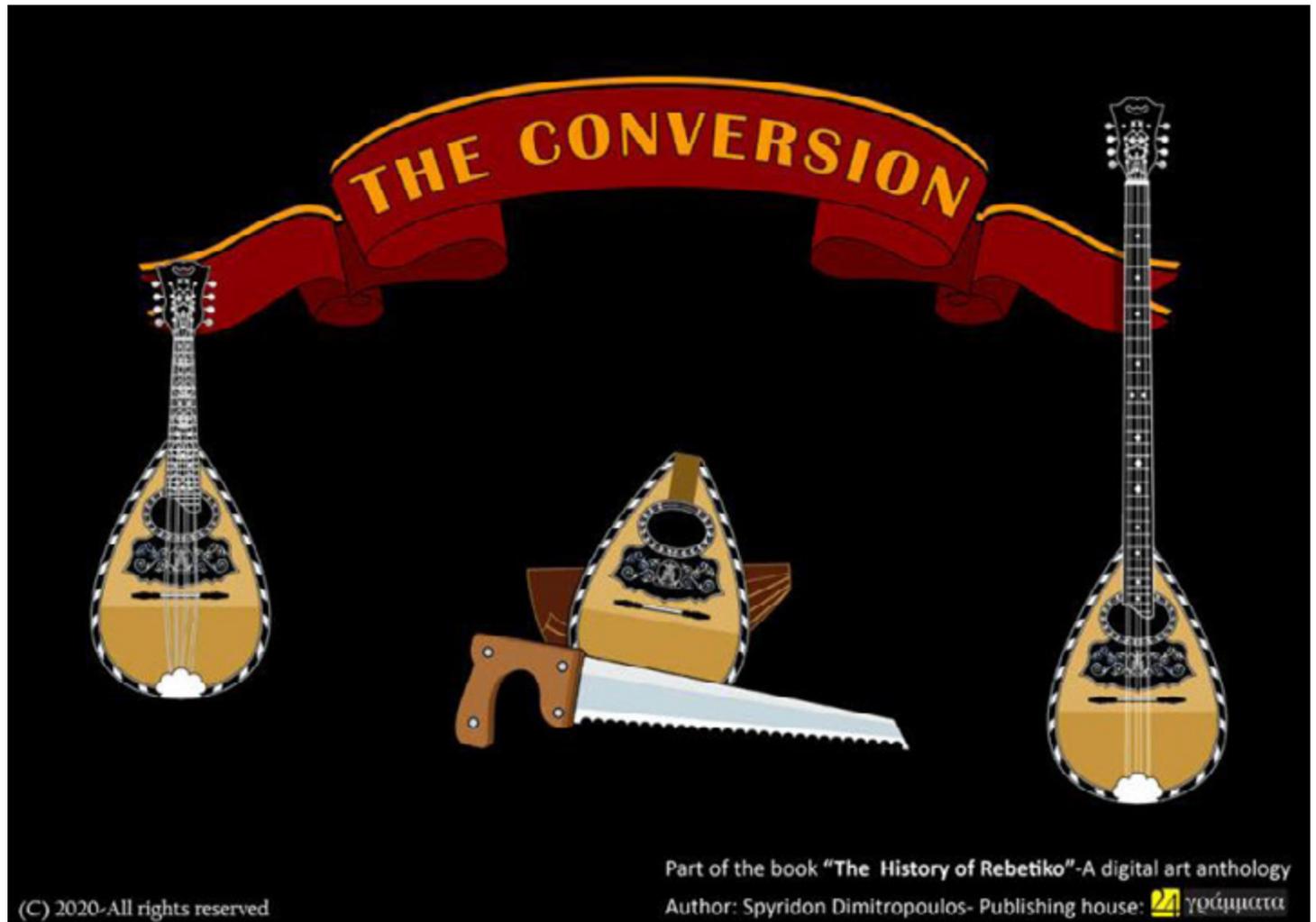
▸ Figure 2.1.1. - Conversion of a mandolin into a *mandolo-bouzouko* or *miso-bouzouko*
▸ Source: 24grammata publications

3.1. Similarities between the (DIY) instruments of rebetiko and blues

While both cultures use instruments with similar characteristics, each has a distinct musical approach: due to the use of fretted instruments, *rebétes* have adapted the Turkish *makam* and the Byzantine *echos* to the equally tempered *dromoi* (lit. roads), although the singers maintain the microtonal melismata. By contrast, bluesmen incorporated string bendings and used the bottleneck to reach the "in-between" notes that were later described as 'blue notes'.

Apart from the fretted *trichorda*, and the acoustic and electric guitars, both *rebétes* and bluesmen have used the banjo. A rare picture of the famous *rebetiko* and *laïkó* songwriter and *bouzoukist*, Vassilis Tsitsanis (1915-1984), portrays him performing with a banjo (Petropoulos, 1983, p. 535).

► Figure 2.1.2. - Another rare picture of Tsitsanis playing the banjo
► Source: Petropoulos (1983: 535)

The blues musician Gus Cannon (1883-1979), also known as Banjo Joe, was using a knife blade as a slide on his banjo. The predecessor of the twentieth-century banjo was a fretless instrument. Comparably, some of *rebetiko* musicians who used to live in Anatolia were familiar with an analogous Turkish instrument, the *çümbüş*, which has a spun-aluminum resonator bowl and skin soundboard. This is typically a fretless instrument, but other versions are crafted, such as the *mando-çümbüş* (Figure 2.1.3.) and the *çümbüş saz*. The *rebetiko*[15] oud player Agapios Tomboulis[16] (1891-1965) appears in photographs holding different versions of *çümbüş* (Petropoulos, 1983, pp. 353, 361, 367, 374-375).

Petropoulos states that in prison, *rebétes* would build instruments that resembled the baglamas or even the bouzouki, out of tinny boxes, cans, pumpkins, and logs (Petropoulos, 1991, pp. 35-36). Likewise, bluesmen would build diddley bows, cigar box guitars, tin can guitars, frying pan banjos, unitars (one stringed guitars), and various other instruments made of cans, some of which have come to be called 'canjos'. This has inspired a new wave of enthusiasts, both in Greece and the US, who still experiment with crafting such instruments, by using cans of beer, instant coffee, spam, soft drinks, and tobacco, as well as cookies tins. An example of a tobacco can monochord can be seen in Figure 2.1.4. This idea has led to more professional outcomes, such as the Bohemian Guitars that build oil can guitars, which, according to their website are "inspired by South African street musicians"[17]. Oil cans have been used by some Greek luthiers and enthusiasts, too, to build oil can *tríchorda*. An obvious aesthetic difference is the use of motor oil cans from the US luthiers, and

the use of consumable olive oil cans from the Greeks. Other Greek craftsmen have been experimenting with cigar box guitars, and in the recent years there have been efforts to build cigar box *tríchorda*, and especially *tzourádhes*.[18] Finally, some Greek enthusiasts have crafted *tríchorda* out of coconuts and turtle shells. These modern approaches, though, are based on stories, and pictures of instruments of the 'classic' *rebetiko* era.

► Figure 2.1.3. - A Turkish *mando-çümbüş*, purchased from Istanbul in 2006
► Source: the author

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15. Besides *rebetiko*, he played Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Jewish folk music.

16. Also known by his Turkish name Hagop Stambulyan.

17. Available at: *https://www.bohemianguitars.com*

18. Plural of *tzourás*.

▶ Figure 2.1.4. - Single-stringed tobacco canjo, purchased online in 2020
▶ Source: the author

Lastly, *rebétes*, or even people from the audience of a taverna, would play what Petropoulos called 'non-instruments' or 'instruments-like', including the *kombolói* (worry beads), the spoons, the gas tank, and the broom (Petropoulos, 1991, p. 32). Savvopoulos has devoted a whole chapter in his latest book to the *kombolói* and a similar object that involves fewer beads, the *begléri* (Savvopoulos, 2019, pp. 88-104). Both Petropoulos and Savvopoulos describe the 'potirokombolói'[19] that is essentially the rubbing of the lip of a drinking glass against a *kombolói* that is suspended from a button of the performer's shirt or jacket. Similar ideas can be noticed in jug bands that used to play with the jug, the washboard, the spoons, the stovepipe, and the washtub bass. Early jug bands, like Gus Cannon's band, consisted of African Americans who played blues and jazz (Charters, 1963; Oliver, 2013).

3.2. Common characteristics of the American cigar box guitars and the Greek *tríchorda*

A cigar box *tzourás*, with a slide attached, which was received as a birthday present (Figure 2.1.5), made apparent other analogies between the American cigar box guitars and the Greek *tzourás*. *Tzourádhes* are typically tuned D3D4-A3A3-D4D4, however the maker of this instrument decided to build it with three single strings. In addition, even though the neck is fretted, and has the scale length (58 cm) of a slightly smaller *tzourás*,[20] it is set up with an A2-E3-A3 tuning, which is one octave below the typical 'Open A' American cigar box guitar tuning.[21].

Taking these developments into consideration, three commonalities can already be observed between the Greek *tzourádes*, or preferably the *tríchorda*, and the cigar box guitars: their standard tunings are identical, in the sense that they maintain the same intervallic relationship between the strings. Alternative tunings have been used in both (families of) instruments. More specifically, cigar box guitars can be tuned D3-A3-D4 ('Open D'), which is identical to the standard *tríchorda* tuning, without having double strings; E3-B3-E4 ('Open E') and G3-D4-G4 ('Open G') follow the same principle; F#3-B3-D#4 ('Open B'), G3-B3-E4 ('Guitar tuning'), E3-B3-F#4 ('Fifths'), A3-E4-G4 ('Jazz tuning'), A3-D4-G4 ('Classical tuning'), and A3-E4-F4 ('A6'), have been used in different ways[22].

The alternative tunings of *tríchorda* are called *douzénia*.[23] Stavros Kourousis has documented six *douzénia*: the Open, which is either a D-D-D, or a D-G-G; the *Karadouzéni* (black tuning), which is D-G-A; the *Syrianó* (of

19. A compound word from *potíri* (drinking glass) and *kombolói*.

20. *Tzourádhes* come in various sizes, so there is no standard scale length. 60 cm can be considered as an average scale length, although I own a *tzourás* with a scale length of 62.5 cm.

21. Others include the standard E3-B3-E4, and the G3-D4-G3 ('Open G').

22. Available at: *https://www.cigarboxguitar.com/knowledge-base/category/tunings-and-strings/*; *https://www.roadiemusic.com/blog/five-alternate-tunings-for-the-3-string-cigar-box-guitar/*; *https://beginnercbg.com/9-different-tunings-for-a-cigar-box-guitar/*.

23. Plural of *douzéni*. From the Turkish word *düzen*. The word has also been used for the desire to have fun, and the elation while experiencing a peak of enjoyment and excitement.

Syros island), which is D-G-A#; the *Arabién*, which is D-G-B; one of unknown name, which is D-G-C; and the *Ísio* (straight), which is D-G-D (Kourousis, 2006). It is noticeable that *rebétes* have always had D as the starting point, as it is the lowest string. However, the *Arabién* is an open G major triad, so theoretically it can be used in the way bluesmen have been using the 'Open B' tuning. The third similarity is that both *tríchorda* and cigar box guitars come in various sizes. Besides Petropoulos's references to unusual names of *tríchorda*, luthiers and enthusiasts still use or create compound words for new sizes, such as *tzourobaglamás*, which is smaller than a *tzourás*, but larger than a baglamas.

▶ Figure 2.1.5. - A cigar box tzourás, crafted in Athens by a hobbyist luthier
▶ Source: the author

The last corresponding phenomenon between the two cultures is the addition of extra strings: a pair of strings was added to the *tríchordo* bouzouki, which has been abandoned by contemporary players, and the 'modern' *tetráchordo* bouzouki is typically tuned C-F-A-D, just like the four high strings of a guitar but tuned a whole step below, which benefits virtuosity. The four-course bouzouki has earned its position in Greek pop and *laïkó*-pop, whereas the *tríchorda* are mostly used by revivalists, purists, tribute bands, and singer-songwriters who experiment with different genres. The three-stringed and four-stringed cigar box guitars were a solution for African Americans living in poverty (Pretty, 2016), since the middle of the nineteenth century (Mawajdeh, 2016). When these blues musicians could afford a 'real' guitar, they abandoned the cigar box guitars for the acoustic guitars, which were then replaced by electric guitars.

4. Original compositions

The intention was not only to bridge the *rebetiko* to the blues, but also the 'old' to the 'new'. Therefore, both acoustic and electric instruments were placed together in the same mix. Analysis of the decisions taken during the creative process of writing and recording: the song 'Uncannily Alike' (2018) was co-written by Ioannis Sakketos, and released by *Sakké ConQuéso*; and the song 'Dear John' (2017), the idea of which was captured later than 'Uncannily Alike' but released earlier under the pseudonym *Nassos Conqueso*.

4.1. 'Uncannily Alike'

'Uncannily Alike' might be described as a DIY song considering it was self-produced by the two creators, including the songwriting process, recorded performances, recording engineering, sound mixing, comical artwork, and the independent release. The instrumentation comprises a drum kit, electric bass, and electric guitars, a modified bouzouki, a slightly unorthodox *tzourás*, and a Cretan olive oil can baglamas (Figure 2.1.6.).

▸ Figure 2.1.6. - Cretan olive oil can baglamas, purchased from a Greek luthier in 2015
▸ Source: the author

Owing to the predominance of stringed instruments within the ensemble, they are used sparingly in some parts of the song, similarly in 'Dear John'. The improvised jam sessions that occur after each chorus allow the unusual timbral characteristics to come to the fore[24]. The tools that generated the two blended calls-and-responses are the combination of a twelve-bar blues progression with dominant seventh and altered chords, on a 9/4 *zeibékikos*[25] rhythm, with the use of *rebetiko dromoi* and the blues scale on *tríchorda* and electric guitars. In the first call-and-response, the *tríchordo* bouzouki makes the calls, and an electric Telecaster responds, while in the second, the *tríchordo tzourás* calls and an electric Stratocaster responds. The scales were mixed throughout the improvisation and some characteristic techniques of one instrument were applied to the other, such as playing vertically the blues scale on the *tzourás*, sliding to the 'blue' note, and resolving it to the previous note of the scale. The electric guitar overused tremolo picking, a technique that is not completely unknown to guitarists, however it is essential for *tríchorda* players.

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24. See https://sakkeconqueso.bandcamp.com/track/uncannily-alike

25. A very popular *rebetiko* dance in 9/4, divided into 4/4+5/4. Sometimes appears in the bibliography in 9/8, but essentially represents the same thing. *Rebétes* communicate in dances rather than plain rhythms.

4.2. 'Dear John'

Similar instrumentation and analogous experimentation have been undertaken in this song. While 'Dear John' explores similar instrumentation and experimentation, the song was recorded in a professional high-end studio, with hired session musicians who had been provided with a fully arranged home recording of the piece so they could learn their parts in advance. The song combines a twelve-bar blues progression with dominant seventh and altered chords, on a 6/8 rhythm that modulates to 3/4 in every chorus, and then goes back to 6/8 in each verse, with the use of the blues scale and the *Hijazkar*[26] *dromos*, played on electric guitars and *tríchorda*, and sung by a former blues female singer[27]. The track includes two improvised solos, one performed by a musician with a background in Western music, the other with a background in *rebetiko* music. A question that has always perplexed me is 'Why do bouzouki players never use a slide?'. So, the introduction to the song provided the ideal opportunity to use a glass slide on the olive oil can baglamas (Figure 2.1.6.), to play a chromatic line that resembles a blues turnaround. Coincidentally, during a personal discussion with Pilali, he mentioned that, while jamming with friends, he had tried using a metal slide on a *baglamas*, 'just for laughs'. Combining distinctive elements of the two genres in this way, produces a unique but simultaneously older, lower-quality sound that has the effect of a non-phonographic imperfection (Harper, 2014). The *tzourás* was used to accompany the singer during the bluesish verses, whereas an archtop guitar and a '52 Telecaster were comping during the *rebetiko-ish chori*. The improvisers had been guided to incorporate both scales within their solos. The guitarist had been asked to use tremolo picking, a typical technique on *tríchorda*, and the *bouzoukist* had been instructed to incorporate some string bendings, practically an unthinkable technique on *tríchorda*, on his custom *tríchordo* bouzouki. The singer – a prolific singer-songwriter of dark pop – asked for permission to change bits of the blues melody in the verses if it felt better, which was granted. Nonetheless, she sang the chorus exactly as it was in the demo.

5. Conclusion

To review, the research demonstrated the role of Georges Pilali, the similar properties of the instruments across continents, and their use to create experimental cross-cultural songs. Together, these commonalities only account for a small proportion of the aspects that constitute the common ground between *rebetiko* and the blues. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that some commonalities between the DIY instruments of the two cultures can be spotted in other parts of the world. Yet, the cultural blending of *rebetiko* and blues has been established by the thematic marriages of the two styles by Georges Pilali, given that he has borrowed codes that cross geographical and cultural boundaries. His approach, in combination with elements of Pavlos Sidiropoulos's, and Stelios Vamvakaris's with Louisiana Red's recordings, alongside some personal ideas and observations, have become the basic ingredients for the creation of the transcultural songs 'Dear John' and 'Uncannily Alike'. Other features that contributed to this blending, such as the choice of song structures, the selected lyric themes, and the use of technology and production decisions, may be of great significance but lie outside the scope of this paper. Further experimentation would not necessarily involve different instrumentations, as this has been demonstrated by Pilali, although different combinations can be achieved by mixing, for example, Turkish instruments with electric guitars and drums. Since there is a large list of *rebetiko dromoi*, my focus has been put on, but not limited to blending different *dromoi* that usually belong to the same family, with the blues scale(s) to explore their emotional effects. Similarly, emphasis has also been placed on creating the feeling of instability, a 'drunk' feel, as it has been described by young performers, by creating additional mixed metres, such as a 4/4 quintuplet swing with 5/4 Greek folk dance rhythm, or even 9/8 *Karsilamás* with 7/8 *Kalamatianós* to create the illusion of two bars of 4/4 with a misplaced quaver note. Notwithstanding, the release of such pieces of music still becomes the subject of debate between *rebetiko* purists, and it usually brings back into the limelight the albums by Pilali, Sidiropoulos, Vamvakaris and Red, and others.

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26. Also transcribed as *Hitzazkar*. The D *Hijazkar dromos* consists of the notes D E♭ F# G A B♭ C# D.

27. See *https://nassosconqueso.bandcamp.com/track/dear-john*

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sono_morph 1-3: immersive technological DIY environments for creative sonic practice

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✕ *Abstract*

The albums son0_morph 1-3 are the current sonic realization of 10 years' worth of performance and research: emerging from research into live improvisation with DIY hyper-instruments the current research focusses on the impact of audio monitoring and responsive systems in live and recording practices. Means of creation in recording and performance environments were explored with respect to group musical creation and the creative energy between collaborative performers. Musicians have long known, from ambient improvisation to the hardest punk, that maintaining and capturing communicative energy in the recording environment, although difficult, contributes to the vitality of musical outputs. The approaches explored here have thus far included traditional monitoring configurations, hardware-hacked instruments, generative patches, and responsive ambient looping. These question the boundaries between composer/performer/audience and probe how systems and situationally specific designs shape sonic realisations in diverse genres and styles.

Keywords: audio monitoring, composition, improvisation, looping, hardware hacking.

1. Introduction

To register all the mercurial wit in a Haydn string quartet, or the ingenuity of a series of Coltrane solos, requires a detailed kind of attention facilitated by physical presence. (Potter et *al.*, 2012, p. 9)

In 1966 classical pianist Glenn Gould published an article titled The Prospects of Recording in which he discussed the aesthetic and technical impacts of tape editing in the recording of classical works. He presents arguments for and against editing on tape (a new process and approach at the time) and responds to the "reluctance to accept the consequences of a new technology." (Gould, 1987, p. 321) His was an advocate for the new technologies and their affordances in recording and imagined and supported potential aesthetic choices and changes in approaches to artistic realisation in this genre. From the vantage point of 2021 his advocacy was nothing short of prophetic; from the recording techniques developed shortly thereafter by the *Beatles* and Sir George Martin, to now standard applications of stage and live sound reinforcement in clubs and stadiums, and the complete pervasiveness in laptop and modular derived creative practices. Even most recently the way the musical world has pursued live streaming since Covid-19. Although Gould's optimism, and his various critics responses may now seem antiquated, now musicians across all genres seem to either embrace technological advances or to lament their impact on performance practices and modes of reception. Neutrality is not an option. The nuances in approaches are varied: many classical musicians still eschew all sound reinforcement, certain styles of jazz willingly accept sound reinforcement, but audio effects and digital technologies are frowned upon, and what contemporary musician from any genre has never complained about (or even fought about) on stage and studio monitoring sound levels?

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Criticisms and discussions around studio and live monitoring practices for musicians that take place at performances and recording sessions are a feature of any musician's daily life. From complaining about not being either able to hear themselves, or the other musicians at a gig, or having too much or too little click track in a recording session they are a feature of daily conversation, yet less is written about them in research, specifically in terms of the creative impact. This may be because their use and variation are taken to be an issue of personal preferences. Certain genres rely less on performer interaction, such as commercial studio recordings where musicians track to click independently of each other with guidance from a producer. Another example is highly choreographed contemporary performances where the live performers play to click and augmented the tracked materials – here the level of musical interaction or responsiveness between performers required is lower as the task is accurate part execution in the service of overall theatrical perfection. However, in styles that require high degrees of intra-musician sensitivity such as jazz, classical or non-click based contemporary music such as improvised rock, punk, or glitch electronica the ability to accurately hear and respond to group members is paramount.

Styles that involve improvisation require this most acutely, and arguably free improvisation most so[2], as the musical creation is the sum of responsive dialogues between contributors. Fischlin, Risk and Stewart write:

> *To play music, and particularly to improvise, is to engage with states of ongoing precarity: how, exactly, the next note will sound, or even what it may be, is unknown – until it is not, and the following note is what hangs on the knife edge. The resilience of improvisational musicians, of all kinds, in the face of the pandemic points to their disciplined acquaintance with creating on that edge. (Fischlin et al., 2021, p. 3)*

This acquaintance with the improvisatory edge of creative practice is highlighted by the pandemic as improvisers approached technologies in distinctly different ways to commercial performers. In South Africa a well-known Afrikaans pop artist presented a live television performance early in the pandemic. Having previously explored possibilities for online collaboration, I couldn't understand how this was feasible due to high latency on South African internet services, only to discover after inquiring that the performance was synchronised through a remote click track, and musicians could not hear each other in real time when playing. A server then used the click track to line up audio and video feeds, accommodating variable latency, but with the caveat that live interaction between performers was not possible. This was successful given that the genre does not require such interaction.

From this example and the binary dependencies of free improvisation monitoring environments, in design, scope, and behaviour have an intrinsic relationship with the style of work being presented and can shape the artistic output in ways that go beyond the simple confines of sound reinforcement. The interaction and dependencies between environments, systems and musical creation is not a new narrative. John Cage's 4'33'' brought this starkly into focus already in August of 1952, yet little discussion has been given to monitoring as a performance impacting ecology prior to the Covid-19 pandemic. "With Cage, the dialectical opposition of form and content disappears" (Mertens, 1998, p. 116) and with contemporary music and recording the technological means of production become part of the form, not unlike the concert hall and audience in 4'33'' blurring the boundaries between audio environments and composition. Mertens continues saying that "with the disappearance of the dialectical link between form and content, the historical category of the work is also removed, replaced by the absolute reality of the immediate experience." (Mertens, 1998, p. 116) In the case of contemporary music, where works demand, or are dependent on high degrees of responsiveness mediated by audio technologies, the role of the composer or convener of the improvisatory session must compose/design/craft such technologies in a manner equivalent to the status afforded to the components of a traditional composition. Thus "the composer or designer of that environment must also assume some responsibility for the quality of those relationships that emerge." (Kim-Boyle, 2008, p. 7).

2. Research Approach

The opening quote by Gann argues that the heighted focus required to perform Haydn and Coltrane (works aesthetically far from each other) emerges from or is dependent on a physical presence. But physical

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2. The term free improvisation in this context is used not as genus but encapsulating creative principles. Whilst free improvisation can refer to the British school of improvisors such as Dereck Baily and Keith Tippet in this context it can equally refer to post-rock such as God Speed! You Black Emperor, or Mogwai.

presence alone cannot supply the heightened focus required by these artistic endeavours, or even more so in free improvisation - mental presence, unencumbered by circumstance, goes hand in hand with successful artistic outcomes.

Consider jazz, where periodicity is defined by the harmonic form, and the expectations of a cyclical and perhaps confrontational relationship between the soloist and band is navigated through repeated extemporisations over the form. This speaks to a specific type of physical and mental presence on the part of the performers, where the soloist is objectified and/or critiqued from a display of power encased in the complexity of a solo emerging from harmonic and modal complexity. In popular music, form emerges from the narrative content and the conventions that shape this presentation, setting up expectations of duration, form and periodicity which shape our reading of the event, and expectations of the event, textually, culturally, and structurally. They are a grammar with which we are extremely familiar due to omnipresent exposure, and the anticipation of the shape and duration of this presentation forms a cocoon around which the receiver and practitioners can scale and adjudicate their responses and aesthetic critique.

These descriptions imply extremely different types of physical and mental presence on the part of artistic practitioners, and the various performance practice conventions that, whilst common within genres, may be wholly unaware to participants during execution. Lashua and Thompson's earlier referred research into recording studio myths supports the and, in their research, they challenged "romanticized representations of studios as individualistic spaces and highlight(ed) how mythic representations of creativity influence musicians' technical expectations of recording processes." (Lashua & Thompson, 2016, p. 70).

The projects under consideration here were expressed through a range of performances and recordings and applied different audio, stage, and studio configurations to each artistic event. They were conceived with an awareness of the musical interests and skills of the various musical contributors aiming to foster their creative leanings. Other looped and generative elements were prepared for each session, which were linked to these same artistic impulses, and provided a unique sonic signature for each event.

Given the creative role participants play in exploring their musical environments, the role of the composer has largely become transformed to that of designer while the traditional role of the performer has been subsumed by that of player. To a certain extent this situation is paralleled in traditional open form works in which composers design open musical environments which serve to facilitate an awareness of process and collective becoming. (Kim-Boyle, 2008, p. 7)

The range of performances and recordings considered here span a decade but are linked through an explorative and iterative approach to the system development. Each performance/recording was designed with a specific audio ecology, sometimes wholly focused on performers, and sometimes exploring tensions which included audience, notational practices, randomised audio manipulation, generative patches and hardware hacked instruments. The framework used is that of research in and through musical practice (Crispin, 2015, p. 58) where the events locate "reflexion, the contextual information and the musical practice within a rigorous methodological framework." (Crispin, 2015, p. 58). The research objective repeatedly explored throughout these research events asked how a system design can: a) afford better creative dialogues between the improvisors, b) do so in ways that are pragmatic and do not overwhelm the participants leading to disengagement, c) are unique to the collaborators/event sufficiently to encourage maximum participant contribution and d) to do so in some ways that suggest an additional 'presence' within the improvisational event where the system appears to have agency beyond the performers. Category d) is at once the most intriguing, as well as the most difficult to achieve and has only been observed in a select number of instances where collaborators either respond to machine interventions, or retrospectively recall responding to these interventions in an anthropomorphic sense. Each event is then recorded, and mixed so that further consideration can be given, via listening analysis, to adjudicating which elements were effective and which were not.

3. Design of the Projects

Whilst the Son0_Morph albums series, from which this paper takes its title, were all released in 2021, the research and creative practice that led to this most recent work began in 2011. The first performance considered here was the initial performance in a PhD research project, the Cyber-Guitar System[3], and although contributing

**3.** The Cyber-Guitar System was presented at KISMIF 2015.

in other ways to that research the monitoring and generative elements were not specifically pursued again until 2015. Each of the projects presented below represent iterative parts of the evolution of the monitoring approach with an increasing focus on the individual artistic and aesthetic leanings of the various practitioners involved. Apart from the recording *3 Cities* all projects discussed here are available on streaming platforms, with the addition of a video recording of The Settlement.

3.1. What if the machines spoke back to you? (Badenhorst et al., 2011/8)

In 2011 I presented a performance with drummer Justin Badenhorst and digital artist Jacob Israel. Whilst this performance formed part of a PhD research project the nature of the performance audio ecology differed from the PhD research and was only revisited after that project was conceptually completed. This concert was fully improvised, with the responsive / randomised system and audio routing configurations receiving focussed rehearsal time.

In this configuration the drums and guitar were fed into a Logic Audio based system designed by Israel. Israel designed elements that were both responsive, randomised, whilst also generating materials of his own. They captured and processed elements of the live performers and delivered these into the overall audio mix as well as in randomised ways to the audio monitoring.

This work was significant as all three performers shared the experience of being unable to ascertain who was producing audio material during sections of the work, with the drummer and the guitarist often pausing in response to this. The audience reception of this work was extremely warm, silent at moments and jubilant at others as the performers patiently navigated this flux in agency and sound generation.
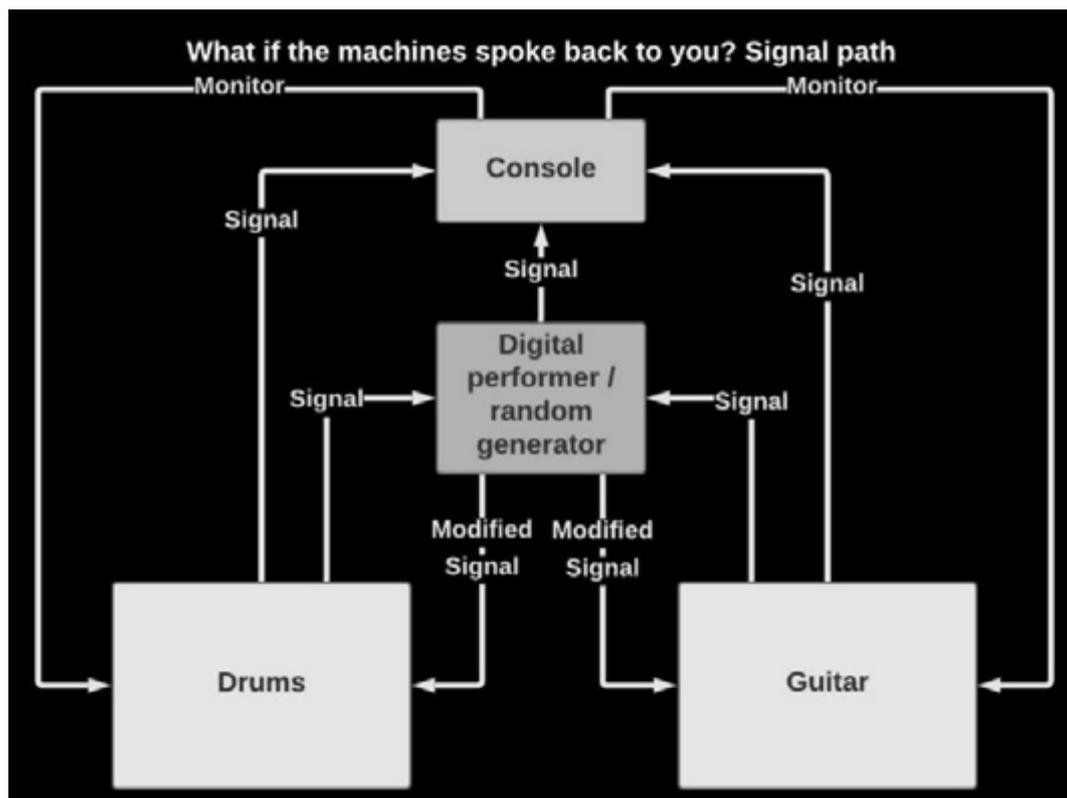
▶ Figure 2.2.1. - Signal path for What if the Machines Spoke back to you? 2011
▶ Source: the author.

3.2 Three Cities (Crossley et al., 2015)

For the improvised performance titled 3 Cities stage the guitarist (Jonathan Crossley) was placed in the middle of the stage facing the audience, with two drummers (Lukas Ligeti & Jonathan Sweetman) facing each other on either side of the guitarist and the audience seated in a conventional manner. The Cyber-Guitar System had three separated outputs, sent to three separate monitor speakers with each monitor feed assigned to a separate performer. The three guitar outputs were not duplicated signals, rather the drummers and guitarist heard significantly different versions of the guitar sound and loop elements, with some elements shaped

through distortion, ring modulation, various degrees of pitch shifting and non-synchronised delays. Each signal path contained a dedicated looping system, whereby un-synchronised live loops and tempo-based effects elements were fed to the separated monitors. Although the layout of the stage provided enough acoustic proximity for the drummers to communicate with each other, the ambient volumes separated the monitoring experience of the electric guitar signals from the performers. The drummers were not made aware of this fact and the musical performance contained dialogues between elements that were heard by all, as well as elements that were results of affordances given to materials that were not fully distributed to all members. Given the proximity of performers and the somewhat adversarial position of that the drummers the tensions in the dialogue provided much energy to the performance.
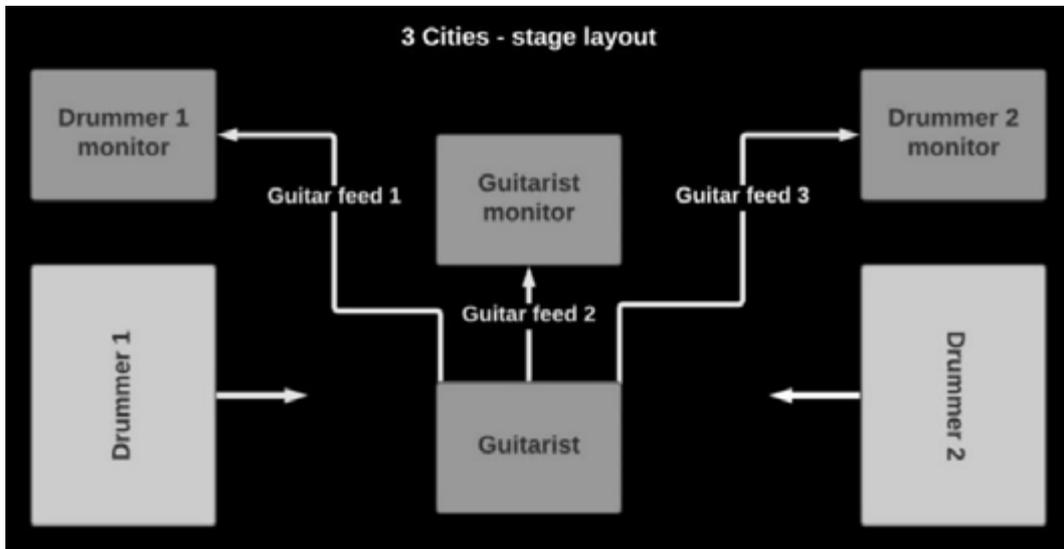
▸ Figure 2.2.2. - Three Cities Stage plan, 2015
▸ Source: the author.

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3.3 The Settlement (Crossley & Molikeng, 2017)

The Settlement (May 2017) took an immersive audio approach as core to composition and was a collaboration with African instrumentalist, Mpho Molikeng & Karim Sadr from the archaeology department of the University of the Witwatersrand. Sadr's team had recently used LiDAR technologies to "rediscover a southern African city that was occupied from the 15th century until about 200 years ago." (Sadr, 2018, n/p).
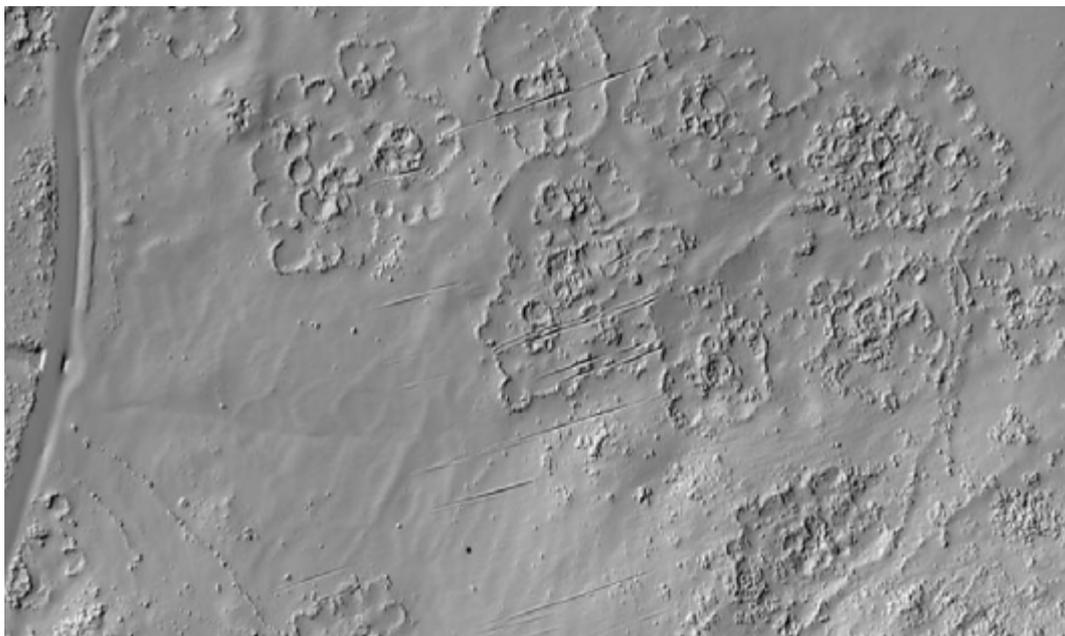
▸ Figure 2.2.3. - LiDAR image of Tswana settlement
▸ Source: courtesy of Professor Karim Sadr

The approach taken to this performance was to 'read' the image as a type of musical score, shaping the musical improvisations and the structure of the event based of narratives of daily life in the settlement, as imagined and conceived by Molikeng. Alongside this musical shaping the physical shape of the settlement was mirrored in the layout of the venue, and the design of the supporting audio system. The audio, performance and monitoring systems were designed to create an immersive experience for the audience where the performance would be situated in an imagined centre of the settlement, with the audience surrounding the performance area.
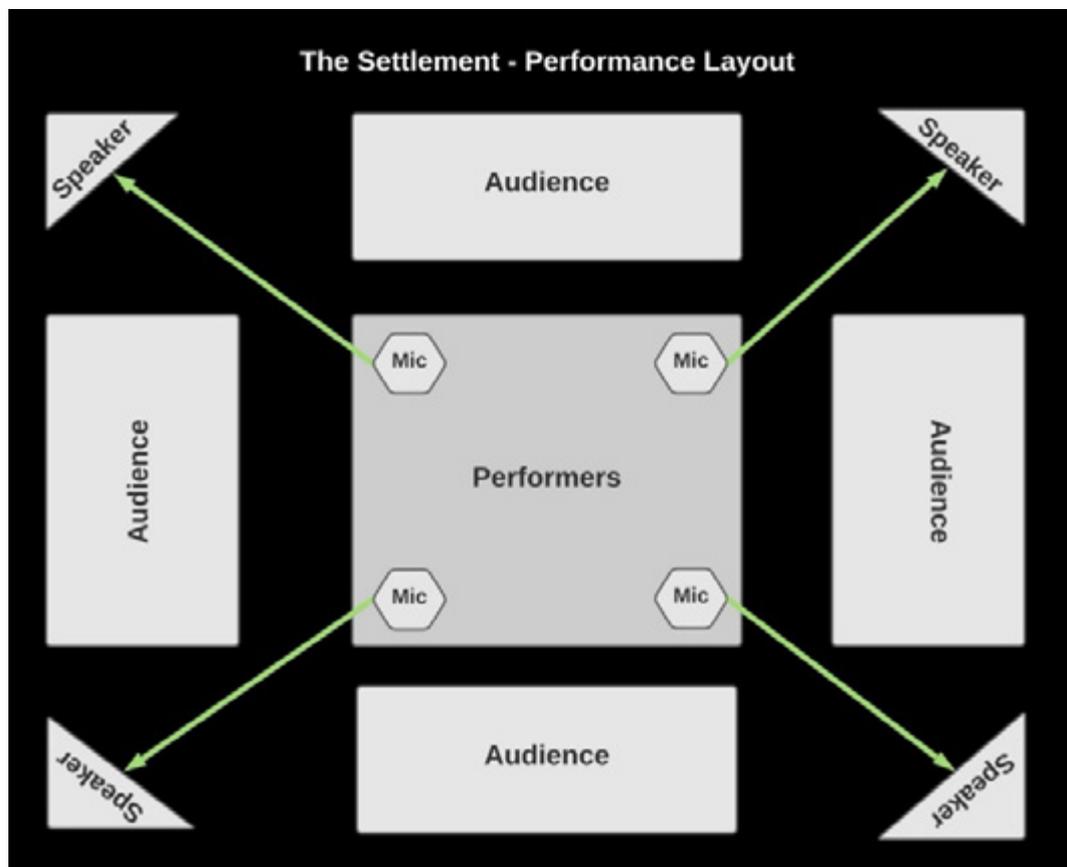
▶ Figure 2.2.4. - Signal path for The Settlement, 2017
▶ Source: the author.

Lashua and Thompson's research into the myths around music creation in recording studios notes that the recording studio has "an inherent relationship to Romantic ideas of creativity" and that "rather than placing the individual at the centre of creativity and the creative process" creativity is a "convergence of multiple factors." (Lashua & Thompson, 2016, p. 71) Although *The Settlement* was a live performance this environmental description of the recording studio with its ecology mediated through recording and audio technologies is analogous with the type of immersive performance approach taken for The Settlement, rather than any traditional audience facing event. Although 4'33'' might have brought the audience and environmental audio into stark sonic focus, The Settlement places the audience, performers and in this case the LiDAR memory of the past into an idea of creativity that creates a similar convergence with multiple factors. The performers here share the audio environment with the audience immersed into the re-imagining of the space, as was implied by, or derived from the archaeological research, and as such no proximate on-stage monitoring was used.

3.4 Blipz 2017/18 (Crossley et al., 2018)

Later in 2017 a studio recording session was convened in Cape Town, South Africa with guitarist, Reza Khota and drummer Jonathan Sweetman. For this project the recording session and accompanying Ableton Live system were designed around the musical leanings of Khota and Sweetman. The music recorded on *Blipz* was again completely improvised, however the prepared elements consisted of generative loop materials designed to excite or stimulate the artistic interests of the drummer. Sweetman's playing style can be dense, yet almost hyper-aware of collaborators rhythmically, whilst Khota's guitar style in 2017 was extremely dry and sonically insistent.
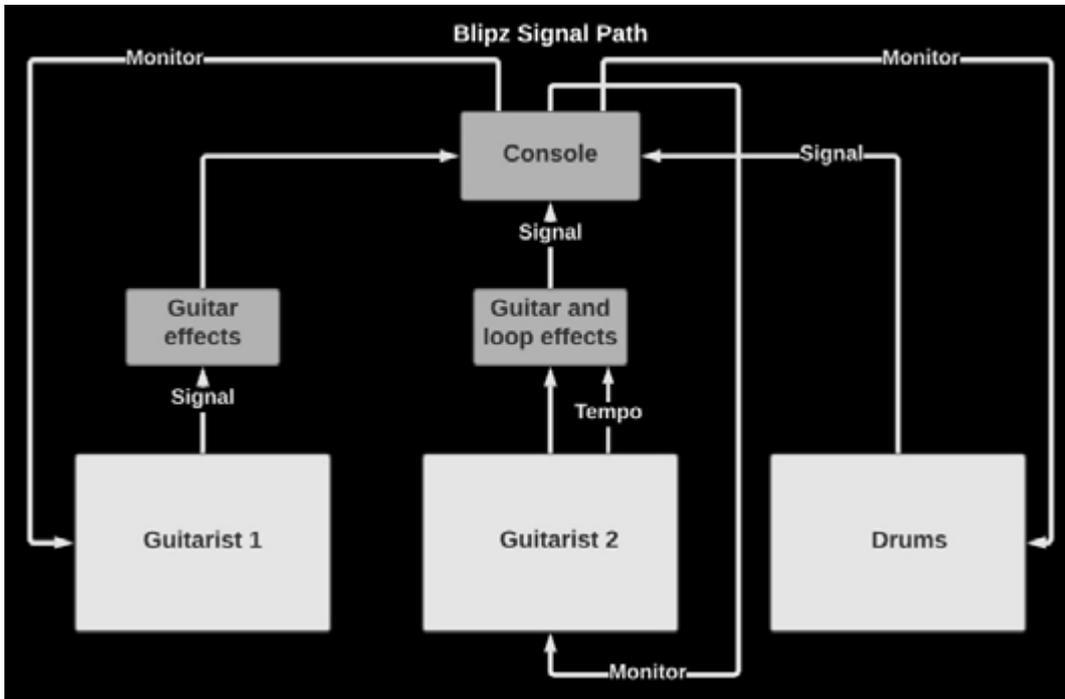
▶ Figure 2.2.5. - Signal path, Blipz 2017
▶ Source: the author.

In this diagram Khota is guitarist 1, guitarist 2 is placed in the centre and responds to the first guitarist and drummer by adjusting and modifying pre-prepared elements based on the level of engagement. In comparison to The Settlement there is no text being read, nor a narrative such as the imagined activities implied by the LiDAR imagery. Rather here musical collaborators are responding to each other, and the various signal modifications that the system creates, with the foreknowledge of performer musical preferences forming the compositional impetus for the system designs and degrees of audio responsiveness. The recording is available on all streaming services and in the title track, *Blipz*, (Crossley et *al.*, 2018) one can easily hear the performers energetically responding to each other and the Ableton elements.

3.5 Deep Spacer – 433 Eros, 2020 (Cassarino et al., 2020)

The post-rock trio, Deep Spacer was formed in 2017, but musically flourished in 2018 after a small change of line-up. The group's works are heavily effects layered and feature Jonathan Crossley on guitar, Cesare Cassarino on bass and Etienne Oosthuysen on drums. During 2018 Deep Spacer moved from rehearsing and developing compositions in a traditional manner, towards an iterative approach to systems development instead of compositional material. The group intentionally committed themselves to 'non-composition' in the rehearsal space. The artistic goal was to pursue and integrate the responsiveness and inter-musician musical dependencies of free improvisation (in the spirit of AMM, Fred Frith and others), integrating these within tempo based musical genres. ** Effectively asking how one can free-improvise whilst honoring the stylistic confines of more rigidly tempo-based genres such as post-rock, dub, and glitch.

This was achieved by locking each musician's tempo-based elements together, both in Ableton (software) systems and physically linked hardware elements. The decision was taken to give a master tempo control for the environment to the drummer, so all members tempo-based parameters were seeded to this control using a midi trigger.
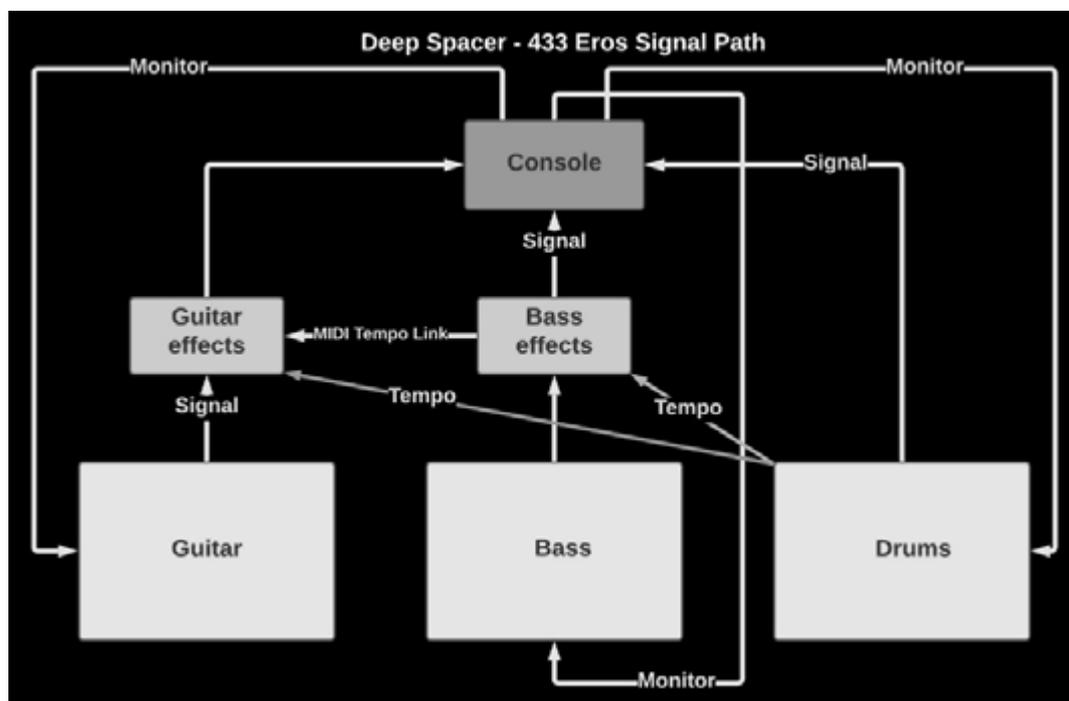
▸ Figure 2.2.6. - Signal Path, Deep Spacer, 433 Eros 2020
▸ Source: the author.

It may appear that these monitoring, generative and responsive configurations may seem simple when compared to complex configurations of network-based practices and other more complex hyper-instruments, however, the research presented here argues for approaching each performance or recording event with an acute consideration as to the specific musicians engaged and the development of materials and systems unique to specific circumstances. An iterative approach to finessing the development and deployment of systems is encouraged alongside an intentionality that emerges from a concrete set of goals analogous with the practice of composition and improvisation as espoused in the works of Cage, Cardew, AMM and others. It is the experience of this writer that many technologically innovative systems, well beyond the complexity of the designs mentioned often seem to overwhelm the participants in ways that lead to reduced communication between musical participants. The systems, by virtue of their technological complexity and artistic formulations, carry an aesthetic and intellectual weight that can be argued as separate from the sonic realisations and musical relationships that may be generated. This area of research has sought to match the collective improvisational interests, aesthetics, capacities, and desires of recording and performing collaborators in pragmatic ways which lead to enjoyable and arguably successful creative events. Thus, the signal path design for the Deep Spacer project is responding to the preference towards tempo-based playing on the part of bassist Cassarino and drummer Ooosthuysen whereby the design disappears in the moment of creativity rather than the complexity reducing communication.

3.6 Son0_Morph: 02 Duo, 2018/2021 (Crossley & Tagg, 2021)

The Son0_Moprh series of four albums were released in 2021 and were variously recorded between 2018 and 2021. Of the four recordings two are considered within the scope of this paper, 02:Duo and 01:Trio The duet session with pianist Kathleen Tagg was recorded in late 2018 and featured a specifically designed session tailored to Tagg's use of extended techniques on the piano. Techniques used include prepared piano elements such as percussive objects inside the piano, muting of individual notes whilst striking the keys, plucking, and strumming the strings and using horsehair from bows to activate specific notes. The approach to the session was to record the piano using a traditional configuration of spaced pair microphones with a closer microphone set being fed into an Ableton session, and modified elements returned to the headphone monitoring mix.
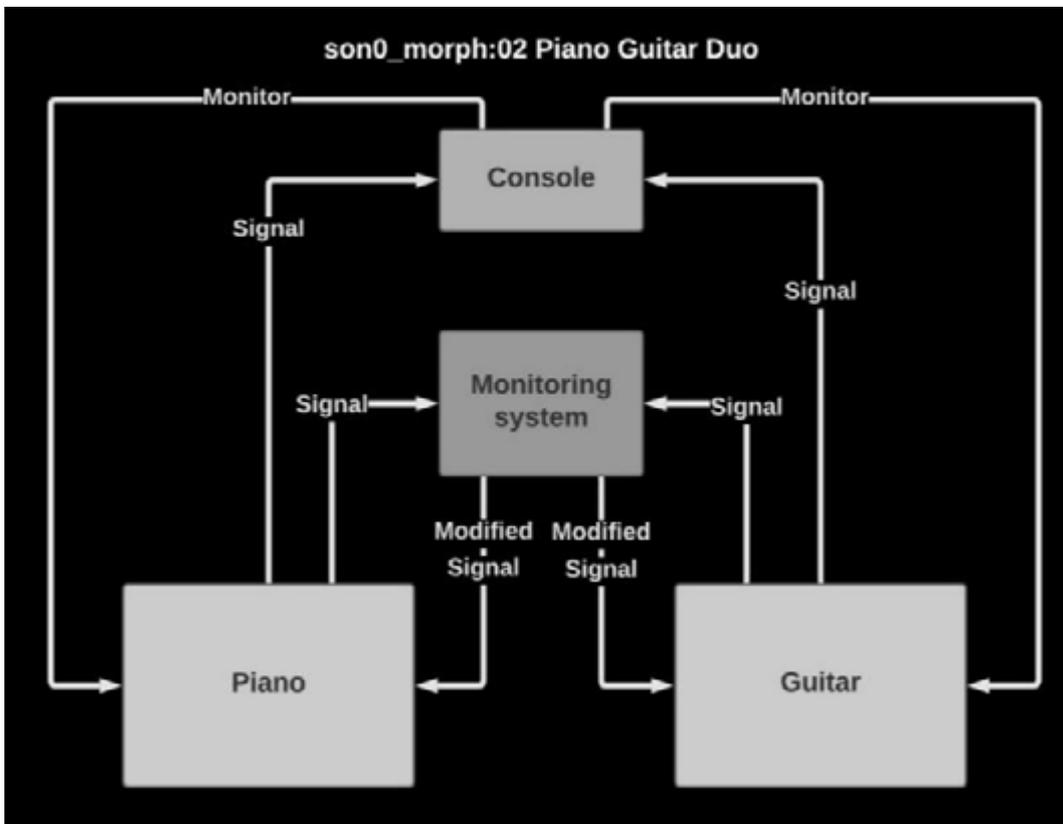
▸ Figure 2.2.7. - Signal path, Son0_Morph:02 Duo
▸ Source: the author.

The success of this configuration can be heard in the composition Bells, (Crossley & Tagg, 2021) from the albums, where two thirds into the piece earlier fragments of Tagg's piano work return pitched up and sped up, and the performers can be heard to pause for a moment before allowing this material (from which the track takes its name) to change the musical direction of the composition altogether. Reflection on this recording event shaped the design of the following sessions with pursuit of similar sonic interventions, accidents and generative elements.

3.7 Son0_Morph 01: Trio, 2021 (Crossley et al., 2021)

This recording session was proposed for December of 2020 during a small window of relaxed restrictions before the second wave of coronavirus in South Africa. The restrictions at this moment allowed for the hiring of a recording studio and a system was designed with the three performers in mind. This session featured South African composer and bassist Carlo Mombelli as well as Jonathan Sweetman on drums. Although I have worked extensively with Sweetman since 2007, he and recently begun working with Mombelli and recordings of the communication dynamics between Mombelli and Sweetman were available for consideration during the system design process. Mombelli's most recent compositional and bass work has featured melodies composed in a rubato style often followed by repetitive bass groove patterns with non-symmetrical minimalist styled unison figures and improvisations. The system design for this session paid tribute to these elements by including non-symmetrical generative looping elements using Native Instruments Reaktor and other MAX4Live objects. These were created in response to communication dynamics and the hope was that they would allow the session to capitalise on existing dialogues between bass and drums.
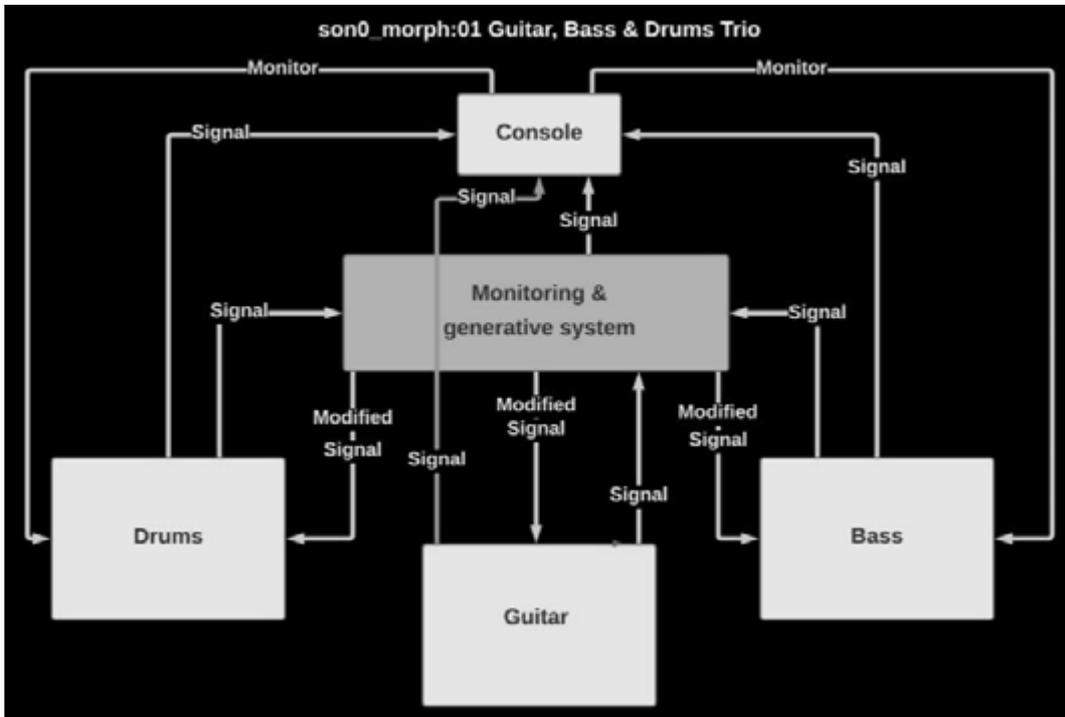
▶ Figure 2.2.8. - Signal path for Son0_Morph 01: Trio
▶ Source: the author.

A hardware hacked Suzuki Omnichord and an erratic dual delay box were added, both of which brought an unpredictable ambient sonic element which ran as a contrast to the tempo linked generative material from Reaktor and MAX4Live. In the diagram these items are collected under what has been named 'Monitoring and generative system', where the generative elements, unpredictable hardware hacked elements and looped and modified performer signals are represented.

This session represents the most complete combination of generative, monitoring modifications and signal paths that are specifically designed/composed with performer awareness. From the accounts of the performers and engineers this recording was an enjoyable and unique event. I recall a moment where Sweetman, eyes closed and smiling was dialoguing/improvising with modified versions of his own playing recorded and looped back from earlier – in effect dialoguing with a digital transformed representation, viewing his own practice through the mirror of the machine.

4. Conclusions and Future Directions for Research

The Son0_Morph series of albums have explored, with intent, means of heightening dialogue and supporting creativity in free improvisation through targeted systems designs, thereby creating unique audio ecologies applicable to a gathering of specifically chosen musicians in either performance or recording circumstances. This project evolved out of observations made during the development of the earlier, and for a period parallel, Cyber-Guitar project. Some of the observations of difficulties or failures during the Cyber-Guitar project shaped and propelled the current research. It was observed during a central Cyber-Guitar event in 2014, that the complexities of the system, staging, notation and audio configurations undermined the improvisation to the detriment of the overall performance and reduced participant communication. Thus, the albums and performances presented here are iterations of approaches that continue to evolve in pursuit of better communication concurrent with sonic immersion and innovation. The most recent recording, Son0_Morph:01Trio exhibits the most technological complexity, whilst most effectively dissolving into the musical event. The research stance of this project is clear, that communication remains the central goal of the creative engagement and systems development.

Much current popular press has been given to improvising and performing over the internet since the beginning of the global pandemic, however research in this area has been extensive for the past two decades. Roger Mills' work on improvisation within networked audio platforms is optimistic for collaborations across cultures in ways that could not be afforded by existing practice (Mills, 2010). He also argues, as discussed earlier, that there is interest in the composer assuming the role of (system) designer. The designer, as composer, owes

a debt to past composers such as Cage and Cardew who although not approaching the topic technologically did bring the focus onto the agency or presence of composers, performers, audience members and so forth. The advances in networks and network-based performances and collaborations are "a natural response to the musical and social ideals that motivated the work of an earlier generation of composers for whom such technology did not exist." (Kim-Boyle, 2008, p. 7) Kim-Boyle further elaborates that these bring about "new modes of awareness" and a focus on the engagement of individual actors and collaborators withing a given system. The Son0_Morph series and the preceding creative events leading up to these albums approached these technologically mediated events through the lens of engagement and member attunement taking the position that heightened attunement and evidenced engagement between players is evidence of successful realisation, pursuing a "collective transparency of sound where each part is discernible." (Seddeon, 2005, p. 49).

Further creative practice and research will be pursued in a mixed approach using live performances, recordings, and networked events. A design in development is looking at the possibility of tempo-based practices, such as those in Deep Spacer, being deployed where tempo collaboration love over the internet is achieved via tempo variations calculated using multiples of server latency.

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2.3 New sustainable cultures: (re)humanization, political act and nostalgia. The possibilities introduced by collaborative consumption without monetary benefits

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✕ Abstract

Based on a Cultural Studies perspective, we address a critical-theoretical reflection supported by empirical data resulting from our research on the subject of new bricolage sustainable cultures as they reorganize traditional production processes aiming at social change. Our focus is on the analysis of the uses and discourses of Brazilians on collaborative consumption application devices that are not impaired by monetary benefits (the apps *Tem Açúcar?* [*Got Suggar*? and *Beliive*]. Within the conceptual framework brought by Botsman (2013) and as we are looking at the notion of consumption, we apply the expression 'collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits' to refer to such specific practices. In that sense, our main research question is: what are the possibilities introduced by the dynamic of collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits? So, we retrace our analytical considerations crossing three narrative axes: the (re)humanization of relationships; the political nature of consumption and the feeling of nostalgia.

Keywords: sustainable cultures, collaborative consumption, urban microeconomics.

1. Introduction: object of study and methodological approach

We currently place our research interests on the studies of culture, performing an in-depth investigation over a conceptual object in particular, which are the material discursiveness enounced on the practices mobilized by digital applications of social interaction aimed towards collaborative consumption and not directed to monetary benefits. The larger research project2 had to be sampled here in order to bring a core problematic around narratives and meanings built over new consumption practices as they are related to a contemporary project of collaborative economy for non-monetary exchange, and it grasps a new type of citizenship emerging from that. In a broader perspective, we investigate the possibilities introduced by the dynamic of collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits.

For now, we present two initial conceptual clarifications. The first of them refers to the adoption of the notion of device application, that we incorporate alluding to the mechanisms implied in process of subjectivation, as developed by Agamben (2005). The second one of them regards the use of the expression 'collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits' in reference to the specific context of our object of research. Such

choices are justified because we are focused on consumption and also because we are in line with the terms that define the collaborative movement today, as addressed by Botsman (2013) – collaborative economy, collaborative consumption, shared economy and peer economy.

Starting from the already established problematic, we set as the more general objective of our article to understand new consumption practices emerging today, its meanings and its connection to a project of collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits. Additionally, we also describe the concepts of communication, consumption, and collaborative consumption in order to give context to the discourses of the subjects heard by the research. Regarding the necessary sampling of the research, we have selected the locus of two application devices with matching characteristics to our research outline, meaning they do not imply the introduction of money to close the exchanges of goods and experiences: the applications *Beliive* and *Tem Açúcar? (Got Sugar?)*.

The research includes three methodological procedures besides the necessary bibliographic recovery: observation of the interaction among users in the selected application devices *Beliive* and *Tem Açúcar? (Got Sugar?)*; use of structured questionnaire for demographic and cultural consumption data recollection; and operationalization of in-depth interviews to the effective comprehension of the consumption practices for non-monetary benefits and its meanings.

The initial phase of the research included the observation of the interaction among users in the application devices, it helped recruit interviewees for the following phases of the research. Such selection of interviews was done randomly[2], resulting in a sample group of 10 participants[3]; a number that is enough to observe a recurrence of discourses and which is in consonance with the qualitative character of our research. To settle such group sample, the criteria were to be the user of one of the application devices in the study and live in the city area of São Paulo (geographic criteria founded on the presupposition that the capital of the state of São Paulo is the country center for behavioral tendencies). All the 10 selected subjects answered a structured questionnaire with focused questions on demographic and cultural consumption data before the in-depth interview to establish the understanding on their sociocultural contexts.

In the present article, first we perform a demographic and sociocultural presentation of the subjects of our research, believing that the understanding of the context of their lives will help clarify their speeches as social actors. In the same line of work and aiming at recovering their speech, we go on establishing the understanding of the same group of people on what is communication, consumption, and collaborative consumption. We raise these notions because we believe that they are on the core of the consumption practices for non-monetary benefits, which are our focus. At last, we try to give evidence of the meanings emerging from such practices; amongst which we highlight the (re)humanization of the relationships, the political nature of consumption and the feeling of nostalgia.

2. Empirical approaches: demographic and sociocultural contextualization

Based on the epistemological broad spectrum of the Cultural Studies, we have done fieldwork with direct empirical approach to the subjects that are actors and agents on the application devices. From this point of the article on we will describe the main results of our research in the attempt to respond to its launching matter. We point to the main references found in our corpus and to the significative strands of such discourses.

It is worth noticing that we have started from the demographic and sociocultural contextualization (including an investigation on the consumption) of the subjects. That epistemological approach is due to a basic central principle of discourse analysis of French influence which says that all enounced discourse should be understood as being built the way it is because it is invested of context shaping its formation. We establish, then, that the social placement and the consumption habits regarding genres and cultural productions

. . . .

2. The non-probability sample based on convenience: "[…] refers to a sample selected with a few systematized criteria, and it helps complement the sample in the easiest most simple way" (Yasuda & Oliveira, 2012, p. 128).

3. We have established the size of the sample (5 users of each application device) based on a statistical principal proposed in the 1990s by Jacob Nielsn, a specialist in website user research. As he developed research on the interaction of users in digital interfaces, he concludes that 5 is a necessary minimum size sample to identify the most relevant behavioral patterns (Knapp, 2017, p. 234).

resonate in what the subjects say. We are aligned with Brandão (2004), when she recovers Bakhtin within the field of discourse analysis: "the linguistic matter is just one section of the enouncing; there is also another, nonverbal, that corresponds to the context of the enunciation" (Brandão, 2004, p. 8). The context is also equivalent to the so-called conditions of production that are what "establishes the discourses" (Charaudeau & Maingueneau, 2006: 114).

Thus, we point out some data on the profile of the interviewees, they range from 27 to 58 years of age; two of them identify as being of the male gender and 8 as being of the female gender; 4 of the interviewees are single, 4 of them are married and two are divorced. 7 of the interviewees live in the city of São Paulo – most of them in central neighborhoods or in the South area (Liberdade, Aclimação, Consolação, Vila Mariana and Centro), but also in one neighborhood in the Northeast area (Jaraguá) and one in the North area (Vila Amália) of the capital – the other subjects live in the cities of São Caetano do Sul (Santa Paula neighborhood), São Bernardo do Campo (Planalto neighborhood) and Vinhedo (Chácara Cascais neighborhood); all of the within the State of São Paulo.

5 of the interviewed women were born the city capital; one of the interviewed men lives within the city area of São Paulo (São Bernardo do Campo) and another is from an inner-city state (Limeira). Lastly, there is one participant from a city in the state of Minas Gerais (Alfenas), Southeast of Brazil; and another from the state of Paraná (Londrina), South of the country; and one participant from the state of Paraíba (Campina Grande), Northeast of the country.

In terms of education, 4 of the participants are graduated and one undergraduate; amongst the others, 4 have a post-graduation degree and one is in course. In relation to professional field of work, there is a data scientist; an image consultant; a salesperson; and one freelancer; 4 teachers and one which is currently not performing regular professional activities.

In relation to house income, we have the following distribution: one of the interviewees earns up until R$ 2.078,00 (two Brazilian minimum salaries); six inform their income ranging from R$ 2.078,00 a R$ 4.156,00 (two to four Brazilian minimum salaries); two inform their income ranging from R$ 4.156,00 to R$ 10.390,00 (four to ten Brazilian minimum salaries); and one of them informs the range between R$ 10.390,00 to R$ 20.780,00 (ten to 20 Brazilian minimum salaries). Regarding the sociocultural consumption habits, all of them, even if attested on occasion, read books (printed or digital editions); most of them reads the news from websites/news portals with a high frequency; they occasionally or rarely go to the movies; 80% of them watches movies and series trough paid streaming platforms frequently or very frequently, and 90% of them watches videos on free online platforms frequently or very frequently.

Most importantly, it catches our attention the fact that the option 'never consumes' was only present for tradition media such as TV, radio and movies; that was not true for digital media (video and music streaming and podcasts). It is unanimous that all of them access the internet frequently or very frequently; as well as they access social media (such as *Facebook*, *Instagram* e *Twitter*) and message exchange apps (such as WhatsApp). At last, traveling is more frequent (60% of the interviewees) than attending shows (frequent or very frequent for 40% of the interviewees) and going to the theater (frequent or very frequent for 40% of the interviewees).

3. Basic conceptions: the notions of communication, consumption and collaborative consumption

Still going for a contextualized perspective on the participants of the research and their speeches, we now present our findings on their conception of communication, consumption, and collaborative consumption; because we understand that such broader framework guides the practices and discourses around the studied application devices. It is also a case of intersection with another of our ongoing research (Rocha & Pereira, 2018), which investigates the notions of consumption and consumerism recuring to the same participants involved in the present research. We were able to gather from our sample that communication is most often understood for its reciprocal and empathic nature, valuing the aspect of information exchange. In other words, there were no mention to communication being a one-sided action; it was understood by all in the form of a *process*, as Hall (2003) would state it talking about reception.

It would be relationship. I understand communication as human relationship. (M., 40 years-old).
It is comprehension. (N., 56 years-old)
The people being able to give and receive information, like that, right? (F., 36 years-old).
Communication is to speak and listen in any comprehensible form. (I., 58 years-old).
It is to have the other understand you. And you give information in a way the other is able to understand. (M., 47 years-old).
Communication means power to speak to the people, to say what you feel, give your perception on everything. And also to know how to listen to the other, to know how to be informed in the right way. So communication is that exchange of information, I don't know. (T., 29 years-old).

On its turn, consumption appears to be always very centered on economic activity, which is naturalized in our way of living, guided by a capitalist system that tends to excess, to the superfluous. Meaning that the speeches in their great majority follow the notion stated by Rocha (2005, p. 130), according to which "consumption is nothing to be thought about, it is to be condemned as consumerism", "[...] results in a common sense, an ideological ground in which is possible to comfortably state that production is something noble, while consumption is not. Production is a sacrifice that enhances oneself, and consumption is the pleasure to be condemned."

In a way, it is an economic activity, I don't know. (M., 28 years-old).
It is everything that you use too much. Something that you use a lot or that is needed, right? (N., 56 years-old).
I think that consumption to me is currently the basis of the world. [...] Buying, consumption is happiness nowadays […] (M., 40 years-old).
Hum, consumption I think it is something that most of the times comes as imposed and that turns out being unnecessary. (F., 36 years-old).
[…] to have things, material things mainly, that we don't need. (T., 29 years-old).

Collaborative consumption, on its turn, was always described by the participants in a larger semantic realm including what is in line with conscious practices, the use of collectives and the valorization of small producers:

I think that it is a healthier and more conscious form of economic activity, you know? From the stand point of my pocket, but also environmentally. (M., 28 years-old).
I have my consumption, and I don't need that consumption anymore, so I will collaborate with somebody else so that she or he can benefit from the same product I have benefited from, understand? I will collaborate with her in a consumption action that the person would have to go to the store and buy it in 10 parcels (F., 27 years-old).
So I think that instead of you buying, I don't now...a jewelry in a big shop like Zara, you go buy it from a handicraft shop that you know the person who made it. Understand? I think that would be collaborative consumption. I think it is when you are collaborating with a small entrepreneur. (M., 40 years-old).
It would be a way […] of getting to what I need without necessarily having to buy the thing like that. Not going through the traditional ways that you would buy and throw away, buy and throw away. (C., 38 years-old).
Oh, collaborative consumption would be to consume, use, have the opportunity to use something that someone lent to you, gave to you, understand? (N., 56 years-old).
A form of consumption, let us say, more collective, or collaborative, I don't know, is to consume, first of all, to consume only what is necessary, right? And get it from people or sources that are worth privileging, validating, legitimating, right? The work of the person, that job. (F., 36 years-old).
Collaborative consumption, now we are talking. That is when we are talking about renting a car. You don't need to own a car, but rent it just to take a specific trip, or to stay with it for a while. That besides many other things. I think it a way of being concerned about the planet. (M., 37 years-old).
Collaborative consumption, I believe it is everything that we are able to share and that ends up benefiting everybody, right? […] Maybe it is a community Garden. I don't know, a ride system that help many people; however, it does not end up costing a lot to each of these people as if it was individual. So, I think that it is the gathering of people that are able to make use of the same good, be it a product or a service, and it results in financial benefits to all of the involved. (T., 29 years-old).

Considering the enouncing's above, collaborative consumption, in the perceptions of the interviewed users, is outlined beyond the limits established by Botsman (2003), that defines it as a fraction of collaborative economy, as a new form of consumption, based on sharing, exchange or rent of material or symbolic goods privileging access and not property.

4. Agency and power of the consumption without monetary investment

In the effective search for evidence and for the most significative traces in the discourses on the social interaction application devices that do not imply monetary benefits, the keywords stated by the interviewees and that are more directly related to the practice are: friendship; cooperation; solidarity; help; exchange; experiences; alternatives; honesty; utopia. The debate we are to put forward now are then crossed by each one of them.

It comes to our attention how the dispositive is spontaneously mentioned in the first recovery of the interviewees' life stories. The spontaneous mention of the application happens because it is precisely related to the lifestyle or philosophy of life of the subject:

> *So, I have recently went to live on my own in as apartment building downtown. The Tem Açúcar? [Got Sugar?], Where you found me, is a platform I have been using a lot, to furnish my home, to get thing and to give things I don't need as well. (M., 28 years-old).*

Regarding the sort of request/offers that the participants have been making through the application devices, we have noticed that the operations performed by the users are extremely diverse considering the wide range of possibilities of actions that the networks themselves provide: centered more on the donation of material goods on *Tem Açúcar?* [*Got Sugar?*] and more focused on immaterial experiences in *Beliive*; according to the essence and specificity of each platform.

In relation to the bonding through the application devices, we have observed that social interaction is not the main motivation to enter these spaces, but rather bonding can potentially happen and the users are open to it.

> *So, this girl, she, we have started a friendship, she became a part of our cause, see? So, every time she, for example, gathers newspapers, or if she has anything that she fells that might be useful to us, she gives us a call. Then we go down there to get it. There has been some cases like that. (N., 56 years-old).*

Now responding more directly to our general objective and trying to understand how the application devices are invested of significance (Orlandi, 2007, p. 26), we have highlighted the meanings attached by the interviewed social actors to the application devices. Analyzing such procedures of making meanings emerge, we have identified three main narratives build around those application devices, understanding them as being: an alternative to what is hegemonic; tools for justice and tools for the connection among people interested in offering goods/experiences.

> *However, to me, if we go far beyond, it is something that enables alternatives. Alternatives to the system, right? […] We are not ending capitalism, but there are ways of surviving in it. (F., 36 years-old).*
>
> *I am making a choice that, I am not saying goes against capitalism, but it becomes an alternative to traditional consumption. (C., 38 years-old).*
>
> *To open the field of vision of the people to a new way of bargaining services. (M., 47 years-old).*
>
> *Look, I think it means an opportunity to offer and to get services fairly. […] I think it is only fair, you know? I think it is only fair. When you look at the rates of one hour of a persons' work. It is so different. There are people working a lot to get nothing. I think everything is so unfair, you know? But here what rules is the necessity. You need someone to do something. And the other can do it. So, in times of need, money does not matter, understand? I need someone that can clean. I need someone to clean and a gardener. That is what I am looking for. I teach English language and handcrafting. So, whatever if the woman that does gardening studied only until elementary school. I need a gardener. So, her work hour is so valuable as mine, understand? So that is kind of the reason. (I., 58 years-old).*

It brings the vision of being together really, a vision of 'I have but I don't need it, I will help someone that does need', see? And that person that I have helped may or may not help someone. But I have to believe that the help that I give today will make a memory in the subconscious of the other person, a seed of the idea that helping one another goes far beyond, you know? You are not just thinking about yourself; you are thinking about the other. (F., 27 years-old)

I think the connection among the people. Opportunities because you can learn a lot there. You get to know a lot of people. And you can take this knowledge for many sectors of life. So, I think that the platform can bring a lot of benefits since it does not have a capitalist interest, right? It is only about the interaction among the people, exchanging what they know and they don't need to be paid with money (T., 29 years-old).

The moment the participants are openly questioned if they understand the use of the dispositive in question as a form of political activism, the result is that those who have an understanding about politics on a broader sense, as a human positioning in face of the issues brought by life in society, agrees that their own approach is political. Those who relate the term politics to a narrower view, associated with political parties, disagrees on the pollical use of the application devices.

We have found that the political aspect of the application devices for non-monetary benefits are in the possibility of escaping the hegemonic ruling system, although its political nature Is mainly associated with offering access: to provide access to an experience or product that one would not get if depended on money. Even so we should point out that there are still identifiable contradictions regarding access.

In fact, it is reasonable to state that there is an inherent dialectic to the very conception of the digital application device which does not involve money exchange: those who really need to meet free goods and services are lower socioeconomic classes that most of the times do not even have access to the internet, let alone be aware of the existence of such tools and be in touch with those networks. Are the interviewees informed of such inequality? So, being true to this train of thought, the adoption of such application devices would not be overall political because they do not privilege the access of those in greater need.

Anyway, we feel that there truly are contributions of those tools to the political uplifting of access (even if still restrictive) for the interested people and that they are in fact able to interact optimizing the searches and promoting a greater spectrum of offer/demand that maybe someone's private network would not reach, besides presenting a satisfactory raise in the spectrum of possibilities. Even if the interviewee is already performing a similar type of action doing donations to closer contacts or institutions or if the person offers services without the mediation of such networks (for example: voluntary yoga lessons in a park and English language lessons for the manicurist), the application devices end up being useful and practical tools to better accomplish the actions.

Lastly, we should highlight how much the matter of the humanization of the relationships is spontaneously brought up on the participants speeches: we have recollected statements such as "the platform raises such a human aspect of the person" and "I would say that this is a human attitude" in relation to the choice of performing consumption actions not made through conventional paths that would involve monetary benefit, but through application devices that do not:

Making my Independence stronger, you know? To see that there are people that are really not attached to material goods to the point of trying to ell it. Because I have seen a lot of good products there that if it was the case of greed people, those who only think of the money, they would be selling it over the Internet, not giving it, understand? So I go by this principle as well. For example, there is a machine here and I put an ad for it. I could easily sell it for 100 reais, 150 reais, especially now. But I prefer giving it to someone that I know is in need as I once was, someone that would not be able to buy it, understand? So I think that besides everything the platform brings up that human side of people. (F., 28 years-old).

I would say that it is the human attitude. Mainly because my mother was one to always help the others. My mother came from Bahia, right? She came here to São Paulo young, she was 13, 14 years old. So every time she went to Bahia to visit her father, or when she got married again and went to live there with her husband, or when she traveled to Pernambuco, or to any other place, on the way back she would find someone at the bus station, at the airport, trying to stay in São Paulo for a while and our house would become sort of a hostel. So sometimes one entire family would come. [...] That is because she just wanted to help. So, I have a little bit of her in that. [...] I try to help in other ways because of the opportunities I have had. (M., 37 years-old).

Similarly, as we provoked the interviewees to think about the possible humanization that *Tem Açúcar?* [*Got Sugar?*] and *Beliive* mobilizes there was unanimous agreement as in the following excerpt:

> *Look, I have seen, for example, a young boy that said, I mean, his bio was like: 'I don't know much of anything, but I want to help'. See? That was in his bio. So, I think that is an example [of humanization] (I., 58 years old).*

5. Final considerations

We have faced directly our empirical data recovering what interested us the most, which were the meanings that emerged from the enouncing's on social interaction digital trough application devices that enable consumption without monetary transaction and as a result we observed the establishment of three major narratives that justify the use of such application devices instead of traditional ways of acquiring goods and services. Such application devices appear, in a first semantic layer, as alternatives to the traditional hegemonic capitalist trails for the access to consumption, trying to escape it and then making the choice to use them may be an argument strong enough.

On a second layer, the alternative forms represent by the application devices would be fairer in relation to consumption because they put all the offers and demands at the same level of value and of access. That is different from the usual capitalist dynamic, which values differently and unequally the work hours and products/services of people and does not enable access. In a third semantic layer, the application devices potentialize connections between people that are interested in the same goods/experiencer and that would not be reached without such mediation.

Considering such discursive materialities we have observed, we gather that the signification of the application devices that organize collaborative consumption without recurring to monetarization may be summarized as digital ways of subverting the capitalist system by optimizing a fairer access to consumption. The 3 major narratives carry 3 different meanings, and we should develop them further? The (re)humanization of relationships; the political nature of consumption and the feeling of nostalgia.

Within such narrative framework, we have observed coming from the interviewed subjects, the perception on collaborative consumption being unanimously understood as an optimized alternative to consumption itself. Even when the social actor relates the notion of collaborative consumption to the aspect of a consumption consciousness and a prestigious attitude for the small producer, thus expanding the concept as proposed by Botsman (2003), the practice of sharing goods online is implied. Regarding consumption in general, it is recurrently described in the order of excess and exaggeration; perpetrating a shallow perspective which is not in dialogue with the notion of sociocultural practice aiming at supporting individual and collective symbolic needs (Canclini, 2006). Communication, on its turn, is understood as a two-sided process, meaning the realization that there need to be two poles – production and reception – for the effective stabilization of both meaning and message.

The actions put forward trough collaborative application devices for non-monetary benefits are seen by the users as being political when they understand that it promotes access to goods and that it escapes the hegemonic system. It means that it is political when here is conscious choice for one form of consumption and not the other based on the convictions of those in position to decide on the consumption.

In that sense, we understand that the political nature of consumption is legitimated as politicity considering the conceptualization that Freire (2008, pp. 34-35) was already applying in the 1980's as he related politics and education. Politicity would then be the essential quality of the educational practice as an act which implies conscious choices based on conceptions and perspectives on the world (Freire, 2008: 34-35). In our case, consumption is understood as politicity because it also implies decision making underlying positionings and beliefs. They are political actions that escape the traditional political spaces and operate in the daily lives of people (Rocha, 2012).

Even if our study is focused on the observation of youth, we can profit from what Jurandir Freire Costa (2005) recovers on the raise of the number of young individuals with a 'new way of thinking', believing in ideals of justice and respect for the other acting as true agents of social change.

I see no way out except if we recover the trust in our power of transformation as the creator that we are. However, I repeat that we need to set back from the position we have been put, that of individual exclusively focused on our own selves. Thus, change demands that we realize that what we do in our day to day lives in any professional or cultural activity is relevant. What each one of us does is important, very important! The world is made of small everyday gestures and the larger beliefs that support it. (Costa, 2005, p. 88).

Emphasizing what Costa (2004) brings and relating to what we have recovered on the enouncing's on the practices engendered in the application devices under analysis we are able to operate within our daily lives in the gaps and creations – with the agency of technical innovation – putting forward a new perspective and new actions over reality and consumption, in that case, can be a positivity enhancing practice. Those activities obviously do not have to be restricted to the agency of young people, who are in the focus of the author because, as we have observed in our research, there is not an age limit to the 'new' habits.

As much as the shift in thinking has enabled the emergence of dispositives that articulate consumption without the presence of money and thus without the monetary benefit of one of the parts, it is arguable that the same application devices incentive, on their turn, social change. Thus, we unveil a cycle that feeds itself back; there is an opening for individual and collective consciousness which is in the base of such dispositive as much as it comes from them. In the core of the entering those application devices, there are sociabilities which are indirectly organized as agents of the practices, consumption practices included. And all that put into movement through digital application devices. Technology and consumption seen thus as agents of transformation and citizenship.

The Brazilian/Latin American actors that we were in touch with reveal their agency when they put themselves in the position of making criticism and resistance to what is established and when they choose practices that raise the political quality of consumption and when they fight for more equity in consumption relationships; all of that trough digital application devices that promote consumption without the need of the monetary coin in exchange relationship, that meaning to put changes forward.

Considering all the arguments that are intertwined in our study, we would like to come to a close by emphasizing the potential of invention that Simmel (1998) has observed in early modernity as he recognized the dehumanization of relationships as money was introduced in Modern society. In that sense, we are to reveal the potential to (re)humanize relationships trough digital application devices that without the monetary capital give what is human back to the exchange and making more of them than that just commercial contracts.

So, once we are talking about a recovery of an 'old' way of being, of belonging and acting in the world and in everyday life, the matter of nostalgia is present. As we go back to a more human connection even if it is still mediated my digital technology, privileging a relationship that is not profit oriented but is based in trusting a neighbor and even trusting strangers those applications mobilize a certain feeling of nostalgia that, according to Batcho (2013) may be structured as a strategy to overcome times of crisis leading once again as we have mentioned before to social change.

Even if the social bonds are built trough application devices for non-monetary benefits are not the hegemonic commercial bonding (because the ruling capitalism would not allow) it is extremely important that they are ongoing. Those networks can effectively enable human connection as they privilege, even if in a restricted way, human rights through the free access to material and symbolic goods.

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2.4. Exoticization and internationalization in the cultural history of the fashion district Harajuku

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

In my research on the significance of the Tokyo district Harajuku for the fashion scene, the discrepancy between its limited dimensions of barely two square kilometers and its great national and international relevance in pop culture is striking. If one tries to approach its special logic, historical origins and attempts to understand its influence, it is this contrast that distinguishes the district from the rest of Tokyo. Throughout its development, the special role of the international is one of the red threads that emerges. Whether it is direct contact with the foreign, its "authentic" representation or exoticizing imagination, in any case this construct is an effective element in shaping the identity of this neighborhood. Based on interviews with formative actors from Harajuku's history, media content and observations made on site, my article develops a brief cultural history of Harajuku from the post-war period onwards.

Keywords: Harajuku, street fashion, urban history, exoticization, internationalization.

1. Introduction

Harajuku has become a household name nationally and internationally for colorful fashion, creative youth culture and lifestyle trends. As a creative free space, it's one of the highlights in every Japan travel guide, attracting Japanese and foreign guests alike. International luxury labels such as Louis Vuitton showcase their flagship stores along Omotesandô boulevard, and the shopping sprees of stars such as Kanye West and Kim Kardashian find a wide audience. Harajuku is also significant for Japanese people: Series such as Mika Ninagawa's Netflix Original *Followers* find in the neighborhood a fitting setting for the stylish daily lives of its creative protagonists. Teenagers from all parts of the country make pilgrimages to this small part of Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, to try out the latest food trend and, of course, take the Instagram photos to prove it.

Through this wild mixture of bubble tea stores, designer boutiques, and subculture trends, runs a common thread: Harajuku is perceived as set apart by its intense contact with foreign countries, both direct and indirect. The international and the exotic are two central ways of making sense of this special connection.

In this article, I will address the question of what effects internationalization and exoticization have had on Harajuku from the postwar period until today. At the same time, I want to shed light on what Harajuku itself contributes to these processes, both within Japan and in the rest of the world. To what extent does it serve as a driving force, a space of possibilities, or a passive recipient for exoticization and internationalization?

2. Concepts and methods

To better grasp Harajuku in its pop-cultural function as a fashion and lifestyle hub from a cultural studies perspective, it makes sense to address some of the grounding assumptions of my research.

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A first factor is the prevailing understanding of 'foreign' itself in this particular context: In Japan, a few select countries and regions tend to serve as fixed reference points in fashion. Once they become strongly associated with a particular brand or style, the references to them are usually repetitive. Studies mention brands from Great Britain, as well as from France and Italy or the American West and East Coast as examples that have gone through this process of fusing country-cliché and brand image (Marx, 2015; Hata, 2004; Goodrum, 2009).

The processes of internationalization and exoticization help shape this special mode of referencing the foreign. Both principles play a role in defining the possibilities for contact and exchange with the fashionable foreign country. They are by no means mutually exclusive, but rather form endpoints of a scale on which practices of engagement with the foreign fall. Nevertheless, it is analytically beneficial to distinguish them.

I define internationalization as concrete connections and exchanges with foreign countries. Business contacts, travel, and visiting and participating in fashion weeks or trade fairs are important activities which people working in the fashion and lifestyle sector perform. Furthermore, such fashion cosmopolitans require a good knowledge of the international fashion scene, for example of labels and designers, trends and collections, pop cultural influences.

While participation in professional events is usually limited to members of the industry, all these aspects are also of great importance to people interested in fashion. Even fashion media aimed at a more general audience communicate international expertise to some degree and presuppose some prior knowledge of it.

In contrast to this concrete, well-informed internationalization, I employ the concept of exoticization, which stands for an imagined 'foreign country' in fashion and lifestyle. Exoticization is characterized by abstraction and a highly selective perception: individual aspects associated with a country or region become decontextualized and distorted, then are repeated as tropes.

This is evident, for example, in the selection of countries perceived as fashionable foreign countries. In Japan, these are by no means all the countries in the world that are active on the fashion market. Rather, it is still primarily a few central Western 'fashion cities' (Breward, 2010; Breward & Gilbert, 2006) that stand in for their countries at large and determine their image: Paris for France, London for England, New York, and in some cases Los Angeles for the United States serve as synecdoche. Their fashion shows, fairs, stars, and street snaps keep Western Europe and North America the centers of attention (Jansen, 2020). The cities serve as shorthand for fashion and taste, are used to promote both individual products and entire brands. Goodrum, for example, analyzes this behavior for the Japanese market: in her research on the success of the British brands Mulberry and Paul Smith, she found that a specifically Japanese idea of Britishness does not only inform the reception of the brands by the customer, but also the complete process from the idea of a garment to its presentation in the store (Goodrum, 2009).

Another important perspective on the Japanese fashion world shows, in turn, its perception in Europe and America. The success of the young Japanese avant-garde of the 1970s and 1980s in Paris, as well as the career of the only Asian couturière, Hanae Mori, are all vital developments in the 20th century. The collections of the 'Big Three', Issey Miyake, Yohji Yamamoto, and Rei Kawakubo, had the postmodern claim to break through the boundaries between West and East, fashion and anti-fashion, and modernity and anti-modernity, and to overturn the existing rules of fashion and clothing (Kawamura, 2004). They succeeded in this – the monochrome, asymmetrical, architectural-looking designs, with their holes and rips, shocked the Parisian fashion world, spurring enthusiasm but also rejection. The often-cited term 'Hiroshima chic' is a reference to Kondo's (2010) observations that racism or orientalist clichés often resonated in international reviews, and characteristics of the designs were readily attributed to aspects of Japanese culture such as Zen or kimono.

Even if the revolutionaries had shaken Parisian fashion to its core, continued success was only possible by integrating themselves into the existing system of the fashion world there, for example through regular participation in the shows. The acquisition of social, economic as well as symbolic capital according to the rules of the Parisian 'fashion worlds' (following Becker's (1982) 'art worlds') secured their recognition and that of the following (Kawamura, 2004).

These complex loops of perception can be observed in Tokyo as well. As a capital city, it shows how self-perception and perception of others, exoticizing and internationalizing tendencies can influence what is on offer, and how its neighborhoods make use of it in their own ways. A city, as a "bounded space that is densely settled and has a relatively large, culturally heterogeneous population" (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005, p. 4), intensifies the interactions of its users through these same factors: the streets and other public places serve as stages on which residents can act and interact.

An important aspect of this urban culture is walkability (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005), which makes urban space widely accessible and attractive. It promotes the possibility of its co-creation through everyday use, as described by de Certeau in his theories on *walking* (Certeau 2002). The built space of the city becomes a social space for the interaction of its users and is at the same time shaped by them.

Another central concept for my analysis draws on de Certeau's interpretation of synecdoche and asyndeton as central organizing principles of spatial practices in this creation of social space. He explains the former as the use of a word in place of the larger whole containing it. He describes asyndeton as the omission of connecting words between meaning-bearing words. Transferred to the spatial practice of *walking*, it causes a selection and fragmentation of the space traversed and its perception, so that certain places appear as important, while the path between them receives little attention (Certeau, 2002). According to the principle of synecdoche, not only does the fashion city of Tokyo stand for the whole of Japan in the international perception, but a few neighborhoods such as Harajuku stand in for the whole city in a second step.

Even Harajuku itself is often not perceived in its entirety: Here, both synecdoche and asyndeton are active in parallel, which makes defining the area even more difficult. It is not clearly delimited, as it is officially part of the Shibuya-ku Jingûmae district. Nevertheless, there is a wide-spread informal understanding of what constitutes Harajuku: focal points such as the wooden building of the old Harajuku Station, the narrow shopping street Takeshita-dôri, Omotesandô boulevard, and department stores such as Laforet serve as symbols for the entire neighborhood. Residential buildings or local stores such as greengrocers or florists that also exist within its customary boundaries, however, are associated with this name by only a few people – they are the omitted links in the sense of the asyndeton. Moreover, this selective perception also applies to food and restaurants: Harajuku is inseparably associated with international sweets and snacks such as crêpes, while traditional Japanese restaurants, which do exist, are hardly ever mentioned.

Harajuku's synecdochic focal points further serve as commonly understood waymarkers, as my analysis of maps with the keyword 'Harajuku' from Japanese-language fashion, lifestyle, and travel magazines has shown. Here, I found that some landmarks and central routes exist that are equally familiar to domestic tourists and members of fashion subcultures. Based on these assumptions, Harajuku is currently located in Shibuya-ku Jingûmae 1, 3, 4-chôme, and parts of 5 and 6.

After defining my study area in this way, I collected data on the historical development of the district through expert interviews with fashion professionals as well as archival between April 2017 and February 2019. Following the work of Obayashi et *al*. (2002), I focused primarily on the coverage of fashion and lifestyle magazines.

To complement this, I also conducted on-site participant observation, including attending monthly trend observations and consumer interviews conducted by ACROSS (part of Parco's fashion and culture think tank), as well as substitute work at a fashion store and regular visits.

3. Historical development of Harajuku

3.1 Foundations: Harajuku until the 1950s

Until the end of World War II, Harajuku was of interest only to its immediate residents for most of the year. Its brief time in the spotlight came with each New Year's morning when many Tokyoites visited the Meiji Jingû shrine there. It had opened in 1920 on the grounds of Yoyogi Park and was dedicated to the Meiji Emperor and Empress.

Along with the shrine came Harajuku Station, which connected the area to the Yamanote loop line. A small temple town offering snacks and souvenirs was built across from it. Today's Omotesandô boulevard served as the access road (Ohta, 2016). The shrine also included the Meiji Shrine Athletic Stadium, built in 1924 in Meijijingû Gaien. Sporting events were held here under the auspices of the Emperor of Japan.

The role of Yoyogi Park in the development of Harajuku is not limited to the shrine. Before World War II, it was used as Yoyogi Drill Ground as well as for other army facilities (Tagsold, 2010). During the Occupation, it was confiscated and used to house higher-ranking U.S. Army personnel, because of its accessibility along National Route 246 / Oyama Road and its proximity to downtown Tokyo. With the Washington Heights base came stores and facilities to cater to Americans and other foreign personnel (Yoshimi, 2019). Cafés and restaurants appeared along Omotesandô boulevard, offering familiar Western cuisine and outdoor seating rare elsewhere in Tokyo.

One key locale that opened in this period is the Oriental Bazaar. Originally an antique shop in the Nihonbashi district, it moved to its present location on Omotesandô boulevard in 1951 with the intention of selling souvenirs to soldiers and other foreign visitors. The owners designed the exterior of the store to look like a shrine and sold earthenware and folding screens to match foreign perceptions of Japanese culture. According to the company website, it was also an American customer who gave the store its name, still used today, shortly after it came to Harajuku (Across, 1995; Oriental Bazaar, n.d.).

After Tokyo was named the site of the 1964 Olympics, the Yoyogi Park land was returned to Japan. A new stadium was built there, and the former army base Washington Heights was used as the Olympic Village for athletes from around the world. Media attention helped the area gain widespread notoriety and made it the first point of contact with Western culture and lifestyle for many Japanese (Hirakawa, 2007).

Import stores, cafés, a drive-through burger restaurant at the corner of Meiji dôri and Omotesandô streets, and their non-Japanese signage gave visitors the impression of being transported to America or Europe. Omotesandô was consequently nicknamed 'Japan's Champs-Elysées' (Mabuchi, 1989).

While buildings such as the Central Apartments, completed in 1957, already provided high-quality living space for the army and embassy personnel, the neighborhood now also became home to the most expensive apartments built for Japanese at the time: the mansion boom experienced its superlative here, in the form of the Coop Olympia. The most expensive apartment, with a direct view of the park, air-conditioning, four elevators, concierge service and a rooftop pool, likely went to actor Machiko Kyô of Rashomon fame. It became known as the first 'oku-shon' (1oku yen), or one hundred-million-yen mansion (Across, 1995).

During this period, there are numerous indications of an exoticization and internationalization of the neighborhood: the U.S. army quarters, and the import stores, cafés, and restaurants directed at their residents were a first point of contact with foreign countries for many Japanese and, in this course, already offered wealthier individuals contact with foreign lifestyles. This concrete contact with foreigners and foreign culture constituted an early form of the internationalization of the neighborhood.

Traces of exoticization can be found in the Oriental Bazaar: Here, not only were souvenirs corresponding to common Japanese clichés available, but the store's operators also saw an opportunity for sales not possible with Japanese customers in the immediate postwar period. In addition to the exoticization of Japanese culture by foreign buyers, the use of conscious self-exoticization by the Japanese operators as a deliberate marketing strategy was also evident.

3.2 1960s / 1970s: Harajuku and the youth and fashion scene

The Harajuku of the 1960s was first shaped by the 1964 Olympics, as the accommodation of athletes in the previous army buildings led to a further short-term increase in international visitors and media attention and gave the neighborhood another striking landmark in the form of Kenzo Tange's Yoyogi National Gymnasium. Tokyo's affluent youth was drawn to Harajuku: Starting in 1965, the wide Omotesandō boulevard, at the time still without its landscaped median strip, offered Tokyo's wealthy youth perfect conditions for nighttime car races. During the day, they could show off their imported sports cars here, stroll along the avenue and meet in the cafés or go dancing. The media reported on this new youth movement, christened Harajuku-zoku, which attracted up to 4,000 participants, but complaints from residents about noise pollution from the races and loitering youths kissing in public also increased. These protests led to a residents' movement that, in cooperation with the police, put an end to the car races in the following year (Mabuchi, 1989; Narumi, 2010).

Even in the context of this development, the influence of internationalization is still relatively clear, as places created for a primarily foreign audience were used by wealthy youth in search of lifestyle-an aspect they associated with the international, given the still limited domestic offerings in Japan, which also weren't catering to a younger audience. The first holders of new katakana professions, which transposed fashionable English-language job titles into Japanese - designers, models, talents - also showed interest in Harajuku and began to settle there.

These creatives, who subsequently became the core of the fashion district, knew how to skillfully mix practices of exoticization and internationalization to create a distinctive lifestyle - this was one aspect that increasingly defined Harajuku's flair. Their small group became the avant-garde: expensive trips abroad gave them the opportunity to gather international fashion knowledge and contacts. Upon their return, they cleverly used these resources to give their growing audience in Japan a glimpse of London or Paris. Exoticization was a

factor here, whether it emanated consciously from the side of the well-traveled fashion designers or was a byproduct of the lack of knowledge.

Their central gathering point became the Central Apartments. The stylist Yacco (Yasuko Takahashi), who first came to the Central Apartments as a visitor, but returned as a resident, credits what was actually a 'fairly mundane building' with having been legendary in its function as a gathering place for many young creatives. In retrospect, she also emphasizes its 'foreign atmosphere' (Takahashi, 2006).

On the lower floor, in addition to cafés and restaurants, Mademoiselle Nonnon, one of Japan's first boutiques, opened in 1966. Shortly after, Hitomi Ôgawa's shop MILK followed, just a few doors down. Both stores "had a small storefront, were narrow, and only 6 or 7 meters deep" (Takahashi, 2006, p. 124).

According to Hirakawa, they were thus both examples of a "distinct 'Harajuku' feel" and representatives of a particular business model that was to become more widespread.

I recall a particular manual of the time, titled something like 'How to Succeed in the Fashion Business', which advised the hopeful to rent a small room in an inexpensive apartment block in the backstreets of Harajuku (now known as Ura-Hara), set up an atelier, and start working. ... Easily mistaken for overseas brands, the collections would then be sold wholesale to small shops. Another route was for designers to rent cheap commercial space in Takeshita-dôri and open their own retail shop.

(Hirakawa, 2007, p. 23).

The stylist Non-Nakamura also emphasized the role of these small businesses, often run by families and friends, in my interview. Unlike in Shibuya or Shinjuku, she said, everything here came from a single source, and combined ateliers and retail stores were able to quickly build their own reputations (interview by author, 5 September 2017).

Hitomi Ôgawa, who founded the MILK boutique with her two siblings in 1970, said she did so because she wanted to express her ideas. She told me that hippies, psychedelic or glam rock cultures had shown them the way and that they wanted to contribute themselves. The location was also clear from the start: Harajuku had hardly any fashion stores at the time, but it was chic, just like its inhabitants, and radiated a 'strange power'. Her creations were inspired by the streets of Paris and London; she sewed what she wanted to wear but couldn't buy in Japan. She cites punk as an example of this: During her visit to London in 1974, she cut up a Harris Tweed jacket and pinned it back together with safety pins. Even today, the influences of this subculture can still be found in her designs (interview by author, 25 September 2017).

This relatively small, close-knit group of creatives inspired each other, shared their experiences abroad and international contacts. This resulted, for example, in the long collaboration between David Bowie and the designer Kansai Yamamoto, as well as the stylist Yasuko Takashi and the photographer Masayoshi Sukita (Godoy & Vartanian, 2007).

These young creatives found a mouthpiece in new fashion magazines such as *an an* (Heibonsha, now Magazine House). The baby boomer generation came of age and moved to the big cities for study or work, their rising incomes allowing for an increasingly high standard of living. Tokyo became a young city that hosted numerous new youth cultures, always in search of new identities and inspirations (Namba, 2007).

These new media also contain aspects of internationalization and exoticization: they take the reader on a journey, showing trends documented worldwide - but they also deliberately filter what is shown in order to make it seem attractive to a Japanese audience. This combined with a lack of contextual knowledge on the part of readers, as well as the inherently selective nature of fashion magazines designed to stage an attractive lifestyle, undoubtedly led to a distortion of the image of foreign countries.

International fashion and pop culture trends were now more widely received, which also increased the demand for the styles they presented. While MILK, for example, offered not only its own productions from the beginning, but also select imported goods (Yasuda, 2015), the late 1970s saw the emergence of stores that specialized purely in the skillful import of fashion and lifestyle goods: on the one hand, the first vintage stores such as Cream Soda appeared on Cat Street. On the other, select stores such as BEAMS made their debut in the district.

The growing imports by select and second-hand stores, as well as cheaper, locally produced copies of those garments, are interesting regarding their role in exoticization and internationalization: The level of fashion knowledge increased. More direct contact with international products, well-informed staff, as well as newly emerging magazines contributed. At the same time, however, an increasing exoticization occurred. Some consumers came to be satisfied with approximate copies of looks and preferred fantasy worlds created by movies to direct contact with foreign countries. A look at Harajuku's visitor numbers is helpful for understanding these opposing developments - unprecedented masses crowded into the small neighborhood. Their interests, social and economic backgrounds, and sources of information became increasingly diverse, with two results. The positions on the scale between internationalization and exoticization became increasingly complex, while Harajuku itself became known as a hybrid. The groundwork had been laid for its perception as international yet Japanese, accessible yet not commonplace.

3.3 1980s – Harajuku becomes a fashion city of its own

The 1980s brought brands like Yohji Yamamoto or Comme des Garçons to the forefront for Harajuku's fashion avantgarde. While part of their popularity within Japan was also due to the overseas success of the designers, the magazine and had also been supporting many of them for some time, and their brands were now gaining attention as so-called DC brands. (DC brand, short for 'designer's character brand' - the label is headed by a single designer known to the public). According to Across, a near-cult of designers like Kawakubo Rei formed from the 'fashion freaks' among their readers. Many of them became store employees in the wake of the DC boom that followed in the second half of the 1980s, as they were a good fit for the sleek, purist store environments (Across, 1995).

While at first glance this turn to Japanese designers seems to run counter to an increasing focus on exoticized foreign lifestyles, on closer inspection it is indicative of that very trend: as mentioned at the outset with reference to Kawamura's and Kondo's analyses, fashion labels such as Comme des Garçons, which had long been stocked in Harajuku's boutiques, were only noticed by many shoppers in the 1980s after a legitimizing fashion city such as Paris had started to pay attention to them. This illustrates the leading position that continued to be assigned to a narrow range of foreign-fashion countries in matters of style.

The Harajuku of this period benefited from the significant financial opportunities that even young people had at the time (or sought to attain through the use of credit cards) - being dressed head to toe in the works of an internationally known designer or wearing exclusively American imports, impossible before, was now common.

At the same time, fashion and lifestyle expertise was more in demand than ever: In order to make an increasingly extensive and complicated world of offerings accessible and understandable to the public, numerous new magazines sprouted up, reporting in ever more diverse and detailed ways, and existing ones adapted their coverage. Harajuku knew how to fill the resulting expert positions through its network, which had grown since the 1970s. Buyers, employees and stylists were now able to share their specialist knowledge with readers.

In this way, Harajuku's internationalization also continued: The experts were well-traveled and firmly integrated into the international fashion world. Thus, they gained access to information such as trends, new labels, knew the current pop-cultural influences as well as historical role models, and occupied important key positions in globally relevant fashion and media.

3.4 Into the 1990s: Fashion media diversifies

As the designer boom ended, Harajuku's attention increasingly turned to street fashion. This change is interesting in terms of internationalization: while high fashion, as already mentioned, was firmly linked to the traditional fashion system, which Japan accepted by following its fixed system of rules, street fashion was much freer in its development. Street fashion magazines, for example, allowed international and Japanese designers to be presented simultaneously on an equal footing, and fans around the world were paying more and more attention to Japanese labels. So now, more than ever, the movement ran both ways. *Hokoten*, the street closure that took place since the 1970s every Sunday for the benefit of pedestrians had made a name for itself throughout Japan: In addition to dancers and artists, fashion enthusiasts also took the opportunity to see and be seen and to inspire and outdo each other. This resulted in another innovation: street snap magazines.

These photo documentations of well-dressed passers-by were a great advantage for the emerging street fashion-centric magazines: although they invested time in searching for motifs on the street, they received ideas virtually free of charge in return and were able to keep their reporting credible by closely relating to the streets.

Covertly shot photos of such styles had already been appearing in the rather harsh style critique segments of the major magazines in the 1970s. In the mid-1990s, though, Harajuku-based photographer Shoichi Aoki discovered that Japanese youth could now keep up with the fashionistas he had previously photographed while traveling in London or Paris (Aoki in Keet, 2007).

So, he founded *FRUiTS*, a magazine dedicated exclusively to the young people of Harajuku, documenting their style experiments, and also acting as a source of inspiration for further developments. To emphasize this, he engaged with them, and asked them to fill out questionnaires: Who is the wearer, where do the clothes and accessories come from, what excites them the most right now, what is the theme of their outfit? Those photographed were free to give or withhold information - but many willingly shared their favorite stores or even advertised their own designs.

3.5 2000 onwards: Harajuku's fashion as export hit, endangered good, and tourist magnet

The fashionistas documented by Aoki and his team would go on to play a surprising role: In 2001, the photographer put together a coffee-table book for the English publisher Phaidon to make the phenomenon of these Harajuku street styles known worldwide. This heralded a new phase in the interaction between the fashion district and the world abroad, as international audiences embraced both the book and its follow-up volume, as well as a related photo exhibition.

During this period, Harajuku reached a new level of internationalization: it became the symbolic stand-in for Japanese fashion worldwide. While attention from fashion abroad had been rare and very scene-specific, the colorful looks of the *FRUiTS* photos now attracted widespread attention. Japan was no longer just a skilled style importer: No Doubt frontwoman Gwen Stefani released *Love Angel Music Baby* in 2004, an album that included songs like *Harajuku Girls* and was presented live with the help of four Japanese American backup dancers also referred to as 'Harajuku Girls'. Music videos for the album as well as the album's design also cite elements of street fashion from Harajuku. Stefani's Harajuku Lovers fashion line and perfumes brought the district further into the public eye. However, the public did not only react positively, but also criticized Stefani's open exoticization of Japanese street fashion - "[...] she's swallowed a subversive youth culture in Japan and barfed up another image of submissive giggling Asian women." (Anh, 2005, n/p).

Japan noticed the attention Harajuku's creative fashion received worldwide. In 2009, the government appointed three 'kawaii ambassadors' as part of the *Cool Japan* campaign, even though Harajuku trends had moved on and the neon-colored looks of the 1990s had become niche by then. For one year, the ambassadors

were to act as 'Trend Communicator[s] of Japanese Pop Culture in the Field of Fashion', advertising the fashion styles they represented abroad (MOFA, 2009). In my interview, Aoki called attention to this anachronistic disparity between the perception and reality of Harajuku street fashion (Interview by author, 13 October 2017). It is another clue to the ongoing simultaneous internationalization and exoticization of Japanese fashion abroad.

The designer Sebastian Masuda, whose 6% DOKIDOKI label emerged during the *FRUiTS* boom, used the newfound global popularity. The Harajuku-based production company Asobisystem booked him as art director for Kyary Pamyu Pamyu's viral megahits *PONPONPON* (2011) and *Fashion Monster* (2012). Through these successes, as well as numerous convention visits, he realized the potential this colorful 'signature look' could have for the rapidly growing tourism market. Together with event restaurant operator Diamond Dining, he opened Kawaii Monster Café in 2015 on Meiji-dôri, a colorful fantasy world in which the 'iconic Harajuku girls called Monster Girls' put on a show in their street fashion-inspired costumes (Kawaii Monster Café, Internet) - a prime example of the (self-)exoticization of Japanese fashion at this time.

The café, which closed down in January 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, offered substitutes for the crazy outfits and colorful looks that guidebooks continue to promise foreign visitors, even though they have in reality mostly disappeared from the streets. Low-priced, multinational companies such as H&M and Zara are now present in Harajuku and tie the district directly to the fast fashion pulse with their globally identical collections. They are gradually squeezing out local competitors who can no longer afford the rising rents. At the same time, the exoticized, abbreviated distorted image of crazy Japanese fashion, with Harajuku as a synecdoche for it, persists in the minds of foreign visitors.

Beyond this narrow, exoticizing perception of Harajuku as a mecca of neon-color styles, the creatives working there are now increasingly perceived worldwide, so internationalization on a professional level seems to be continuing. Major changes in the international fashion business in the wake of fast fashion, the influence of the Internet, and an ever-increasing role of the street fashion sector also meant that Japanese expertise is in greater demand than ever before: Marx describes the return to traditional looks of American Ivy League fashion of the 1960s as an example from men's fashion. Knowledgeably documented and reinterpreted in Japan, they are now finding buyers again worldwide (Marx, 2015).

In high fashion, Comme des Garçons, Yohji Yamamoto and Issey Miyake have maintained their positions since their Paris debuts in the 1980s and have also been able to introduce their protégés to this world. The streetwear sector has also created new paths: The Paris-based international luxury fashion house Kenzo for example has just appointed Nigo, who grew up in Harajuku's 1990s street fashion scene, as their new artistic director (WWD, 2021).

4. Conclusion

In my description of the development of fashion and lifestyle in postwar Harajuku, I have outlined the various phases of its historical constitution between self-perception and foreign perception, exoticization, and internationalization. In this, a gradual change can be seen, from a mere imitation of the lifestyle exemplified by international residents to a deeper understanding and the well-informed interpretation of these influences, to an expert, independent commentary on forms of fashion occurring worldwide. At the same time, both internationalizing and exoticizing tendencies exist in each of the stages of Harajuku's development. It is likely that this enduring, dynamic duality continues to have considerable influence on the perception and character of the neighborhood today. It cannot be described simply as an international neighborhood, nor is it a purely Japanese creation. It remains to be explored how this interplay has contributed to the development of a social free space in Harajuku that seemingly overrides the usual social norms and rules that regulate appearance and behavior elsewhere in Japan according to time, place, and purpose.

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2.5 Not just… 'Angry music for angry people'1: Thessaloniki's DIY music activity and 'The Capitalist State of Metapolitefsi'

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✗ Abstract

From 1974 until 1981, Greece was experiencing the transition to parliamentary democracy (Metapolitefsi)[3] with a right-wing government trying to restore the democratic state's institutions but being uncapable to follow the radicalization of young people (Sklavenitis, 2016, p. 104). At the same time the first steps of a DIY culture and its artifacts (bands, studios, zines, pirate radio stations etc.) took place in Thessaloniki Greece (Karamoutsiou, forthcoming). According to Vernardakis (2014) during the 80s Greece was facing the effort of the neoliberal political and ideological domination and institutionalization. To what extend could we say that the radicalization of the youth was empowered and expressed through DIY ethos and its artifacts and vice versa? Could we assume that DIY music practices were being, an alternative to 'The Capitalist state of Metapolitefsi' (Vernadakis, 2014)? The afore questions will be answered through stories of the DIY music scene of Thessaloniki from the 80s.

Keywords: DIY music scene, Thessaloniki Greece, Metapolitefsi.

Introduction

The following narrative is based upon the hypothesis that the growth of DIY music activities in Thessaloniki in the 80s had taken place, on the one hand, due to the internal political and cultural circumstances of the decade *(*the "other" Metapolitefsi*)* and, on the other hand, due to the advent of punk music along with the Do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos. I am talking about a different Metapolitefsi that critically fought back the modus vivendi[4] of the first years of the political changeover, the phenomenally smooth democratic transition, the Konstantinos Karamanlis' moderate political ethics (Karamanlis, 1974), and the modernizing conservative measures of his Europeanism (Rizas, 2018).

Therefore, I believe that the vivid music collectives in Thessaloniki Greece of the 80s were embodying through their music artifacts and practices the cultural expression of this 'other' Metapolitefsi. The first and basic step was made through setting up their DIY music studios and systematizing their DIY soundproofing rehearsal process and music collective creation. Then they moved forward to organizing DIY musical events and setting up music venues. Also, in the mid-80s fanzines that promoted the local scene were created and of course

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1. Mike Dines and Matt Worley (2016, p. 286).

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3. A military junta was governing the country fourteen years ago for seven years (1967-1974).

4. "It constitutes a one-sided agreement that obliges the dominated classes to accept the conditions of their dominance. Conversely, it binds the dominant classes to respect some constraints and to acknowledge certain rights of the dominated" (Sakellaropoulos, 2001, p. 37).

dozens of independent labels were born in order the DIY music creation to be circulated. Thessaloniki's music collectives of the 80s managed through DIY and Do it together (DIT) processes and practices to create their own infrastructure organized through the music creation (studios), its performances (venues) and its promotion (fanzines and labels).

In the first part of the following essay there will be a context analysis of the music activities of Thessaloniki. By context I mean the historical environment of this 'other Metapolitefsi' along with the DIY ethos. In the second part we will be guided to the infrastructure of this incredibly creative and vivid DIY music scene.[5]

1.1 The 'other Metapoitefsi'

The movement of university squatting of 1979-1980, that was the youngster's powerful answer to the government's conservative educational law, gave rise to a "sphere of multiple disputes" whose central quality was autonomy, and to a new political "space" (Sklavenitis, 2016, p. 89) that was "colorful, dynamic and radical" (Karamanolakis & Karpozilos, 2019: 6), like a distinctive and belated domestic "May '68" (Souzas, 2015, p. 72). Through this 'space', new issues emerged relating to the environment, bodily autonomy and sexual orientation, feminism, and resistance to patriarchy, as well as the movement of conscientious objectors (Karamanolakis & Karpozilos, 2019 p. 6). Thus, it could be stated that "politics' meaning was broadened to include all the activities and relationships of daily life" (Souzas, 2015, p. 72). Such activities include the artistic expression of this new political space with music playing a prominent

role and particularly the rock idioms. I believe that this 'tradition', created amidst the aforementioned political processes, formed the ideological and political basis of the DIY music activity in the city of Thessaloniki.

The creation of rock music in Greece began and grew significantly at the beginning of the 1980s, while politics and rock music had been linked since 1978 by parts of the youth who wanted to set free from the transition policies and their cultural expression. Later on in the 1980s, this link became even stronger with the advent of punk in Greece in 1979 (Bozinis, 2006, p. 256; Tourkovasilis, 1984, p. 50) and its diffusion among young groups who not only "felt suffocated by the dominant political discourse, the influence of the political parties and the conservatism of the Greek society" (Kymionis, 2014, p. 520) but also were dissatisfied with the state care for their cultural expression through the General Secretariat for Youth (GSY).[6]

The political planning of PASOK[7] regarding the youth did not only include GSY and funding of cultural events but also practices of political suppression. The operation 'Virtue' [8] was directed to the youth of Athens, specifically in Exarheia, while similar operations were undertaken in Thessaloniki too. Bozinis talks about groups of young rock fans gathering in Achilleio, Thessaloniki that were joined by punks from 1979 onwards. In 1981, when PASOK was elected, the punks made their presence felt by taking part in the first squattings of houses that took place at the time (Bozinis, 2006, p. 259). Since the early 80s, these groups started to hang out mainly at the Tsirogiannis park or at the café NTORE opposite the

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5. Music scene has been defined in several ways. For example, Straw describes it as a space that, different musical practices interact and coexist in a specific geographical region or in a specific urban setting (1991, 368-388). Shank defines music scene as a productive community that represents itself through music in a specific geographical place (Bealle, 2013). The concept of community was used before 'music scene' and is considered to imply a, not so stable and homogeneous, group of people (Straw,1991, p. 373). Nevertheless, recent critical approaches use the term community, to describe a more romantic and wider construction, in which music is a common practice (Stefanou, 2009, pp. 132-133). In any case if we try to describe the DIY music activities of that time in Thessaloniki through the concepts, we are going to face several problems. In case of using the 'music scene' term we will not be able to include, nor the plurality of music idioms that we meet - because when we are talking about a music scene we usually talk about a specific music idiom (Bennet & Peterson, 2004) -nor the historical background of the phenomenon. Moreover, the DIY music activities in the 80s have not been clearly, in total, as much away from hierarchical relationships of music industry as the concept of music community (Stefanou, 2009, pp. 132-133) implies. During those years we could describe Thessaloniki's music making DIY activities using Shank's scene definition. So, we are talking about a productive DIY music community in Thessaloniki, that represents itself mostly through specific rock idioms such as, punk, post punk, garage punk, new wave, hardcore.

6. PASOK founded the General Secretariat for Youth in 1983 under the direction of Kostas Laliotis (Sklavenitis,2016, p. 118). Its aim was to promote a policy of anti-conformism and plurality regarding, among others, the cultural artifacts of the youth and the management of free time. This was achieved through funding of institutions, such as the Biennale of Young Artists in Thessaloniki in 1986 and the Rock in Athens Festival in 1985 (Lagos, 2014, p. 517).

7. Acronym derived from the Pan-Hellenic Socialistic Party.

8. Romanized to 'Areti'.

White Tower and next to the Officers' Club (historical center of the city), while such gathering places were also found in Ampelokipous and Neapoli (west part of the city) (Souzas, 2015, p. 73). At that period, the first punk and new wave bands were formed in Thessaloniki.

1.2 DIY ethos in Thessaloniki

Thus, the processes that started in the 70s were realized during the 1980s and resulted in the creation of a Greek youth culture. What is of interest here is, on the one hand, Bozinis' (2006, p. 264) observation that "punk music associated rock with politics, therefore, associating the personal with the social, for the first time in our country", and, on the other hand, Kymionis' (2014, p. 520) insightful point that the advent of punk both as a genre and as a culture diffused among "young groups who felt suffocated by the dominant political discourse, the influence of the political parties and the conservatism of the Greek society". To this, I would add that punk in Greece was diffused among other music communities as well, which were empowered and led to a phase of unprecedented and wild original music creation. In this way, music fused to politics and vice versa at the time. In fact, the motto 'Do it yourself' happened to be the most effective reaction to the commercialization of daily life and the alienation in the Greek society that a considerable part of the youth shrewdly saw and criticized. Those people tried to create their own course based on autonomy through their musical expression and by developing their own infrastructure of creation, performance, and promotion.

For this to happen, though, the downfall of experts and big stars was necessary as well as the reinforcement of the conviction that everyone is not only capable of being a creator but also that they should be one (Dunn, 2016, p. 5). Through the DIY ethos, therefore, the creative initiatives and the "amateuris"[9] are praised (Spencer, 2005, p. 3) and at the same time the opportunities for empowerment and political resistance of individuals and societies are provided (Dunn, 2016, p. 9). The ability to control the production media reduces censorship and increases freedom which are both necessary for someone to find their voice and to create "a society

in which individuals and small groups dare to reclaim the right to develop their own procedures their own networks" (McClary, 2009, p. 158).

However, is the DIY ethos a matter of political ethos or a necessity? For example, according to Moran (2010, pp. 58-65), punks were led to create every aspect of their sub-culture because there was no record label interested in their music. Similarly, it is observed that Greek labels during the 1970s and 1980s showed no interest in rock bands due to the democratic transition (Metapolitefsi) and the dominance of political art Greek music. Even if the impressive and innovative initiatives that occurred in Thessaloniki at that period were a product of necessity, they were nonetheless a reflection of what is described here as the DIY ethos. In conclusion, the 'other Metapolitefsi' and the DIY culture, as portrayed so far, established the framework in which the youth of the 1980s was empowered politically and musically so that they could create an autonomous and self-managed music community in Thessaloniki.

2.1 The DIY music studios in Thessaloniki

In the early 1980s, young musicians were increasingly attempting the creation of original content trying to find their voice, using cover versions of songs as a preliminary process of band 'bonding' (Stefanos, 2020) and to familiarize with their musical instrument (Melfos & Miggas, 2020). As Firth (1996, p. 55) mentions, in this way imitation serves as the basis for creation. Thus, collective creation requires lots of free time and space and young people realized that and stood up for it as "most bands wanted their own (studio) and time in it" (Tselios, 2020, n/p).

At that period, music groups multiplied and faced serious problems of musical equipment and of housing their creative force. At first, it was a common practice to put up DIY studios and to record in the musicians' houses or in houses of their friends. For example, the band 'Plus and Minus'[10] (forerunner of 'Out of Control')[11] were rehearsing in the basement of the two-story house of the band's singer *Apostolos Dadatsis* in Neapoli with only basic equipment and without soundproofing (Miggas, 2020). That was the case of the band *Toeoon*, too, who were rehearsing in the basement of Thanasis Pliakis' house who was the guitarist, singer, and lyric writer of the band[12].

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9. "In exalting amateurism, they laid the foundation for a populist medium of cultural production in which passion, energy, and having something to say are more important than technical proficiency." (Moore, 2007, p. 446).

10. Romanized to 'Sin ke Plin'.

11. Romanized to 'Ektos Elenghou'.

12. Available at: http://giusurum.blogspot.com/2016/09/toeeon.html

However, through such narrations an additional problem arises, that of the neighborhood disturbance due to lack of soundproofing. This led the musicians to search for remote buildings and it might have also caused the setting up of studios to become more systematized. Creating DIY soundproofing with egg cartons, polystyrene foam, and carpeting (Tselios et al., 2020; Vlahou, 2018) and searching for remote places away from densely populated areas seemed to become established practices.

Most groups preferred to have their own place or to share a DIY music studio together with other groups to save money and to share the equipment[13] (Tselios & Miggas, 2020). As mentioned before, the new groups of that period did not only cover their favorite songs, but they also started creating their own music using the form and conventions of the music genres of their interest. This process was usually time-consuming, since its musical product was a result of long improvisations (jamming) until it was finalized and ready for recording (Gioka, 2018; Melfos & Tselios, 2020). Babis Papadopoulos, guitarist of the band Holes[14], pointedly said: "we did a lot of work, we constantly rehearsed, we played music all the time…" (snippet from the documentary 'A Shout Out to the Way Out', 2017). Such statements then indicate that DIY studios at the time served exclusively as places for rehearsals and not as recording studios. They were places where the process of creation took place, from experimentation and repetition until systematization and finalizing of the result. It should be noted here that the musical activity and practices emerging from these DIY music studios are considered by the present study to be not just a part of the DIY culture of Thessaloniki but a root cause of its development.

2.2 DIY concerts and music festivals

Due to the lack of available and suitable, for a rock performance, concert hall, live performances were taking place frequently at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki since the early 1980s. The students' freedom was secured by the university asylum at least by common law until 1982 (Kanellopoulos, 2009), while universities and students were thought of as heroic in the collective consciousness of the transition period after the student Polytechnic uprising and the tank invasion of 1973.

All the individuals who narrated their stories referred to the university and the live performances in which they were either audience or participants as musicians or event assistants. A big portion of those musicians were never students at that university. During the 80s and particularly over the last years of the decade, the live performances at the AUTh were a weekly event for most of the music collectivities of the city.

In the first years of the 1980s, musical evenings were often planned at the university, specifically, at the university canteen (Melfos, 2020), at the Architects' auditorium, at the square in front of the Chemistry School and, generally, at the auditoriums of many schools. "(There were) many live events at student parties and I remember live music being played on every floor of the School of Architecture simultaneously" (Koutsaris, 2018, n/p). Thanasis Nikolaidis (member of Yoghurt) recalls one of his first concerts during the carnival celebrations at the School of Architecture where the audience gathered was so big and enthusiastic that many damages were caused: "Just as we started playing, people broke the doors…they even made us play behind the doors… at that time such rock sounds were not common…whoever played rock loudly was…" (Nikolaidis, 2020, n/p).

This narration indicates, among other issues, the lack of appropriate performance venues. In addition, the sound systems were usually of really bad quality and the places were inappropriate due to bad acoustics. However, these factors did not reduce the audiences' and the musicians' enthusiasm: "Inside the canteen… with two amplifiers and a drum set, imagine the chaos, in other words, you couldn't listen to the music, but we liked it a lot" (Melfos, 2020, n/p).

These self-managed performances continued fervently for years and took place at the AUTh campus or at several schools that were occupied, such as the Schools of Physics and Mathematics and the bands included the Grover, Out of Control and Gulag (Gioka, 2018). Through the activities of those years until 1986, a DIY 'tradition' was born in the sense of an evolving and conveyable body of knowledge. In other words, it was like self-education from the musical act and creation to the impeccable planning of a music festival.

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13. In the 3rd issue of the local fanzine Rollin Under there was a classified ad.: "We are searching for a group to share a studio in Thessaloniki. We provide drums and a guitar amplifier 60W. If there is an available space, it would be even better. More information through Lazy Dog 623451" (October 1986, p. 37).

14. Romanized to 'Tripes'.

1984 Neapoli's Festival

In 1984, a three-day festival was organized by the self-managed youth community of Neapolis (west side of the city) at a park of the area. In this festival, Thessaloniki's musical presence was very strong, since bands had significantly increased between 1982 and 1984, though without many opportunities for live performances: "Many musicians played there…whoever was in the city…" (Miggas, 2020, n/p). Indeed, there are several videos that attest the participation of many bands in this festival, like *Out of Control*[15], *Mosquitoes*[16], *Holes*[17], *Berkebe, International Comedy, Yoghurt* and, possibly, *New Rose and Grover*.

Looking into the audiovisual content available on the Internet, one could also recognize the festival's DIY nature and the quality of self-management. The stage was relatively small, covered with tarp and there was a blue ladder left on it. The video quality cannot convey the real sound of the event, but the instruments, the electric guitars, the bass and the drums prevailed over the vocals for the most part. [18]

1986 Three-day musical event at Kalogries

Two years later, in June 1986, the self-managed youth community of Neapolis and the groups related to it organized a legendary three-day event at Nuns.[19] "Kalogries was a spot on the west side of the city where a huge live performance took place and people went crazy…it was great" (Gioka, 2018, n/p). In fact, this place is now where Lazaristes Monastery theater is located, in Stavroupolis (Zigkeridis, 2020). Like the previous festival, this one was mentioned by many informants of the research.

In this festival, many of the bands that had played in the previous events appeared as well as new bands that formed through the developments of the years 1984-1986, like Moot Point, Indignant Citizens [20] Special Forces [21], and others. But this event also hosted bands from Athens like White Symphony [22] Panx Romana, Anti Troppau Council, Chaos Generation[23] and Litis & Trik. The main rock idioms played were punk, new wave, rock n' roll, while heavy metal was also introduced. This event was significantly bigger and more organized than the previous one.

It is notable that most of the informants of the research had attended these events. This fact proves that these musical events played a significant role in the evolution of the music communities of the time. Such concerts helped bands get to know each other, while they also encouraged some people to take up music. The communication in these networks of people is also attested by the exchange of members between bands.

Late 1980s at AUTh: the perfect embodiment of the DIY and DIT ethos

In 1988, the group HELL ENTERPRISES[24] was formed which organized three live performances at AUTh from

15. Romanized to 'Ektos Elenghou'.

16. Romanized to 'Konopes.

17. Romanized to 'Tripes'.

18. In this video, at the end of the song 'Another Solution' Romanized to 'Alli lisi' the singer of Berkebe tells the sound engineer: "Sound master, raise the vocals!" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5HJxhQWXTQ&ab_channel=Tom67R

19. Romanized to 'Kalogries'.

20. Romanized to 'Aganaktismenoi Polites'.

21. Romanized to 'Idikes Dinamis'.

22. Romanized to 'Lefki Simfonia'.

23. Romanized to 'Genia tou Haous'.

24. Romanized to 'KOLASI ENTERPRISES'.

January to September of that year. More specifically, the first took place in January 1988 with Disorder[25] and Homo Detritus together with the Thessaloniki-based band Gulag, the second in May as a protest against nuclear weapons and the third in September with the British band Chaos UK. Finding a space was not a problem thanks to the asylum, however, there are many aspects when it comes to event planning, such as finding sound systems. The following year (1989) the group got bigger and changed its name to The... Presents[26]. The collectivity consisted of 24 people, many of which were members of the bands Gulag, Was is and will be, Nausea[27] and Dalailama. With the collective contribution of its members, this newly formed group bought PA systems to bring the problem of sound system to an end.

In the mid-1980s (possibly in 1986), two of the members of the group Nausea[28], Sonia Vlahou and Vaggelis Haholos, travelled to Milan to attend a punk festival organized by the people of a squatting. Their experiences and the people they met there (such as the group Homo Detritus) had an enormous influence on them. Moreover, after the last event of Hell ENTERPRISES hosting Chaos UK, Nausea went off to a European tour with the British band (Haholos, 1991, p. 47). Similarly, Gulag also went on a tour at the same period. Both tours were organized by DIY European and Balkan networks of the DIY communities of various countries (Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Yugoslavia) and the performances took place in self-managed spaces (Karamoutsiou 2020, p. 68) and that really inspired the two bands.

These experiences seem to have motivated the musicians to have a vision and to set up a self-managed music space in the occupied Faculty of Philosophy of AUTh. It was named 'haunt'[29] of the Faculty of Philosophy' or simply haunt and it was set up by leftist groups of the Schools of Psychology, History. Therefore, around 1988-1989 Nausea, Was is and will be, Dalailama and Gulag, which probably acted as a link between political and music collectivities, thought about taking advantage of that free space in the basement and setting up a stage.

Every weekend, different performances took place with bands from Thessaloniki, Athens, Patra or other Greek and foreign cities (Europe and USA), with a very low price: "There was no way we would leave someone out if they had no money to pay" (Vlahou, 2018, n/p). There was a wide variety of music idioms played in these performances, but the main ones were punk, post punk, garage punk, new wave, and hardcore. The existence of 'haunt' was a crucial point in the history of music of Thessaloniki, since its space-time encouraged the development of human networks that advanced the music scene. [30] The people behind 'haunt' achieved to create a space that served as a place of inspiration and empowerment to young musicians, who might have started playing music because of that one night at 'haunt' hosting their favorite band.

2.1. Fanzines of Thessaloniki: the 'Rollin Under' case

An ideal expression of the DIY ethos was the fanzines (Souzas, 2012, pp. 59-71), since they constitute "a cultural form that is transmitted to others on its own terms" (Spencer, 2015, pp. 9-11) without any control or censorship (Dunn, 2016: 162). A fanzine is a small scale self-financed and self-managed publication run by music lovers. The people involved in the publication of a fanzine are not professional writers; profit-making is not their goal, while the magazine's publishing and distribution often comes with personal expenditure and financial loss (Dunn, 2016: 160). Fanzine publishers should not be considered passive group fans but actively involved members of the music communities. They try to find their own voice (Souzas, 2012, pp. 59-71) and at the same time contribute to the community they represent and belong to: "when you are part of a minority and not part of the system, you build your own little world and communicate in your own ways" (Argiriou, 2019, n/p).

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25. The influence these performances had on the city's audiences is attested by the narration of the musicians like Giannis Ioannidis: "one of the first events that took place around 1988-1989 there...the notorious Disorder from England had come to play in the foyer of the School of Architecture, so I got informed about it, went down to see and I couldn't believe it...they are here, I still couldn't believe it was not a joke...".

26. Romanized to 'I Parousiazei'.

27. Romanized to 'Naftia'.

28. Romanized to 'Naftia'.

29. Romanized to 'steki'.

30. "Haunt in its first years was an incredible initiative since it was like the basis for many things to happen, for example, there were indeed many DIY live performances there..." (Gioka, 2018).

One of the first fanzines in Greece was Rollin Under, whose distribution started in the mid-80s in Thessaloniki. It started as a music zine that aimed at promoting the Greek groups of that period and particularly those from Thessaloniki. Its content eventually included groups and artists (correspondence, interviews, album reviews) from all over the country, Europe, America, and Australia that were generally not covered by conventional music media, which is anyway a characteristic of fanzines (Spencer 2009, p. 88). Later, the content included original short stories, comics as well as articles about literature, cinema and other fanzines.

Rollin Under was a product and part of the intense musical expression and life of Thessaloniki, as described in the previous sections, that had not yet been communicated adequately. Babis Argiriou, chief writer and founder of RU, tried to promote the work of local bands that he loved as he knew that: " Producing an album was an elusive dream at that period...because in the transition years (Metapolitefsi) the dominant genre was the political art songs...and I didn't want the work (of these bands) to disappear...there was nothing about Thessaloniki in Maximumrocknroll, for example, and I also sent nothing..." (Argiriou, 2019, n/p).

The first three issues of the fanzine ware in fact the accompanying fact sheets of cassette collections that Babis Argiriou published to capture, promote, and distribute the local music creation. Through the fanzine, readers were transported to various concerts and kept up with musical life of Thessaloniki, Athens, and other cities of Greece. Furthermore, it informed its readers about music events, networks, performance venues and occupied spaces in Europe through the articles of Greek correspondents from abroad and information by musicians.

RU was one of the fanzines that was present for a long time during the 1980s, it was rich in information and distinctly participatory and self-managed. Through its pages, one could discover bands that were once popular, read about new releases by independent labels and be transported to various festivals, performances, and venues. For this reason, it is my belief that RU and fanzines in general constitute source materials that provide valuable information in the attempt to trace the 'messy paths' pursued by people of the DIY scene. Zines are, therefore, historical records that offer a great deal of insight into DIY communities, marginal networks, and individuals (Fife, 2013, p. 13), whose history might otherwise have fallen into oblivion (Anna Elizabeth Moore in Dunn, 2016, p. 162). Through fanzines, members of such communities and music scenes, as the one in Thessaloniki in the 80s, were able to profile themselves and write down their (DIY) history on their own.

2.2. Independent labels in Thessaloniki

More often than not, collaborating with an independent label or even founding one was the only chance for many punk groups of the late 1970s to release and distribute their music (Spencer, 2005, p. 161). Similarly, that was the situation in Greece in the 1980s. "The independent labels that appeared in Greece in the 1980s were the result of two traditions; the first was local and had to do with the successful labels of the previous years, while the second was supra-local and had to do with the punk explosion. Also, there was a feeling that the small could find its place in the world of the big" (Vaios, 2021, n/p).[31] In Thessaloniki, however, the independent releases or even the self-released cassettes are not only punk-related. Besides, the tradition of independent labels existed prior to punk music (Dunn 2016, p. 129). Yet, this tradition was strengthened by punk, since the first independent punk labels showed how easy and simple it was for anyone to record (Laing, 2015, p. 27).

Most bands coming from DIY music studios did not seek to collaborate with a major label at least during the 80s. All the bands coming from DIY studios in Thessaloniki released albums either under independent labels founded by music circles, groups and collectivities or as self-releases.[32] Of course, this process entails problems mostly relating to lack of money and album distribution and promotion ('Pete and Royce' in Milatos, 1981): "The problem we weren't able to deal with as we would like to was that of promotion." (Gulag, 1993, interview at DIY Radio Utopia)[33].

31. Extract from his narration in the episode 'Independent record labels in the 1980s' of the television documentary 'Kleinon Asty'. https://www.ertflix.gr/ellinika-docs/kleinon-asty-oi-anexartites-diskografikes-etaireies-ton-80-s/

32. The first group to sign a contract with a major label was Tripes in 1987. This indicates that during those years the music community of Thessaloniki was in a transition period; on the one hand, an alternative scene is being developed, and, on the other hand, the music community is strengthened.

33. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GWav2Ox-1s0&ab_channel=punkrockradio

The only independent label that operated in Thessaloniki in the early 80s was CVR Records, which was founded by the former instrumentalist of 69, Christos Vatseris (Dimatatis,1998, p. 146), and became the medium of expression for emergent new wave groups. Specifically, in 1983 and 1984, CVR released the albums of Proxies, Rodondo Rocks, The Flood, and the collection Sound and Noises of SKG by four local groups; these works ranged from new wave to synth pop. The label's lifecycle, though, was quite short and it had not included any of the punk bands of the city in their releases; these bands did not seem interested in collaborating with the label either (Koutsaris, 2019) and preferred to self-release cassettes or nothing at all.

For example, in November 1982 Grover recorded their first demo, which they possibly distributed in the city by themselves. Another self-released cassette in Thessaloniki was that of Moot Point titled 'Gonna Blast! Ya Fulla Lead', which was recorded with Babis Argirious' four-channel sound mixer in their DIY studio. In 1987, New Rose recorded their first LP (Rollin Under, May 1987) in Giorgos Pentzikis' studio, which they eventually self-released in the form of cassette, founding at the same time their own label, Rock n' roll Reckordings. In the same year, Moot Point announced their split-up in Rollin Under (Argiriou, 1987, p. 36) and released their new cassette titled Circus. In this case, the band made a conscious political decision to not interfere with the cassettes' circulation not even through an independent label: "We were set in our own ways...we wanted only to release cassettes but not sell them...but this is how they should circulate, to give them only to friends due to a prejudice against mass society and the world of media" (Gioka, 2019, n/p). Similarly, Denial[1], the first grind core band in Thessaloniki, released their own cassette "To earn my daily bread" in 1988 and one year later the hardcore band *Naftia* released theirs, titled 'Sweet Secret Of Life'.

However, there was one label that supported the punk bands of the city, that of Babis Argiriou called Lazy Dog, whose inception was occasioned by the release of Gulag's album, Emergency Entrance 0 (degrees Celsius), in 1987. In fact, Lazy Dog was the result of collaboration and partnership; a Do it together (DIT) endeavor by musicians who wanted to release an album together with a highly skilled music lover who believed in that music. This is exactly what Spencer (2005, p. 164) describes: "Small record labels were set up by music lovers who wanted to help promote music by bands that would not be heard otherwise".

In 1984, ANO KATO Records by Giorgos Tsakalidis started operating, which was possibly the most active independent label in Thessaloniki (Argiriou, 1986, p. 3). The label's first release was that of the blues band Blues Gang (forerunners of Blues Wire) titled Dig it!. Nikos Papazoglou was the sound engineer, so it can be assumed that the recording took place at his studio, Agricultural [2] There was ongoing collaboration between Ilias Zaikos, guitarist of the band, and Giorgos Tsakalidis throughout the decade either on the band's later releases in 1985 or on the work of Tsakalidis' band called 'Amateur lovers'[3]. In the same year, Tripes released their homonymous first album under ANO KATO, following the recipe for success, namely the recording in Nikos Papazoglou's studio with him being the sound engineer.

Lastly, Smash Records from Thessaloniki released the work of the Athenian band Yell-O-Yell 'XII (Thirteen)' in 1986, which was their fourth release and their last in the 1980s. The same label had released the albums of two of Thessaloniki's bands, Stained Veil and Fear Condition, earlier that year. Those albums were recorded in Giorgos Pentzikis' studio. However, during the 80s, this label did not release any other music but instead became involved in event and concert planning (Argiriou, 1987).

Conclusion: 'Not just angry music for angry people' but....

According to Christoforos Vernardakis during the 1980s Greece was facing the first period of its capitalist modernization with the neoliberal political and ideological domination. The second face of modernization was to happen in the 1990s with the institutionalization of these neoliberal policies. In order the state to institutionalize neoliberal politics, it withdrew gradually and became the guarantor of instant production of capital. In this context this era is marked by what is called as 'modernization politics' that were sealed in a global level by Gulf war (2014). The 1980s generation one the one hand was tired of the ideological and historical burden of Metapolitefsi (the transition period) while at the same time had foreseen state's capitalization. As Sonia (2018), member of *Nausea*, had told me: "It was the first period of the intensification,

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1. Romanized to 'Arnisi'.

2. Romanized to 'Agrotikon'.

3. Romanized to 'Erasitehnes Erastes'.

I think that now this thing is worst". A big part of the 80s younghood empowered by new rock idioms (new wave, punk, hardcore) felt the urge of musical expression. Hence, these music gangs were transformed into creative music collectivities grafted by DIY ethos and praxis. That way these people envisioned a different world with music being at the same time the motivating power and embodiment of that world.

The 1980s digital revolution and its impact upon the rehearsing and recording processes (Bennet & Peterson, 2004, p. 5) allowed them to impose their own noise because now they possessed their own means of recording (Attali, 1985, p. 145). Therefore, this way music is not being just a tool of political expression but is that expression per se (Street, 2011: 11). I believe that the music collectivities of that time manage to create an alternative to the cultural dominant channels of capitalism (Graham, 2012, p. 67) of their time. Finally, this music community and its artifacts weren't "just angry music for angry people" but is worth to be seen as alternative cultural time-spaces that thrive in the system's ruptures and operate as revolutions (Bey, 1985, p. 77).

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Theme tune 3

'Last gang in town': memory, events, alternative media and nostalgia

3.1 Appropriating death: the works of Theodor Kittelsen in black metal album covers

Flávio Pires[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

In 1994, Black Metal band *Burzum* released their critically acclaimed third album, 'Hvis Lyset Tar Oss' (If the Light Takes Us). Engulfed in controversy due to its sole member – Varg Vikernes – extra musical activities that involved arson and murder, the album became a hallmark of the subgenre, influencing bands to this day. To illustrate its sound and themes, Varg Vikernes chose as album cover an illustration by Neo Romantic Norwegian artist Theodor Kittelsen, 'The Pauper', published in 1900 in his book Svartedauen. The album contained atmospheric elements that cemented Black Metal reliance on ambiance, a nostalgic look at days long past, an admiration for Nature and a fascination with Death which, thematically, puts this work in line with themes explored by nineteenth century Romantics. We propose to explore the context of this and subsequent appropriations to reflect on Black Metal as a possible inheritor of Romantic aesthetics and cultural heritage.

Keywords: black metal, Theodor Kittelsen, romanticism, album covers, appropriation

Introduction

In January 1992, a 19-year-old Varg Vikernes entered the Grieg Hall[2] studio in Bergen, Norway, to begin a series of sessions that lasted until March 1993 to record a plethora of songs that would give birth to four different albums, released through the following years. The third of these releases would become a Black Metal album that would become to further define the sound and visual aesthetics of the subgenre. Released in April 1994 through Misanthropy Records, a month before the conviction of its author for murder and church arsons[3], the album Hvis Lyset Tar Oss, by Burzum (meaning 'If the Light Takes Us'), was received with critical (by specialized press)[4] and fan praise. On the website Rate Your Music (*Custom chart - Rate Your Music*, n.d.), which is a collaborative website where users can rate and review music, this album is, as of the writing of this paper, rated as the second best Black Metal album of all time, surpassed only by its successor, Burzum's 'Filosofem' from 1996. The online publication Metal Injection, on its list of essential Black Metal albums, considers this album and the following "part of the skeleton key to understanding an entire genre." (Ülrey, 2011), and Black Metal journalist Dayal Patterson described the record as

boasting four lengthy numbers that resonate with a greater emotional scope than its predecessors, bearing a distinctly yearning atmosphere and an expansive, heavily synth-laden sound. Epic, bleak, and built around the huge trademark riffs, the album is again peaceful at times, while also presenting Burzum at its most discordant and abrasive; it is rightly considered a milestone in Black Metal (Patterson, 2013, p. 212)

It was a difficult album to distribute. In April 1994, Varg was already in prison, waiting for the conclusion of his trial. The record was to be distributed by Voices of Wonder, but the label decided to distance themselves from the musician and his crimes. *Earache* records were previously interested in the music of *Burzum*, but their interest diminished as the crimes were serious and on interviews Varg became more inflammatory[5] and widespread. Candlelight records also were reluctant to distribute his music. Varg turned to a friend, Metalion (Jon Kristiansen), that published a highly respected fanzine[6] in Norway that covered the underground and had experience in a small label that worked with Voices of Wonder, but he felt he had neither the connections nor the money to successfully put the album in circulation) (Kristiansen, 2015). Help came from Britain, where Tiziana Stupia founded the label Misanthropy Records, with the intention of releasing *Burzum* albums because of this reluctance from other sources. The label would continue to run until 2000, releasing in that time more Black Metal albums from other bands that would become well known within the scene[7].

The album contained atmospheric elements, it was hypnotic in its repetitiveness, the sound was 'raw' – meaning a minimalistic and lo-fi production – and, in a subjective analysis, the guitars ooze with pagan sentiment. It was also, according to its author, a warning against Christianity:

It's a concept album about what once was before the light took us and we rode into the castle of the dream. Into emptiness. It's something like; beware the Christian light, it will take you away into degeneracy and nothingness. What others call light I call darkness. Seek the darkness and hell and you will find nothing but evolution. (Flynn, 1995, n/p)

Varg also positioned himself as a heathen:

I am a Heidhinn (heathen) and both a(n) adversary to the 'God' of the Jews (Satanic) and Wotanic, (or Odinic as you would say) so whether you call a Satanist or a Odinist matter no whit, I am both.

(Linke, 1994, n/p)

This mentality is further explored in greater detail on our ongoing PhD project, on the chapter Magnificent Glorification of Lucifer: Mysticism, Satanism and Occultism in Black Metal, as part of our research is focused on the visual expression of Satanism and Occultism on Black Metal album covers. However, for this paper we will focus on album covers that make use of works by Theodor Kittelsen. The artistic merits of Hvis Lyset Tar Oss have been shortly included to illustrate the relevance and scope of influence of this particular album, as its cover is arguably one of the most well-known within fans of the subgenre, even by those who may not appreciate it due to its exposure, fame and recurrent appearances in genre articles, published in print and/or online, or because of its author political and racial views. The cover depicts a decaying body by a forest road,

. . . .

5. During this time, Varg conceded several interviews where his racist and anti-semitic views were openly embraced.

6. Slayer Magazine fanzine, published in the late 1980's and the 1990's in Norway, it accompanied the rise of extreme metal in Scandinavia with particular focus on Norway's Black Metal.

7. These include, but not limited to, 'Heart of the Ages' by In the Woods…, 'Wolf's Lair Abyss' (EP) by Mayhem or 'A Journey's End', by Primordial.

with a group of black birds (presumably crows), flying. This is a xeroxed version of a drawing by Norwegian Neo-Romantic artist named Theodor Kittelsen.

Theodor Kittelsen

Kittelsen was born in the coastal town of Kragerø, Norway, on the 27th of April 1857. He is popular in his native country as an illustrator of folk tales, having drawn mythical creatures and fantasy scenes, with an emphasis in trolls. He started working still as boy as an apprentice watchmaker, until he met Diderich Maria Aall, who, noticing his talent, planned to fund his education in art and drawing. In 1876 he studied in Munich, at the Royal Academy of Arts, and, in a letter, he revealed his Romantic inclination:

> *What appeals to me are the mysterious, romantic, and magnificent aspects of our scenery, but if I cannot henceforth combine this with a wholesome study of Nature I´m afraid I´m bound to stagnate. It is becoming clearer and clearer to me what I have to do, and I have had more ideas - but I must, I must get home, otherwise it won´t work. (Theodor Kittelsen, n/d, n/p)*

However, although he went home, we would not return to Norway for good until 1887, having spent many years in Paris. During this time, he further developed his style, working as a caricature, satire, and fairy tale artist. In Norway he illustrated Nils Gabriel Djurklo's 'Fairy Tales from the Swedish', and he would also complete his work for Asbjørnsen and Moe, known for their Norwegian folktales, that began in 1882, published in 1910.

He worked on what is his most famous work, Svartedauen (Black Plague), between 1894-1895, which consists in a series of 45 drawings and 15 poems about the arrival of the Black Plague in Norway, in 1349, released in 1900, whose main character is an old woman named Pesta. The cover of 'Hvis Lyset Tar Oss' is taken from this book, the original illustration being 'Fattigmannen' (The Pauper). The album by Burzum in 1994 put Kittelsen on the Black Metal visual history map and influenced the subgenre collective memory. But the album also featured two more illustrations from Kittelsen's Svartedauen. The back cover is a detail of the drawing 'Hun Farer Landet Rund' (She is Making her Way Through the Country), and, opening the gatefold LP, there is also the illustration 'Pesta i Trappen', (Pesta on the Stairs). These were the first in a series of appropriations of his work.

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► Figure 3.1.1. – The cover of Hvis Lyset Tar Oss (1993) and the original artwork, Fattigmannen (1900), by Theodor Kittelsen
► Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hvis_lyset_tar_oss *and* https://www.wikiart.org/en/theodor-severin-kittelsen/fattigmannen-1900

Methodology

We first began to catalogue entries for this paper that came from personal memory and intuition due to our background as fan and regular listener of Black Metal. This way, our personal experience was the starting point of our research – such was the case of the albums by Burzum.

We also used the website Discogs[8] to discover album covers that feature a Romantic appropriation. Discogs is particularly popular between record collectors as they possess a marketplace for users to buy and sell music. On the search bar functionality of the website, it is possible to search Romantic painters and artists to see if they are featured on the credits of an album. However, although we have found albums using this method, the list is far from complete and from being exhaustive, so other platforms needed to be used to refine our research and amplify the possibility of finding Romantic appropriations on Black Metal albums.

Another website that proved invaluable was Archives of Khazad-Dum[9], an informal research blog that provides albums across all genres that feature an appropriation on its cover alongside the original image.

Another website that was consulted but wasn't used as much as the ones before was Encyclopaedia Metallum[10], which is the biggest database of metal bands and albums in the world, and in some albums, it contains an 'additional notes' page which can be consulted to check if the album image is an appropriation. Most of the times, the information is incomplete, only identifying the author, or nothing at all, and in those cases further research was made to identify the original image and proper context.

Something that we took advantage of was our involvement in the Metal scene in Portugal as a fan, which permitted a connection between our personal life and our research, translating in constant visits to music festivals, such as Vagos Metal Fest, SWR – Barroselas, Laurus Nobilis, standalone concerts in different venues around the country (such as Metalpoint and Hard Club in Porto), music shops that included specialized record stores such as Bunker Store[11] – where we also took the opportunity to present our research in its early stages), and Piranha CD[12] but also generalist stores such as FNAC and Tubitek[13], and also webstores, which included the Season of Mist online shop, Napalm Records, Equilibrium Music, Lusitanian Music, to name a few of the most relevant. Another online search that proved fruitful was the recurring visit to labels that focus on Black Metal releases, such as Season of Mist, Ván Records, Eisenwald, Agonia Records, Signal Rex, Altare Prod, Nordvis, Osmose, Drakkar, Sepulchral Prod, Profound Lore, and many others. Other websites proved also quite useful, mainly websites that feature reviews, previews of upcoming albums and interviews, namely No Clean Singing, Angry Metal Guy, Grizzly Butts, Invisible Oranges and Metal Injection. The occasional visit to Instagram browsing the posts under the hashtag "blackmetal" also made us aware of some albums that contained a Romantic appropriation as cover.

The Works of Theodor Kittelsen on Black Metal Album Covers

Burzum revisited Kittelsen in 1996, in its album, 'Filosofem' (Philosophy). As previously stated, this is also an enormously recognized album among scene members and considered a landmark in the Black Metal subgenre. The album was recorded at the same time as his previously three albums as on its release Varg was already serving his prison sentence. The album as an even 'rawer' sound than its predecessor, as Varg asked for the worst microphones in the studio (Sanchez, 1996), which added to the charm and cold-like feeling of the record. Autothrall, a highly prolific Heavy Metal reviewer[14] wrote about the influence of Burzum in bands that came after:

8. Available at: www.discogs.com, according to their description, is "a user-built database of music. More than 529,000 people have contributed some piece of knowledge, to build up a catalog of more than 12,803,313 recordings and 7,008,034 artists." (*About Us*, n.d.).

9. Available at: https://archivesofkhazad-dum.blogspot.com/

10. Available at: https://www.metal-archives.com/

11. Available at: https://www.discogs.com/seller/perangustaadaugusta/profile

12. Available at: https://piranhacd.com/

13. Available at: https://cdgo.com/

14. As of the writing of this paper, he has 4839 Metal album reviews on Encyclopaedia Metallum

*As I've been revisiting and reviewing the whole Burzum catalog, I've probably made a number of mentions of just how influential these records were and remain. Well, I think it's safe to say that as far as the sound itself, Filosofem must have been the most inspirational of the lot; I've heard more underground black metal records that I could ever think about counting in the past 15+ years, and the structure here is incredibly common among the younger bands. It's probably just as often a subconscious tribute as an open libation, but also because such primitive tones are simple to achieve. *In particular, a lot of the depressive black metal bands you'll today take their cues from tracks like 'Burzum'[15], and it's not a strain to reason why. Incredibly crude, pathological chords woven slowly along the steady, solemn drums, conjoined to the plump, minimal glitter of the synthesizers and the repressed vocals, repeated and repeated with only slight deviations to the formula arriving in clean, downtrodden vocals and tweaks to the keys and guitars. (Autothrall, 2011, n/p)*

He also commented on the artwork itself:

Up to this point, Burzum albums had more or less been represented by dire, black and white images which effectively mirrored their grisly content. But Filosofem sees not only a mild injection of color, but also creates a powerful rustic cohesion, composed of artwork by Theodor Severin Kittelsen. Now, having admittedly little knowledge of Norse painters and illustrators, I might have found this more aesthetically pleasing than those who were accustomed to the style of imagery, but either way, it was pretty impressive for a black metal album in 1996. (Autothrall, 2011, n/p)

The artwork indeed contrasted with previous releases in the subgenre as, up to this point, they were predominantly black and white and with themes that mainly expressed some sort of negative emotion, as fear or hatred, and this image is decidedly not only more colorful, but above all, apparently peaceful. This illustration is 'Op under Fjeldet toner en Lur' (Up in the Hills a Clarion Calls Rings Out) (Figure 3.1.2.), and it shows us a young woman in traditional Norwegian attire playing a birch trumpet. This is an illustration from 1900, that Kittelsen made for a series of watercolors named the 'Tiril Tove', which revolves around the abduction of a sitter girl. The series of images include Kittelsen's interests in Norwegian landscapes and mythical creatures. On a personal appreciation of the album, this is our favorite Black Metal album cover as it is one of the most influential Black Metal records of all time, it explores both Black Metal, Depressive Black Metal, Atmospheric Black Metal and Ambient (which further influenced the subgenre Dungeon Synth, alongside the musical project Mortiis), and the title Filosofem (Philosophy), with the addition of the Kittelsen drawing appear to be making a call to expand the Black Metal sound and calling for a following.

▸ Figure 3.1.2. – The cover of Filosofem (1996), and the original artwork Op under Fjeldet toner en Lur (1900), by Theodor Kittelsen
▸ Source: https://www.discogs.com/release/321419-Burzum-Filosofem and https://www.reddit.com/r/Art/comments/5e26wb/op_under_fjeldet_toner_en_lur_up_in_the_hills_a/

15. The first track on the album, also known as 'Dunkelheit' as it was also released with German titles.

These albums mark the two most well-known Black Metal album covers that feature an appropriation of the work of Theodor Kittelsen. In this paper, we present further appropriations.

Also, in 1994, in December, a band from Bergen, the hometown of Vikernes, Covenant, released their first demo, an independent release with the title 'From the Storm of Shadows', that uses as cover a heavily xeroxed version of the Kittelsen drawing 'Pesta in the Stairs', that was on the inside of 'Hvis Lyset tar Oss' LP gatefold.

In 1995, Taake (meaning 'fog' in old Norwegian), who would become a highly influential[16] and controversial[17] one man band, also coming from Bergen, released their first demo (after changing the previous name of the band, Thule), 'Manndaudsvinter', released on Mosegrodd, a label run by the sole member of the band, Hoest, and it features as album cover the artwork 'Pesta Pa Fjellet' (Pesta in the Mountain).

▶ Figure 3.1.3. – The cover of Manndaudsvinter (1995), and the original artwork Pesta Pa Fjellet (1900), by Theodor Kittelsen
▶ Source: https://www.discogs.com/release/4667227-Taake-Manndaudsvinter and https://m.facebook.com/ThKittelsen/postn/pesta-over-fjellet-1901the-pest-passing-the-mountainsmixed-media-36-x-44-cmpriva/2518086198253355/

Also, in 1995, Norwegian band Carpathian Forest, who would also become a widely popular name in Black Metal, released their EP titled 'Through Chasm, Caves and Titan Woods', which shows a cropped and darkened image of the Kittelsen drawing 'Til den grønne ridder' (To the Green Knight).

▶ Figure 3.1.4. – Cover of Through Chasm, Caves and Titan Woods (1995), and the original artwork, Til den grønne ridder (year unknown), by Theodor Kittelsen
▶ Source: https://www.discogs.com/master/6205-Carpathian-Forest-Through-Chasm-Caves-And-Titan-Woods and https://www.wikiart.org/en/theodor-severin-kittelsen/til-den-groenne-ridder

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16. The band is still active as the writing of this paper and its full-length albums have generally been received with critical and fan praise.

17. Hoest, the sole member of the band, has been in jail for assault and has also received news coverage for wearing a painting of a swastika in his chest on a concert in Essen, Germany.

In 2001, German band Moriturus released an independent demo, 'Demo 1/2001', that made use of the 1897 illustration 'Sjøtrollet' (The Sea Troll), in a heavily xeroxed version.

In 2003 and 2004, Wyrd, from Finland, released an album in two parts, each featuring as cover a drawing from Svartedauen. The first was 'Vargtimmen Pt. 1: The Inmost Night', that used as cover the drawing 'Pesta Kommer' (Pesta Comes), and the other was 'Vargtimmen Pt. 2: Ominous Insomnia', that made use of the drawing 'Hun farer landet rund' (She is Making Her Way Through the Country). Still in 2004, Greek band Naer Mataron released a compilation album with the title 'Aghivasiin or Lessons On How To Defeat Death', on the label Shadowface, that appropriated the illustration 'Mor Der Kommer En Kjerring' (Mother, an Old Woman is Coming). The album was initially released in CD format and re-released on vinyl in 2006 on the label Anti-Xtian Records, and with a new cover, also from Kittelsen, this time the illustration 'Pesta Drar' (Pesta Leaves). Both illustrations are from Svartedauen.

In 2008, the one-man band Karg from Austria self-released their ambitious debut album (at 1h and 18min long), with the title 'Von den Winden der Sehnsucht', that featured a black and white appropriation of Kittelsen's oil painting 'Nøkken som hvit hest' (The White Horse), that depicts a neck, a shape shifting water spirit, here portrayed as a white horse. The album was re-released that same year by Seelengreif Klangwelten (on CD) and Karge Welten Kunstverlag (on cassette) and these new versions depicted a different cover, also a Kittelsen appropriation, this time the painting "Sorgen" (Grief).

In 2009, Russian band Bråkin Bråk released their self-titled album on Lesoskog, and it featured an illustration called 'Dans i maanglans' (Dance in the Moonbeam).

The band Karg revisited Kittelsen on their sophomore album from 2010, 'Von den Winden der Sehnsucht #2', released on Karge Welten Kunstverlag, with yet another appropriation, 'Me Me Vil De Foere Langt Ud Af Lande' (Me, me, me, me they will lead far away from the country), from the Tiril Tove series.

In Germany, 2011, the band Shores of Ladon released their compilation 'Rehearsals 2011', on Sol Records, that shows a cropped and mirrored detail of the aforementioned illustration 'Mother, an Old Woman is Coming'.

The following year, also in Germany, the band Asenheim released a self-titled album on the label Bleichmond Tonschmiede that uses as cover a straightforward cropped appropriation of the illustration 'Dragon'.

In 2014, a split between four different bands – Wolf & Winter, Dark Blasphemer, Nox Illunis, Ordoxe – from three different countries – Argentina, Canada and Italy – featured an appropriation of the black and white Kittelsen sketch 'De hadde i nattens stillhet lurt ham vekk' (In the Stillness of the Night They Tricked Him and Got Away), on the cover of 'Berserkers Of The Rotten Lands', released on Ɣdnirgal Prods. This same year, in Greece, the band A Diadem of Dead Stars digitally self-released their demo 'Unreleased Demo 2014', featuring as cover the illustration 'Me, Me, Me, Me, They Will Lead Far Away From The Country'. This demo was re-released on CD format later this year on No Sleep Till Megiddo Records, and, although the cover was changed and no longer features an appropriation of Kittelsen, it is relevant to note that the new cover features an appropriation from a Romantic painting, in this case 'Kaaterskill Falls', from Thomas Cole, from 1826. Still on this year, the Swedish bands Hermóðr and Leben released a split record 'Hermóðr / Leben', that features as cover the artwork December (1890), and the shell enclossing the cassete release is also a drawing by Kittelsen, 'Raftsundet' (1891).

German band Bilskirnir made use of the drawing 'Husmann' (year unknown), by Kittelsen, on the cover of their EP titled 'In Solitary Silence', from 2018, through the label Darker than Black Records. A detail of this drawing was also used this same year as the cover of the 'Demo I', by United States band Draugaz, on an independent release.

In 2019, German band Cineastre released their album Der Gesang Der Waldkinder, on Wrought Records, with two different editions featuring different artowrks by Kittelsen. The CD version appropriated 'New Years New Moon' (1905), while the cassette release used a chromatically altered Husmann.

Finally, in 2021, iconic Black Metal band Satyricon, from Norway, re-released their debut album Dark Medieval Times, from 1994, with an updated album cover, that features the drawing Pesta Kommer (Pesta Comes), from Svartedauen.

► Figure 3.1.5. – 2021 Re-release of Dark Medieval Times, and the original artwork Pesta Kommer (1900), by Theodor Kittelsen
► Source: https://www.amazon.com/Dark-Medieval-Times-Remastered-2021/dp/B091F3LJ6Q and https://www.redbubble.com/i/art-print/Pesta-Kommer-The-Plague-is-Coming-by-Theodor-Kittelsen-by-ArautoCosmico/71766332.1G4ZT#&gid=1&pid=3

Conclusion

In sum, this paper aimed to explore a visual understanding of Black Metal as a cultural inheritor of the Romantic movement, and how album covers potentialize the circulation of ideas, choosing, in this case, Romantic artworks from Theodor Kittelsen and appropriating them in album covers, in some cases slightly transforming them (through crops and chromatic alterations), reestablishing new context, and meaning, and also making them available for a new, broader audience. For this we needed to get to the origin of the works of Theodor Kittelsen in Black Metal through the band Burzum, whose musical quality, reception and extreme circumstances made him a household name in the subgenre's aural memory first, and, due to its continued exposure, to the subgenre's visual memory as well. With Hvis Lyset Tar Oss, Burzum paved the way for Kittelsen to be further appreciated by other bands, beginning in its native Norway, but spreading to other countries, effectively disseminating his works, replicating them, almost like a feedback loop, giving birth to a visual patrimony within Black Metal.

It is relevant to underline the difference in cultural context between the original work and appropriation because, paradoxically, it shows the similarity of Romanticism and Black Metal as reaction movements. Romanticism originated in Europe at the end of the 18th century, having its peak around mid-19th century, as a reaction in part to the industrial revolution, the rationalization of nature and the Enlightenment – it was a reaction against its modernity. Black Metal, manifesting itself in the nineties in Europe, more particularly in Norway, also represented a reaction against modern society, with bands looking to explore their cultural heritage, mystic themes and nature. It was also a reaction against the Death Metal that was being produced at the time, particularly in Sweden. These kinds of connections can help to explain a tendency that some Black Metal bands have to procure Romantic artworks as their album covers.

The choice of featuring Theodor Kittelsen works on album covers further reflect Black Metal's thematic Romantic origins: exploring the nocturnal and the frightful, the mystic and the supernatural, nostalgia and a sublime love for nature. These themes, identified by Lang (1941), Blume (1970) and Warrack (1980), continue to be extensively explored in Black Metal album covers through its inception to this day through the use of original and appropriated artwork.

This is not an isolated instance of a Romantic artist's work being prominently chosen as album cover, as in our research have identified bands that have used artworks by Gustave Doré, Casper David Friedrich, Peter Nicolai Arbo and Albert Bierstadt amongst others.

At the same time, due to amount of Black Metal albums being produced each year, it would be naïve to state that there is a single visual identity associated with all Black Metal releases. What can be stated is that there is a clear tendency by many bands[18] to reflect Romantic themes as its albums covers, many times in the form of appropriation of Romantic artworks, enough to warrant the conclusion that Black Metal is a cultural inheritor of the Romantic movement.

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18. For our PhD research we have developed a database comprising 432 Black Metal records with Romantic themes on their cover, 290 of them being appropriations, showing a clear tendency among Black Metal bands to prioritize the choice of Romantic artworks when making an appropriation.

3.2 Non-traditional media for non-traditional skateboarders: cultural resistance and radical inclusion in The Skate Witches Zine

Cayla Delardi[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

Following in the countercultural tradition of do-it-yourself (DIY), alternative media production, 'non-traditional' skateboarders—a broad category encompassing people of marginalized genders, races, and sexualities that have been historically underrepresented in the skateboarding industry and media—are increasingly using zines as both an outlet for creative expression and a mode of social critique and transformation. Perhaps no zine has been more successful in providing a platform of representation for non-traditional skateboarders than *The Skate Witches,* co-created in 2014 by two North American skaters: Kristin Ebeling and Shari White. Using the zine's thirteenth issue, published in October 2019, as a case study, this paper examines how *The Skate Witches* enacts radical inclusion through a contestation of the gender hierarchies produced and maintained by traditional skateboarding culture while fostering a sense of community and collective identity among their readers.

Keywords: skateboarding, zines, gender, DIY, inclusion.

1. Introduction

Over the past several years, increasing attention has been paid to the issues of equity and inclusion in skateboarding. Now more than ever, 'non-traditional skateboarders',—a term used to refer to a broad spectrum of marginalized gender, racial, and sexual identities that have been historically excluded from the dominant skateboarding industry and media—are carving space for themselves at all levels within the culture. They are organizing localized skate collectives on the streets and in skateparks, starting their commercial brands, climbing the professional ranks in contests, attaining elite sponsorships, and connecting virtually through social media networks. Like sci-fi fans, punks, and riot grrrls, they have also been creating zines as a participatory, do-it-yourself alternative to traditional media outlets.

Short for 'fanzines', zines are defined as "noncommercial, nonprofessional, small-circulation magazines which their creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves" (Duncombe, 2014, p. 6). Free from the stringent regulations, deadlines, and corporate pressures of mainstream publications, zines are a forum through which their creators can explore radical, often counter-hegemonic ideas, engage in creative experimentation, and unapologetically assert their identities and interests. Just as zines afford agency in the formation of identity, they also do so in the formation of community networks. Zines provide a platform for their creators' own ideas and aesthetic sensibilities which remain unrepresented in traditional media, and their underground circulation fosters a network of like-minded people who identify with the content and expressive form of presentation (Duncombe, 2014; Piepmeier & Ziezler, 2009).

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Non-traditional skateboarders, in particular, have mobilized the zine medium as a form of representation and a tool for diversifying skate culture on their own terms, from M. Dabaddie's community-oriented queer skate zine, *Xem Skaters*, published out of Sweden, to professional skateboarder Cher Strauberry's punk-influenced perzine, *Diddley Squat Diaries*, to the Bay Area-based *Not Shit*, a lengthier zine made for weirdo girls, freaky boys, punks and rockers.[2] In addition to channeling the creativity and freedom inherent in the physical practice of skateboarding into writing and art, zines offer a space in which their makers can critique the male-centric focus of traditional skateboarding publications like *Thrasher Magazine* and explore strategies for disrupting the norms they produce. Several studies have already considered the ways in which the gender hierarchies embedded in skateboarding through their cultural and media products have relied, to some extent, on the subordination of the gender, racial, and sexual minorities who participate in them. That is, while 'heroic' masculine imagery dominates their advertisements, action shots, and features, non-traditional skaters are rarely seen at all. When they do appear, they often do so not as skilled practitioners of their sport but as passive, or sexualized objects used to promote products or for the visual pleasure of an assumed male readership (Borden, 2001; Beal & Weidman, 2003; Beal & Wilson, 2003; Wheaton, 2003; Brayton, 2005; Rinehart, 2005; Yochim, 2009).

Since the release of its first issue in 2014, *The Skate Witches* has become one of the most successful and far-reaching non-traditional skate zines. Created and edited by two North American skateboarders—Vancouver-based filmer and photographer Shari White and Kristin Ebeling, Executive Director of the Seattle-based nonprofit Skate Like A Girl—*The Skate Witches* is a submission-based zine containing a mix of written articles and features, interviews, playlists, handmade drawings, and photographs. Although it can be purchased online and shipped anywhere in the world for a small fee, the aesthetic of the zine is reminiscent of the traditional Xerox style favored for its affordability and ease of reproduction.

Using issue thirteen of *The Skate Witches*, published in October 2019, as a case study, this essay will examine how the zine enacts radical inclusion through its contestation of the dominant gender ideologies reproduced by skateboarding culture. Its black and white pages featuring almost exclusively non-traditional skaters, photographers, writers, and artists destabilize the norm even at first glance, but the zine does not exist entirely outside of traditional skate media and necessarily draws upon elements of the dominant culture—it engages directly with a shared body of knowledge and language, visual traditions, and DIY modes of production, for example. I would further suggest that the transformative potential of the zine comes not only from its resonance with non-traditional skateboarders but also from its modes of engagement with existing discourses of the interplay between individual expression and collective identification as well as a legacy of resistance that has been intrinsic to the formation of skate culture at large.

At times complying with and at others subverting dominant ideology and practices, the creators of *The Skate Witches* self-consciously enact multiple forms of resistance that mutually reinforce rather than undermine one another. Using an authorial voice that oscillates between serious and snarky, its creators experiment with the reversal of dominant masculinity to expose its inequity and prioritize the perspectives of non-traditional skaters. The zine plays host to a variety of complex and sometimes contradictory identity positions and seeks to explore, perhaps rather than resolve, the tensions of finding agency in marginalization.

1.1. Exploring the Origins of The Skate Witches

The Skate Witches borrows its name from Danny Plotnick's 1986 homonymous low-budget short film featuring a gang of female skateboarders who terrorize local skater boys in Ann Arbor, Michigan. "We're The Skate Witches and we don't take no crap from no one," the first of the leather-clad teens proclaims. "I'm the best female skateboarder in town," spits another, "and I'll fight anyone who begs to differ." Grainy Super 8 footage of the girls showing off their pet rats—a prerequisite for membership in their gang, viewers learn—interjects scenes of the trio asserting their dominance by shoving boys off their boards and stealing them. Satisfied with the damage they've caused, the Witches roll off on their newly acquired skateboards in the final scene to the sounds of The Faction's skate punk anthem 'Skate and Destroy'. It is worth noting that 'Skate and Destroy' is also the decades-old motto of *Thrasher Magazine,* embraced by skateboarders to reflect the anarchistic ethos of their culture as well as its dichotomy between creation (of a trick, an embodied performance, a mode of expression) and destruction (of boards, bodies, clothing, obstacles, and social conventions).

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2. 'Perzine' stands for 'personal zine', a subgenre characterized by zines documenting the experiences, thoughts, and lives of their creators.

The Witches exude unapologetic confidence and blatantly disregard the contestation of their skills and toughness lodged by the local boys, but their behavior appears to be motivated, at least in part, by an underlying frustration with these challenges to their authenticity. This dynamic is evidenced most clearly by the penultimate scene in which a young man with unkempt hair and an oversized sweater vest stands in front of the camera holding a skateboard under his arm and asserts, "Those Skate Witches think they're real tough, but we're ready to rumble any time. To be quite frank, they're not even that good of skateboarders." He immediately walks out of the frame and is replaced by one of the Witches, who enters the camera's view just as he exits. Without a further word, she proceeds to push a different male skater to the ground and rides away on his board. The Witches' aggression, punk aesthetics, and even pet rats are not only provocative because they intentionally subvert acceptable standards of feminine behavior, but also because they push the boundaries of skater identity. The Witches' clumsiness on their boards as well as the absence of any tricks that might 'prove' their competence on the board suggests that ability is not central to their sense of belonging in the same way it is for the boys. To the chagrin of their male peers, the Witches boldly and visibly occupy space regardless of their skills.

In a 2018 interview with Ann Arbor-based blog *Damn Arbor,* Plotnick attributes the cult popularity of the two-minute film to its representation of the otherwise underrepresented category of women skateboarders. He recounts that the idea for the plot was sparked by the perceived hostility of the subculture towards women, which deterred one of the actresses from learning to skate herself. He says, "Skate culture was obviously big in the 1980s, but the documentation and the lore of that era probably features little in the way of women skaters. And any woman skating probably did get grief, just as Dana [Mendelssohn, 'the witch in the Misfits t-shirt'] surmised she would if she showed up in town with a board. The film was born out of Dana's frustration around the likelihood of being given grief for something she wanted to do" (Interview with Skate Witches director Danny Plotnick, 2018).

The creators of the *Skate Witches* zine recognized the continued lack of representation not just of women, but of the broader category of non-traditional skateboarders more than two decades after the film's release. Shari White describes how this fueled the creation of the zine, saying, "We encountered so much awkwardness in skateboarding—I think a lot of guys don't understand that. Instead of complaining and trying to operate within this subculture that we don't really fit into or feel totally comfortable in, we decided to make our own scene where we do feel totally comfortable. Even though it's not marketable or whatever we just really wanted to make an outlet" (Abada, 2017).

Plotnick's cult film reflects the essence of the zine in more ways than just its generative impetus. Like its cinematic namesake, *The Skate Witches* zine similarly draws upon the DIY, punk sensibilities of both skateboarding and the practice of zinemaking. Using an authorial voice that oscillates between serious and snarky, its creators experiment with the reversal of dominant masculinity to expose its inequity and prioritize the perspectives of non-traditional skateboarders. The zine plays host to a variety of complex, messy, and sometimes contradictory identity positions and seeks to explore, perhaps rather than resolve, the tensions of finding agency in marginalization.

2. Cultural Resistance & Radical Inclusion in The Skate Witches Zine

In October 2019, *The Skate Witches* published its thirteenth issue, featuring a photograph of Canadian skateboarder Breana Geering performing a crook bonk on a New York City ledge on the cover.[3] In addition to being the most practical location for capturing the trick, the low vantage point of the camera gives Geering a commanding presence and showcases her unique style. The suggestion of her fluid motion contrasts strikingly with the grit of the concrete under her wheels. The visual impact of the image is heightened by the simplicity of the surrounding design which lacks the dramatic cover lines that often clutter the front of traditional magazines. Instead, a black vignette ending just above Geering's head houses the title while the issue number sits in the bottom right corner in matching handwritten typeface.

Not only is the minimalism of the cover a departure from the conventional aesthetics of traditional

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3. A crook bonk is a trick in which the skater lifts ('ollies') their board and angles it away from an obstacle ('crooked') to tap ('bonk') their front wheels and kicktail ('nose') against it.

publications, but so too is the subject of its main image. In May 2017, Vans and Birdhouse pro Lizzie Armanto became only the third non-traditional skateboarder to land an action cover of *Thrasher* in its 40 years in print. What's more, credit for capturing Geering's photo on zine's cover belongs to the zine's co-creator, Shari White. Far more than just a means of exposure for White's own photography, *The Skate Witches* serves a doubly important representational function, since women and gender non-conforming photographers and filmmakers are even more rarely featured in traditional skateboarding publications than those in front of it.

In the skateboarding world, being featured on the cover of a major magazine like *Thrasher* is widely considered to be a major achievement. Since the release of its first issue in 1981, *Thrasher*'s cover has been reserved for some of the biggest, most iconic moments in the history of the culture, like Jeremy Wray's massive 16-foot water tank gap ollie in November 1997 and Tyshawn Jones' ollie over the entrance to New York City's 33rd street subway station in January 2019. Skaters all over the world dream of seeing themselves memorialized among such legendary company, but this honor has only been bestowed upon a relatively select few—an overwhelming majority of whom have been men. Considering the lack of diversity and the legacy of the cover as a dedicated space for showcasing innovation and dedication, the contributions of non-traditional skaters have been largely undervalued in this regard.

2.1. Commitment, Progress, and Allyship in the (Re)construction of Skater Identity

Each issue of *The Skate Witches* zine begins with an article by co-creator Kristin Ebeling in which she muses about her relationship to skateboarding and how her engagement with the culture has been shaped, in some ways, by her gender identity. Keeping with this theme, the opening piece of issue thirteen, 'What Are You Committed To', focuses on the qualities that define a skateboarder. As the title suggests, *commitment* is among the most important for Ebeling. This signals a rejection of cultural gatekeeping based on ability, which is often the impetus for justifying the lack of representation afforded to non-traditional skaters in dominant subcultural media. Ebeling finds ground in exposing the strengths and shortcomings of de-emphasized competition that skateboarders have used to position themselves against other sports, and thus hegemonic forms of masculinity. For her, affiliation itself is not a contest. In other words, one does not

become a skateboarder when they achieve a certain repertoire of tricks or skate a certain number of hours per week, but rather when they accept the inevitability of failure and make a concerted effort to improve despite it. The prioritization of commitment, passion, and dedication over ability as a marker of legitimate cultural membership is also reinforced by the visual content of the zine which will be analyzed further in the coming paragraphs.

The development of physical and mental fortitude is central to the cultural identity of skateboarders and informs their collective practices. "We inspire each other through a distinct type of relentless social pressure and support," Ebeling writes. "When we want to give up, our friends don't give up on us. They don't let us off the hook. They keep pushing us". Although each practitioner overcomes the barriers to conquering tricks in their own way and at their own pace, the shared thread of progress fundamentally shapes relations between skateboarders, manifesting most positively in encouragement and the 'free sharing of knowledge'. Maintenance of this reciprocally supportive relationship requires a conscious effort to curb comparisons between the perceived skill level of individual skateboarders as a measure of success, and instead, an acknowledgment of the enriching qualities and unique styles that each one brings to the group. Ebeling is making explicit what is otherwise assumed knowledge among skateboarders, exploring the ways in which it is applied in practice and considering how that application might be extended to other social arenas which are equally important to the development of inclusive communities as face-to-face, localized skate sessions.

Ebeling describes her steps for conquering a trick—first thinking through it mentally and envisioning herself performing it, then beginning the demanding process of trial and error until, with feedback and support from peers, she lands it—and considers their potential to transform skate culture more generally. "Imagine if our commitment to creating safer and more inclusive spaces mimicked our commitment to skateboarding. When we don't get it exactly right, we try harder next time. When our friends mess up, we don't shame them.". She continues, "When all else fails, we just keep trying because, well, quitting or cheating just isn't an option". It is clear that Ebeling is chiefly concerned with making skateboarding a less hostile space for non-traditional skateboarders, a group with which she identifies. If one conceptualizes the patriarchal power dynamic that produces inequity as oppressive and inescapable, the possibility of affecting meaningful change appears daunting at

best and impossible at worst. Ebeling makes the proposition feasible by speaking to her readership in a language they understand. She appeals to a skill set that they already possess and take pride in, suggesting that evolution is an incremental project that is not confined to the realm of self-improvement, and instead is most effective with an orientation towards the reciprocally supportive environment of a community.

In the final paragraphs of her essay, Ebeling introduces the concept of allyship which she defines as the use of "personal power and privilege to both step up for marginalized communities you don't identify with and have the knowledge to step back and give space when necessary.". Allyship is framed as an opportunity to practice commitment to the community through repeated action. In what can be understood as an extension of the physical practice of skateboarding, which relies on both a keen awareness of the body in space and highly intentional but often subtle movements—a flick, a pivot, the shifting of weight—to maintain control over the board and oneself, allyship similarly necessitates the fluid adaptation of behavior based on an awareness of one's physical and social environment. Much like being a skateboarder, being an ally means resisting complacency, breaking boundaries, and embracing learning as an ongoing pursuit.

As a physical record of Ebeling's personal thoughts and beliefs which she includes at the beginning of every issue, this column opens a candid dialog with herself as well as her readers. In making herself vulnerable to the same unsettling potential for missteps and contradictions inherent in her request to the community, Ebeling reinforces *The Skate Witches* as a space in which to candidly exchange a diversity of perspectives—including one's own as they grow and change. Alison Piepmeier (2008) argues that zines inherently lend themselves to this kind of vulnerability due to their informal and personal presentation as well as their materiality. While digital platforms like blogs and websites offer their creators the ability to retroactively editorialize and delete content, zines are a finite record of a particular point in time. By exploring these ideas in the zine, then, Ebeling signals an understanding that she is not an authority who has mastered the art of commitment, but rather that *The Skate Witches* serves as a useful forum for understanding what it means to take part in the process.

2.2. Representation and Cultural Legitimacy

The ideology of *The Skate Witches* zine also comes strongly into focus through its visual content. Photographs constitute the bulk of the zine: there are a total of 44 photos, 30 of which are action shots, appearing across 21 of its 24 pages (including the front and back covers). For anecdotal comparison, 13 photos of women can be found in the 225-page January 2020 issue of *Thrasher Magazine*. In the corner of an article on Ryan Sheckler, one woman appears in a small group photo from Taiwan's Jimi Skateshop; female musicians are seen in four photos from a feature on Death Match NYC; three women model apparel in the products spread; one woman models streetwear while a male skater performs a trick over her head in the Photograffiti section; three photos of legendary pro skater Elissa Steamer are included in the 'Baker 4 Ever' feature, and Fabiana Delfino receives a CCS welcome ad. Only two of these 13 photos are action shots, and both are of professional team riders.

The images in *The Skate Witches*, by contrast, feature exclusively non-traditional skaters performing a wide range of tricks, from Charlotte Hodges' Backside 5.0 grind on the second page, to Kristina McLean's kick turn on page six, to Ashley Rehfeld's polejam which occupies a spread across pages seventeen and eighteen. As is evidenced particularly by the inclusion of more foundational tricks like the kickturn, it is clear that effort and style are prioritized over ability in the curatorial criteria. The creators of the zine are shifting away from the privileging of the newest, most difficult tricks in major magazines and weakening the distinctions of status afforded to professionals promoted by the industry. Representation of a variety of experience levels is not only a more accurate portrayal of the reality of skate culture through the eyes of its curators, but it also supports a philosophy of skateboarding in which every trick you conquer is an achievement worthy of recognition because they indicate forward progress in overcoming physical and mental barriers.

For readers who have not yet mastered the depicted tricks, the photographs offer a possibility model which has the potential to inspire or strengthen a personal sense of commitment. Writing about the enduring subcultural legacy of the *Tony Hawk's Pro Skater* video game franchise, sociologist Paul O'Connor succinctly sums up the importance of possibility models as "inherently philosophical and expansive" (O'Connor, 2020). He continues, "As soon as we learn that something can be done, it becomes a tangible reality. This is the same logic of

inclusion. When minorities and the marginalized are represented in media, they demonstrate the attainable" (O'Connor, 2020). From a more practical perspective, the images can also serve an instructive function similar to receiving advice from a friend on how they conceptualize a trick. Although the static form of photography is limiting in this regard, it can still be beneficial to see its mechanics performed by someone who looks like you, to gain insight into the best foot placement, position of the body in relation to the board, and angle of the board in relation to the obstacle.

It is also important to consider the significance of the settings that the photographs are captured in. Although presumably geographically diverse, they commonly showcase skateboarding in a street context. This poses an intentional contrast to skateparks and vert obstacles which have historically been considered the suitable arenas for women's skateboarding both on a professional and amateur level, in part due to what Matthew Atencio et *al.* (2009) call 'the distinction of risk'. In their study of skateboarding's gendered habituses, they observed that urban street skating was considered among participants to be the most rebellious, authentic, and dangerous form, whereas vert skating offered a level of protection in its intentional design and rules requiring the use of protective gear. In this dynamic, masculinity is positively associated with risk-taking behavior, which simultaneously elevates the subcultural value of street skating and naturalizes the lack of participation of women as the result of a biologically determined aversion to risk, rather than socialization or hostile sexism (Atencio et *al.*, 2009).

The Skate Witches takes non-traditional skateboarders outside of the confines of purpose-built skateparks and shows how they exercise their creativity through an engagement with the urban landscape. Much has been written about the ways in which street skateboarders' appropriation of space defies the logic of an urban environment optimized for the exchange of capital (Borden, 2001; Perrin, 2012; Glenney and Mull, 2018). Because the role of women has been traditionally relegated to the domestic realm, modern cities have been designed both by and for men to accommodate their patterns of movement, leisure, and commerce (Bondi, 2005; Gogh, 2016). Non-traditional street skateboarders, then, engage in a multilayered practice of resistance against the conventions of gendered behavior and the acceptable uses of urban space by and beyond their own subculture.

Not only do non-traditional skateboarders constitute the majority of photographic subjects, but the majority of photographers as well. In addition to Shari White, the issue also features the work of Norma Ibarra, Sarah Meurle, and Chantal Garcia. The ephemerality of the performance of skateboarding—the street variety in particular—makes photographers integral to the representation and preservation of the culture. Their work is also key to how we conceptualize its evolution. The collaboration between skaters and their photographers always has the opportunity to be mutually beneficial, as it allows both parties to showcase their individual styles, skills, and aesthetic sensibilities. I argue that the stakes of this creative partnership are heightened between non-traditional skaters and photographers, because they are often negotiating control over their image, and thus their marginalized status, with those who benefit from their subjugation.

In an interview with EyeEm, skate photographer Zorah Olivia describes her experience photographing the X Games, saying, "At that time, I was the only photographer out on the course with the female skaters. I couldn't understand why the photographers who were documenting the male athletes weren't interested in these women, all with amazing personalities and kicking ass on the course" (N/A, n.d.). There is often an understanding on the part of the artist—and a resultant sense of pressure—that capturing their subject has implications that extend beyond their own reputation. Olivia also speaks to this feeling: "Previously, there hadn't been a lot of exposure for the female competitors, as X Games hadn't fully televised the women's events, and so although I felt a lot of pressure, I also knew I was there for a reason. I didn't want it to be the last time I'd be around this community of women, and this was the motivation I needed to push myself as a photographer and make it happen" (n/a, n/p). Although photographers have the ability to shape the way their subjects are seen by the world, they are reliant on various channels of exposure. This is where traditional skateboarding media has failed both non-traditional skateboarders and photographers the most and is what makes *The Skate Witches* zine such a vital source of representation.

The patriarchal nature of power relations in skateboarding media has all but written female photographers and filmmakers out of its cultural history, with the lack of visibility and access forming a circular relationship of exclusion. Through the inclusion and proper attribution of multiple non-traditional photographers, *The Skate Witches* interrogates the role of traditional skate media in perpetuating the false narrative that women and nonbinary folks do not participate in the creative production of their culture, while simultaneously highlighting those who have persisted despite its observable consequences. The zine mobilizes the power of exposure to encourage the development of the scene, offering both established and emerging photographers a place within its participatory community as an alternative to traditional media outlets.

2.3. Subverting Gender Stereotypes in Skateboarding Media

I now wish to turn our attention towards the 'Boys on Boards' interview series, which appears on page 21 of the issue, as a final example of how *The Skate Witches* performs cultural resistance. This feature is where the zine most explicitly reverses the gender narrative perpetuated by dominant skate culture to reveal the more covert ways in which distinctions of legitimate cultural membership between men and women are normalized. In each column, a representative of the zine speaks to a male skateboarder about their connection to skateboarding and their experience in the industry in a traditional Q&A format. Canadian skateboarder Leon Chapdelaine introduced as "the next hottest piece of back bacon since Sluggo," is the subject of this issue's interview. It is immediately clear that the creators are responding, in part, to the objectification of women in skateboarding, wherein their value is determined by their physical appearance and sex appeal rather than their skills or individuality (Kilberth & Schwier, 2019; Atencio et *al.*, 2009). The pervasive perception of women as sex objects reinforces the relationship between masculinity and authenticity and justifies acts of symbolic violence against women in other social and cultural arenas outside of the media (Atencio et *al.*, 2009).

The rest of the interview demonstrates that even when they are designated as legitimate cultural participants, non-traditional skaters are still treated as an anomaly for pursuing skateboarding over other activities which are considered less conventionally masculine and have naturalized their perceived lack of participation (Beal, 2003; Atencio et *al.*, 2009). Chapdelaine is asked, for example, "What *on earth* gave you the idea of becoming a skateboarder?" while another reads, "What is your biggest inspiration that keeps you skateboarding *as a man*?" (my emphasis). Kristin Ebeling notes that all the questions are "derived from mainstream interviews of female skateboarders," and that they "just changed the gender pronouns" (Abada, 2017, n/p). But the wording of the questions also reflects the true meaning that both the interview subject and the knowing audience of the zine would derive from them. In adopting a snarky tone and exaggerated language, the writers lift the thin veil of neutrality and highlight the patronizing nature of the questions.

A tension is evident between decentering the concept of gender as an essential category of identity and recognizing the tangible ways in which it influences social relationships. Examining the implications of the role reversal, where women hold the authority to ask questions of men—and thus shape their perceptions—can help to illuminate how this tension is produced and how it might be mitigated. Since skate media is dominated by men, interviews are conducted largely by men for an assumed male readership. There is no need for interviews with male subjects to focus on their experience of gender because not only are they the statistically and socially dominant group, but also because the interviewer and reader are already presumed to possess at least a baseline understanding of the male experience. This allows them to gain deeper insights into the inner workings of the subject, from their personality and tastes to their skating habits.

Male skateboarders are automatically understood as individuals in a gendered context, whereas women are often asked to speak as representatives of their gender as if they are a homogenous group. Alternatively, questions are posed in such a way that make the gender distinctions between male and female skateboarders appear universal and assumed. It is also clear that when speaking to female skateboarders, male interviewers operate on assumptions about the collective experience of women, which are not only the product of stereotypes that produce inequity, but also affirm them. This is most evident when the interviewer asks Chapdelaine, "Recently you've been incredibly brave out there on trips with your female counterparts like Breana [Geering], Una [Farrar], and Fabi [Delfino]. What's it like being the only dude in the van?" When gender-reversed, this question panders to gender stereotypes. It supposes that when women choose to skateboard, they are not only taking the physical risks that all skateboarders take, but that there is a second potentially unanticipated risk in stepping outside of a defined boundary of conventional feminine conduct to enter a male-dominated subcultural world. In answering, "I feel like I can be myself around them! [...] I love rockin' with them and hope to do so again soon!" Chapdelaine undermines the validity of the purely gendered behavioral distinction that the interviewer has set up in the language of their question without explicitly challenging it.

'Boys on Boards' presents a social commentary on gender bias while simultaneously bringing to light the nature of the power relationship between interviewer and interviewee in the context of skateboarding media. In experimenting with a simple role reversal, its creators reveal how non-traditional skateboarders are covertly relegated to a subordinate cultural position. As they do elsewhere in the zine, they also highlight the ways in which these distinctions inform social relations on both an individual (micro) and institutional (macro) level. Purporting to acknowledge women as legitimate subcultural participants by making them the

subjects of interviews is a hollow gesture without a larger change in discourse. It is the responsibility of allies, then, to not only facilitate a greater diversity of voices on both sides of the equation, but to remain critical of how their language is informed by their cultural perspective. Subjecting men to the same shallow, biased lines of questioning that many people of marginalized genders in the industry have become accustomed to also gestures towards the inclusionary potential of disrupting the conventional demographic structure of mainstream publications and beginning to make space for non-traditional individuals at all levels within their organizations.

3. Conclusion

Like sci-fi fans, punks, and riot grrrls, skateboarders have made use of zines as a DIY alternative to traditional media. *The Skate Witches* zine is exemplary of the ways in which non-traditional skateboarders in particular have mobilized the medium as a tool in diversifying skate culture on their own terms. As resistors against the prevailing masculine norms of the culture, its collaborators enact radical inclusion by centering the representation of marginalized gender identities and asserting them as legitimate cultural practitioners. The zine serves as a record of non-traditional skateboarders occupying physical, virtual, and cultural space and subsequently interrogates the narrative of their lack of participation as part of the hidden machinations of sexist exclusion.

Although both the medium of the zine and the subjects of its content live in the shadows of their dominant counterparts, *The Skate Witches* zine does not purport to exist outside of or in sweeping opposition to skate culture. In fact, its creators use their peripheral perspective to their advantage in locating opportunities for effective localized resistance. The transformative potential of the zine lies in its engagement with the existing discourses of community and progress that underpin the collective identity of skateboarders. At the same time, its expressive style and use of personal narrative can be understood as a challenge to the essentializing categories of gender that produce hierarchies of exclusion. *The Skate Witches* ultimately urges its readers to extend the notions of commitment so integral to the individual practice of skateboarding to the evolution of its collective culture. It acknowledges that as a negotiation between people with their own unique perspectives, change itself is—much like skateboarding—a process of trial and error, but one in which the rewards can far outweigh the risks.

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'Viveiro was already hardcore': the relevance of the local scene and its territory in the constitution and development of the Resurrection Fest

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

Resurrection Fest is currently a large-format music festival which has been held since 2006 in Viveiro (Galicia), and whose line-ups have been comprised of musical genres such as metal, punk, hardcore or stoner, among others. But this has not always been the case: since its origins, its musical programming and organizational dynamics used to be of a smaller scope, being closely linked to the trans-local hardcore scene. The purpose of this communication is to analyse the relevance of Viveiro and its local scene in the constitution and development of Resurrection Fest. For this purpose, participant observation techniques, SWOT analyses and semi-structured interviews have been used, the latter relying on the use of the technique of sociological discourse analysis. This has allowed us to show an unknown intra-history about the origins of the festival, closely linked to the cultural practices of Do It Yourself and the trans-local connections of Viveiro's music scene.

Keywords: resurrection fest, hardcore, music scene, viveiro, territorial studies.

1. Introduction

The Resurrection Fest (also known as Resu) is a festival celebrated in Viveiro (Lugo, Galicia) since 2006 (Resurrection Fest, 2021). This festival includes a wide range of musical genres inserted in what could be called 'extreme music'. In its condition as a large format festival, it has been awarded as one of the best festivals on the national scene, and the repercussions have not been long in coming: its economic and tourist implications are visible in the town of Viveiro itself, as well as throughout Galicia (Fest Galicia, 2019).

However, if a retrospective analysis is carried out, it is possible to see how this situation has not always been the case. Throughout the 14 editions[2] that the festival has been held, the changes in the cultural programming have been more than palpable. And it is that through the structural analysis of the posters of all the editions that has been carried out in this research (Tarrío, 2019), when it has been possible to understand how the Resurrection Fest has undergone modifications in a myriad of issues: an increase in music stages, changes in the price of the tickets, the number of national and international bands, the composition of the headliners, as well as the number of hardcore bands.

In its origins, the Resurrection Fest was born with a strong local base, closely linked to the hardcore musical sub-genre, as well as other musical sub-styles derived from it. Specifically, the initial organization was made up of a local hardcore crew[3], a fact that highlights the link between musical communities and the creation of collective identities (Ulusoy & Schembri, 2018). Furthermore, it is from these collective identities that affective communities also emerge, where the experiences of identification and intersubjective participation go beyond normalized social ethics (Driver & Bennet, 2015). Therefore, it is tremendously interesting to know the implications of musical experiences and communities in shaping identities -both individual and collective-.

The initial research in which this communication takes part was focused on understanding how the cultural transformations of the Resurrection Fest affected the identity construction of the people attending. In this research, in addition to the previously mentioned structural analysis, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, as well as the SWOT technique have been applied (as information gathering techniques). And it has been from the semi-structured interviews where it has been possible to verify how the story that has been told about the organization (as a 'myth'), left behind many other processes and agents that have been relevant for the development of the Resurrection Fest.

2. Narratives and myths

Through the different speeches that have been the result of the semi-structured interviews, it has been possible to understand some intra-historical narratives about the Resurrection Fest. And although it is true that a multitude of content blocks have been explored, for this communication it has been relevant to extract the information obtained regarding the organization, about the town of Viveiro (not only as a geographical setting, but also as the set of all those relationships that are drawn between the autochthonous population and those attending the festival), as well as the evaluations about the municipal institution.

Thus, once all the information has been analysed, it has been possible to detect two central narratives closely related to the origin of the festival, and whose discourses have made it possible to deconstruct or reinforce those mythical discourses that have been told since the beginning of the festival's history. Next, the narratives of 'the dream that comes true' will be exposed, as well as the legend of 'Melchor Roel'.

2.1. The dream that comes true

The first main narrative detected focuses on the description of the origin of the festival itself. And, according to the press[4], the story of Resurrection Fest begins with the determination of two young boys who have the dream of seeing their favourite band (the New Yorkers Sick of it all) in their town. For this, they had the permission and help of the municipal corporation, which gave the go-ahead to their idea.

In addition, this narrative has an 'input': the tenacity of these two young people. Consequently, the origin of the first edition of the Resu is the result of the cancellation of the Viveiro Summer Fest. This was scheduled to be held in August, but due to medical problems of one of the members of Sick of it all, it was cancelled. It will be three months later (in November, specifically), and with two more bands added to the line-up (Walls of Jericho and Anal Hard) when the first edition of Resurrection Fest is held.

The development and growth of the festival is explained in this narrative through the 'good work' of the organization, which has been able to develop the large-format festival that it is today. Therefore, this shows a clear representation of the myth of the 'self-made man', attributing the success to these two people, their great capacity for resilience and their perseverance and dedicated work.

It will be from the in-depth interviews and more specifically of those interviewed who belong to the town of Viveiro (since they perform the role of inhabitant, in addition to that of assistant) when this 'myth' begins to be deconstructed. Although all the people interviewed residing in Viveiro have contradicted this main narrative, below is a small extract - by way of example - that accounts for processes and actors that had not previously appeared in the narrative:

3. Crews can be defined as "a group of friends who hang out and regularly go to hardcore shows together", as well as "specific groups who go to shows and hang out together, but also may make claims to specific locales" (Purchla, 2011, p. 202).

4. As a representative example, it can be consulted Balseiro (2015, July 14).

It looks like it was something dropped from the sky, right? (…) No, no, dude. This has had more to do with a collective effort, with a history and with a cultural substrate, and with a person who put his popularity above this (…); there had to be a determined political bet for a person to be [forward]. This is not the result of the know-how of two people, nor of five. It is a whole set of things that have to do with the decision, a firm people's commitment for a model of cultural expression and with this event (Interviewed 14).

Through this extract, two key elements are argued that contrast and complement the mythical narrative talked about the organization: the history and the cultural substratum that exists prior to the festival - and that has made its realization possible -, as well as the existence of a political figure who has shown commitment and support in the creation and development of the festival. This person who is mentioned latently is Melchor Roel, a prominent political figure in the town of Viveiro and mayor at the time that the Resurrection Fest began to develop. Melchor Roel will be the central axis around which the next narrative will revolve.

However, before concluding this small point, it should be noted that in 2020 the Resurrection Fest organization posted a documentary on the net where its history was summarized. In this, and contrary to what had been told since its inception, part of the original mythical narrative is deconstructed, since the organizers who talk there include various social and political agents that, at the beginning, had been left out of the history. In addition, indirectly, the existence of a consistent music scene in the town of Viveiro, and which has a strong connection with Asturias, is described.

2.2. The legend of Melchor Roel

As previously mentioned, Melchor Roel was the mayor of Viveiro who allowed the celebration of the Resurrection Fest, providing help and financing for the development of the Resurrection Fest. His figure has emerged as an icon for some of the attendees, who relegate much of the weight of the festival's success to his person:

"Melchor was an absolutely basic pillar. Without Melchor there would have been absolutely nothing" (Interviewed 1)

In 2013, Melchor passed away, and two key moments occurred that have reified the importance of his person. The first is the celebration of two editions of the Melfest, a festival held in his honour, and whose money raised has been donated to charitable causes. The second of the key moments has been the double commemoration made by the band Madball, dedicating an emotional speech, and hanging a banner at their concert of the 2016 edition, and dedicating a small extract from the video clip DNA, where the band showed a photo with him (Nuclear Blast, 2014).

Although the figure of Melchor has been ignored by the discourse that has permeated the media (and that relegates the importance to the two young people who carried out the festival), the mythical conception of this politician has crossed strictly local limits, and has finally remained as a figure of reference in the public imaginary, where people who have not known him personally, have an opinion about him:

"Seeing how people talk about Melchor, I think he was a good guy. I see that people are very grateful [to him] … The organization and everyone. Even Madball"

(Interviewed 5)

3. The hardcore scene of Viveiro

Once the two main narratives that have described the history of the festival have been exposed, it is necessary to talk about the Viveiro scene, since it has played a key role in the origin of the Resurrection Fest. More specifically, if we go into the main narrative in depth, the two young people who had been part of the creation and definition of the festival were members of a hardcore band from Viveiro called Twenty Fighters. This band, created in 2003 and which participated in the first edition of the festival, also has as a relevant aspect the fact that its members were part of the Old Navy Port Crew. Considering the above about the crew, it can be seen that this is a community that transcends beyond individual identities. In addition, its connection with the hardcore movement allows us to affirm that we are facing a very specific collective and territorial identification mode: and perhaps the most important thing is that Old Navy Port Crew were not alone, since several more crews flourished in Viveiro, and among them, one strictly related to skate culture.

Trying to describe the origin of the hardcore bands in Viveiro, through one of the speeches of the interviewed people it has been possible to understand that already in the mid-1990s there was a pioneer band in the town, Hopeless Reason - and that later, it will change its name and will become known as Shoot Again -:

> *I think the concerts started when we were still in high school. They were made at Christmas (…) and began to be performed in 1995-96 with bands already at a level. Groups from Viveiro, notably, were Hopeless Reason and then others from Asturias. And then there was something like a 'twinning' and we went to Asturias, they came here (…). From there, groups were already coming (…) (Interviewed 14)*

This band - pioneer in the locality - helped to configure a primal scene on which the Twenty Fighters were influenced. In addition, it is possible to see the appearance of Shoot Again in two of the editions of Resurrection Fest (2008 and 2010), although in the first of these they did not get to play.

Returning to what has been said about the relationship between Viveiro and Asturias, it is possible to trace a clear relationship in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This information is also corroborated in the documentary itself issued by the Resurrection Fest, where Nefta - a member of the Asturian band Sound of Silence - claims to have previously participated in concerts in Viveiro:

> *I already know the town of Viveiro from the previous festivals that were held before the Resurrection Fest, where I was present there with some friendly bands. Also, for performing in small venues in the centre of town with one of my bands and since then I made a lot of friends with people from there in town. (Nefta in Resurrection Fest, 2020, n/p)*

Through this statement it is possible to understand that the Resurrection has not been an unusual event, but that it has been developing progressively and organically. And although it is true that the relationships had not had such a media impact, the synergies can already be seen in the first edition of the local festival Viveirock, held in 2001. The aforementioned Shoot Again, *Yacam* (another local band that after their dissolution they will give rise to another well-known Viveiro project, Rain Is Art), *Krápulas* (a punk-rock band also from the municipality) and the Asturian band *Posession*[5].

4. Conclusions

To conclude and standing as one of the central questions of this research, it has been possible to verify that there has been an intergenerational process regarding the hardcore movement in the town of Viveiro. This fact allows us to affirm that the Resurrection Fest has been the result of the evolution of agents and processes that had previously occurred in the locality.

A clear reflection of the intergenerational component can be seen in the fact that, a decade prior to the celebration of Resurrection Fest, some pioneering bands already existed, as well as the first synergies with Asturias were beginning to emerge. Therefore, we can speak of the existence of a trans-local network where people of various age groups were involved, and that has allowed feedback between communities and their cultural production.

5. For further information, it can be consulted in Viveiro (2001).

Another aspect that should be mentioned is the importance of local administration since it has contributed to the origin and development of the Resurrection Fest. And although it has not been the first time that the municipal administration has given the go-ahead to the youth to hold events, in this case, both the funding and the institutional support went a step further. When referring to the local government, it is necessary to mention the role played by Melchor Roel, whose figure has been praised in a large part of the speeches of the people interviewed.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that the discourse of the organization has been partially modified since the launch of the documentary. Thanks to this, it has been possible to validate some of the information that had been obtained only through the interviews, and that seemed to be hidden in the narratives related to the festival.

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3.4 Heterotopia, liminality and everyday life: the Boom Festival as an epiphenomenon of otherness

Tiago André M. Pereira[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

The concept of 'festival' has evolved into new connotations on the sociocultural field. A social effervescence around the transformational festival meme has emerged, triggering new perspectives on the cultural sciences. This paper examines those perspectives along with data analysis to expand social circumstances and cultural frameworks that configure the subjective dispositions and drive the demand for Boom Festival in Portugal. The research also addresses the properties at the festival that can be analyzed as heterotopic transgressive spaces in order to understand how the contexts of temporary life suspension and liminality imply a transformative power in the return to everyday life. *Boomland* is Boom Festival's territory and appears to be both a popular sanctuary and a pilgrimage site for fans of a global movement called psytrance tribe. The research involved an ethnographic approach, using digital ethnography and auto-ethnography, complemented by semi-directed interviews.

Keywords: boom festival, heterotopia, liminality, everyday life, psytrance tribe.

1. Introduction

We live in a transitional period where wireless tools and electric devices connect us all to a virtual reality. Two decades ago, the world and life itself, had a different meaning and reality didn't feel virtual at all.

We are away from each other and at same time all connected through digital platforms. Nothing new here as we have been digitally connected over the last decades, but we must consider that at the time the Do-it-Yourself (DIY) cultures started to emerge, the world was a different place to be. A funny aspect about it is: one of Boom Festival (BF) promotional videos from 2016 starts "first of all, we are all connected"[2], something Chiara Baldini reaffirms at BF 20 years documentary (Good Mood, 2017), but they aren't talking about this connection…

We are at the dawn of a 'digital era'. It is understandable that technology (r)evolution of the twenty-first century opened up doorways into new cultural movements and different ways of culture appropriation. At the turn of the new millennium sociological interaction spread out both in physical and virtual dimensions. Therefore, the concept of 'festival' redefined itself and adopted an important role in culture production paramount to the understanding of the contemporary societies, in what Bennett et *al*. (2014) identified as the festivalization of culture.

The social effervescence around the transformational festival meme triggered new perspectives on the social sciences (Oroc, 2018) allowing anthropologists and cultural scientists to concentrate their attention onto alternative cultural movements.

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2. Boom Festival 2016 – Diaries – Day 4. Internet. Youtube. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhynECuHpvc

The significant technology upgrades in the 80s and 90s allowed enthusiasts, Djs and ravers to experiment with new musical tastes (St John, 2009). With it, a new cultural movement emerged from the East to the West, from the shores of Goa – India, to Europe and America. Essentially expatriates, hippies and artists from Europe and America, found in Anjuna Beach, the place to grow a different lifestyle and a new way to get amused. This alternative movement particularly influenced by the so-called counter-cultural tendencies of the 1960s promoted a hedonistic vibe, a spiritual tendency and a high interest in the trade and consumption of psychedelics (St John, 2009).

Throughout the 1990s, the cult, promotion and success of a new electronic dance music based on Anjuna Beach 'vibe' crossed borders allowing Goatrance, also known as psychedelic trance or psytrance, to be followed and produced worldwide. This music genre is based on the electronic awakening (see Andrew Johner, 2011), digital interfaces and many other electronic devices (St John, 2009). Psytrance significance to the promotion and the spreading of psychedelic culture cannot be dismissed (St John, 2012; 2010).

The cult of psychedelic trance in Portugal started as an underground movement, in isolated locations, promoted in drug friendly raves and twenty years after is a movement of tens of thousands (Good Mood, 2017) making the BF one of the most prominent events around the world. Diverging from pop culture movement, BF embraces, guides and promotes (see Kosmicare, BF) in psychedelic drug experiences. This characteristic is widely regarded both with interested and despair (Oroc, 2018).

Psychedelic trance, an epiphenomenon of Electronic Dance Music Culture (EDMC), is not only the source of BF but it is the main feature which sets this festival apart from the rest of those on the international circuit.

This paper is about Boomland and the festival itself. It analyses the impact the BF experience can have on the lives of those who live it. The paper emphasizes identity modulations associated with the sociological process, i.e., practices and cultural fruition between individuals and groups in contexts of otherness promoted during the event. Simultaneously, it addresses the properties at the festival that can be analyzed as heterotopic transgressive spaces in order to understand how the contexts of temporary life suspension and liminality, imply a transformative power in the return to everyday life. In addition, it is important to identify neotribalism (Maffesoli, 1988) / heterotopia (Foucault, 1967) / ritual process (Turner, 1969) as the key elements to which this paper is built upon. As a result, it is vital to situate the BF in the contemporary sociocultural paradigm while keeping track on the impact of digital technology on the anthropological range.

The research involved an ethnographic approach, using digital ethnography and auto-ethnography, complemented by semi-directed interviews. The empirical work underlined the three (liminal) moments related to the 2018 edition of BF – before, during and after the festival –, based on a 20 people discussion/observation group, gathered on the digital platform Facebook, implying fieldwork both in digital and geographic territory.

2. A 'new' societal movement

The 'new' sociological movement that was (re)born and excelled at the beginning of the twenty-first century is an alternative movement, i.e., it promotes a psychedelic culture, which diverges from popular culture and mass media culture (Oroc, 2018).

From the late 1960s to the 1990s, the use of psychedelics was banned and brought almost to extinction by policies adopted by Richard Nixon (The War on Drugs - 1971) and Ronald Regan (Just say No! - 1986) (Oroc, 2018).

Throughout the 1990s and especially at the beginning of the new century, books, visionary art, festivals and underground cults (Oroc, 2018) resurfaced the ideology and the psychedelic spirit, which led some authors to classify the movement as The Psychedelic Renaissance (Oroc, 2018; Sessa, 2012; Polan, 2018; Doblin, 2017). The use and trade of psychedelics associated with the counter-cultural movement of the 1960s, helped to crystallize a new lifestyle, different than cultural productions targeting the masses (St John, 2009).

The Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) created in 1964, aiming to study new cultural paradigms, followed subgroups with specific musical tastes and with distinctive cultural practices and representations (St John, 2009), yet according to St John (2008, p. 150): "trance as a countercultural EDMC has been little understood or studied".

The cultural studies carried out by the CCCS allowed a better understanding of contemporary societies and individuals as it proposed to analyze popular culture and ‹everyday life' as an emanation of class conflict

(Gelder, 2005). From the 1970s to the 1990s, the great mark of late modernity (Giddens, 1990), some authors spoke about the deep reconfigurations and renovations operated in the individual and in contemporary societies, called by Bauman (1999) as 'the liquid effect'. With 'the liquid effect' Bauman (2007; 1999) suggested the current societies are volatile and swiftly mutable, thus nations are cultural hybrids. One of the members of the CCCS project, Hall (2006), formulated the idea that identities are in decline, pointing to what he considered to be a crisis of cultural identity. Nothing new for Maffesoli (1988) who argued the reuse of the concept of tribalism, this time, a new tribalism, in the form of urban tribes. By predicting the decline of modernism and the return to tribal-oriented social configurations in the postmodern period, Maffesoli (1988) opened up to what Bennett (1999) would come to identify as an opportunity for something new to emerge from post-great war consumerism, in which young people break away from traditional social class identifications, building alternatives based on individual experience and collective appropriation of distinctive symbolic elements (v.g. ways of dressing, language, musical consumption, new aesthetic references) (Hebdige, 2002).

Although contemporary societies may be 'liquid' (Bauman, 2007), BF success is due to a fundamental technology called memory. According to Halbwachs (1997, p. 230), "it would be very difficult to describe the event if one did not imagine the place". The place of memory and collective memory are paramount to the psychedelic culture and of course BF hype. Even though the advanced technology at our disposal to (re)live the event, to see what happens in Boomland, nothing beats our best memories and as a result, the promotion of BF by those who lived the experience. As Halbwachs (2008, p. 129) stated: "symbolic thought disconnects these places from their material surroundings and associates them with the beliefs of the group, and those beliefs alone. It is almost certainly the stability of the image that explains the persistence of the beliefs".

The ravers, who multiplied on the beaches of Goa in the 1980s and 1990s, found in BF a pilgrimage site whose object of devotion was the Goa trance, known today as psytrance. The first edition of BF (in 1997) was little known, even in Portugal (Good Mood, 2017). It emerged as a gathering of psychedelic trance habitués, for those who had been following the pro-hippie movement that originated in Goa. BF happened every two years since 1998 until 2018 and has been postponed since, due to covid-19 pandemic.

In 2002, Good Mood Lda (founders of BF) moved BF location to the countryside, Idanha-a-Nova, Portugal. In 2017, Good Mood paid over a million euros for a 150-hectare property[3] and today the Herdade da Granja is known worldwide as Boomland (Good Mood, 2017). This private property at Marechal Carmona reservoir, holds BF every two years. Far from urban spaces, at Boomland, between the full moon of July and August emerges a seven-day city where technomad tribes (St John, 2009), hippies and enthusiasts reunite as a tribe to engage in a moment of love, mindfulness and communion, where safety and freedom belong together. It is important to mention Boom Festival is a global phenomenon of sustainability, electronic dance music, psychedelic culture and visionary art.

Although BF most prominent vein has been the "anarchist" one, it was essentially from its fifth edition (2004) that the festival gained the dimension of a global event, attracting people from all over the world to live the psychedelic experience of the moment, in Boomland. Regarded as one of the festivals focused on hedonism, spiritual ideology and where the trade and consumption of psychedelics is free, BF quickly established itself on the international circuit of similar festivals. Ironically, the Portuguese government, by decriminalizing drug possession and consumption in 2001, made BF the ‹Mecca' of the international psytrance tribe movement (Oroc, 2018).

In 2004, the festival's projection exceeded all the expectations of the producers involved, as stated by Diogo Ruivo (Good Mood, 2017). BF represents an epiphenomenon because it is the result of the broader phenomenon of EDMC. It is possible to affirm that the emergence of EDMC, the new psychedelic revolution and the explosion of event-cultures are interlinked. This remarkable interconnection was due to an increasingly evolved technology, both in terms of sound and image recording and, above all, in the sharing of these contents globally through the world wide web.

This 'psychedelic experience' [one and collective] many have lived in Boomland crossed continents through the words of boomers who, every two years, packed their backpacks and began the pilgrimage back to Boomland.

Although BF first edition (1997) counted 3,000 participants (Good Mood, 2017), BF thirteenth edition (2020 –

3. Good Mood buys Herdade da Granja for over a million euros. April 2017. Available @ https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/boom-festival- compra-herdade-em-idanha-a-nova-por-mais-de-um-milhao-de-euros-6245589.html. *consultado em 24/01/2020.*

postponed till 2022) sold out (+33,000 tickets) in ninety minutes, doing more than 6 million euros in ticket sale alone. Boom festival is a place to be when you are into psychedelic culture.

This "new" societal movement with nearly two decades of existence which BF is part and benefits, maintains an alternative to pop culture, but it moves the masses (millions of participants) all over the world. For Cuche (1999) alternative cultures are a product of an alternative to mass culture, leading individuals and societies to build an identity according to their cultural preferences (Hall, 2006).

The psychedelic trance movement has its own cultural identity that reveals itself in the material and immaterial part. This 'unusual' identity is a byproduct of fables and imaginaries produced by the psytrancer infiltrated in a global movement. Rastafarians, brightly colored clothes, steampunk style (Bernstein, 2015) and the Do-it-Yourself motto (Guerra & Bennett, 2019) are some of the main attributes that characterize the natives of this cultural movement, as mentioned by St John (2010: 2):

> **Enthusiasts from a multitude of cities and regions make pilgrimages to Boom to become immersed in the identifiable timbral aesthetics of their obsession. But there is another strong motivation — participants are enthused to become exposed to difference. Festival culture illustrates a heterotopic, carnivalesque and synesthetic context in which participants may upgrade or retrograde their selves through national "flavours", sonic "colours" and other available techniques of the self (i.e., drugs, dance, textile fashion, piercings, hair styling, tattooing, alternative diets, etc.). Indeed, this interest expressed by Boom participants is consistent with a disposition towards difference within psytrance more generally.**

3. A Post-Modern Ritual Process

Alternative cultures may promote transformative practices and representations. As mentioned before, the dimension and demand that festivals similar to Boom are reaching, lead to the (re)emergence of the concepts of 'new tribes' (Maffesoli, 1988) and communitas (Turner, 1969), boosted by technological (re)evolutions and their respective capacity to promote social fruition and cultural representations. Boomland is a private territory where 'spontaneous communitas' evolve and correlate throughout a week. Turner identified communitas as:

the (re)formation of affectual relationships with co-liminars. In "spontaneous communitas," individuals

interrelate relatively unobstructed by sociocultural divisions of role, status, reputation, class, caste, sex, age, and other structural niches (...) communitas designates a feeling of immediate community and may involve the sharing of special knowledge and understanding — a flash of mutual understanding on the existential level, and a 'gut' understanding of synchronicity. This immediate and total confrontation of human identities occurs between fixed social categories (in liminality), on the edges of structured social life (in marginality), and beneath structure (in inferiority) (Turner, 1982, p. 48)

As mentioned earlier, BF proposes the single and collective experience that results, above all, from the collective effervescence (Durkheim, 2001) of a spontaneous communitas that gathers in an idyllic space, far from urban centers, to symbolically celebrate a ‹return to the origins', a ‹return home' in this heterotopic manifestation that occurs every two years.

Over the various editions, BF has given its participants the opportunity to create communitas that often go beyond the festival grounds and are maintained in the everyday life. This event-culture (St John, 2017) allows its participants to share a feeling of belonging, otherness and union seminal to the formation of spontaneous communitas while some participants do not find it in their everyday life, according to my research.

Alternative values may promote and empower in the participants transgressive ecologies in opposition to their everyday life. In this regard, Howard (1969, p. 50) identified plastic hippies as: "those who simply wear the paraphernalia of the outsider and adopt the requisite codes of rebellion, where the symbols which might at one time have powerfully expressed outrage at society's oppression and absurdity become merely fashionable and decadent". These transgressive ecologies are mainly caused by the liminal (or interstice) characteristics of these events associated with their short-term temporality. As pointed out by Hutson (2000, p. 43), "raves are good because they don't happen all the time", that is, alternative and/or transformational raves or festivals are limited in time and this property may be what awakens the liminal or the interstice experiences. In this regard, St John (2008, p. 154) states that EMDCs social interstices have the power to (re)produce "a sense of immediacy, safety, and belonging, outside and in between the routine habitus, conventional gender roles or the crushing ennui of workaday lives".

168 As mentioned before, BF experience represents a life suspension from the 'normal world'. A break in our everyday life. To better understand this important sociological feature of BF one must consider The Ritual Process (1969) defined by Vitor Turner, after the Rites of Passage of Van Gennep (1960).

Boomland is a liminal place. Liminality refers to 'in between' places or stages, a state of transition where the subject does not belong to any of the stages:

> *the state and process which is betwixt-and-between the normal, day-to-day cultural and social states and processes of getting and spending, preserving law and order, and registering structural status (…) In the midst of ritual participation they are neither here nor there, but genuinely in between distinctions, beyond the limits of ordinary social sanctions, and unconcerned with the mundane affairs of everyday life. Temporarily defined by the ritual context, they are beings-in-transition, no longer what they were, nor yet what they will be (Turner, 1977, p. 33).

Liminality is therefore the phenomenon of the Ritual Process. Turner (1969) identifies two different stages - Structure and Anti-structure - in which the individual submits himself and returns. Accordingly, I identified contemporary societies as the structure and BF as the anti-structure. In this regard, the participant leaves the structure (separation) entering the anti-structure (transition) and returns to the structure (re-incorporation). If a more graphic interpretation should be considered, I would say 'The Hero Journey' (1949) from Joseph Campbell is a nice fit.

Turner understood liminality as a ludic phenomenon: "It is the analysis of culture into factors and their free 'ludic' recombination in any and every possible pattern, however weird, that is the essence of liminality, liminality par excellence" (Turner, 1982, p. 28). According to Turner, liminality should be understood as liminal or liminoide, where liminal should be consider in archaic, agrarian societies, and liminoide in industrialized societies. In this regard, my research identifies BF both as a playground (ludic place) and a liminoide space where individuals initiate a quest for the excitement (Elias & Dunning, 1992) in the anticipation of a desired experience (Johansson & Toraldo, 2015).

Liminality is not an exclusive quality of BF. Guerra (2019, pp. 56-57) understands music festivals are liminal spaces because "[festivals] are outside the everyday life and offer opportunities to experiment with extraordinary

and, in some cases, socially circumscribed identities". On the other hand, music festivals are more than a product of consumption. On site rituals apparently developed by the spontaneous communitas work an important role in the sociological experience of the festival-goers, capable of promoting a transformation in the return to their workaday lives (Guerra, 2019).

BF represents a multi-generation space and a post-national zone (Inda, 2000), where tens of thousands of people, natives of more than 150 countries (last editions), interact in an apparently tribal way for seven consecutive days. It is fundamentally this relationship of community, sharing and belonging that highlights one of the most transformational qualities of the BF rooted in the concept of otherness.

The BF requires a trip, i.e., leaving our home and starting a journey in search of the excitement (Elias & Dunning, 1992), over the anticipation of a desired experience (Johansson & Toraldo, 2015). Tourism, to which travel is associated, is a process of transformation, in which the individual renews the idea of himself and also the way others see him, as Graburn (1989, p. 23) reveals: "The experience of travel connects us with ourselves in meaningful ways that cannot be overstated". Accordingly, there is the perspective that the BF experience per se, given the Turnerian process of pre-festival (separation), festival (transition) and post-festival (re-incorporation) and the Graburnian sacred journey, completes itself within the liminoide cycle, as Graburn (1989, p. 23) adds: [travel is the] "best kind of life for it is sacred in the sense of being exciting, renewing, and inherently self-fulfilling".

4. Conclusion

BF experience may be understood as a post-modern ritual process where separation, transition and re-incorporation is part of a sacred journey to which the individual submits himself in search of the excitement in a private territory for liminal culture.

Although Jeet-Kei Leung (2010) identified Boom as a transformational festival along with Burning Man (USA) and others across the globe, I could not tell whether BF is transformational or not, but I am confident to say for many boomers BF represents a sacred journey.

Maffesoli suggested contemporary societies live out of the exchange with allowance to otherness, like urban tribes, polytheists and hedonists, where pleasure is the supreme good. According to my research, Boomland is the place to seize the day, carpe diem and that is crystal clear by the time you enter the gates. There is no time, no rush, there are no worries. It is time to embrace the present moment, in an organic, bucolic way. A simple experience in and with Nature and other participants, allowing oneself the process of otherness.

My research made me conclude, moreover, BF operates as a limen, a threshold between an idyllic place and the crushing ennui of workaday lives. In other words, it represents a heterotopic city limited to seven days of existence, after what participants may resume to their lives. This event-culture (St John, 2017) operates as a living sanctuary where boomers search for the community, spiritual enlightenment, healing and joy through rituals and mystic conceptions in what Durkheim (2001) defined as the collective effervescence. Moments of pure joy, I acknowledged on the field.

Memory plays an important role both in BF promotion and its success. The reconnecting experience boomers look forward every two years at Boomland, resides on what Halbwachs called place of memory and collective memory.

BF promotes feelings of otherness, community and symbiotic vibes between nature and human beings, through its ethos and pathos. In a short period of seven days, one is allowed to experience with something not allowed in the 'normal' world. Psychedelics are thus the substancial success of this event, feeding a global culture who returns every two years to the countryside of Portugal. Freedom and safety at Boomland speaks for itself when over 33,000 tickets are gone in 90 minutes. Boomers share the opinion that freedom and safety at Boomland are extraordinary. The experience could be understood as a life suspension from the ordinary world, that allows its devotees to experience something different from the world they know. A heterotopia, a non-hegemonic place of contact, clear of society judgment, promoting, in this way, a pure experience of freedom, disclosure and transgression, where you may find yourself recovered, loved and fully recharged to return to your daily life.

One must keep in mind it is all these sociological processes that reinforce BF experience as a sacred journey that reconnects body and spirit in a simple, liminal moment of joy.

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3.5 Northern soul and the city of surrogation

Edward Marsden[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

This paper demonstrates the potential of applying visual ethnography and netnography to (ethno?)musicological[2] analysis of sound cultures online. The cyberculture of Northern Soul and The Twisted Wheel club are used as a case study to examine DIY archival practices and remix, hacker culture on social media. Using Instagram as a research location I explore Northern Soul and its members who embrace DIY methods and networking architecture as a response to hegemonic forces. Algorithms are presented as a force of power that are shaping the sound culture as its members attempt to stay connected yet avoid mainstream control. By incorporating Joseph Roach's concept of surrogation, I suggest a narrative for archival practices whilst also connecting Northern Soul within black Atlantic literature. In doing so, the malleable properties of time, space, and identity are explored within the digital city of Instagram.

Keywords: Northern Soul, DIY, social media.

1. Introduction

During 2020 while I was reflecting upon the data I had gathered during my dissertation, I found myself, like others in a state of perpetual cabin fever as the global pandemic created limitations and barriers that inhibited life as we know it. Fortunately, the internet provided a means of escaping space and binding offline worlds with digital environments. Increasingly, I found myself seamlessly connecting with friends and family, as well as data participants in their respective digital abodes, which underlined the symbiotic nature many of us share with digital technology. I noticed abundant forms of digital communication that involved hacking nostalgia, zeitgeists, and utopia to create meaning and escape from the present. In this 'Dali-esque' digital scape of GIF's and memes, I became a bricoleur, remixing time, space, and memories into collages of expression and absorbing music across social media platforms to fill cavities of loss. Ultimately, this form of communication which was embedded in a myriad of platforms across many demographics presented me with an alternative notion of what social media usage is.

1.1. Social media

This activity is more than a moment of self-reflection; alternatively, it is a rumination of Northern Soul culture online. Northern Soul is increasingly being examined from a range of diverse perspectives; however, social media is still overlooked not only as a research location but also with regards to the activity that occurs on platforms. Although Sarah Raine and Tim Wall observe "one of the most striking aspects of the contemporary northern soul scene is how much of its communal activity takes place online" (Raine & Wall, 2019, pp. 157-159) social media is widely overlooked within academic analysis of Northern Soul. My analysis of this communal activity for the purposes of this paper makes two distinctions in the cyber milieu.

Firstly, Northern Soul *offline* practices of selling/buying records, promotion of events and knowledge sharing are prominent on Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube as well as dedicated sites such as SoulSource. The dedication of members[3] is reflected in the quality of edited footage, montages, and flyers with DIY professionalism alongside grassroots participation. In fact, the internet appears to have been effortlessly adopted to pursue DIY practices already present. Secondly, alongside these habits members also use social media to share *memories* which form the examination of this paper. Members serve as curators as they upload memories of the past in the form of images, flyers, posters, and memorabilia alongside a mesmerizing array of contemporary material (Raine & Wall, 2017, p. 76). Subsequently, the discussions created via documented audio-visual items from the past and present provide cohesive elements for bonding and networking whilst the digital environment also provides a space between events that sustains the essence of Northern Soul. Social media also provides a medium to *instantly* archive memories and images; consequently, it is with images, the tangible form of memories that I focused my attention, along with the question of how does (ethno?)musicology as a discipline embrace digital environments and big data?

1.2. Visual ethnography

My qualitative data collection relied on Instagram as a research location as it is a social media site that has historically prioritised imagery. Robert Kozinets netnography (see Kozinets, 2019) which can be understood as ethnography for the digital sphere, was also chosen to underpin my methodology, due to the solutions it provides for new challenges in online research. My outlying aim as I constructed my methodology was to reflect the architecture of Instagram and gather vast amounts of data related to the images. Consequently, my visual ethnography matrix comprised seven elements including, type, time, emotion, narrative, likes and views, themes, and hashtags. This was achieved using grounded theory, which was chosen to accommodate the extensive data gathered. I applied inductive and deductive reasoning as I aimed to simultaneously install theoretical concepts, as well as respond to the organic nature of documenting new data as it occurred. This paper focuses on one of these matrix elements; hashtags, which was constructed using inductive reasoning and which comprised a small segment of this data collection.

My sample of 12 Northern Soul members was justified based on Guest, Bunce and Johnsons' (2006) study into qualitative interviews which suggests that data saturation occurs at 12 interviews. The users consisting of 6 men and 6 women from Europe, North America, and Asia, were chosen for having a highly dedicated account revolving around Northern Soul. From this sample 100 images from each user were chosen with the resulting 1200 images consisting of varying hashtags and motivations. Theoretical data saturation a priori was challenging as there is disagreement at which point this occurs in qualitative data collection studies (see Fusch & Ness, 2015). However, delving into Instagram methodically allowed me an insight as to what is occurring across varying demographics and geographical regions. Moreover, the use of hashtags within images presented a method for participants to capture ideologies, artists, memories, places, and time as they amalgamated an assortment of hashtags within textual discussions and images within the archive of Instagram. The following discussion provides an overview of my findings with a specific focus on the relationship between hashtags, images, and DIY archival practices.

2. Archival and DIY culture or remix and hacker culture?

Archival culture is rarely applied to Northern Soul; however, Sarah Thornton (1995) refers to Northern Soul as "Perhaps the first fully-fledged *archival* dance culture to draw attention to the distinct potentials of discs over and above performed music" (Thornton, 1995, p. 111). The archival nature of records that Thornton refers to is perhaps the cornerstone of not only the sound culture itself but also its desire to collect and archive. Although Northern Soul started in the UK in the 1970s, its rare records from 1960s and 1970s black America were famously collected by crate diggers and vinyl connoisseurs that sought non-commercial Soul music. The records enabled a unique sound culture to form which extended to clubs, promoters, collectors, DJs, and dancers all contributing their DIY adroit. In tandem, collections of badges that were specific to each club visited became a unique archival activity whilst memorabilia in the form of flyers, images, and magazines, were in retrospect also archived privately. The rarity of the records was deeply intertwined with the practise

3. The term members and followers used instead of 'fans' to disengage with the connotation of fandom.

of covering up records, thus deepening exclusivity which is reflected in hashtags such as #OVO (original vinyl only). Although bootlegging occurred it still fuelled the demand for the original and with the quest for the collection of records came the archive of knowledge regarding the covered-up artists, labels, and history behind the records.

DIY is also rarely used in reference to Northern Soul, however, Sarah Raine and Tim Wall note "its culture and economy demonstrates a central DIY ethic, with the key practices and busy event schedule under the direct control of its participants" (Raine & Wall, 2017, p. 76). By utilising Blues & Soul Magazine to examine myths within the sound culture they suggest a process of 'self-documentation' which involves members assembling a DIY history assorted from memories and stories in the form of "pictures and scans of physical objects, such as ticket stubs or membership books" (Raine & Wall, 2019, p. 158). As I have mentioned, member led DIY archival practices have become an effortless extension of the DIY practicalities of Northern Soul. In fact, these practices exist because of the underground nature that is engrained within Northern Soul, whilst simultaneously, the sound culture rejects outside influence or control in favour of its own structuring. In opposition to mainstream input (see Raine & Wall, 2017, p. 76), DIY archiving has also occurred with members collecting their memories in ever expanding self-produced literature collected from a rich history of oral culture steeped in myths and insider memories that form the folklore and archives of the sound culture.

This paper suggests remix and hacker culture are complimentary, viable, theoretical frameworks to consider as they allow the reinvention of style, imagery, music, and their correlating images and hashtags to be reflected upon as meaningful and active endeavours (Vito, 2014). Lawrence Lessig's (2008) reflection on the issue of copyright and balance of power between top-down business models and its consumers is also noteworthy in its application of Northern Soul listening practices. Similarly, hacker culture is another theoretical framework that allows researchers to not only examine cyberculture and the connection to images and hashtags, but also offline non-computer mediated activities such as records. Baptiste Bacot and Clément Canonne's (2019) scrutiny of hacking in music cultures observes this possibility with the "material or symbolic, technical or legal fence, which contains something like a black box" whose opening is deemed negative with the act of appropriation whereas its alteration and duplication is perceived as positive. "The peculiarity of the hack" (and indeed Northern Soul's use of records) "is therefore first to be sought in this operative duality: breaking to repair, crochet to diffuse, transgress to increase" (Bacot & Canonne, 2019) This transgression can be thought of as the dispersal of the record into clubs which played a pivotal part in the dissemination of sound.

2.1. Time-binding records and the twisted wheel

The role of records as archival artefacts is underlined by Sarah Thornton as she notes "The time-binding power of records fosters interest not only in the novel, but in the archival. Records expedite cultural revival" (Thornton, 1995, p. 111) by transcending time and place, as well as creating sonic third spaces that encourage identity formation as the past is performed via kinesthetic movement. My suggestion is that physical spaces (see Mercieca, 2017) such as The Twisted Wheel and pilgrimage routes (see Hollows & Milestone, 1998) perform(ed) the same purpose. Similarly, social media serves this function whilst fostering a DIY archival culture online. Specifically, digital replicas of The Twisted Wheel on platforms and the manipulation of tools such as hashtags behave as capacitors for time-bending and binding, acting as sites of archival and cultural revival. This is achieved by democratising materials of cultural significance which in turn disperses power/ knowledge which is an integral factor in Northern Soul communities. By hacking many properties and allowing users to remix/hack culture, identities converge whilst time, space and ideologies are compressed to fraternize freely as digital clubs of the past.

One of these clubs known as The Twisted Wheel was a Blues and R&B club in Manchester that opened in 1963 by brothers Jack, Phillip, and Ivor Abadi. It was initially located on Brazenose Street, however in 1965, it moved to a new premise at Whitworth Street. Being one of the first clubs to play Northern Soul, it gained popularity from a faithful following that also came to hear its exclusive songs played by DJs such as Roger Eagle at all-nighters that ran from Saturday 11pm to Sunday 7.30am. It functioned as a coffee bar and dance club, whilst not serving alcohol to overcome restrictive alcohol licensing laws that affected opening hours of clubs. However, it was subsequently closed due to a new council bylaw that prohibited venues to stay open more than 2 hours into the following day. Similarly, other clubs that historically facilitated all-nighters followed a pattern of closure (loss), and replacement (substitution). The reincarnation of The Twisted Wheel from venue to venue and then online, along with its bypassing of laws and power are a microcosm of Northern

Soul activity that will be addressed as I examine its existence on Instagram.

The clusters of specific club themed groups on Facebook and Instagram reveal a deep connection to these sites and the memories they hold. Raine and Wall note "many of these online groups are dedicated to memorializing venues now lost to car parks and council development" (Raine & Wall, 2019, p. 158). This process of loss and memorial form the analysis of my data as I examine how DIY archival practices deal with loss by hacking and remixing the past to form digital shrines online.

3. Instagram as a city of the living dead

In between confinement and social media, I noted as an academic; admiration of members abilities to synthesize technology and customs; and as a follower of the music, appreciation as my black heritage was celebrated. I also perceived Instagram as a digital city inhabited by one billion members with their respective profile pages representing their digital abode. Clubs, past and present also constituted addresses whilst images were uploaded to adorn these digital habitats. Naturally this horizon of thought extended to Northern Soul and the position upon which it now lies situated between offline and online worlds, as well as how users act as architects of digital cities.

Joseph Roach's 'Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance' (1996) provided me with a basis upon which I could theorise how members were forming online, as well as archiving, hacking, and remixing. Roach's analysis of London and New Orleans from the 1800s examines how black Atlantic culture has ebbed and flowed within these respective regions. In doing so he suggests the fragments of black culture and traditions within these spaces are reviewed, remembered, practiced, performed, re-enacted and ultimately substitutions are created to fill the void of this loss. The process of surrogation and performance of black Atlantic culture within these spaces consists of the *loss* of culture, or entity within culture being replaced by a *surrogate*. In turn the *memory* of the lost tradition or character is *performed* with the hope that these *substitutes* can fill the void of loss as they perform identity and memory (see Roach, 1996). Potentially this process is driven by Roach's reflection that by excavating the past, "we can account for how we got here" (as well as conceive) "alternatives to our present condition" (Roach, 1993, p. 44).

The void of loss that Northern Soul theoretically fills is not overlooked; alternatively, it is proposed

as a point of interest for future studies. However, by conceptualising Instagram as a city of the living and dead it is possible to perceive the loss and surrogation of sites such as The Twisted Wheel occurring. Moreover, by synthesizing Roach's key constituents of surrogation with the actions of DIY archival practices on Instagram, my data analysis suggests remix and hacking practices also occurring. Additionally, black Atlantic culture in the form of Jean-Michel Basquiat is used to reflect on the use of imagery within Instagram. To begin with I will examine how the #Twistedwheel has become a digital surrogate for its physical counterpart and the manifestation of memory, performance, and substitution that fills cavities of loss.

3.1. Remixing memory and graffiti in the city

Physical spaces such as The Twisted Wheel are lost, yet remembered, as images, posters, flyers, and murals within user's accounts and the city of Instagram. Within images of The Twisted Wheel, there is an interesting relationship between the accompanying text as I noted the images littered with graffiti, in the form of graffiti-hashtags related to Northern Soul. A contrasting process included images of Northern Soul related paraphernalia tagged with the #Twistedwheel. In fact, #Twistedwheel is used alongside a wide array of images ranging from record selling to promoting new events. Much like Jean-Michel Basquiat who 'used his tag, SAMO, to get a foothold into the burgeoning gallery scene on the Lower-East Side in the 1980s: "SAMO FOR THE ART PIMPS' (Thomas, 2015, p. n/p), Instagram users potentially tag images of #Twistedwheel to get a foothold into their respective sound cultures.

Hashtags work as iconotexts by combining and indicating cultural topics, as well as themes and in doing so they are participatory which represents "an important innovation in social media communication" (Saxton et al., 2015, p. 156). This participation occurs due to hashtags functioning as decentralised user led communication systems. As a result, hashtags improve searchability and allow groups "to link messages to existing knowledge and action communities" (Saxton et al., 2015, p. 156) which underpins its proliferation in community use.

Through the presence of the surrogate #Twistedwheel there is the desire or innate need to remember what is lost by distributing images and hashtags of the venue, which highlights how physical and digital spaces function as repositories of memory. "Roach names these spaces 'behavioral vortexes' as they perpetuate identities and modes of behaviour" (Hill,

2012, p. 182). Instagram as a behavioural vortex allows the restoration of behaviour via graffiti-hashtags of the #Twistedwheel which act as cultural self-invention (see Roach, 1996, p. 28) or self-documentation through the remixing of images of the lost venue with hashtags of the present. As a result, this empowers members to insert the past into the present. Similarly, members remix old images of the #Twistedwheel and varying contemporary hashtags or counter-memories such as #blackmusicians, #blackpower, #blacksingers, #blackmusic, #blacks, alongside #60sgirl, #miniskirt, #englishgirl.

Although previous collective memories such as widespread reports of drug use in clubs such as The Twisted Wheel (see Wilson, 2007) dominated previous narratives, they are no longer referenced within the images I sampled. Furthermore, Barry Doyle's (2005) observation of predominantly white, working class, homosocial activity that occurred in spaces such as The Twisted Wheel are now levered with counter-memories of ethnic minorities and women using the #Twistedwheel to assert prominence online as their histories are increasingly included. Additionally, there is widespread celebration of black artists that never performed at the venue via images and record sleeves tagged with the #Twistedwheel. By using the surrogate #Twistedwheel, counter-memories expose the disparities between master narratives of history and lived history. They challenge and distort via the public re-enactment of memory, while archives allow us to participate in this remix of memory. Ultimately, engaging with counter-memories via the use of surrogate hashtags, enables narratives to be questioned.

Vito Campanelli's (2014) observation of remix culture indicates how it can be synthesised with our understanding of social media usage; "the use of the term 'remix' refers to an irreversible process of hybridization of sources, materials, subjectivities, and media ongoing in contemporary society" (Campanelli, 2014, p. 68) whilst being "characterized by the prevalence of the participatory over the contemplative" (Campanelli, 2014, p. 70) which extends to DIY collaboration. Moreover, "Full immersion in remix culture can only be achieved through participating in the act of remixing" (Campanelli, 2014, p. 70). As bricoleurs they function in "a system, such as the present one, in which social rooting presupposes the repetition of signs. The contemporary bricoleur (the remixer) is part of the flow and thus promotes its unstoppable flowing" (Campanelli, 2014, p. 75).

3.2. Hacking performance with keys and portals to the city

After reviewing how hashtag-graffiti function as iconotexts and surrogates that enable memory, I identified the hashtag as a feature that becomes more than a visual tool. The #Twistedwheel is used to perform excitement over new events, songs, books, clothing by time-binding new performances to the past. Similarly, Basquiat drew upon 'cultural memory' to mix "together fragments of past and present, creating a unique style of painting, based upon his own experiences of contemporary American life blended with a remembering of an African past" (Ross, 2018, p. 6). The hashtag-graffiti that adorn the images now become hashtag-portals, functioning as flyers and invitations. With sufficient digital literacy and cultural underground knowledge, you can search key words as opposed to relying on their placement in text and images. By acting as portals, hashtags maintain cohesiveness in the sound culture as members are included in these invitation portals.

Subsequently, "Social tagging on Instagram leads to the generation of a folksonomy, that is a collaborative, collective, and social organization, at the metadata level, of information entered by users" (Ibba et al., 2015, p. 279). As a result, the hashtag forms new, and reintroduces old ideologies or collective movements within social media sites. As the surrogate Twisted Wheel is used as a portal amongst varying images, it provides a gateway to a collective performance of memory and ideologies that provokes excitement, nostalgia, and semiotic awareness.

Roach's genealogies of performance appear in his analysis of New Orleans Mardi Gras surrogates such as King Rex and King Zulu who maintain tradition and performance although their roles are played by new bodies annually (see, Hill, 2012, p. 177). Surrogates such as the #Twistedwheel are used as genealogies of performance in a similar way flyers or posters acted as promotion and invitations to clubs in the past. Both serve as performances of invitation, as portals to a club and in this sense they "consist of a set of actions that hold open a place in memory" (Roach, 1996, p. 36). This is partly achieved by 'retagging' old images which, as a form of re-distribution creates new meanings of images and reconfigures memories. However, the authenticity of hashtags as digital surrogates may be questioned as their use cannot be contained, which has implications for boundary maintenance and authenticity of the representation of the #Twistedwheel. Northern Soul members are acutely aware of authenticity which has implications for the potential mainstream/commercial usage and outsider tagging of the #Twistedwheel as it becomes a tool to be manipulated in many performances.

The transmission and dissemination of cultural practices through collective representations can also take the form of archival performances. As offline performances are repeated or reperformed they are remembered through the body as living memory, subsequently recorded, and archived as memory. Additionally, we are increasingly viewing the present through performances that are archived immediately, as a result the connection between deep memory and recent memory is blurred. However, as genealogies of performance reiterate the past, as well as influence the future, they also cast doubt on their own authenticity in the present. This is noted with progressive and nostalgic disagreement over style, customs, music, and the direction of Northern Soul. Because performances are archived for all to see, authenticity of progressive clubs that apply #Twistedwheel to images are the focus of intense scrutiny.

By hacking the past in new interpretive ways and re-tagging old memories with new meaning, a form of palimpsest memory performance (see Silverman, 2015) occurs. The abundance of Northern Soul members globally adds to this varied performance that blends old with new. It is a progressive performance, imitating the past, filling the void of loss with imagined and new progressive memories from their respective cultures. Members reach out to each other with varying hashtags, thus creating performance movements within the sound culture that capture the essence of the moment and enactment of the past such as #BLM and #SkinheadReggae, both of which are at odds with dominant notions of the original venue yet have features and links to the past. The connection between DIY, hacking practises and hashtag performance can be conceptualised with Baptiste Bacot and Clément Canonne's (2019) observation:

> *the concepts of DIY - understood as the use of roundabout means to achieve an end that we have set ourselves -, of improvisation - understood as spontaneous and creative adaptation to the unpredictability of its environment - , of diversion - understood as a displacement that is at the same time practical, contextual and semiotic - or of poaching - understood as an act of resistance by individuals within consumer societies - obviously retain all their relevance in qualifying the "hacking" practices of the era (Bacot & Canonne, 2019, p. 11).

3.3 Algorithms, substitutes and the architecture of the city of hashtags

After viewing the graffiti in the city and then using the keys to the city, you are taken to a place largely beyond algorithmic control, to the digital city below. Here, hashtags are no longer graffiti or the keys to the city, they are the city, with each hashtag representing shrines, buildings, and effigies. Moreover, they form an underground community or "subnetwork of densely connected nodes" (whilst the genre specific hashtags) "of a community are more connected to each other if compared to nodes that are outside the community" (Ibba et al., 2015, p. 281). The densely populated community and nodes reflect the densely populated city of one billion users, therefore "we could associate cities to nodes, and roads connecting cities to branches" (Ibba, Orrù, Pani & Porru, 2015, p. 281). Basquiat's use of graffiti, yet asserting they are paintings, alongside his friendship with Andy Warhol in the counterculture movement reflects how Otherness can complicate our view of spheres whilst underlining how people as nodes connect and restructure disparate nodes in society. Northern Soul similarly builds connections that perplex and confuse categorisation as it mirrors Basquiat by revealing "a postmodern appropriation and reinterpretation of diverse cultural elements into a single Creole, or multi-ethnic identity" (Ross, 2018, p. 3)

Within the digital city of architecture(d)-hashtags, user led architects have designed digital monuments consisting of artists, songs, ideologies, memories, and temporal spaces each with their own digital shrine full of archives. For example, if you were to search for the #Twistedwheel on Instagram, or to click on this graffiti and enter the portal you are presented with a front-loading page that looks like an individual users' account that is not controlled by anyone other than the domain owners who may remove content that circumvents their rules and guidelines. It is possible to 'follow' these pages, which then allows you to receive images into your newsfeed just as you would if you followed a person. However, the images are an amalgamation of all other users' images that have used this hashtag. Consequently, it becomes a digital club, a network of people much like the all-nighter events it hosted in the past full of members that share a common purpose without interference. This is an inclusive DIY approach to spatial design that stretches the limitations of the architecture of Instagram provided to members. As a result, participatory cultures online are collaborating via the use of technology and software to create networked architecture within social media sites that suits their needs.

Although "The purpose of the hashtag is to categorize topics, to combine ideas, to encourage exchanges

and joining" (Fedushko et *al.*, 2019, p. 1) they also allow agency as "posts with hashtags in social networks are not regulated" (Fedushko et *al.*, 2019, p. 1). This is a page largely free of algorithm control with a myriad of collective member led rooms below the city above. The content that is found here can be thought of as an un-visible sub-page full of users' images, audio-visual content and text that pertain to that hashtag. As a DIY tool this circumvents newsfeed control, so you see what you want. Because these spaces overcome algorithm control, they are DIY tools of resistance that embody time, space, and ideologies. Additionally, they serve as underground spaces whilst being in a highly visible environment online, where privacy is contested, and information is harvested to provide algorithms with more power.

Substitution of The Twisted Wheel reflects replication of its physical form of the club with many members entering and contributing to its archive of memories. These archival performances or re-enactments create layers of doubling which in turn cast doubt on what is authentic as their proximity to loss and memory is shrouded in suspicion. Substitution, or surrogation is never achieved. The genealogy of performance is forever seeking the imagined past of black culture and indeed the imagined past of Northern working-class England and the special qualities of The Twisted Wheel. Moreover, digitizing does not guarantee acceptance as Northern Soul has conspicuously rejected CD and digital turntables over vinyl. As rejected substitutes arise in the form of new technologies there is negotiation on which technologies serve as substitutes. The lack of authenticity that the substitute possesses is also negotiated, whilst the way it performs memory and identity is applauded.

User led architecture in the form of hashtags act as a counter to algorithms and the realities of how "these new vital and intelligent power structures are on the inside of our everyday lives" (Beer, 2009, p. 995). Nick Seaver (2021) observes "As the influence of algorithmic systems has grown, critics have come to appreciate that algorithms are not autonomous technical forces, but rather heterogeneous sociotechnical systems" (Seaver, 2021, p. 771). Furthermore, Elise Morrison, Tavia Nyong'o and Joseph Roach's (2019) contemporary perspective to the issue of performance online prompts the question if performance is for the construction of an effigy or alternatively, is performance for algorithms that have subconsciously shaped how we remember and perform memory? Instagram's algorithms heavily influence what is seen on newsfeeds which results in individuals performing to be seen as they covet likes and views. The implications this has on culture as it is shaped by algorithms is a techno pessimistic dystopia where culture, memory and performance are shaped by algorithms.

However, the strength in the digital surrogate of the #Twistedwheel is its agency. Much like the physical Twisted Wheel applying a non-alcoholic service to circumvent licensing laws to stay open later, the digital hashtag allows users to overcome algorithmic control online. This subversive nature of Northern Soul occupies a space within hacktivism whilst hashtags are potentially a subconscious reaction to an un-visible force (algorithms) that users are not aware of. Moreover, perhaps the acceptance of the #Twistedwheel, as a substitute, fulfils archiving, remixing and DIY grassroots participation on a collective scale that provides mass agency and resistance which is fundamental to Northern Soul members.

4. Conclusion

One of the intentions of this discussion was to push the boundaries of (ethno?)musicological methodologies by embracing digital environments and big data. In doing so there is the possibility of democratising ethnographic data collection by hearing voices that may never be heard otherwise. Moreover, my intent on viewing Northern Soul culture through the prism of Roach, and incorporating black Atlantic theorem into Northern Soul alongside Basquiat is a method of reflecting on the broad culture that is applicable to myself as well as Soul music. By drawing on our experience's, researchers add to the rich tapestry of knowledge of sound cultures whilst also reflecting on our environment. As I examined my data and probed the archives of Instagram such visual references, structural concepts and self-reflexive moments became a necessity, however there are more questions and suggestions than answers beyond the scope of this paper.

Progressive Northern Soul members that are creating and consuming new music, challenging nostalgic perceptions of the sound culture along with an international contingent provide much source of analysis. Accordingly, to what extent do these groups rely on technology? Furthermore, the role of social media platforms and their varying uses and respective architecture is a fundamental direction to explore but to what extent does the DIY nature of members create and shape their spheres within these environments? Visual analysis of sound cultures whilst demanding, is also a significant spectre as memory and temporal studies are increasingly undertaken, however what methods are researchers applying to the relationship

between sound, time, memory, and images? Moreover, the (un)visible nature of algorithms presents one of the most foreboding points of study that requires partnership with members of the sound culture to reveal this quiet power. As a result, what direction are Northern Soul members taking to overcome online control?

During this discussion, I have suggested connections between theoretical frameworks; however, like Basquiat, Northern Soul is all of these yet none at the same time. Alternatively, it presents facets of hacker culture and some semblance of remix culture as DIY tools in an un(knowing) way which has led researchers to decipher its motives unendingly.

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Theme tune 4

'Turns and
strokes'.
Places,
spaces,
networks
and music
scenes

4.1 The sonic experience of experimental electronics

Bianca Ludewig[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

Over the past couple of decades, urban transmedia festivals have gained a distinct presence in the European cultural landscape and beyond, constituting an alternative to other, more dominant, conceptions of music festivals. Based on multi-year fieldwork, I situate these festivals within scenes and communities of non-academic experimental music. There is still very little research on this type of music. Most research in this area is focusing on noise music so far. Yet there is a huge set of genres and practitioners that do not define their approach as noise music, but as sound art, improv, fringe music, post club – or as subgenres of techno, bass music etc. with the prefix experimental. I want to present conceptualizations of experimental electronic music styles, and modes of sound art on the edge of music. I work with genre-concepts and ideas of anti-genre to explain better the manyfold expressions and origins of experimental music.

Keywords: experimental music, electronic music, noise, genre cultures, audio-social communities.

Main text

The context of this exploration on experimental electronic music practices is embedded in my PhD research on transmedia festivals, that intends to develop a conceptualization for this new form of festivals, to illustrate the artistic and musical practices, but also to investigate ambivalences within this special event format and comparing the experimental music practices with organizational structures and working conditions. My assumption is that the existing contradictions within the festivals, but also within their scenes, are closely related to processes of economization, which became visible above all in the urban and digital space (Ludewig, 2019). This article will focus exclusively on the sonic experience of experimental electronics.

For a better understanding, I will briefly outline what transmedia festivals are. The special feature of transmedia festivals is that music is interlinked with other arts, with media, technologies and discourse formats. The festivals curate performances, concerts, DJ sets, films, discussions, lectures, installations, art exhibitions, laboratories or workshops. They award prizes, offer residencies and commission art works. All these elements, formats and perspectives are interconnected and make these events what they are. I capture this approach with the term transmedia. Transmedia festivals are interdisciplinary music festivals or media art events with a music program. In Austria, for example, these are festivals like the *Heart of Noise* festival in Innsbruck, the *Unsafe and Sounds* festival in Vienna, the *Ars Electronica* in Linz or the *Elevate* Festival in Graz. In Germany, the Berlin festivals *CTM* and *Berlin Atonal* are popular for this. But there are transmedia festivals in almost every country in Europe and beyond.

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Transmedia festivals are urban cultural events that are historically connected with art fairs and world exhibitions, in contrast to other music festivals. From the 1970s onwards, a cultural democratization took place and festivals increasingly became critical and alternative formats, so-called arts festivals, which wanted to break out of the cultural provinciality of the post-war period and dissolve the boundaries between high culture and pop culture. Other important lines of development include the academic and non-academic avant-gardes and later especially the rave culture of the 1990s. From the rave culture, experimental styles of electronic music developed in interaction with visual arts and media art. A common basis for the experiments was the computer as a new means of production in the arts, as well as other devices that produced sounds or images through electricity. The discovery of new media has historically always been accompanied and promoted by the artistic avant-gardes and their multi-layered experiments, which is why the historical avant-gardes are a central influence for electronic music and media art. For transmedia festivals the interconnection of image and sound, a tendency towards hybridization, and the exploration of the interface between music and art are especially relevant. The most common meta-genres used by listeners, artists, labels or festivals are electronic music and experimental music, which encompass danceable and non-danceable styles. The presented works and artists come from academic institutions and traditions, but most frequently from club- and subcultures.

Audio-social communities

Regardless of how institutionalized the transmedia festivals are, they would not exist without the scenes and subcultures that come together at these festivals. Events and festivals have become increasingly important for social contacts and networks in an increasingly fragmented society. Also, transmedia festivals are populated by urban social groups, that are predominantly called scenes. But the established term scene is actually too vague and unspecific as it does not refer to music. Because of this I prefer to call them *audio-social communities*. It is an enhancement of Steve Goodman's idea of the audio-social, which the scholar and producer introduced 2005 in his text "Speed Tribes: Netwar, Affective Hacking and the Audio-Social". Goodman is concerned with *networked collective bodies* that form around speeds and musical atmospheres. Central to audio-social communities is Brian Eno's idea of the *scenius*, which emphasizes that innovations and important artistic and cultural innovations never come from single individuals, but are always based on collective engagement and intelligence, even if history constantly positions individuals in the spotlight. The concept of the audio-social is based on electronic music styles and its sonic impact on the human body (Wicke, 2008). Goodman sees the potential in the sonic materiality of music rather than in its social meaning. Audio-social communities form a network-like systems that are fundamental to the development of genres, discourses and artistic experiments, from which communality emerges. For Goodman, rhythm and tempo are the necessary, if abstract, gel that holds the collective together. Rhythm loosely glues the matrix of audio collectives together through the sharing of resonance and frequency. Central here is the body that is affected by the bass (base), which is why Paul Jasen (2016) talks in "Low End Theory" of sonic bodies. In terms of actor-network theory, audio-social communities include not only people, but also non-human actors – such as objects and machines, atmospheres, spaces or urban contexts. In Goodman's work, capitalism, neoliberalism, or for the UK Thatcherism, are an issue and included in his thoughts about the sonic power of music. Thus, neoliberal capitalism can also be considered as a primary trigger because the purpose of audio-social communities is the performance of an audio exorcism through which anxiety as a postmodern phenomenon can be tackled and coped with, by the means of rhythm, bass, speed, volume, vibrations, frequencies and atmospheres. Individuals come together for a *collectif drift* and create "intense dynamics of vortical audio collectivity" (Goodman, 2005, p. 154).

The Meaning of Genre

I will now turn to the sonic power of music and the meanings that listeners find in it. I understand experimental electronics as a collective practice that is framed by ideas of genre and anti-genre. Genres are to be understood as open and multidimensional sound spaces, as a set of generative processes, rather than as a fixed structure (cf. Wicke 2003). A key work on genre was written in 1980 by film scholar Steve Neale. More recent texts on the subject come from Fabian Holt (2007), Jason Toynbee (2000) or Chris Atton (2011), who interpret genres as sets of conventions and expectations: Genres bind together an industry, performers,

critics and fans in making of a distinctive kind of music. These are dynamic processes based on negotiation, where musical and discursive practices intertwine: Through discursive negotiation processes, and specific artistic practices that are repeated, listeners not only claim a genre but manifest its existence. Fabian Holt had shown in his book on genre (2007) that niche musics run the risk of being overlooked, not documented, and forgotten without a genre discourse. Giving a music a name in the form of a genre means recognizing its existence and distinguishing it from other types of music. According to Holt the name enables certain forms of communication, control, and specialization into markets, canons, and discourses (Holt, 2007, p. 3). Genre definitions are always in flux and highlight frictions between parallel processes of subcultural, music-industrial and academic attempts of definition. Ultimately, genres are defined and interpreted by their community of listeners, they lay claim to genres, argues Jason Toynbee (2000, p. 103).

Festivals are a central place for genre discourse and negotiation. The genres negotiated by audio-social communities at the transmedia festivals foreground the impact of sound on the body through volumes, intensities, atmospheres and frequencies. The dominant meta-genres, sub-genres and micro-genres describe spaces of the in-between, positioned between music and non-music. Because of this, the idea of *anti-genre* is essential for experimental music. To explain the idea of anti-genre I will now turn to noise music, and later to sound art.
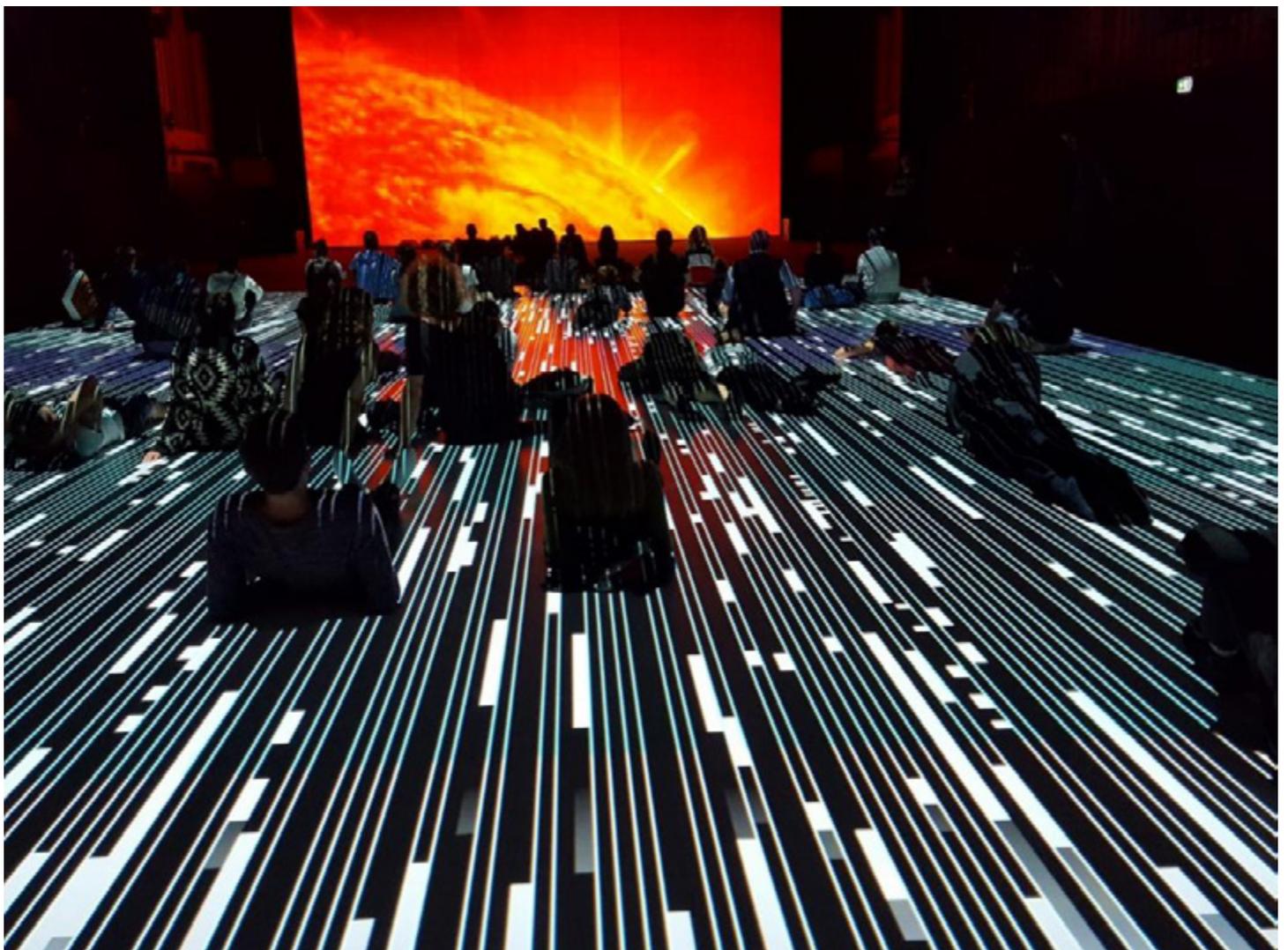
▶ Figure 4.1.1. - A/V-Installation Ryoji Ikeda "Micro Macro", developed during his residency period at CERN, Wiener Festwochen Vienna 2018
▶ Source: the author.

The Anti-Genre Noise

The track begins with a one-second blast of sound [...]. Filters sweep across the distorted sound field, rippling through a stream of harsh frequencies. [...] A new loop lurches into both channels at once, emitting a spitting chatter for two seconds and then submerging into a low hum. [...] Suddenly the Noise just ends leaving me suspended in the buzzing stillness. A final burst blasts [...], as if I've been unplugged from myself. But none of this really describes it at all: the overwhelming feeling of it, the shocking effect of the transitions between sounds, the shiver that runs up your spine when the Noise cuts out. It's been three minutes, forty seconds – or a decade of listening, depending on how you look at it [...] (Novak, 2013, p. 5)

David Novak spent ten years in Japan and North America, researching for his noise music ethnography; and he describes in this quote the very intense physical experience of listening to a Merzbow track. Masami Akita or Akita Masami aka Merzbow is considered as one of the most popular representatives for the genre called japanoise. For his research Novak was also confronted with the question of genre, and he states:

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> **Noise became a genre through its antagonistic feedback with Music, which split its generic difference into two interrelated loops. The first loop inscribed Noise in total separation from Music and all of its distinctive categories. In the second, Noise was integrated into circulation in the form of recordings and eventually distinguished as a musical genre of its own.**
>
> **(Novak, 2013, p. 118)**

In musical history almost every genre that was initially interpreted as experimental or avant-garde (of its time) uses the term noise for itself. This increases the confusion about noise as a genre and musical practice. Cedric Fermont and Dimitri Della Faille (2016, p. 16) therefore propose in their book "Not Your World Music. Noise in South-East Asia", that a musical work should only be called 'noise' if the artists, promoters, label managers or listeners themselves use the term. But what exactly is noise music? Noise music encompasses a number of genres with a long history "that parallels both music and sound art" (ibid.), according to the authors. The listeners of anti-genres have to invest a lot, because the first step is to develop an open listening practice. Therefore, Chris Atton (2011, p. 337) argues: "Noise music will not reveal itself after a cursory experience – dedication and commitment become essential listening tools". And David Novak (2008), calls this practice 'virtuosic listening'.

So, why is noise an anti-genre? Paul Hegarty was interested in the moment when noise becomes perceived as music, and he says: "What exactly noise is or, what it should do, alters through history, and this means that any account of noise is a history of disruptions and disturbances. [...] Noise constantly dissipates, what is judged noise at one point is music or meaning at another. [...] [N]oise must also be thought of as constantly failing – failing to stay noise, as it becomes familiar, or acceptable pract"ce" (Hegarty, 2007, p. ix). Noise is interpreted by Hegarty, and other authors as well, as a metaphor in music history that expresses how the dark and undesirable in society is articulated in sound events, that are in the inception mostly seen as noise, and not as music. And Hegarty uses a slash between words Noise and Music (Noise/ Music) in his book title. Novak (2013, p. 138) thus concludes: "As a genre, Noise can be recognized as a part of Music and as a meaningful signal in itself". And he believes that noise as music shows, that listeners and musicians continue to have a longing for sounds that cannot be categorized.

▸ Figure 4.1.2. - Concert AJA (Ireland), Unsafe and Sounds Festival Vienna 2018
▸ Source: the author.

Anthony Iles, editor of the anthology 'Noise & Capitalism' describes the practices of noise as zones of play, experimentation, and ritual that overlap with performance art, free improvisation, political theatre and non-Western musical traditions. He sees noise as part of a larger history of experimental music. Noise music also fans out into various sub-genres such as *power electronics, Japanoise, harsh noise, black noise, ambient noise, drone* or *noisegrind* (Fermont, 2016, p. 24-28). Live performances play a central role, as they create "intensely powerful sonic atmospheres" (Novak, 2013, p. 22). The general aim of the noise artists is to generate feedback. And feedback as a driving force reveals an energetic ambivalence that characterizes noise music. For this purpose, many artists build their own tools and equipment. Experiments with consumer devices and gadgets overlap with performance systems based in *circuit bending*, overload, and distortion. According to Novak (2013, p. 23) in this process, artists "bent the linear narratives of musical history into an unpredictable, self-reinforcing network". As such, he understands feedback as "circulation at the edge. [...] Edges are limits, and also shape-defining margins [...] things end, and begin, at this place [...]" (Novak, 2013, p. 19).

Cedrik Fermont emphasizes that the history of noise or experimental music has major gaps because it tends towards leaving out the achievements of many female and non-Western artists. In this regard noise music fails to be inclusive, similar to almost any other genre (Novak 2016, pp. 21-22); but simultaneously he understands the noise scenes as networks that potentially have the agency to criticize society, reorganize and change it. Noise is often performed and presented in art venues, and not only in music venues. And for Fermont, noise music belongs equally to the field of contemporary art: "Reflections by noise performers about sound design and compositions usually refer to the history of art and sound art practices" (Novak, 2016, p. 17).

► Figure 4.1.3. - Performance Hypercycle Collective, Heart of Noise Festival Innsbruck 2016
► Source: the author.

Sound Art and the Hybridized Listening Space

How we listen to music, how we produce it, and how it is distributed is undergoing serious changes in the present, says Michael Harenberg (2012). He emphasizes the far-reaching consequences of the medialization of sound, which increasingly appears in coexistence with other arts. According to Harenberg, these changes encompass structures and aesthetic concepts alike, "[...] until finally our traditional understanding of music is completely called into question" (Harenberg, 2012, p. 7).[2] Music is no longer exactly what it has always been, "but the result of complex, technical, mediated and symbolic interactions" (Harenberg, 2012, p. 10). Harenberg notes that current electronic music has established styles and genres "that once again focus more on open-ended experimentation and [...] are able to play virtuously with the new qualities of these new media technologies" (Harenberg, 2012, p. 15). These progressive styles of electronic sound production explore what Harenberg calls "the possibilities of the hybridized listening space" (Harenberg, 2012, p. 16). These hybrids of sound and music are presented at the events I call *transmedia festivals*. These works often blur the boundaries between music, media, and art. Jan Rohlf, one of the curators of the CTM Festival in Berlin, therefore speaks of "intermedia music culture" (Interview 2018). Harenberg (2012, p. 16) also states that every form of electronic music is also "media music".

Affective, hypnotic, and immersive effects usually characterize the video works as well, which are presented together with musical works in formats such as *Audio/Visual live performances*. While, as Rohlf explains (Rohlf 2020), in clubs VJ-ing proved over time to be too costly, and distracting the dancer from the music and situation, visuals did however find their place at transmedia festivals in recent years as part of *A/V concerts* and sound art. Sound art and media music provide potential experiences that are not available at other venues and music events.

► Figure 4.1.4. - A/V Installation Rainer Kohlberger, Berlin Atonal Festival 2015
► Source: the author.

► Figure 4.1.5. - A/V Concert and Performance Pan Daijing, Berlin Atonal Festival 2017
► Source: the author.

Sound art is a young art movement that is still in the process of development. Some authors see its beginnings in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when sound first tentatively entered the art context with *Fluxus*. Or when the Philips Pavilion at the 1958 World's Fair presented an installation with an estimated 450 loudspeakers, slides, and films. Early sound art and Fluxus artists cultivated happenings, and Andy Warhol mixed party with art. Hegarty (2007) also sees this phase as the origin of the first

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precursors of noise/ music. Sound art has many formats: Installations, objects, sculptures, performances, recordings, soundscapes, sound transmissions, or works for headphones – from which further combinations and variations emerge. What is at the center varies: sometimes it is the sound source, sometimes the process of production, or the activity of listening. Sound art often deals with our perception and cognition – (re)structuring or questioning our understanding of the situation. Many works operate on the borderlands of our perceptual capacity, creating a madness of the senses. Radio waves, short circuits, feedback loops, or algorithms can be the result, the process, or method of sound art. Some artists extend their works into the social or political space. A clear definition of sound art has not yet emerged; and is not considered desirable by most experts and artists alike. Instead, different modes of sound art can be identified.


▶ Figure 4.1.6. - Sculpture Pedro Reyes "Disarm": illegal firearms were used to fabricate musical instruments, CTM Festival Berlin 2016
▶ Source: the author.

Researchers have repeatedly pointed out that experimental music and sound art go hand in hand with special forms of listening. As mentioned above, Novak (2013) called this "virtuosic listening", scholar Joanna Demers (2013) "aesthetic listening", and musician Pauline Oliveros (2005) propagated "deep listening". In the listening process, liminal spaces of the intermediate can emerge, zones of connection that enable temporary utopian experiences and altered states.

Is Experimental Music a Genre?

We can conclude that there is a close relationship between noise, sound art, and experimental music styles. But the question of whether or not experimental music is a genre cannot be answered, since it has its roots in both art and music. A vivid example of the dilemma is John Cage's piece "4'33", which famously features no music, but sounds produced by the audience. But at the same time, it provokes a captivating listening experience. Blixa Bargeld of the band Einstürzende Neubauten comments: „Seen from a distance, all sounds are of equal value, but their meaning arises through the context in which they are placed. If you look at sounds in isolation, they become a question of taste, and taste is a dead end. […] Today, almost every pop song uses sounds that would have been noise 40 years ago. So, John Cage was right: there is no difference between music and noise. When you stop trying to control the sound material, you open yourself up to new perspectives" (Soundhunters; Beryl Koltz, 2015).[3]

3. Blixa Bargelds quote is translated from German (voiceover) to English by the author.
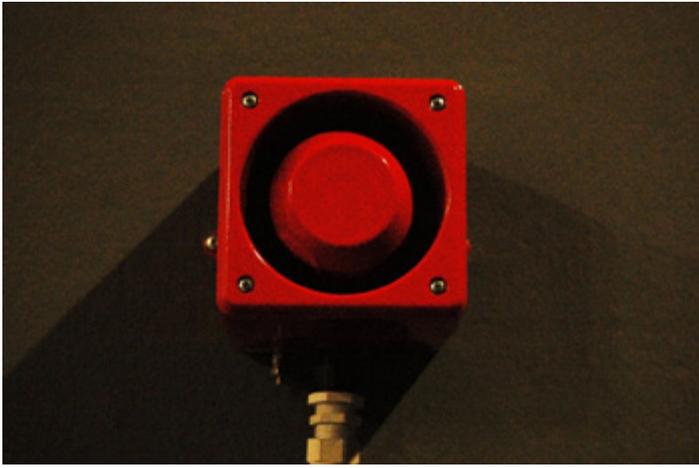
▸ Figure 4.1.7. - Installation/Sculpture Mario de Vega "Shoud I Stay or Should I Go": The device/alarm is triggered once per day in the exhibition space by an algorithm, CTM Festival Berlin 2015
▸ Source: the author.

▸ Figure 4.1.8. - A/V Installation & Performance, Braun Tube Jazzband, Ei Wada, Ars Electronica Festival Linz 2014
▸ Source: the author.

Festival worker, curator, label operator, and musician Lucia Udvardyova likewise emphasizes that electronic-experimental music is mostly about hybrid works and strategies, which make the sound experimental (Interview 2017; 2015). And in fact, experimental music is used as a genre, by music labels, festivals, musicians, and listeners despite its resistance. Experimental music does not have to be electronic, but experimental music is historically strongly connected to electronic music. My research on transmedia festivals shows that there is no outside of genres – instead everything revolves around genre, regardless of whether genres are constructed, or boundaries are dissolved. Therefore Jason Toynbee (2000) uses the appropriate term *genre cultures*.

Experimental electronic music can be understood as an attitude of openness, transgression, questioning and discovery (Ludewig, 2018a). And in this sense, it can be interpreted as an open genre, similar to the anti-genres noise or modes of sound art. And in terms of method and practice, it can be and is applied to different modes and genres. Transmedia explorations between music, media, art, and performance are characteristic, moments of improvisation and catharsis are crucial. In fact, genres and anti-genres are not in opposition, they rather describe a bracket that brings disparate things together, because the common factor is ambiguity and the will to experiment.

Transgressing the Limits of Sound

Subcultural anti-genres in particular show that experimental strategies do not have to be limited to aesthetics – be it music or art, instead they can be extended to organizational structures, distribution, or production. Listeners and artists of anti-genres such as noise or hardcore techno are trying to build and maintain decentralized and independent structures (Ludewig, 2018b). My research has shown that there is still a lot of uncharted experimental territory when it comes to organizational structures, gender and diversity (Ludewig, 2020) or working conditions at festivals or events. Because practices of sonic resilience and unruliness are often attempts to resist the commodification of communities and genres. For Novak noise has historically been a "hidden form of popular culture" (2013, p. 26). And hiding is perhaps appropriate, since music in an age of open access, crowd sourced information and participatory media is constantly in danger of being valorized, commercialized, and devalued. I consider attempts of audio-social communities to counteract processes of economization through own distribution structures or decentralized networks to be of great value, especially in times of platform capitalism. Despite a lack of political action transmedia festivals provide alternative artistic practices, traditions, and experiments. In addition to the potentials and possibilities provided by hybridized listening spaces, an intrinsic knowledge can emerge, that something can be done and thought differently. That there are alternatives to what is already known and done. It is not possible to determine what individual and societal impact will come from it, when, or where. Herein lies the potential of the spaces of possibility, which include the potential of the critical mass. And the possibility of future associations, collectives, networks, and unions beyond economic imperatives and capitalist competition.

To learn from noise and music affords us to listen to its sounds and praxis in the first place. In my conference presentation I played a lot of music snippets to illustrate my analysis. To understand better what these genres and anti-genres between music and non-music are about. I arranged and compiled two mixes, which I added to my mixcloud archive. I hope they are helpful and succeed in expanding this paper into the world of sound[4]:

▸ Figure 4.1.9. - A/V Concert Monika Werkstatt, UH Fest Budapest 2017
▸ Source: the author.

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4.2 The independent music scene and its importance in tensioning hegemonic musical knowledge: the case of the independent experimental music scene in São Paulo

Natália Fontana Francischini[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

In this article, I discuss how the independent experimental music scene in São Paulo is organized and the way in which such organization enables scene to resist the obstacles imposed by social isolation. I make a brief comparison between the moment before the pandemic and the first year of social isolation (2020), giving an overview of the 'migration' of the scene to the virtual environment. I discuss this topic in my master's thesis entitled 'Aspects of the self-organization in the experimental music scene in São Paulo and some implications of social isolation' (in progress). Focusing on the self-organization of this scene, I try to reflect on some practices such as 'collaboration' and 'do-it-yourself', as well as how these help participants to find autonomy in relation to their artistic productions. Methodologically inspired by autoethnography, I do it based on my experience as a participant and mainly based on interviews and the observation of venues and performance series.

Keywords: *music scene, experimental music, self-organization, virtual environment, pandemic.*

1. Introduction

In this article, I discuss the collective and independent organization of the experimental music scene in São Paulo and the way in which such organization makes it possible to resist the setbacks imposed by the period of social isolation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. I make a brief comparison between the moment before the pandemic and the first year of isolation (2020), giving an overview of the 'migration' of this scene to the virtual environment.

The experimental music scene in São Paulo mixes up many practices and people from different cultural backgrounds. Under the name 'experimental', it is possible to go through different artistic practices that find a common place in the interest in experimentation – a process that assumes a leading role[2] – and through

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2. When I say that experimentalism plays a leading role in the practices of this scene, I search for a way to differentiate it from other musical scenes, since experimentalism is something intrinsic to arts and, of course, to other musical scenes. However, the scene I am referring to is much closer, for example, to electronic music and freejazz scenes than to funk music from São Paulo. In the aforementioned 'experimental music scene', the practice and idea of experimentalism has a central role, the interest in opening a 'final result' of the music is generally superior to the search for a previously determined piece of music. This does not mean, however, that the composition is not present, quite the contrary.

the form of collective organization with a tendency to collaboration. It's as if this experimental music scene were composed by fragments from other scenes (such as noise, improvisation, electronics, among others[3]). This way, it is possible to see artists moving between these different repertoires and getting involved with different musical projects.

2. Some independent venues

Before the pandemic, there was a diversity of venues where much of this artistic production took place. These places were managed, mostly, by collectives of artists, dedicated exclusively (or not) to the production of the experimental music. They functioned independently, seeking autonomy from an institutionalized and commercial cultural structure. In my master's research, I particularly studied three of these independent venues: *Ibrasotope Música Experimental*, *AUTA* and *Estúdio Mitra*. Each one had particularities in relation to the material conditions that made them exist as 'independent cultural centers', as well as their form of internal organization and their objectives in relation to the scene they composed. Below, I briefly tell you about each of them:

Ibrasotope was an important venue exclusively dedicated to experimental production in the city of São Paulo and it functioned as a kind of cultural center and housing. The place had many residents and different managers throughout its existence, being always organized by a small group of people. According to the founders Henrique Iwao and Mário Del Nunzio, the desire in such challenging work arises from experiences they went through during the years they attended the undergraduate composition, school, alongside other colleagues with whom they sought to create spaces for coexistence, debate and production, "something rare in the academic environment" at that time (Iwao & del Nunzio, 2009, p. 6). Ibrasotope aimed to foster an experimental music scene in which it was possible to establish exchanges, promote meetings and make such repertoire accessible 'outside the academy'. The program was organized in different series of activities, firstly dedicated to electro-acoustic music and, later, it promoted a varied circuit of practices linked to the term 'experimental music'. With the arrival of Natacha Maurer, in 2010, both the organization and the musical practices diversified. The curatorship was open to any artists who were interested in performing there. And, in this sense, the production work was related to 'scheduling' dates and marketing. There was an interest in making the venue as accessible as possible, fostering audiences by paying offering a pay what you can tickets, selling affordable drinks and establishing a relaxing 'party' atmosphere. Ibrasotope was basically maintained by dividing the expenses among the residents. This venue was responsible for a great dynamization of the experimental music in the city, attracting artists from all over the country, as well as foreign ones. They also promoted important festivals such as the International International Festival of Experimental Music (2015-2017). After 10 years, Ibrasotope ended its activities in 2017, mainly due to the growing difficulties brought by the conservative shift in Brazilian politics, which directly affected the culture and the permanence of these independent venues, given the few resources they have.

AUTA was inaugurated in September of 2019, created by the artists Carla Boregas, Anelena Toku and Juliana Rodriguez. The venue was an important meeting point for the punk, electronic and experimental scenes. In an interview I carried out with Carla Boregas in February 2021, the artist reported that AUTA materialized an old desire to manage a 'bar' in which it was possible to present different artistic activities, stimulate 'exchanges', 'reception' and 'blend' of people, with a good infrastructure, without a very onerous maintenance cost and without necessarily focusing on a specific musical aspect (Boregas, 2021). Carla Boregas also reports that the artists performed a division of tasks, but that they always 'did everything' like managing the events, working on sound techniques during the presentations, organizing and cleaning the venue after the events. According to the artist, it was the resources acquired from the sales that paid the establishment's rent. However, at least once a month it was necessary to hold a collaborative event to ensure the maintenance of the space and the payment of basic expenses: all the amount collected, instead of being distributed between the house and the artists, was donated to the venue. Even in a short time of existence, AUTA held dozens of events, promoted several workshops, in which artists from the most diverse segments circulated. Unfortunately, with the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic, AUTA ended its activities in 2020, as they were unable to hold physical meetings and guarantee the maintenance of the establishment.

3. It is remarkable, as mentioned in the previous note, the presence of artists who not only circulate in the experimental scene, but also circulate in other musical scenes, such as the punk, grind, jazz, electronica, among others. To learn more about this, see: "São Paulo Underground: Creativity, Collaboration, and Cultural Production in a Multi-Stylistic Experimental Music Scene", by James McNally (2019).

Estudio Mitra, in turn, started functioning as an ordinary studio, offering recording and production services. It is an old and 'informal' project by the artist Igor Souza and his partners. To the extent that Souza – the main articulator of the space – saw the possibility of becoming a sound technician, he began to dedicate himself to the area. It didn't take long for the venue to open up for performance nights, in the year 2018. In an interview given to me in October 2020, Souza said that the initial idea was to "bring people together to talk, listen to music, play and form a collaborative network". Despite being managed only by him, the studio's events have always featured collaborative productions, together with friends and partners of the Estudio. The tasks division at the events was always quite informal, since there was no basic structure as 'cash register' and 'bar counter', as it is common in places dedicated to musical performances. Estudio Mitra, as well as most of the independent spots dedicated to the experimental music, has always organized the events according to its own resources, dividing all costs between the organizers. The technical services provided by the studio was also used to guarantee the events. Igor Souza says that part of the drinks and food sales were used to "pay those who worked at the event, even if it only covered transportation or their own beer". (Souza, 2020, n/p). According to the artist, there was a project to invest on the physical expansion of the studio space, aiming larger events and renting some of his rooms for rehearsals and filming. However, "unfortunately, the [COVID-19] pandemic and fascism aborted this project" (Souza, 2020, n/p). Venue activities are suspended indefinitely.

2.1. Convergences

Although they have their own history and link with the experimental music scene, there are several converging points between these venues and what concerns both the way they are organized and the principles they share. It is possible to point out some of the characteristics that seem fundamental to me about its mode of organization: the presence of a certain informality in carrying out its activities, the practice/ethics of do-it-yourself (Del Nunzio, 2017; McNally, 2019), an independent and self-managed organization, in addition to a predisposition to an action that always aims to contemplate the scene as a community (Del Nunzio, 2017).

I believe that these aspects are objectively present for two reasons that, in a way, complement each other. The first of these are the socio-political-economic conditions[4] in Brazil (and, of course, those specific to the city of São Paulo) and the way in which their power is able to interfere in the artistic activity present in the country, both regarding to the establishment of a field that is institutional (a market that absorbs workers, an industry, the role of the State in this environment, the way in which they are established, etc.), and regarding to the value of the artistic activity for Brazilian society (how the figure of the artist is valued, the presence of differentiations between 'professional' or 'amateur' artistn/practices, the discourses that classify and legitimize these categories, among others). The second is more related to subjective aspects of the participants and which, in my view, are common to some musical scenes, such as, for example: the sharing of ethical-political principles and the production of an individual meaning through identification with a specific artistic community or practice; the search for alternative ways of existing in the world, producing art and articulating collectively.

Material and ethical conditions allied to the political positioning of these artists in the field in which they work (artistic practices that identify with an 'underground' or something outside an official/legitimate art) feed the dynamics present in this scene, which range from practical and objective management activities of a given venue/collective, to the way in which social bonds are established, in addition to the relationship that these artists have with their own artistic productions. Evidently, the aforementioned conditions also suffer the interference of the operation of these artists in the scene, since they also have the power to transform these conditions - which can occur in different ways, for example, through the occupation of spaces in the city, the own strengthening and expansion of the scene and the link between its participants, the projection of artists in other artistic spaces (including institutional and commercial) and political activism.

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4. When I use the broad term "socio-political-economic conditions" I am also referring to the complex web that determines the functioning of the artistic system in the country, which is extremely elite and joins the neoliberal political structure built in Brazil in recent decades.

2.2. Self-organization and place

Forms of independent self-organization always bring difficulties, since they are modes of cultural and social articulation that seek to propose alternative modes of existence to homogenizing artistic and cultural systems and thoughts. In São Paulo, these difficulties, in large part, may be related to the intrinsic characteristics of the city, such as its high cost of living and its excluding geography. Although the 'Brazilian'[5] experimental music scene works under similar conditions, we cannot ignore the considerable differences between each state in the country, both in terms of access to public policies and federal investment, and in terms of their cultural singularities. When we talk about a scene like the one in São Paulo, we are objectively talking about an experimental scene taking place in one of the most populous cities in the country, one that receives the greatest financial resources, in addition to having a large circulation and diversity of people. The main venues are rarely established in peripheral areas, although we know that an important part of its regular participants reside in these regions. The fact that these spots are established in the central region of the city (or in neighborhoods where access to it is facilitated) makes the physical access by residents of non-central regions more complex. Thus, the movement of people through this scene turns out to be somewhat exclusive. Despite this, despite their limitations, these venues and collectives strive to make their artistic production circulate and become accessible, since this scene seeks, as mentioned, to establish other modes of existence, artistic and political articulation.

As we have seen briefly, the venues Ibrasotope Música Experimental, AUTA and Estúdio Mitra had in common the desire to make this experimental musical production viable, either by organizing and carrying out a program of concerts and festivals, or by offering workshops and discussion meetings. Everyone was concerned with 'democratizing' such production, holding events with free or accessible entry. We can observe this desire to spread the practice of experimental music, as well as the intention to create a scene in a magazine published by Ibrasotope, after its first years of operation, in 2009:

> *Our starting point is the perception that there is a musical production that needs to be presented, enjoyed and debated, and that these practices need to occur regularly so that the body of interested parties can grow and solidify. In addition, the project points to the constitution of a Brazilian circuit of experimental music, in which musicians from different locations can present their work in other cities, to other audiences, making this music circulate and generating different developments (Iwao & del Nunzio, 2009, p. 5)

None of the projects studied here received any kind of institutional financial support, except when they applied to public sponsorships to hold some events – something more occasional than recurrent. Basic maintenance costs have always been guaranteed by the sale of drinks in informal 'bar services' established at the venues on the days of presentations, or by dividing the rent and bills between the space's residents (in the case of Ibrasotope) or articulators of the collective (such as AUTA and Mitra).

In one way or another, these spaces always sought to avoid onerous bureaucratic requirements, for example, taking advantage of associations with other members of the collective that could allocate the project on properties belonging to family members or acquaintances (such as Ibrasotope and Estúdio Mitra) or avoiding situations such as signing a rental contract (in the case of AUTA):

> *We already came to the issue that it was not easy to maintain and we were experimenting. For us to be able to get rid of it [from AUTA], taking out the money invested in the equipment, it was an easy scheme. […] When the pandemic came, 'boom': in one day, we made all the moves and it was over. It was really a 'temporary autonomous zone'. (Carla Boregas, during an interview on February 16, 2021, n/p)

It is possible to affirm that these undertakings were made possible by the strong presence of a do-it-yourself attitude, since such collectives started their activities informally, without prior knowledge of how to manage a cultural venue or produce a musical event, no interest in 'institutionalizing' and 'professionalizing' their

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5. I use this term with care as it is very complex to speak of an 'experimental Brazilian music scene'. Generally, the reference that one has to an 'identity' of experimental music performed in Brazil is that located in the southeast of the country, especially in the states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Reducing the production of Brazilian experimental music to just this region is to erase and exclude very important productions carried out in a country as vast and multicultural as Brazil. Therefore, I speak of 'Brazilian' only in relation to the possible similarities that may exist between the different experimental scenes present in the country.

activities. They are venues organized by artists who had the desire to find ways to be able to exercise their artistic productions freely, without meeting the demands of institutionalized musical environments and/or linked to a mainstream, to find other artists with the same interests, proposing other forms of relationship in the community.

A few years before the pandemic, the political and economic context in Brazil changed, especially after the impeachment of President Dilma Roussef in 2015. This event can be considered a watershed in Brazilian democracy, as it was a result (and also contributed to the aggravation) of a conservative shift in the country. The rising fascism, together with extremely neoliberal economic policies, made the life of certain social sectors precarious. When it comes to the artistic field, several political persecutions, as well as cuts in public services, combined with the demoralization of the artistic class by conservatives, resulted in the weakening of independent articulations such as that of the experimental music scene in São Paulo. Thus, right before the health crisis, the venues as well as its participants, were already having difficulties to continue with their projects.

3. The pandemic and virtuality

As in any artistic field in Brazil, the pandemic has complicated the performance of the experimental music scene. Since March of 2020 (when the pandemic forced us to establish the first attempts to lockdown in the country), live presentations and face-to-face meetings have been suspended, the difficulty of subsistence through artistic activity has worsened, as well as the bankruptcy of important concert houses. For a scene that finds its form and strength associated with its place (Bennett & Rodgers, 2016) and the encounters established in the urban space, the pandemic meant a considerable disruption of these bonds and relationships, which were of enormous importance for its functioning dynamics, exchanges knowledge and artistic production. As mentioned, Ibrasotope had already ended its activities in 2017, largely because of the difficulties of acting in the cultural field as an independent collective. AUTA, on the other hand, was forced to close its activities in the first months of the pandemic, handing over the leased place to its owner. Not only AUTA but also other venues that I did not focus on in this research had to cease their activities because they were unable to afford to maintain their basic costs during the quarantine periods. The difficulties in keeping important venues active, as well as the material capacity of the participants to continue producing, predates the health crisis. According to Gabriela Nobre, from Música Insólita label, the pandemic only intensified problems that already existed:

the pandemic threw a shovel of lime in venues that were already struggling hard to survive, essential places, concert halls essential to the functioning of the scene. [...] The places that were closing, after all, why did they close? What was already a problem? What is exposed by the pandemic?

(Gabriela Nobre, during an interview held by me, on December 18, 2020, n/p)

That is a fact the pandemic did not cause the venues to close, but it aggravated existing difficulties that these collectives had as proposals for independent and underground articulation. Despite this, the experimental scene migrated more intensely to social networks (which were previously used for communication and dissemination of events). Early on, it was possible to notice a certain hyperproductivity, in addition to the emergence of relatively new situations in the scene: many live sessions transmitted by different artists (which consisted of conversations, interviews and presentations); some labels dealing with high demand from artists looking to release albums produced during isolation; series of online performances and festivals took place;

discussions arose around performing improvisations through streaming, as well as technical difficulties with the available platforms, the latency of audio and video transmission, the oscillation of connections; there was a certain shift from productions to video through video art and video performances; among other dozens of activities that we were able to follow. Evidently, in the midst of all this, there were those who did not have the mental conditions to produce absolutely anything, or did not want to adapt their work to the available media, or who were just looking for ways to readjust to daily life – staying at home or working outside of it.

It is important to highlight the activity that some groups have been establishing during the pandemic, via social networks. An example that I followed closely is the *Frestas Telúricas* collective. This collective took shape from the organization of an online live event with the same name, around May 2020. Some artists from different states of the country came together to organize this endeavor, organizing themselves informally through a Whatsapp's group. The initiative reverberated positively and several other artists in the scene proposed both to perform at online events and to organize the group. These events have been broadcast on the Youtube platform, in monthly editions, lasting about three consecutive days. Video-performances, improvisation, recorded show and video art are transmitted by streaming. For many months, *Frestas Telúricas* had the collaboration of a few dozen artists who gained prominence at some round tables on experimental music and sound art festivals in Brazil, such as the CHIII Festival of Creative Music and the *Festival Novas Frequências*. These festivals, in turn, also encouraged the scene during the pandemic, carrying out unique editions entirely online, also proposing new formats of presentations through audiovisual works, organizing debates and seminars about the current conditions of the scene functioning via social networks.

As it is common in music scenes[6], virtual performances were already part of the scene, as social networks have always been an important means of connection between artists from different parts of the country, in addition to the main means of disseminating performances and releasing records. However, the pandemic demonstrated that, although the experience of live encounters and physical venues cannot be replaced, social networks have always played a fundamental role, perhaps more fundamental than imagined: as for many other areas of society, access to the internet and technologies was what made it possible to maintain many activities that had to be suspended in "live" social living spaces.

4. Some first thoughts

It is natural that venues that were previously maintained with some difficulty through the self-organization of collectives or that depended on the consumption of services, quickly succumbed to the period of isolation in quarantine. There will be no other alternative than the willingness of the collectives to raise other places when it is appropriate. Until then, it is essential not to lose sight of the importance of self-organization aimed by the collective, since this has been one of the most essential pillars for the existence of this scene. However, in order to overcome the problems that existed before social isolation (such as the difficulty of keeping venues and independent experimental productions), perhaps this scene still needs greater political articulation, so as not to be exhausted by the difficulties imposed by more mainstream cultural structures and to continue their independent venues and activities.

The obstacles in holding physical events, in a way, keeps in suspension several important social dynamics, which are established by the meetings that used to take place in concert halls and venues where experimental productions used to be hosted. On the other hand, the existence of the virtual environment guarantees the continuation of pre-established links and, after all, allows the scene to keep up with some encounters, even if it is in other formats. At the same time, as we see the online festivals such as *Frestas Telúricas*, the expansion of isolated links beyond physical and geographic borders is encouraged, making artists who live in distant states start to create partnerships, organize festivals together and contribute so that the scenes of each state are known and active. However, these interstate meetings were not impossible before the pandemic, although the physical and geographic distances of a country like Brazil cannot be ignored.

The intense performance in the virtual environment during the pandemic highlights the articulate and adaptive character of this experimental music scene. What makes this continuity possible is not only the mode of collective organization that seeks independence from institutional means, but also the formation of

6. I allude to the proposition of researchers Bennett and Peterson about musical scenes as not only physical and 'trans-local' spaces where musical communities exist, but which also exist in virtual spaces, such as the internet and social networks.

a network of connections between artists through the internet that already existed previously.

Perhaps one of the most crucial points of comparison between the 'before the pandemic' and the current situation is, however, something that did not change with the pandemic, but only got worse: social disparities. The fact that the scene (or the part that we can observe) manages to maintain part of its activities on social networks, even though it needs to adapt to new media, brings with it evidence of its racial and social class composition. Those who are financially more structured, who have more access to internet, a computer to communicate and edit works, a camera to record performances, or even access to musical instruments are the artists who, in general, continue producing during the pandemic. Although many artists in the scene make use of precisely 'hacking' electronic devices now obsolete, and the presence of 'peripheral'[7] artists is evident, this scene still needs to strive to be more inclusive, especially during a global health crisis that makes the even more restricted access and circulation. Anyway, this scene is still struggling to continue after the pandemic, given the material conditions of most of its participants, so a lot of work has to be done to rebuild and regain spaces.

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7. I use the term 'peripheralized' in the sense of researcher GG Albuquerque (2018), in which his reflection on two aspects is present: 1) the recognition that terms such as 'peripheral culture' or 'peripheral artist' may incur the risk of to relegate such artists and productions to a rigid place separate from all the rest of general culture; 2) the reaffirmation of the peripheral place as a power that produces discourses and culture, different from non-peripheral ones.

4.3 Rock music and rocker's lifestyles: looking at the social representations in the Portuguese contemporary society

Ana Martins[1] & Paula Guerra[2]

✕ Abstract

As we know, rock performances and lifestyles have frequently been linked to a whole series of disorders, substance uses and abuses, and risk behaviours, commonly expressed in the epitome of sex, drugs and rock'n'roll. In this context, there are countless enumerations of these themes in the lyrics and videos of artists or rock bands, and there is also a fascination with the mythical stories of rock and roll, its bohemian life, and the refusal to adopt conventional behaviours. These legends and narratives are crucial to the daily experiences of fans, particularly young people. In this context, this analysis aims to explain and understand the social representations and practices incorporated with the sex-drugs-rock trichotomy in contemporary Portuguese society. In other words, this article intended to explore the stereotypes, feelings, and interpretations associated with sexual behaviours and the consumption of illegal substances within the rock universe in a context of late modernity.

Keywords: Rock'n'roll, risks, social representations, contemporaneity, Portugal.

1. Introduction

It is undeniable, that rock music is a cultural symbol known and recognized on a global scale and, for this reason, the sociological study of this phenomenon continues to be extremely important in this context of globalized late modernity. In this regard, Townsend (1997) argued that rock'n'roll was never just a musical genre, but rather a movement, a lifestyle, an expression of culture and, possibly, an ideology of life. Thus, and considering the aspects already mentioned, we can understand and perceive rock music as a cultural manifestation that transcends social, cultural, and geographic barriers (Amaral, 2002). Therefore, the impact of rock'n'roll on society seems to be undeniable (Brake, 1980).

According to Guerra (2015a), teenagers who witnessed the rise and spread of this musical genre look ahead for this musical manifestation of rock music as a promise of a new social panorama, within which socioeconomic problems would be overcome by the freedoms that were provided in different dimensions of their individual and collective lives. With the first demonstrations of a rock culture, there were many social transformations that followed and that, in their essence, were crucial for the structuring of cultural practices of individuals and their daily lives, as well as for a further development and materialization of the urban space (Guerra, 2015b).

However, even today there are discrediting attitudes towards this musical genre. Encarnação (2019)

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argues that since the 1960s rock music has carried a stereotype associated with the consumption of illegal substances. And it was also from that date that the addiction on this type of substance began to be discussed academically within the scope of the study of youth subcultures (Oksanen, 2012). Furthermore, Ehrenreich et al. (1986) argue that rock'n'roll offered a new view of sexuality (both female and male) that was clearly new. This change in sexual attitudes draws attention of youth, because it contrasts sharply with the code of behaviour adopted by the adult age groups of the same time. Thus, there is no common consensus anymore among adults about sexual attitudes or about the role of authority in society, or even about expectations of how young people should behave (Hall & Whannel, 1964). Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the new sexual attitudes, the high consumption of tobacco and alcohol, or the contact with hallucinogens and other facilitators of 'artificial paradises' did not start in the youth circles of the 1960s and are far from exclusive to the beat generation, hippies or rock and roll and its genres. But since then, they have taken on their own expression, both in dimension and in ideological and cultural meaning (Guerra et al., 2016).

In short, this article presents a dual approach to rock music and its lifestyles, in relation to their social representations in contemporary Portuguese society. In other words, it looks both at the point of view of the participants of the rock music culture, and also at the perspective of society in general, in relation to the epitome of sex, drugs and rock'n'roll.

2. Sex, drugs and rock'n'roll in a Portuguese way

Psychedelic consumption in Portugal dates to the 1960s where it is already possible to observe, according to Costa (2007), the first government concerns about this issue. It was at this time as well, that youth groups inspired by the hippie movement began to emerge and take the use of drugs as one of their identity marks (Quintas, 1997). However, until the beginning of the 1970s, the drug issue still did not appear as a collective characteristic or as a social problem in Portugal (Marques, 2008). During this political period of the Estado Novo, the state power defended the country's isolation from international relations, and "(...) any allusion to individual or collective freedom of expression was rejected" (Martins & Guerra, 2019, p. 169). In this context of deprivation, the access to information and international goods was limited, which prevented the Portuguese population from having access to social, economic and cultural realities abroad. However, the progressive international spread of Anglo-American rock music in the 1960s ended up finding numerous supporters in Portugal, particularly among young students from Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra (Andrade, 2015), who felt increasingly angry against the state and its policies. In this context, from that moment on, the country was subject to multiple political, economic and social transformations, which also led to an intensification of government concerns regarding the drug phenomenon (Dias, 2007). Thus, in the early 1970s drugs began to be perceived as a crucial element for explaining several events that question the established social order, such as strikes and student movements, which pressured and preceded the fall of the Salazar regime (Dias, 2007).

As we can see, the regime's restrictive view in relation to the academic environment did not stop the emergence and growth of an active movement against the prevailing conservatism in the university and in society (Martins, 2014). In this context, these groups who were bearers of new values were the protagonists of the radical break with traditional political thinking. They helped to shape a consciousness that translated into structured political thinking, and which aspired to a cultural and political revolution. In this regard, equally important for Portugal was the holding of the first major edition of the *Vilar de Mouros Festival*, the oldest musical festival in the country, in 1971. It was during this event that the first collective exhibition of drug use in Portugal took place (Poiares, 1995; Ribeiro, 1999; Marques, 2008). About this festival, *Vilar de Mouros* materialized the emergence of a true rock culture in Portugal, characterized by moments, bands, audience, experiences and consumption (Guerra, 2010). According to Sarmento (2013), the spread of hippie culture and the Woodstock Festival had a great influence on how this festival developed (Sarmento, 2013). Later, after the April 1974 Revolution, many Portuguese from the former colonies began to return to the mainland and brought with them the routine of using certain substances, including *liamba*, and the use of substances ceased to occur in environments mostly private and become public. With this spread of consumption, a rudimentary drug market is established in Portugal, particularly based on cannabinoids, such as cannabis, *liamba* or hashish (Marques, 2008).

The issue of sexuality was devalued in the context of sociological research in Portugal until the end of the 20th century (Pais, 1998). Regarding the sexual trajectory of our country, Freire (2013) identifies two important

moments in the Portuguese intimacy experiences: "a deeply conservative first one (1930-1950), a second one tending towards reform (between the end of 1950 and 1970)" (Freire, 2013, p. 57). As we know, these two temporal periods in Portugal corresponded to a totalitarian political moment, and a deeply conservative, Catholic and rural society (Wall, 2005). Therefore, in this context, "only sexuality experienced within marriage, obviously heterosexual and primarily intended for reproduction, and the formation of a family was publicly acceptable" (Aboim, 2013, p. 10). Until the end of the 1960s, the role of women was mostly linked to the domestic daily life, and the very structures of the State, Catholic Church, family, school and media "converged in the mission of advising females (single and married women) for hiding her body, for the erasure of sensuality, for the prohibition of eroticism and for the demonization of pleasure" (Freire, 2013, p. 58). In this context, the man was responsible for looking after his wife and family. However, it was from the 1960s onwards that Portuguese couples began to effectively reduce the number of children, "as a strategy to adapt to the limited family economic resources typical of a country on the so-called periphery of the centre, characterized by low wage levels" (Vilar, 2009, p. 13). In fact, in addition to this reduction in the number of children there was a greater control of fertility as well, associated with the improvement of the national public health system. These two facts accompanied the strong involvement of women in the labour market, which, in turn, constituted a fundamental condition for the improvement in the living standards of Portuguese families and, in many cases, towards more acceptable living conditions (Wall, 2005).

In the period that followed the fall of the Salazar regime, Portugal opened its doors to popular and mass culture, especially music, cinema and literature. So, there is an increasingly diversified offer not only of cultural products, but also of others linked to issues of intimacy and relationships formerly prohibited by censorship (Neves, 2013). These new patterns of freedom, substance use and sexual experiences are also related to the revolutionary character of emerging youth cultures, influenced by Anglo-Saxon rock music and the lifestyles they share.

3. Methodology

Regarding the methodological options used in this paper, it's important to start by highlighting the uses primary information collection techniques, such as in-depth interviews and the application of an online survey.

Through in-depth interviews, the purpose was to develop an analysis of the evolution of practices and representations of the uses of legal and illegal substances and the attitudes towards sexual practices in Portugal. From this methodological tool, this research sought to find "(...) different experiential postures, as well as the values and practices associated with them" (Dantas, 2016, p. 265). For Yin (2003), interviews are one of the most valuable resources in an investigation. The actors who gave voice to these 50 semi-structured interviews were selected using intentional non-probabilistic sampling, commonly called a convenience sample (Agresti & Finlay, 2012). This technique allows a direct approach to the individuals who moved and still move within of the Portuguese rock sphere. Also, the interviews were done in person.

Regarding the online survey, we resorted to the intentional non-probabilistic sampling technique as well. Our objective with this methodological instrument was to seek to identify the hetero and self-constructed social representations around the association of rock music with risky behaviours in the use of legal and illegal substances, and sexual conducts. As this was an online survey, its application was indirect, and its sharing and dissemination took place, mainly, in social networks (Facebook and Instagram), and in the institutional email from University of Porto. Therefore, our sample consisted of 383 individuals with a margin of error of less than 0.5% (Arkin & Colton in Bravo, 1995, p. 234).

Regarding ethical issues, it was crucial to develop informed consents, either in the context of interviews or surveys with the purpose of being able to inform, respect and guarantee the rights of the participants who voluntarily volunteered to collaborate with this research. The option for the anonymity of the participants in this particular investigation was related to the fact that we were dealing with personal, sensitive and controversial issues - since they involved the description of habits of uses of legal and illegal substances and of sexual and affective behaviours -; and with the possibility that this information, when made public, could have a detrimental impact on their personal and professional lives (Yin, 2003). Also, during the preparation and development of this investigation, we took into account the Code of Ethics that is in force at the Portuguese Association of Sociology (APS), not violating the principles of voluntariness of study participants, the identification of researchers and the objectives of the study or confidentiality of the data collected.

# 4. Surveys: the universe of representations about rock'n'roll

In this survey, we tried to organize the data collection according to the following structure:

*A: Rock universe, tastes and appropriations, with the purpose of explore the musical genres and the most appreciated artists and/or bands, and their influence on the respondents' lives; but also know the frequency routines of musical events and their importance;

*B: Interaction uses, rituals and practices, in order to collect data about the uses of legal (alcohol) and illegal substances routines; the situation regarding affective relationships and intimacies; and the possible relationship between these indicators with musical events, and with the rock culture in Portugal;

*C: Path and sociographic condition, centred on the sociographic contexts of our sample, in order to know its characterization

In general, our sample is composed of 383 individuals, aged between 18 and 66 years old, with 29 years old being the most frequent age in the sample revealing 23 respondents (Figure 4.3.1.). Although, 20 years old (with 20 respondents), 24 years old (with 18 respondents), 27 (with 21 respondents) and 28 (with 18 respondents) are also very frequent ages in our sample. Therefore, we can say that this is a sample mostly made up of young adults and balanced in terms of gender, as 51% of respondents are female and 49% male (Figure 4.3.2.).
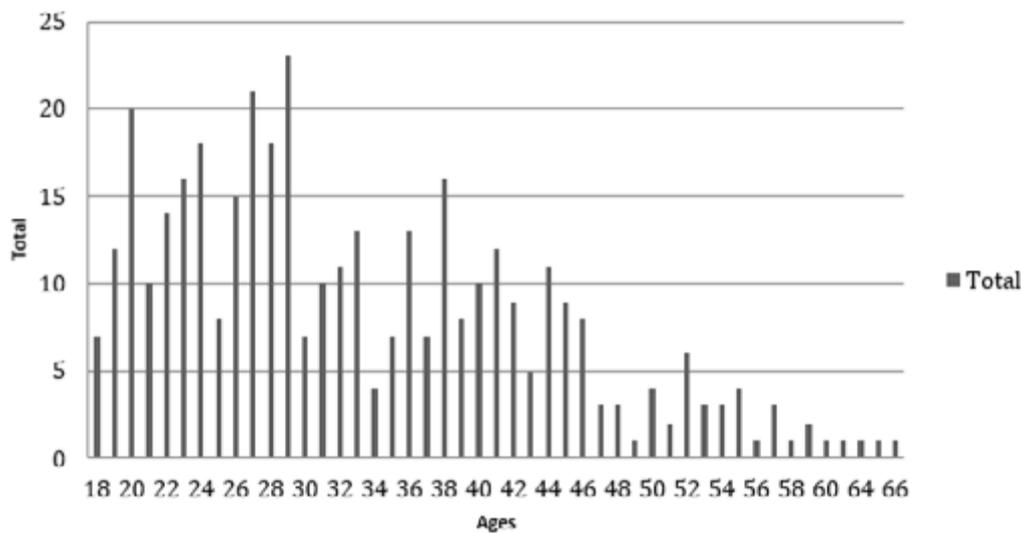
▶ Figure 4.3.1. - Distribution of total respondents by age
▶ Source: the authors.
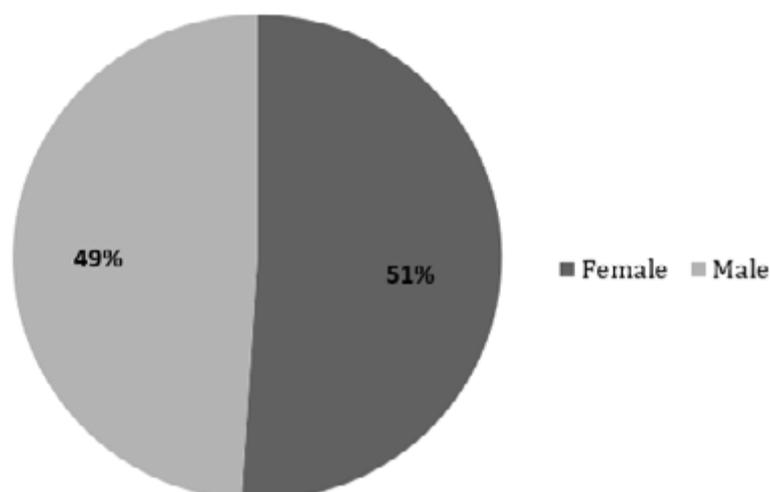
▶ Figure 4.3.2. - Distribution of total respondents by gender
▶ Source: the authors.

As we have already been exploring, one of the main points of this article was the application of the myth 'sex, drugs and rock'n'roll' to the Portuguese social reality. Therefore, this question was asked directly to respondents in the survey. As shown in Figure 4.3.3., around 60% of respondents answered that the issue of 'sex, drugs and rock'n'roll' was a reality in the Portuguese context. In fact, this result may reveal a collective stereotype regarding this association of rock music with sex and drugs. And often, this type of stigmatized rock image is based on discriminatory attributes associated with certain lifestyles, resulting in the construction of biased representations of all its participants.
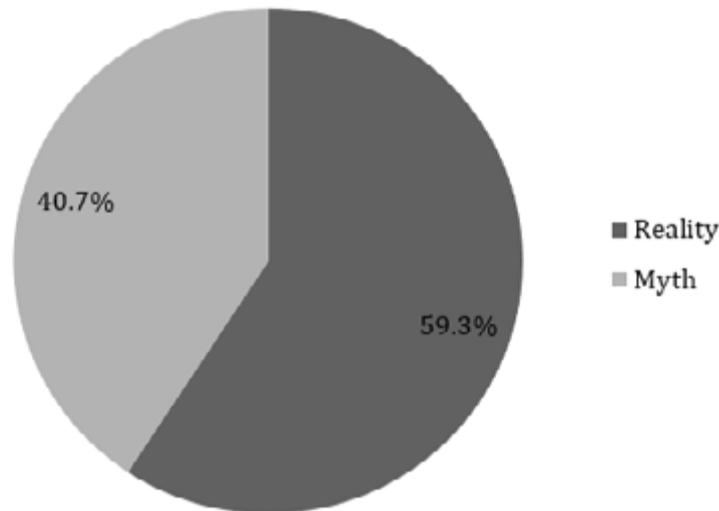
▶ Figure 4.3.3. - Relationship between the epitome 'sex, drugs and rock'n'roll' in Portugal from the perspective of respondents
▶ Source: the authors.

5. Interviews: the voices of rock'n'roll

In the construction of the interview scripts, we assumed these four axes of transversal categorical exploration (general categories/macro) of the interacting agents, which are presented in the following diagram:

I. Discussion of the project and/or area of intervention of the interviewee

✖ Emergence and consolidation of their interest in music in general, rock music, and the cultural industry.
✖ Construction of a professional path in the musical/cultural field.
✖ Enunciation of the main moments of their professional career.
✖ Future plans, wishes and projects.

II. Positions and representations regarding rock music, ways of life and bonds

✖ Urban environment vs. non-urban, and its possible influences on the construction of their identity and tastes.
✖ Construction and characterization of their musical taste.
✖ Description of habits and routines associated with the musical and cultural bond.
✖ Personal and/or professional aesthetic considerations.

III. Uses, tastes and positions within the national rock culture

✖ Situation regarding the use of legal and illegal substances.
✖ Characterization of their relationships, sexuality and affections.
✖ Reports of moments of excess, risks and experiences.
✖ Personal/social importance of the rock culture to them.

IV. Approach about the experiences related to the processes of social stigmatization

✖ Sex, drugs and rock'n'roll in Portugal.

✖ Family and social considerations about their musical bond.

✖ Reports of social stigmatization, mistrust or marginalization.

✖ References to involvements with authorities and/or security forces.

As we can see in the graphics that follow, the ages of the interviews are between 29 and 78 years old, with the age group of 61 to 70 years old having the largest number of members (18 respondents), followed by the 31 to 40 years old group (with 11 respondents), as shown in Figure 4.3.4. Making a general reading, we then verify that, in terms of age, this is a group where the 60s age group predominates, closely followed by the 30s age group. In terms of gender distribution, this sample proved to be heterogeneous, from the point of view in which we interviewed men and women. However, it was not evenly distributed, since we verified the existence of 43 men and seven women[3], as we see in Figure 4.3.5. This result is in line with a reading about the genre within the global space of rock, and which in our country tends to assume an almost male exclusivity, particularly in the senior generations.
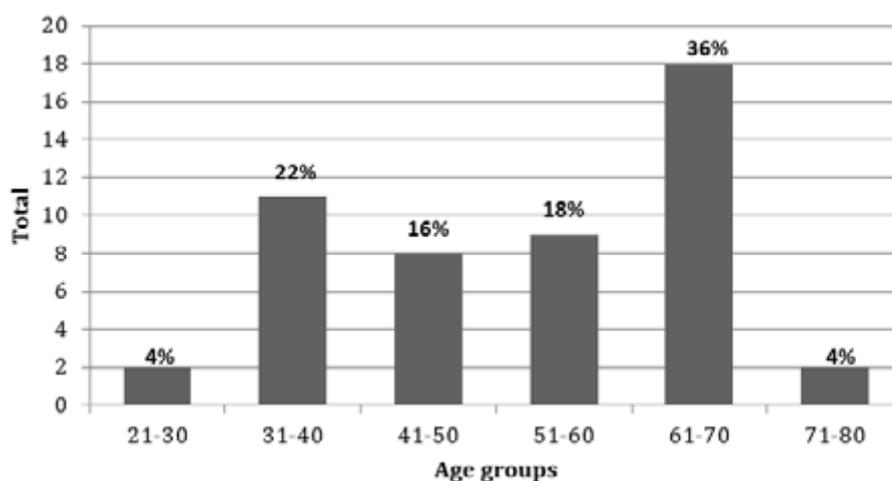
▸ Figure 4.3.4. Distribution of total interviewees by age
▸ Source: the authors.
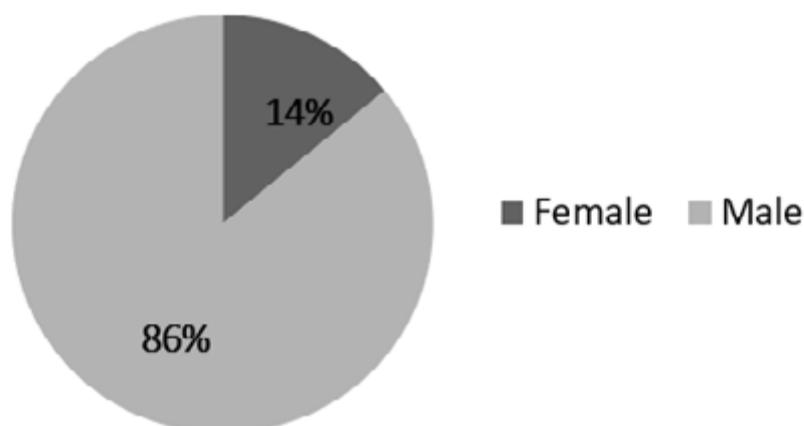
▸ Figure 4.3.5. Distribution of total interviewees by gender
▸ Source: the authors.

3. The fact that our sample is mostly made up of males is due to the fact that the history of Portuguese rock, especially since its beginning, is marked by a strong male presence, since the political, economic and social conditions of our country, already presented in previous chapters, did not foresee great freedoms for women.

However, regarding the opinion of the interviewees about the application of the epitome of Sex, Drugs and Rock'n'roll in Portugal, the answers were divided. From Figure 4.3.6., we can see that 50% of respondents (25 individuals) answered that they consider it to be or have been a reality, justifying their perspectives with examples in the first or third person. However, opposing the main results obtained in our survey, 10 interviewees directly answered that it is and/or was a myth. Regarding the interviewees who claimed to have been and/or to be a reality in Portugal, all or almost all of them highlighted that it happened to our scale, that is, with a dimension applied to our country and, consequently, to a lesser extent than the Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. Also, in this context, some interviewees even claim to have personally lived this reality, and others give examples of musicians who lived it. On the other hand, among the interviewees who stated that it is a myth, the justification is linked to the small number of cases of individuals (of which they are aware), who had actually experienced or continued to experience this lifestyle in Portugal. That is, they consider that the few people who lived and/or live this lifestyle are not significant for us to apply it to our country. And also, that it is also a dated expression, which marked a specific socio-historical period, namely the 1960s in the Anglo-Saxon world and the 1980s in Portugal, which nowadays no longer makes any sense.
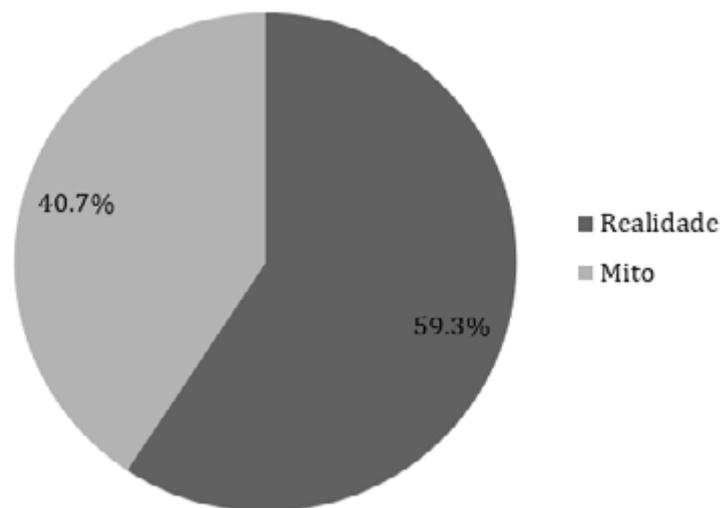
▶ Figure 4.3.6. Relationship between the epitome "sex, drugs and rock'n'roll" in Portugal from the perspective of interviewees
▶ Source: the authors.

6. Stigmas, moral panics and media representations

In the Portuguese context, as we saw earlier from the perspective of the respondents in our survey, the epitome of sex, drugs and rock'n'roll tends to be a reality within the social perspective. Consequently, these stereotyped images often result in the creation of stigmas, both individually and collectively, on musicians and other actors in the national rock scene, and on society as a whole. Therefore, to understand the construction of the reality of this musical universe in the current period, we must take into account the social representations that are linked to it, as well as the respective mechanisms of social domination, which are produced and reproduced within this same scenario (Martins, 2019). In this context, it is noteworthy, according to Cohen (2002), the privileged role that the media play in the dissemination of this type of representation, namely in Portuguese society, giving space to the emergence of 'moral panics'. In this light, Champagne (1993) argues that these 'moral panics' (Cohen, 2002) only become visible if the media address them. Therefore,

the media act on a given moment and collectively manufacture a social representation, which, even though it is far from reality, lasts despite denials or subsequent rectifications; as it does nothing more than reinforce spontaneous interpretations and pre-judgments, and tends towards this to redouble them. (Champagne, 1993, pp. 61-62)

Becker (2008) considers the concept of outsider, relating it to the distrust with which individuals identified as deviant face non-deviant individuals and vice versa. It is in this context that many protagonists in the rock music sphere were and tend to be judged and labelled as deviant or transgressors, given the norms established in Portuguese society. As we were able to verify through the application of our survey, rock music is traditionally associated with a set of marginal practices, experiences and lifestyles, which escape what most social actors

consider normal. Consequently, this type of labels that are applied not only to rock musicians, but to the entire set of actors that circulate in this musical field, end up becoming an evident and inherent stigma to the perception that these individuals have of themselves, and to the how they build their own identities.

Considering the three phases of deviation proposed by Becker (1994), it is possible to relate them to the evolution of the behaviour of rock musicians in Portugal. In other words, the first phase involves the intentional non-follow the social rules by a certain individual. That is, when some young Portuguese people began to listen to this type of music during the political period of the Estado Novo, knowing that they did not like the ideals defended by the authorities, they did so intentionally. This practice often happened through listening to international radio stations. And even though many young people did not understand the language, listening to that new and different music was enough to feed their urge to transgress.

The second phase proposed by the author is linked to the development of deviant interests and motivations. In other words, these young people showed a clear interest in rock music that erupted in Anglo-Saxon territory during the Salazar period, whether through contact with the specialized international press or with records brought from abroad by third parties. Therefore, they were already instructed on the progress of this musical genre on the international scene, and also began to express their fascination for this musical genre in their lifestyles and daily practices.

The third phase of deviation is part of the labelling process that these young people were targeted daily, even during the Estado Novo period. In other words, many of these young people who began to externalize visuals similar to those of their rock idols, which they saw through magazines or record covers, began to be despised by conservative Portuguese society. This often resulted in the creation and spread of moral panics about rock culture (Cohen, 2002).

The fourth phase corresponds to the process of internalizing the deviation and creating a perception of failure in society. That is, these young people end up becoming aware that they were judged as deviant and marginal. This phase corresponds to the post-revolution period and the beginning of the 1980s, when young people were still digesting the fall of the authoritarian regime, and reflecting on the social transformations that would ensue. Faced with this type of situation of marginalization and uncertainty, music was a very important emotional aid instrument for the interviewees.

Finally, there is the fifth phase proposed by the author, which relates to bringing these individuals closer to structured groups of deviants, who share the same feeling of exclusion. In the reality of Portuguese rock universe, young people ended up approaching those with whom they shared the same interests, practices and stigmas, reorganizing their own deviant identities. This phase corresponds to the period of the Portuguese rock boom and tends to remain until today. According to Martins (2019), this type of deviant labelling regarding individuals related to the national rock scene seems to continue to have a strong presence in Portuguese society, hindering and/or preventing the social daily life of these individuals, and distorting their own perceptions and identity constructions.

In short, the participants of the national rock scene are also the target of a homogenization process, which ignores the existence of the diversity of their experiences and ways of life, and which tends to designate them as outsiders (Becker, 2008). In fact, the identities created by these stigmatization processes are, subsequently, determinants for the social interactions of these individuals throughout their lives. Thus, from a symbolic point of view, the relation between rock music and the use of illicit substances brings together domains of exclusion. And rock music assumes itself in the collective imagination as a fruitful field for greater practice and experimentation with deviant behaviour. This issue is, then, inextricably linked to the fact that the crystallization of the image of rock musicians is often based on negative episodes (such as not complying with the norms of the authorities, for example), leading to the creation of these stigmas and moral panics. (Cohen, 2002), and increasing its break between established and outsiders (Elias & Scotson, 2000).

7. Conclusion

In fact, issues inherent to the rocker lifestyle, namely related to the visual aspect, patterns of substance use and affective practices end up colliding with myths, prejudices and taboos, and consequently this result in processes of social stigmatization. Therefore, these types of stereotyped images commonly shared mainly in the most conservative portions of the Portuguese society later end up being assimilated and conveyed by the media, transferring a devil's music stamp to the rock music scene. And often, these types of stigmatized

rock images are based on discriminatory attributes associated with certain lifestyles, which results in the construction of unreal representations of all its actors.

From the interviews, we found that despite the social transformations that have been taking place in Portugal over the decades, there is still some prejudice regarding the visual aspect of the players in this musical genre and that results, in many situations, in different treatments regarding the population. Still in terms of social representations, it was possible to conclude that there is also a belief in the epitome of sex drugs & rock'n'roll in relation to the Portuguese musical universe, as we were able to ascertain through our survey.

Indeed, although some interviewees apply this epitome with the respective reservations to the Portuguese social reality, there are many who confess that having already experienced situations of social stigmatization based on this myth and which, factually, do not correspond to reality. It is also important to emphasize that in the context of the social representations of our protagonists, media and society in general, this epitome is a cultural trait, despite there being a recognition that its special production and reproduction meets the socio-historical specificities of Portugal as a semi peripheral country in transition to the Global South. As the rock'n'roll industry was and is incipient and founded in a field clearly subordinate and peripheral to the Anglo-American reality, the epitome also has a special Portuguese translation.

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4.4 Affective semiosis of timbre: a theoretical formulation for an analysis of Brazilian indie rock sonorities

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

Considering the central role that timbre exerts in indie rock and the social and economic disadvantages of Brazilian musicians, this paper aims to formulate a theoretical approach that will allow further analysis of how timbre affectively constitutes policies of singularization and of minor movements. It is proposed that timbre might be observed through an immanent communicational model. Following Deleuze's philosophy of difference, instead of a transmitter of emotions, timbre is presented both as an event (the result of a mixture of bodies) and as a transformed body (affect). The technical social machine that allows it to achieve its actual form, and the affective unfolding (semiosis) that expand timbre's virtuality must also be accounted for. As a result, this paper is expected to evidence semiotic machines that derive from timbre, in which precarity, cultural anthropophagy, *gambiarras* and other typical micropolitics of Brazilian indie rock are affectively expressed, engendering new sonic worlds.

Keywords: communication, affect, semiotics, timbre, indie rock.

This article presents the theoretical formulation of the research project *Timbre as affection in Brazilian[2] independent[2] rock: a semiotic approach*[3], developed from observations carried out predominantly at concerts and festivals that took place in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre between 2015 and 2018. Over these four years, we observed that the timbres produced by the artists depended not only on their technical and compositional skills as musicians, but also on a series of economic, aesthetic, social, political and language agents. Thus, we are interested in understanding how timbre is able to communicate policies of singularization and of minor movements, sociabilities and other types of affectivities and affection.

1. The context of Brazilian indie rock between 2015 and 2020

In her doctoral thesis, Caroline Govari Nunes (2020) starts from a consensus among popular music researchers to think about how musical genres are organized. In these works, usually backed by Cultural Studies perspectives, genres are based on sound, social, economic and affective aspects. Nunes adds musical scenes to this formula, in a proposal that understands genres not only by their consensus, but also by the symbolic disputes between their actors from a territory that is, at a time, geographical (the Seattle *grunge* scene; the London *punk*; the *rock gaucho* from Porto Alegre) and semiotic (the regime of signs that result from the disputes mentioned above).

Although our informal observations between 2015 and 2018 took place predominantly in the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, we are not interested in any band that approaches the values of the *rock gaúcho* musical genre. On the contrary, many of the bands we want to study are opposed to this genre. We watched concerts by bands from other states that toured Rio Grande do Sul and noticed that their sound aspects differ a lot from each other, even though they share the same night, the same compilation, the same label, the same festival, the same *playlist*. So, it is possible to recognize some approximation between them because, together, they build a great national indie rock scene, being similar to each other when we observe the audience profile, age group, average income, artistic interests, ways of being in the world, political stance etc. There is a sharing of a scene, by social, economic, political and affective values, as proposed by Nunes (2020), but there seems to be more dissent when it comes to the sound aspects. It turns out that most of the bands we followed seem to privilege the construction of timbres, leaving harmonic, melodic and rhythmic structures - and even the lyrics that are sung - in the background. In this particular genre, artists strive to sound different from each other. In order to do this, they almost always have a series of effect pedals, plugged into guitars, bass, microphones and synthesizers, which modulate the instrument's original signal. In some cases, the modulation is so intense that the result dismantles the listener's horizon of expectation, who can no longer recognize that instrument's typical sound[4].

Unlike the indie scene that emerged in the 1980s in the United States (Azerrad, 2002) and in the United Kingdom (Reynolds, 2006), Brazilian musicians, generally members of the middle class, have a much greater difficulty in putting together their set of audio equipment, since their purchasing power is lower than that of Anglo-Saxon countries' middle class. Giving oneself the luxury of collecting pedals, guitars and amplifiers in Brazil becomes a rare situation and, because of this, musicians need to go out of their way to create their unique sound signature.

In parallel, in recent years in Brazil, indie rock has gone through a process of political reorganization. If it was a privileged space for white middle-class heterosexual boys before, now it is also a place for other causes, with a bigger, more active, and creative participation of women, people of color, indigenous people, LGBTQI+ people and other minorities. This diversity is clearly expressed in the presence of these bodies on stage; in the voices that sing and in the lyrics that explore the struggle for visibility, respect, equality, rights; in the visual performance of artists in music videos, on stage, in interviews and other media events; in their manifestations on social media; and so on. But then, the question remains: is this diversity also expressed sonically, in the complex weft that makes up the sound texture of the songs produced by Brazilian indie rock?

The economic and technical limitation aggravates with the progressive devaluation of the Brazilian currency against the Dollar since 2015. Added to this are the multiplication of micro music scenes provided by web 2.0 (Conter & Sartori, 2019), which imply a reorganization of regional music scenes; the verticalization of power on the internet generated by streaming services and the Brazilian phonographic industry crisis (De Marchi, 2016) that preserve symbolic power and the mainstream[5]/underground[6] dichotomy; budget cuts in cultural government policies; and so on.

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4. This process of an instrument's sound identity dissolution through effects is explored by Samantha Bennett (2016).

5. "The term is often used in a pejorative way to refer to the *status quo* generated by the imposition of the music industry's values on the market. Mainstream also, and specially, promotes the repetition, institutionalization and sedimentation of sound images at the core of the pop music system." (Conter, 2016, p. 312).

6. "Term attributed to the set of minor music scenes, generally autonomous, independent of major labels and of the rules of the music market." (Conter, 2016, p. 312).

Our hypothesis is that timbre, which is the result of various sounds intertwining and being perceived by our body, is not limited to meaning in its current duration, but expands into a kind of 'semiosis of sensations' (Conter et *al.*, 2017) which we are interested in investigating, not only to understand how music expands its virtuality, but also as an epistemological exercise that helps us figure out the communication phenomenon through the recent affective turn in the humanities during the last decade. We also want to detach timbre and its unfoldings from the aesthetic experience and from the idea that it is a phenomenon that escapes meaning. Therefore, we also understand affect as a sign, as proposed by Gilles Deleuze (2011). Thus, we can view relationships between materialities as sign processes.

The relevance of this study lies in its proposal to understand timbre through an immanent communicational model. Rather than understanding it as a *transmitter* of emotions, here it will be presented both as an *event* (the result of mixing bodies) and as a *transformed body* (affect). Hence the need not to reduce this study to the actuality of timbre (the moment it manifests itself as sound): it is of particular interest to us to make it possible, from this strictly theoretical study, to write other analytical texts in which it is possible to describe and interpret the socio-technical machine by which timbre operations develop, produce semiotic regularities, and differ among themselves. In addition, we intend to recognize affective developments generated in the bodies (of listeners, musicians, instruments, music as a virtuality) after the timbres are actualized, also in future texts.

It seems to us that the economic precariousness related to the acquisition of musical instruments merges with the political condition of minorities[7]. We understand that the relation between these two characteristics is an important element for the arrangement of the genre's current stage sonorities. We will return to this in the final considerations, but we suggest the reader to keep this in mind throughout the article.

Therefore, we have a valuable object for Communication research, specifically in terms of communicational studies that rely on structuralism and semiotics, since timbre, like sign, is the difference resulting from clashing bodies.

In what follows, we cross-reference theories and knowledge from different fields of expertise: communication, acoustics, semiotics, philosophy, ethnomusicology and media studies, divided into two main axes. With the first, we intend to bring the discussion of timbre from the field of acoustics to that of media studies. With the second, we intend to speculate about the affective forces of sound.

2. Acoustics, medial awareness and formal characteristics of timbre

A commonplace used when we talk about timbre is to think of it as the 'color' of sound; or, in a slightly more technical reading, of the equalization parameters (amount of bass, mids, trebles); or even the formation of sound waves (sine, square, triangular waves...). A very common conception, which is over a hundred years old, is that timbre is what differentiates two sounds that have the same melodic pitch and volume. If we hear a note there vibrating at 440 hertz coming from the strings of a piano and then being blown out of a trumpet in the same frequency range, it is the timbre of each instrument that allows us to differentiate one from the other. The parameters that define the timbre quality of each of these instruments are well known by professional musicians and physicists, but not always by the lay public:

> *As Helmholtz first revealed, there are spectral features of timbre – its 'vertical' dimension – determined by the contribution of harmonic and inharmonic overtones; there are time-variant, or temporal elements, such as amplitude fluctuation (beating); and there are spectrotemporal features, which meld the two, including attack time, decay, steady-state timbre, and release, the phases of a sound often referred to as the ADSR envelope. Finally, tone perception is influenced by the unique attack transients characteristic of a sound generator – for example, the sharp attack of a rigid plectrum striking the uneven surface of a wound steel guitar string. (Fink et al., 2018, p. 11, our emphasis).*

7. While heterosexual, middle- and upper-middle-class white men persist in the Brazilian indie rock scene, many openly support and defend minority participation. In addition, between 2016 and 2018, campaigns to report emotional and sexual abuse on social media perpetrated by people that fit that profile were instrumental in the political rearrangement of the group of people involved in music production, a practice that generated a series of controversies, as it can be seen in the article from 'Catraca Livre' available at https://catracalivre.com.br/cidadania/por-que-uma-lista-de-denuncias-contra-bandas-gerou-debate-na-web/.

In the preface to *A acústica musical em palavras e sons* [Musical acoustics in words and sounds], Menezes (2003) clarifies that, although acoustics is normally reserved for the field of physics, he believes that understanding acoustic phenomena is important in the education of contemporary musicians. It turns out that, with the advent of electroacoustic music, the possibilities of timbres increased dramatically compared to the music performed with acoustic instruments. With electronic instruments, such as a synthesizer keyboard for example, it is possible to generate any type of sound wave pattern, from a simple sine wave to white noise, a sound in which all humanly audible frequencies are reproduced simultaneously. Adding this to the feeling of exhaustion of the tonal system at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, timbre progressively becomes one of the most important elements for the creation of new musical genres (Wisnik, 1999; Guigue, 2011).

To produce a greater diversity of timbres, it was necessary to understand in advance which waveforms generated which types of sound texture. Notions of electricity, electronics and acoustics become central to music production. In the early days of electroacoustics, gigantic computers connected to oscillometers generated waves that could be shaped through controls. It became possible, for example, to generate a wave with a triangular shape, regulate its inclination degree (the more angular, the more strident), its amplitude (volume) and even add it to other waves (sine, square...). Before electroacoustics, a change in timbre necessarily implied some change in the playing of an instrument or in its body.

From gigantic and heavy tubes to tiny transistors, electroacoustics migrated from universities to home users and everyday musicians, defining the sound of 1980s pop music. At this stage, we are already relying on electric keyboards that simulate different timbres and that are reproduced through speakers. In addition, and especially for this research, in the mid-1960s, portable effects pedals became popular. The pedal is a compact device in which you can connect a guitar, bass, keyboard, microphone, any device that generates sounds converted into electrical pulses, and whose purpose is to model these sounds, generating, in the output, a different sound form in the most different ways: interfering with the equalization (changing the volume of bass, medium, treble); distorting it (*fuzz, overdrive, distortion*); changing its melodic pitch (*pitch shifter*); cutting it off and letting it sound interspersed (*tremolo*); and so on.

With the advent of pop music in the first half of the last century, timbre took on a greater role in composition. If before the term was sometimes confused with which instruments a composer chooses to perform his sonata, in pop the electrification of guitar, bass, piano and other instruments will dramatically increase their sonic possibilities with circuitry, speakers, valves, modulation pedals, among other things. Timbre, in this context, communicates. It is necessary to observe this phenomenon through a medial awareness, as proposed by Fabrício Silveira (2013, p. 65):

> *According to Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (1994, 1998, 2010), the medialities – hence 'medial consciousness' – concern the material conditions that allow the emergence of meaning. In other words: it is important to pay attention to the instruments, technical resources and support that we make use of in communicational contacts and records of all kinds; it also matters how such apparatus will be operated.*

It turns out that the ways in which pop music's sounds are configured depend on a whole complex sociotechnical machine. Most musical instruments are electric and/or electronic, and even those that seem more rudimentary in this sense, such as an electric guitar, for example, have their sound signal modulated by various effect pedals, amplifier modules, microphones, plugins and computer software. Even the voice, apparently the most 'carnal' element in pop music, has its timbre intensely modulated by such devices.

Timbre in indie rock implies a stance against normative currents and it is also a political act, not just a technical one. In *Timbre as Differentiation in Indie Music*, David Blake (2012) argues that timbre is used to differentiate the genre in question from mainstream music and that it is more powerful in this regard than any other parameter (like harmony, melody and rhythm) we could highlight: "(...) each artist offers a heterogeneous timbral palette connected with an increased sense of recording and songwriting craft which produces unusual sounds. This finding may lead one to theorize that, if anything, indie music is unified by a sense of timbral heterogeneity." (Blake, 2012, p. 11).

Blake also demonstrates how timbres used can communicate, beyond aesthetic experiences, social experiences, when, for example, a musician produces a highly distorted timbre to generate abrasive affections, or a 'hotter' timbre, with more bass and simulating greater proximity to the listener, to generate an idea of involvement and social sharing (Blake, 2012, p. 11).

But how is timbre formed? Let us imagine the act of listening to a song as the making of a rug woven by our memory. Outside our consciousness, there is no song (if we understand it as a social convention), there are sound waves moving through time and space, like unwoven threads of a potential web. A multitude of sound waves reach our ear canal and pass through the eardrum as if they were one. How can our brain tell them apart?

If timbre is a sound property that allows the distinction between one sound and another when both have the same pitch and intensity, then we can define it as the agent of difference between two instruments being played in unison. Consequently, it is because timbre exists that there is a difference in music; it is an agency of several sound attributes. It needs time and space to exist. The formation of this territory occurs through the agency of several elements: at the very least, a body that produces sounds and another body that is affected by them.

3. From 'timbre as affect' to the 'affective semiosis of timbre'

As the title of our research project proposes, at the beginning we were interested in thinking about timbre in music from the perspective of affect theories, but along the way we improved this idea until we reached another proposal, which is to observe the affective semiosis of timbre. Such a theoretical movement was fundamental for an adequate construction of our observation point. Next, we will present the theoretical path that led us to this decision, as well as explain what we mean by affective semiosis of timbre.

We listen to music with our whole body, not just the ear canal. In front of a rock band that goes beyond healthy hearing levels, we can have shivers, goose bumps, the bass sounds go through our body, vibrating bones, organs, teeth, viscera. It is impossible not to be affected by the different sound frequencies that tackle our body. After the inescapable impact of air vibrations (since we cannot close our ears the way we plug our nostrils or close our eyes), our body is transformed: racing heartbeat, ringing in the ears, ecstasy, a desire to scream, dance. We also think about the meanings that result from this encounter, turning over the sound images that formed in our memory after the listening experience. When we do, we are also affecting the music we listen to, in its incorporeal condition. Judging a song, criticizing it, recommending it, is also affecting it. So, between the musician and the music they produce, between the music and the audience, between the audience and the music, and so on, all these agents are in a constant affective relationship.

With that said, however tempting, we declare that we don't want to confuse affect with emotions. In a broader sense, derived from a long lineage that starts with the Stoics, passes through Spinosa (2017), Deleuze (2011, 2007) and through the affective turn in the humanities, our starting concept is that affect is a force, an intensity or a sensation that is the result of the action of one body against another (this action, in turn, we call affection). Affect cannot be confused with emotion because, as Mazzarela (2009, p. 292) argues, "An emotion is a subjective content, the sociolinguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal". Or as Hemmings (2005, p. 551) argues, "Affect broadly refers to states of being, rather than their manifestation or interpretation of emotions". This departure from emotions has an importance for our research, which is to avoid falling into a reading that places music as an agent that transmits emotions, as if music's core potential laid in its ability to move listeners. In this research, affects are forces, intensities, sensations that can only be potencies (virtual) or the action of one body on another (actual). To develop this notion, Deleuze relies on the philosophy of the Stoics, who established two distinct kinds of things, the bodies and the effects: "[the] bodies, with their tensions, their physical qualities, their relationships, their actions and passions and the corresponding 'states of affairs'. These states of affairs, actions and passions, are determined by the mixtures between bodies" (Deleuze, 2007, p. 5). The effects happen in these mixtures of bodies: "(...) they are not bodies, but properly speaking, 'incorporeal'. These are not physical qualities and properties, but logical or dialectical attributes. They are not things or states of affairs, but events" (Deleuze, 2007, p. 5). An effect is both an affection – the trace that one body leaves in another – and an affect – the change that has taken place in that body.

It is challenging to think of timbre from this logic, since it is the music element that our perception most immediately recognizes. And yet, its nature is quite difficult to establish. Where is timbre? Is it potentially contained in musical instruments? Is it in the air that vibrates? Is it in the perception of those who absorb it? Is it shared collectively? Well, if timbre is not in any of these places, but, at the same time, its action can be recognized in all of them, then it is not a body, but the result of an affection, of clashes between bodies. An incorporeal, therefore, like the notion of affect in Steve Goodman's *Sonic Warfare*, which means

(...) the potential of an entity or event to affect or be affected by another entity or event. From vibes to vibrations, this is a definition that traverses mind and body, subject and object, living and non-living. One way or another, it is vibration, after all, that connects every separate entity in the cosmos, organic or nonorganic. (Goodman, 2012, p. xiv)

Now that it is possible to observe timbre as an affect, we could move further and think of it as endowed with a semiotic potency. This proposal is based on our hypothesis that timbre produces meanings, even though non-logocentric signs, for example. At this stage, philosopher Gilles Deleuze (2011, 2007) is our main interlocutor, especially when he brings the theory of affects, as proposed by the Stoics and Spinoza (2017), closer to the notion of sign.

This proposal, we believe, is different from what has been said about affect, sometimes as something that would escape meaning, whether pre-sign or non-sign, sometimes as a passionate element. (...) every affect is a sign, and every affection, which occurs between two or more bodies, modifies the signs involved in the communicative act. (Conter et al., 2017, p. 37)

It is thus possible to recognize the triangulation that we want to produce here between timbre, affect, and sign. These are all incorporeal elements. We approach affect theories in order to observe timbre through an immanent perspective, as we understand that it is its relations with other bodies that define it and not the other way around (cf. Conter et al., 2017). Thus, we emphasize, it is necessary to overcome the idea that affect is an event that escapes meaning. This approach is very different from the common sense one, where affect is confused with emotion, passion and feeling, even being understood as a phenomenon that alters the state of a body, external to language, inexplicable. Affect's affection capacity does not end at goose bumps, the urge to vomit, the sensation of dizziness. The trace left by one body on another is just the beginning. There is a processuality of affect that needs to be considered: from an affect, there are escape routes: minor affections, potencies, affective chains... unfoldings that are similar to the semiosis process that we can recognize in language.

If affect is like a sign, it must have a signifier series and a signified series (Deleuze, 2007). As a signified series, affect exists in and of itself. It does not produce meaning and will only do so if its signified series comes into contact with a signifier series. Let's imagine a set of sound waves vibrating a listener's eardrum. In this context, before suffering the affection of the waves, the listener was an empty signifier house, waiting for the beginning of a song. When they hear the waves and recognize in them the typical sound of an indie rock band, for example, they are giving the affection that tackles them a signifier series. But the timbres of the sound waves produced by the band are not part of the band, nor of the waves (Menezes, 2003); they are not even part of the listener, who translated them into memory form. In fact, this identification of a sonority with a specific genre is just the beginning of semiosis.

Another obstacle to the observation of the semiosis of timbre is the fact that common sense terminology is too precarious to describe it. We generally employ terms used to describe other senses (sight, smell, touch, taste), such as calling a timbre 'abrasive', 'stodgy', 'hot', 'heavy', 'crunchy', qualities that are not necessarily sonic. Even musical genres named after timbre characteristics come from other sensorialities: heavy metal, grunge, ambient, rock, funk, trance. All these terms, although useful in terms of classification, halt the semiosis of timbre. Therefore, we are interested in the ability of timbre to unfold, to produce lines of flight. Thus, it will not only affect subjects (emotionally moving a listener, for example), but it will also affect itself, its own variation, modifying its state and developing autonomous behavior. This is our main theoretical challenge. We understand that it is necessary to detach timbre from an identity idea, as if it were the shaping agent of certain musical genres through the sound of certain musical instruments, while it is also necessary to move away from the idea that it is capable of provoking emotions on a particular audience member. Although it can be used for both things, it has an autonomous form before that, and it is endowed with a virtuality of its own.

Using the theories of the authors mentioned in this item, we can say that timbre has, in addition to an actual side (when it is signified), a virtual side (the power to affect, be affected and affect itself).

The virtual, as such, is inaccessible to the senses. This does not, however, preclude figuring it, in the sense of constructing images of it. To the contrary, it requires multiplication of images. The virtual that cannot be felt also cannot but be felt, in its effects. When expressions of its effects are multiplied, the virtual fleetingly appears. Its fleeting is in the cracks between and the surfaces around the images. (Massumi, 2002, p. 133)

We are therefore proposing a different understanding of how timbre communicates: as we tried to say at the beginning of this item, going beyond the idea of a *transmission* of emotion, timbre will also be understood as *event* (the result of mixing bodies) and as a *transformed body* (affect). Both dimensions are fundamental for understanding timbre's signifying processes.

4. Referrals for an analysis of Brazilian indie rock sounds

Recognizing the communicational dimension of affect from a post-structuralist model, which understands communication as the production of difference, the next challenge of this research will be to develop a methodology capable of analyzing the semiosis of affections that arise from the actualization of the research object, since "Perhaps one of the surest things that can be said of both affect and its theory is that they will exceed, always exceeds the context of their emergence, as the excess of ongoing process" (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010, p. 5). With this, there are three stages to be covered in future analyses, which justify the research being carried out in the field of Communication.

The first is about mapping the socio-technical machine behind the timbres of the songs that will be analyzed, in order to understand the economic, political, mediatic and technological conditions that configure it as such, following in the wake of recent studies focused on the Materialities of media and of Communication.

The second looks at timbre in its current material condition, manifesting itself as a sound wave complex that reverberates in an environment and affects the bodies around it. Here we need knowledge of Musical Acoustics and Affect Theory.

Finally, the last step is the most challenging: observing timbre as a communicational phenomenon that develops affective semiosis. In Brazilian indie rock, due to its minor nature, engaged with the underground, with amateurism, with a certain distance from the mainstream, our prognosis is that the affective semiosis of timbre in this genre creates a minor communication, in which precariousness, feminism, anthropophagy, *gambiarra*, jerry-rigging, body politics and other micropolitics typical of this music express themselves affectively and, even in a non-logocentric way, are capable of engendering new possible sonic worlds:

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> *The goal of characterizing a minor communication is perhaps to shift the focus, to abandon notions already heavily stratified like Media, Culture, Politics, Institutions, which are typical of communication studies, and pay attention to its inventive character, to the unconscious and almost imperceptible devices that underlie all these big molar aggregates. (Araujo, 2020, p. 167)*

To handle the first two stages, we can rely on more traditional methodologies, such as mappings, cartographies, clipping of news articles, field observations, interviews with the artists. But the last stage depends on a more speculative process, one that, it seems to us, can be done if we rummage through the collected material in a rhizomatic, anti-genealogical way, as proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (2011), focusing on the observation of timbre's inventive character, as proposed above by Araujo (2020).

As we said at the beginning, Brazilian indie rock produced between 2015 and 2020 seems to us to be marked by the unusual encounter between an economic precariousness that limits the acquisition of equipment and a minor political condition. The set of equipment that the musician uses in the studio or in live performances presents itself as a socio-technical machine that crosses technical, social, economic and even political limitations. It implies, therefore, in the observation of different bodies acting against each other. The same happens with this minor political condition, which will develop a collective semiotic machine, where a regime of signs in favor of diverse and plural ways of being in the world will reorganize this universe. Thus, it is possible to propose, albeit hypothetically, the reason why indie rock has presented a great semiotic opening to incorporate minority politics: the composition of timbres in indie rock is not just what constitutes the genre. More than that, it is what produces difference *within* the genre, which creates singularities even between songs from the same band.

Going through these different strata, territories of meaning and agency generated by timbres that constitute our corpus, with the theoretical framework that we have tied together here, will be fundamental to understand how the affective semiosis of timbre happens in Brazilian indie rock.

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4.5 Post-digital music and 'subtechnological' ideas in chilean electronic music practices

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

The role of technology in the construction of Latin American culture and identity is a complex and everchanging topic. The appropriation of technological artifacts, ideas and modern perspectives have changed its focus from the modernist paradigm of the twentieth century to a post-digital approach, which embraces post-modern values. In this paper, I suggest that both perspectives respond to Latin American 'subtechnological' (Castillo, 2014) approach to technology, specially in arts, music and the electronic sound practices. I explore two opposite electronic music creators in their own Chilean (and Latino) context. In both cases, sound experimentation is motivated through certain relationships between their culture and technology.

Keywords: technology, Latin America, appropriation, modernism, electronic music.

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I bring together two concepts related to technology that are intrinsically tied to Latin America. Those are the concepts of subtechnology as explained by Castillo (2014) and the post digital aesthetics as studied by a large array of researchers in the intersection of arts and technology.

First, I will look into Latin America's relationship with technology, especially in the artistic and avant-garde fields. I propose here that this territory has been in a constant modernization process under a Latino modernism paradigm. This process has set the ground for experimental practices from the early twentieth century and has been equally reinforced and subverted ever since. Then, I'm going to expand on both main concepts of this paper —subtechnology and post digital aesthetics— and explain how they are related to each other in the context of Latino technological creation and the modernism paradigm. Finally, I'm going to shed light on how Chile, as a Latin American case of study, has changed its focus from a subtechnological model of modernism paradigm to a subtechnology of experimentation and 'resistance'. I compare early electronic music practices in Chile, mainly by José Vicente Asuar, and current trends in electronic experimentalism that are more related to a punk ethos, collaborative methods of production, and innovation decentralization from academic circuits.

It is often common to see Latin America in a continuous 'non-ending' process of development compared to the hegemonic powers of production (Europe and the United States mainly). In terms of technology development and research, there is not a different scenario. According to Ciocca and Delgado (2017), "Latin American society has become accustomed to expect new science and technological developments to come from developed countries rather than from their own scientists" (Ciocca & Delgado, 2017, p. 847). This dissociation between technical and scientific research and the territory's culture, politics, and social values is deeply rooted in historical precedents, from the political colonization by the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century to the cultural-economic global colonization in recent times.

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Latin America's relationship with technology has always been mediated by its culture and its aspirational desire to become a modern territory. This might be translated into a continuous appropriation of European technological culture by Latino elites to position themselves into a modern cultural standard. However, despite Latin America's eagerness to become part of the modern world, according to Beatty et *al.* (2017, pp. 138-139):

> *for two centuries the world has been divided into two groups: technology exporters (the early industrializers, mainly in the north Atlantic, plus Japan) and technology importers (everyone else, or the relatively late developers, from eastern and southern Europe to Latin America, most of Asia, and Africa).*

In the same vein, Latino artists and intellectual elites from the early 20th century reveal a profound desire to position themselves as a direct ramification of the European and American Avant-Garde. Perceived as a modernizing project, the agenda of these Latino groups was to merge with the globalized and 'mostly civilized' artistic expressions of the old world by going even further in the making of radical perspectives.

For Machuca (2011), Latin America is a place where insider and outsider cultures constantly collide. This syncretic approach gives birth to local artistic aesthetics that comment on technology at the same time it is being used. This author proposes that: "in Chile (as part of a Latin American perspective) our claimed identity has been composed by discontinued, fractured and sometimes incomplete superpositions, at times overwhelmingly technical and diverse" (Machuca, 2011, p. 69). This eclectic diagnostic of a Latino cultural paradigm speaks about a permanent state of identity construction and the cultural and aesthetic outcome of that process.

2. Modernity versus Modernism in Latin America

The case of Mexico's Julian Carrillo may be interpreted as paradigmatic as he seeked to propose a completely innovative approach to XX century music by exploring micro tones. His perspectives on composition and notation based on a strict microscopic subdivision of the temperate tone were contemporary to avant-garde approximations in early contemporary music. They preceded other similar micro-tonal initiatives from composers like Harry Partch and Alois Hába.

For Madrid (2003), it is important to understand Carrillo's ideas, as well as other expressions from Latino composers from the early twentieth century, as a manifestation of modernism that is not to be confused with modernity. The latter concept refers to a process of modernization sought by European and American cultures to achieve a state of technological and social development at the cost of imperialism and cultural colonization. The former, however, is the process of assimilation of the 'civilized' European culture by (in this case) Latino wealthy elites in order to establish themselves and the territory as part of the European lineage of expansion. With this agenda, the idea of these minority wealthy groups was not to give an image of Latin America as a formerly colonized territory but rather to make it look like a continuation of the European cultural paradigm.

The modernist idea encouraged artistic practices not only for its ability to express people's thoughts and intellectual desires but mainly for the degree of performativity with which a creator is able to construct and perform the idea of cultural development. As Madrid (2003) points out, music not only reflects the ideals of identity in Carrillo's compositions, but rather it is the result of a performative incarnation of the avant-garde European composer who seeks intellectual and technological advancement, but also, attempts to prove himself as a valid Latino contemporary artist.

This take on modernism versus modernity and its artistic dimension is explored by Castillo (2014), who coins the term *subtecnología* (subtechnology). It refers to an alternative perspective on technological advancement in which peripheral approximations to modern development use technology as a means of progress. This particular —especially Latino— usage of modern ideas, intellectual creations, artistic perspectives, and technological devices detaches the desired modern object from the environment in which it was conceived and is brute-forced into a new cultural background.

Castillo's idea is based mainly on how Latin American societies are used to administer, organize, and appropriate technologies from the industrial nations. The notion of technological invention is not an often-used concept in a territory that looks outwards in order to obtain answers to its modern agenda. However, it is essential to note that the continuous practice of administration and consumption of foreign goods, ideas, and intellectual

devices is, in fact, an alternative technological reality. While not strictly technology in a physical sense, Carrillo's (2014) idea of 'Sonido 13' is indeed a creative artifact based on intellectual performances of music practices related to modern conservatories and academic artistic aesthetics centers in Europe and the USA.

3. Post-digital practices and the democratization of experimentation

Eventually, the modernist paradigm of identity construction was overshadowed by newer approximations to technology and cultural discourses. Although the former approach remains active in specific groups and social apparatuses in Latin America, from politics to economy, art has seen dramatic changes around technology use, consumption, administration, and creation. New concepts like post-digital aesthetics, media archeology, and DIY perspectives have come to play a significant role in the paradigm shift of the late twentieth century to the new millennium.

In a Latin American context of modernist ideals and sought identity, post-digital artistic methods of expression, through processes like repurposing and appropriation, can resist and subvert the subtechnological approach to artistic expressions based on modern assimilation and consumption. Contemporary Latino perspectives on experimental electronic practices provide a new scenario that challenges the traditional and hegemonic technological powers in favor of a multiplicity of local narratives at the periphery of the industrial centers.

As Cascone (2000) proposes, post-digital aesthetics emerged as a result of the process of democratization of technological devices and thinking in the late twentieth century. As technology experimentalism rapidly escaped academic campuses and embedded in people's daily life, new music genres spawned, and new ways of production and collaboration were achieved. As Adkins et *al*. (2016) suggest, these music genres like glitch, noise, experimental electronics, IDM, and even widely known techno and EDM music created parallel narratives to the electroacoustic/acousmatic works by classical music composers.

The Post-Digital concept may not only refer to an artistic sound-material ideal but rather as an alternative approach to intersect technology and artistic creation. As Cascone's approach to post-digital is through Glitch and Failure, other takes on post-digital problematics focus on other aspects surrounding sound creation as it is the 'liveness' dimension, collective collaborations, and inventive DIY methods.

The Do-It-Yourself attitude, most found in punk groups and scenes, profoundly impacted technology development by changing the mindset of consumption to production in social groups that otherwise would not have the opportunity to access state-of-the-art artifacts and electronic devices. For Fernández and Iazzeta (2015), the appropriation and repurposing of discarded devices —as DIY methods present in Hardware Hacking and Circuit Bending practices— may challenge the industrial apparatus of technological production. By entering the black box of electronic devices (Hertz, 2012), the user learns and grasps the materials used in the fabrication of an industrialized object, thus starting a process of deproletarianization in which the user has complete control of a new creative environment.

Hertz and Parikka (2012) also address circuit bending as an interesting DIY approach to the intersection of music creation and technology. The act of repurposing discarded media into new musical instruments may be seen as a strategy to re-gain the relation between crafting artifacts and discourses simultaneously. Also, it is an application of media archeology as an artistic methodology that challenges the notion of technological development linked to hegemonic narratives (Hertz & Parikka 2012). Despite Herz and Parikka calling repurposed devices 'zombie-media' for their liminal state both as obsolete and live artifact, others take on appropriation may challenge the notion of object deadness. As Spowage (2020) states, it is crucial to "refuse to recognize the concept of obsolescence, because I consider all technology to be useful at any time in its life cycle" (Spowage, 2020, p. 69).

It is often common to see Do-It-Yourself methods being developed as part of collective efforts to resist industrialized production. From British punk music scenes resisting and negotiating with industrial record companies to hardware hacking groups creating and educating people to change their relation to technology from user to producer. Thus, post-digital aesthetics reinforce the idea of collectiveness deeply related to experimentation. Ferguson and Brown (2016) are aware of this aesthetic discourse by stating that: "Although as musicians we are interested in sound, our methods, processes and materials are at least as important." (Ferguson & Brown, 2016, p. 129).

4. Latin American perspective shift

How do these two concepts —modernism and post-digital aesthetics— collide in the growing process of Latin American modernization? How was a deeply rooted identity agenda permeated by globalized notions of technological democratization and cultural empowerment? This type of process often involves multiple and complex factors from communicational development impact to politics and economic growth. The analysis of these criteria would be massive and escapes the exploratory limits of this paper. However, here are exposed two narratives corresponding to each of the technological ideals explained here and how the latter comments on the previous one.

4.1. José Vicente Asuar and the early Chilean electronic music

It would not be hard to guess that Chile, as a late industrialized, often marginalized country, imported its first digital computers in the early sixties. First as a tool for government administration matters in 1961 and later as educational improvements for the School of Engineering at Universidad de Chile (Albornoz, 2015). However, electroacoustic music in Chile started a couple of years back, in 1956 with the piece 'Nacimiento' by Chilean-Israelite composer Leon Schidlowsky and with the foundation of the Taller Experimental de Sonido by Juan Amenábar and José Vicente Asuar (Schumacher, 2005).

The early electronic experimentalism was partly influenced by avant-garde European music, mainly by Boulez and Meyer-Epler, who both visited Chile in that decade. Amenabar, who was an artistic programmer at the 'Radio Chilena', received the direct influence of traveler composers like Fernando García and Gustavo Becerra, who often moved between Chile and Europe, bringing with them new music and compositional narratives from the consolidated European composers (Schumacher, 2005). Moreover, the engineering background that both Asuar and Amenabar held probed to be useful to pursue higher technical achievements in the electronic music field by creating their own analog instruments.

The digital disruption played a significant role in the modernization project, especially for Asuar, who moved from analog synthesizers to computational calculations and language programming. This material shift from analog to digital was a response to two factors: Asuar's relationship with academics and students of the engineering faculty of Universidad de Chile and his visit to the University of New York Electronic Music Studio at Buffalo in 1971 (Albornoz, 2015).

Both Asuar's career-achieving projects —the virtuoso computer and the COMDASUAR— originated after his initial exploration of the digital realms at Buffalo. The lack of extensive hardware and electronic music studios in Chile would have made it impossible for the composer to dive into the synthetic world of computer chips. In order to broaden his approach to music experimentalism, he had to import, and ultimately appropriate, an alien artistic practice along with the physical and technological artifacts that made possible its materialization.

The digital approach of Asuar fits perfectly in the narrative of subtechnological modernism since the use, administration, and import of these technological and cultural artifacts gave birth to two educational LP's: "El Computador Virtuoso" (1973) and "Así Habló el Computador" (1979). Both compilations of works were published as didactical sound materials that explain the use of computer technology in music creation to a broad aficionado audience. This pedagogical motivation of Asuar shows an awareness of the lack of contextualization in which these pieces were conceived. Hoping to fill the cultural gap, the composer replicates the modernist approach of appropriation by creating a new Latin American environment aided by the educational material that he provides in his recordings.

Thus, the early digital music exploration in Chile was another form of technological and cultural importation that, once decontextualized of its origin, creates new narratives and meanings. These narratives seek to educate and make use of technological development fabricated outside of the Latino boundaries as attempts to put Chilean experimentalism in the electronic music spotlight.

4.2. 'Posternura' and the post-digital approach

From the early electronic and digital technology appropriation of the late sixties, we jump to a contemporary perspective on technology use and administration. Despite Chile's current profile of a semi-industrialized

country with a perceived favorable economic balance, production and fabrication of artifacts are still far-fetched concepts. In this scenario, electronic music and experimentalism emerge through the post-digital perspective in a rather diverse way. Even when there still are modern attempts to reach a modernist paradigm from conservatories and academic electroacoustic groups, the proliferation of alternative experimental collectives may only be explained through the desire of exploring Latin American identity with its own approach to technology and culture.

I take *Posternura* as a descriptive example of this artistic approach. This collective is based in the southern Chilean city of Valdivia, which challenges the Chilean tendency to become a centralized country. It is formed by a diverse group of people with different backgrounds. Although most of them already possess academic training from high educational levels, their activities take place outside of formal educational spaces. These activities range from informal concerts, workshops, and an annual festival called 'Campamento Cyberpunk' (Cyberpunk camp), where multiple *Posternura* acts and guest artists converge.

The artistic practices that are explored by the collective artists range from hardware hacking, coding, electronic post-punk music, noise made with hardware or PD patches to 3D gaming interfaces with sound reactions. As one may notice, it is a diverse plethora of artistic manifestations that are linked together by a particular understanding of the tools used to execute their works. It is somehow more important to reflect on the technological devices that are used instead of the aesthetically refined sound that may come out of it. Felipe Weason, one of the founder members of *Posternura*, states that "there is a certain 'punky' attitude by not paying attention to decoration or when showing what is inside our music"[2]. This perspective resonates with Hertz and Parikka's take on circuit bending and black box unveiling (2012).

However, from a Latin American perspective, *Posternura*'s practices are inserted in a rather hostile environment of accelerated technology consumption. The hegemonic powers manifest their economic pressure in South American societies by pushing a neo-liberal agenda to the limit. In this context, the most democratic practices of technology appropriation and re-signification present in post-digital practices described earlier may be seen as acts of resistance to the urge of technological retail consumption. By embracing open-source software, DIY methods, collaboration, and decentralized organizational structures, this collective poses questions around technology, culture, and their territory.

The modernist paradigm seeks to apprehend the European culture by forcing it into a new ecosystem. The postmodern post-digital approach comment on the differences in technological development and the local narratives that arise from the identity agenda in the artistic Latino community. However, I propose to notice the similarities between these two perspectives. Both come from a specific motivation of engaging with technology and the cultural outcomes that technology may provide to the artists. From theoretical compositional strategies to widely spread open-source coding languages, the roots of these technological artifacts are rather far away from the Latino daily life. However, their usage and administration facilitate the proliferation of new aesthetical and analytical local reasoning.

From this point, it is up to the user to embrace the civilizational project of the hegemonic powers or completely use the technologically appropriated tools to build a Latino usage. For both Asuar and Posternura, even when their perspectives may be classified in radical ends of the given spectrum, they both tend to fall somewhere in between. This shows the inescapable nature of creation and transculturation that technology administration cause in the periphery of cultural and technological development.

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4.6 Making a scene! Linking Black British Sound System practices with the lesbian music scene in London in the 1980s

Katherine Griffiths[1]

✕ ~~*Abstract*~~

In the face of the racist, sexist and homophobic mainstream clubbing worlds, Black and white lesbians created their own queer music scenes in liminal spaces in London in the 1980s and 1990s. These informal spaces of consumption provided escape from work and the family, affirmed our worlds, and developed a sense of identity and community (Buckland, 2002). This scene emerged from 1970s counterculture and was influenced by Black British sound system culture. We were schooled in protest at inequalities, had witnessed racist police violence and uprisings in the UK. Our involvement in music expressed escape and hope (Gilroy, 1993). Preceding the rave scene and corporate superclub culture, these one-off events took place beyond the view of the mainstream. Nights were often short-lived and the publicity relied on word-of-mouth and self-made flyers. Culture was created by the DJ's and dancers, promoters and their friends (Melville, 2020; Pini, 2001).

Keywords: lesbians, clubbing, London.

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1. Making a scene!

'Making a scene' is often an admonition to women to be quiet, to calm down, an accusation of being too emotional. Women of the 1980s had had enough of the patronizing legal, social attitudes of the male-dominated world. This paper aims to shine a light on the club scene that Black and white lesbians created in London in the 1980s and 1990s, under the radar of the straight world and in liminal spaces. Along with other marginalised and outsider groups London lesbians put their labour into creating alternative music scenes in autonomous spaces beyond stereotypical domestic spheres. Lesbians upset the power relations of the city's spaces (Massey, 1994) in making their scene, and music was the conduit that embodied this process in the club and through the dancing bodies on the dancefloor. The work of Black lesbians here, and the influence of British Black reggae sound system culture, challenged the dominant mappings of London. "If these hierarchies are spatial expressions of racism and sexism, the interrogations and remappings provided by black diaspora populations can incite new, or different, and perhaps more just geographic stories." (McKitterick, 2020, p. xv).

The lesbian music scene is largely invisible in writings on club culture, subcultures and queer history. While the London lesbian music scene encompassed a range of musical genres and sub-scenes, I will concentrate here on the scene where music of the Black Atlantic was played, danced to and provided sonic sanctuary. I suggest that the methods employed by this scene's activists owed more to the strategies and influence of the UK's reggae sound system culture than to a DIY ethos passed down via 1970s punk in lineage from the Situationists

International. I discuss the increasing visibility and agency of lesbians in the capital during this period as queer activities expanded into public spaces, and call for this undocumented history's place in the archive.

I am writing this from the inside as a white lesbian. This is not a definitive account, but is based on my own experiences, collected ephemera from the time and remembering with others who were there. I DJ'ed and danced on the overlapping gay and straight Black music scenes where rare groove, reggae, jazz, funk, hip hop, and emerging Black UK sounds moved Black and white, gay and straight, to the dancefloor. This was a time of political and cultural DIY activism. Marginalised groups responded to oppressive forces through formal and informal collaborations across domestic, employment, political and cultural spheres and made connections with the fight for liberation within and beyond the UK. The liberatory activism of Black and white lesbians making a scene existed in the context of 1980s London, developing, as with sound system culture, a creative response to the restrictions of mainstream society. This scene challenged the racist door policies, and sexism of the gay and straight clubbing scenes.

Being out as a lesbian in London in the 1980s and 1990s took effort and necessitated conscious and constant vigilant navigation through the city's political, cultural and physical spaces. London's attraction as a site of escape and safety for lesbians, gays, queers and marginalised groups did not in itself offer protection from the right wing and reactionary elements of mainstream society. However, as we will see, sanctuary and resistance were found and emphatically created across the critical spheres of music and protest.

Two key intersecting elements therefore energised this marginal scene: the social and political landscape, and the emerging Black music scene.

1.1 The social and political landscape

In the 1980s and 1990s Margaret Thatcher's Tory government were set on controlling the public and private lives of the working classes, Black people, queers, immigrants, and trades unions through reactionary legislation and police powers. Restrictions on the funding of local councils to provide affordable housing, the proposal to limit discussion in schools of homosexuality through Clause 28, cosying up to Ronald Reagan's nuclear arms project and the violent racist policing of Black people resulted in regular protests, strikes, marches, actions, and uprisings. For the left and marginal groups in the UK there was solidarity and political affinity with international struggles. Trades Unions and individuals rallied to support the *Sandinistas* in Nicaragua, and there was a constant demonstration against apartheid outside the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square. Throughout the 1980s, before increasing crackdowns from the police, solidarity marches took place through the capital almost every weekend. Lesbians were visible and active in the wider political landscape, through housing co-ops, squatting, attending marches and demonstrations, supporting awareness raising around HIV and AIDS, setting up self-help organisations such as Women and Manual Trades, Women's Aid, Rape Crisis, lobbying for safe transport for women and taking part in Reclaim the Streets actions.

While unemployment was high, welfare benefits at the time enabled many to make productive use of their time through film, music, theatre and the arts. Many publicly funded feminist, lesbian and gay and women-only projects with their own spaces and workers gave women and lesbians increased economic and cultural control. The anti-racist and anti-discriminatory policies and actions of the Greater London Council (GLC) and local councils did not overthrow Capitalism's structures, however these initiatives touched many individuals and groups and provided visions of alternative ways of relating and self-organising. The GLC and local authorities provided spaces and funding for a range of projects, these included the London Filmmakers Co-op, Camerawork photographic darkrooms, Chats Palace community centre, Copyart printing resource in Kings Cross, Centreprise Books in Hackney. There were also many publicly funded feminist, lesbian and gay and women-only projects with their own spaces and workers e.g., the print workshops See Red, Lenthal Road Print, and women's centres in many boroughs. The London Lesbian and Gay Centre, the Black Lesbian and Gay Centre and Wild Court Women's Centre provided political and cultural meeting spaces and access to public space that women and lesbians would not otherwise be able to obtain. In the early 1980s benefit nights and celebratory events linked causes from the UK to worldwide struggles.

This is by no means an exhaustive list or full account of the social and political environment but illustrates the amount of overlapping political and cultural activity taking place that Black and white lesbians were a part of an inhabited. The effects of participating and being part of this setting gave many young people and marginalised groups a powerful sense of agency and community in an otherwise hostile world. As many

lesbians lived in squats and housing co-ops these were additional premises to put on parties and blues nights and take control of their clubbing sites of pleasure.[2]

The effects of participating and being part of this setting gave many a powerful sense of agency and community in an otherwise hostile world. In this context and alongside the emerging Black music scene lesbians had access to formal and alternative spaces which were free from mainstream society's surveillance and restrictions. This was energetically utilised to create club nights where music, dancing, partying and politics overlapped.

1.2 The emerging Black music scenes in London and the South East

During the late 1970s and 1980s the straight 'rare groove' scene was emerging, (Melville, 2020). It was here that the legacy of sound system culture transformed London's Black music scene. "(...) these gatherings addressed the critical lack of social and cultural interactions in the UK that many of that generation were used to 'back home'." (Reid & Rosenior-Patten, 2021, p. 127).

Now the sons and daughters of the Caribbean British who had arrived in the 1950s and 1960s were building their own scene playing reggae and soul music to increasingly mixed audiences. London sound system crews took over the empty houses and abandoned warehouse spaces of London's dying industrial landscape and re-purposed them as one-off club nights. This was in response to the lack of safe places available throughout the UK for the Black community to party and to the racialized door policies of London's music venues where Black clubbers were turned away. These acts and interventions reconstituted clubbing into utopic visions for those attending. "In the space that music creates the social structures imposed on us were reworked, imperial space remade as post-colonial space, the past reconfigured in the present, divided city space made over as a space of multiculture." (Melville, 2020, pp. xi – xii).

As a white woman I have not experienced racism and must acknowledge here that I have benefited in many ways from Black music. The music of Black America carries messages of liberation and redemption, moves back in time and carries us forward to the present and to hopes of future liberation, these aesthetics and messages resonate with the struggles of marginal groups worldwide. Black music provides ways of relating through dance, and a curriculum to read and understand the world. Listening and dancing to Black music we navigate history, emotions and key points in our lives. As Attali reminds us "Music is more than an object of study: it is a way of perceiving the world. A tool of understanding." (Attali, 1985, p. 4). The mixed crowds attending warehouse parties found shared enjoyment moving to the grooves. The DJ's curated the tracks, taking the dancers on journeys of joy and communion on the dancefloor. The lesbian Black music scene emerged and grew alongside the straight Black music scene where overlaps of clubbers and DJ's met and danced at mixed (straight and gay) club nights, for example Norman Jay regularly played at mixed nights and the legendary house DJ Paul 'Trouble' Anderson played at Gay Pride.

Sound system's influence was enriching the city's clubbing scenes and airwaves with a proliferation of Black music nights as the city echoed with pirate radio stations transmitting reggae, soul, garage, and hip hop through its sonic spaces.

1.3 The lesbian music scenes

At the same time lesbians were organising their own autonomous club nights playing Black music, following and influenced by Black British sound systems' methods and strategies.

The lesbian club scene that grew through the 1980s and 1990s provided places to meet, to dance and to share a sense of community. The scene offered clubbing lesbians' ways to affirm their identity through cultural expression and create a sense of belonging in a hostile world. This was all relative as the lesbian community was not exempt from prejudice. While several longstanding regular gay club nights and venues were established in the 1980s not all musical, fashion, political tastes were met. The majority of regular gay nights and bars were white, gay male and did not welcome lesbians. The London lesbian scene was in its very early incarnation and this period saw a real shift in the range of clubs beginning to emerge for lesbians. The post-war scene and opportunities for gay women were limited, as was lesbian visibility generally, (Jennings, 2007). The gay scene for men and women existed in a context of oppression, police surveillance and violent homophobia where there was no protection

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2. "'club' is a shorthand for the totality of sound spaces people set up with dance music to get together and dance, in the absence of a better word (...) whatever that meant or might mean in any one place at a time." (Hossfield et *al.*, 2020, p. 21).

on being outed at work or within the family. Black lesbians and gays faced the double oppressions of racism and heterosexism. During the 1980s lesbians started kicking back and creating their own informal alternative club spaces. The kind of lesbian scene that the Gateways bar represented held little or no appeal to many 1980s lesbians who had emerged from 1970s punk, RAR's promise of rebellion and feminist teachings. These disrupters to the status quo energetically demonstrated their anger at oppression, racism and sexism through emerging identity politics and activism. The few regular women's nights that had emerged in the early 1980s were renowned for playing bland, crowd-pleasing music that catered to a stereotypical white lesbian audience and where Black lesbians often faced racism from door staff and punters. In response to this context a diverse range of one-off nights, niche events and sub-scenes emerged counter to the prevailing gay and lesbian scenes.

Many Black lesbian promoters and DJ's had grown up with sound systems and brought this knowledge and approach to the lesbian club scene. In the mid-1980s the club promoter Claude brought the reggae artist Lorna Gee to perform her ragga classic *3 Week Gone (Mi Giro)* (Gee, 1985) at The Entertainer women's night in Dalston. At the same time Yvonne Taylor's Systematic collective took over Saturday nights at the South London Women's Centre in Brixton, running into the early 1990s, providing safe women-only club nights in response to the lack of Black music and accessibility for Black women, at the regular predominantly white, women's bars.

The DJ Sista Culcha regularly played at women-only gigs and benefits, for example the Solidarity with SWAPO Namibian Women's Day event at the Africa Centre in Covent Garden. This venue hosted many seminal music nights including Jazzie B's who would go on to chart success with Soul II Soul. Here we see political and cultural overlaps where politics and the UK's Black music scene merge with the influence of sound system culture.

Flyers of the time demonstrate the mix of politics and music on the lesbian club scene and the lineage of sound system culture and aesthetics.

Lesbian clubs playing music of the Black Atlantic offered DJ's, dancers and promoters opportunities to connect with each other. This was cultural and political labour. Sourcing a venue to run a lesbian event took time and effort, promoters were faced with racism and sexism from the straight landlords. This made any club night fragile and a risky venture. Getting a regular item in the listings magazines and gay press was out of the question. The organisers

designed and printed flyers and distributed them to friends and allies relying on word of mouth and reputation to advertise the club.

These actions were motivated by political beliefs, a love of Black music, obsessive crate-digging, joyous resistance and came out of necessity. Strategies were employed to ensure the spaces were accessible, safe, and affordable and had great music playing where sonic imaginary worlds could exist. By organising events autonomously lesbians could assert control over the door policy, the music played and the behaviour of the patrons. Friends were recruited to publicise, be on the door and cloak room and keep an eye on proceedings. Considerations of transport available and affordability was also considered by charging a sliding scale for entrance and there were often shout-outs for lifts at the end of a night. The scene made a stand for music and conviviality and was a community-building project. These actions did not set out to commodify a social scene. The monetary and labour outlays in setting up and putting on events often just covered the costs but did not render financial profit to be capitalised and taken from the clubbers or see them as consumers to be exploited. Nevertheless, the rewards were many. This cultural activity was a form of resistance, offering social space and alternative world-making for lesbians from marginalised ethnic groups and their white allies.

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Whatever their make-up, these worlds or landscapes speak of alternatives to the conditions and possibilities which surround us on a day-to-day basis. They hold the promise of something more or suggest something beyond that which is immediately attainable. In such spaces lies the potential for re-figurations of the here and now, the possibilities for creating alternative fictions or narratives of being, and the opportunities for the development of new (albeit temporary, incomplete and constituted partly in fantasy) 'identities' (...) (Pini, 2001, p. 2)

The importance of these spaces where connections were made through music, through sharing a physical space and moving on the dancefloor with other lesbians, offered new possibilities to affirm our identities. "In a club itself, more than one thing happened. Human action and interaction shaped clubs, and participants shaped themselves by going to them." (Buckland, 2002, p. 11).

Conclusion

There are gaps in the writings on club cultures and a lack of recognition of women's work and contributions. London's club scene that emerged through the 1980s paved the way for superclubs, superstar DJ's, and the music festival industry. And while LGBTQI+ visibility is now a given in the West, it is important to acknowledge the history and diversity of the many sub-scenes that rubbed against each other in London in the late twentieth century. On the margins of the straight and gay scenes Black and white lesbians musicked[3] and politicked, disrupted normative values and asserted their identity and belonging. "The urgency of owning a space with people who look like you and share some of your experiences increases the further against the margins you are." (Abdurraqib, 2017, p. 221).

The social and political context of the 1980s and 1990s enabled lesbians to usurp spatial, racial, gendered hierarchies, and create autonomous sites of pleasure on the dancefloor. In these often-precarious sites, lesbians found their own fleeting escape.

> *The ecstatic dissolution of the self on the dancefloor, the transformation of ordinary codes of physical and verbal interaction, is still experienced by many as a life-changing experience which encourages and enables new relationships to the body of both self and other/s (...) it's this which remains one of dance culture's most concrete sites of political potential. (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999, p. 107).

In conclusion, I end with a quote from Yvonne Taylor of Systematic, describing the creativity and joy created through music as she recounts the women's club, she set up at the South London Women's Centre in the mid-1980s:

> *(...) We bought everything and cooked the food, made the café respectable... And we played a whole variety of music, so we didn't have to listen to pop music. S Source: Author we played old school soul, Aretha Franklin, anything that was rare groove, reggae, lover's rock.

So, basically, everyone was welcome. We had this whole room full of a diverse group of women who, for a minute, were united about the music.[4]

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4.7 The culture of noise: expressivity in independent musical production in Curitiba

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✕ Abstract

The present work, carried out in the city of Curitiba - Paraná, seeks to elucidate the elements that involve the subjective and cultural expressiveness generated from the popularization of the methods of composition and musical production. This phenomenon is perceived from the reality that there is greater freedom in the production of sounds because of such accessibility, which ultimately transforms the creative developments and, consequently, the result of these musical productions. From interviews with different producers, inserted in the universe of independent popular music, it's intended to elucidate how musical objects are produced in this reality, and how such processes influence the expressiveness of the artist. Cultural changes resulting from the development in the independent popular music scene are perceived, as well as possible cultural and subjective paradigms present in such expressivities.

Keywords: popular music, independent production, culture, subjectivity, expressiveness.

Introduction

This article, based on the theoretical production of Molina (2017a, 2017b), Gell (2018), Canclini (2015) and Yúdice (2013), intends to explore how independent musical productions are developed in the city of Curitiba, located in the state of Paraná, in Brazil. Curitiba, as shown by the work of Seus, Mussak and Barros (2014) has a relevant independent production that is still little explored, mainly about its producers, such as their life trajectories and their personal expressions about their work.

As explored by the work of Wisnik (1989) and Picchia (2013), it is possible to explore social objects and their creation as signals about the reality in which social actors are inserted. Nevertheless, as the work of Howard S. Becker (1982) and Richard Peterson (1978) emphasizes, there is an urgent need to analyze musical education beyond a structuralist perspective, as just a reflection of the social structure, needing to understand how the subjects dialogue each other in their own artistic contexts, with their rules and dynamics. This fact is explained by Finnegan (2013), in which, when analyzing phenomena of local musical creation, he highlights how this fact is immensely relevant to analyze creative techniques in contemporary reality.

Because of this, this article seeks to focus a research in a specific context, to understand how the social actors of the reality of independent music producers in the city of Curitiba dialogue and experience their work. Understanding their life trajectory is of sensitive relevance to investigate their productions because, as DeNora (2003) argues, music plays a central role in the development of a self, of a self-conception, this fact being central to understanding the creative processes and artistic expressiveness.

When defining what an independent music producer would be, Junior (2016) is used, who reflects on the concept of 'independent'. The author reports that it is built "in the practices and representations of agents

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and, often, against their systematization efforts" (Junior, 2016, p. 110), in addition to being produced "socio-historically, conditioned both by broader circumstances and by the immediate situations in which it emerges on the discursive surface" (2016, p. 110). For the author, the term 'independent' seems to be the most consolidated concept "when it comes to demarcating a dissident or counter-hegemonic ethos of cultural production" (Junior, 2016, p. 114).

Central factors in Latin American musical production

When starting the dialogue about the creative and expressive processes that generate the works of music producers, it is justified to start from their production techniques. For this purpose, the work of Molina (2017a) will be used, in which the author seeks to analyze the paradigms and compositional techniques in popular music after 1967, which marks the release of the Beatles' Sgt. Peppers Lonely Hearts Club Band. At first, the term "popular music" by the author will be appropriated, characterizing it as "music making that came from 'popular' communities as opposed to that of musicians who represented the tradition of written music of European origin" (Molina, 2017a, p. 21).

Molina (2017a) Will argue that, as there is the importance of musical writing in the history of classical music, in the era of assembly music from 1960 onwards, multitrack recorders enabled musicians to "begin to architect overlapping events sound, exploring open areas in the verticality of the registers" (Molina, 2017a, p. 35). The paradigm shift provided, in addition to a visual notion of music from computer monitors that visually transmitted the waves of the tracks, a new idea of music that explored 'sound over tone'. This means an exploration of a song in which the tone, its compositional melodies, a focus on notes, uses only a small space, being more thought about the potential of sounds and textures in these productions of sounds.

Because of this approach in relation to technical aspects, it is necessary to contextualize them in a field focused on subjective and cultural aspects. Seeking such a premise, it is justified to approach the work of Gell (2018), which understands art objects as "devices that contribute to ensuring the consent of individuals within the network of intentions in which they are involved" (Gell, 2018, p. 10).

For Gell (2018, p. 45), "anyone should be considered a social agent, at least potentially", with these agencies being attributed to the subjects resulting in "events caused by acts of mind, will or intention, and not of a mere concatenation of physical events" (Gell, 2018, p. 45). The agent, in this context, "makes events happen around him" (Gell, 2018, p. 45), being the original source of these causal events. In addition to people, agents can be "things, animals, deities, anything" (Gell, 2018, p. 54), requiring a greater focus on the relationship in which the agent establishes, acting in relation to a "patient", which is the "object which is causally affected by the action of the agent" (Gell, 2018, p. 54).

Gell (2018) elaborates that "in any operation in which the agency manifests itself, there is a 'patient' who is another 'potential' agent" (Gell, 2018, p. 54). Patients are not completely passive and can resist or even fascinate the viewer. As Gell elaborates, "agent/patient relationships form intertwined hierarchies", in which "the concept 'patient' is not, therefore, simple, since being 'patient' can be a form of agency" (Gell, 2018, p. 54).

Having the objective of investigating about the expressiveness, understood as how they perceive their own life trajectories, influences, and how they express them in their musical production, of independent musicians, two forms of relationship between 'agent' and 'patient' will be used previously elaborated by Gell to contextualize and dialogue with the interviewees' reports. Such relationships help to establish a better panorama for the paths to be followed by the research.

The first relation elaborated by Gell (2018, p. 62) concerns the index (which are "material entities that motivate abductive inferences, cognitive interpretations, etc") as an 'agent' in relation to the Agent as a 'patient'. In this type of relationship, "the material index determines the artist, who responds as a 'patient' to his inherent agency" (Gell, 2018: 62), dialoguing this agency in the material, which believes to "control the artist", being something that is already present in the material, in which the artist only "recognizes" it, rather than actually creating it.

The relationship is relevant to approach the musician's relationship with the techniques used and the technologies present in their creative and production development. They manifest themselves from the various elements arranged that are used by being available, showing themselves as pre-disposed to creation according to how they show themselves to the artist.

The second relationship, as expressed by Gell (2018), concerns the artist as agent and patient of himself. This relationship is established when the musician becomes a spectator to his own efforts, perceiving himself and changing his way of doing according to how he imaginatively elaborates the work in his head and how he performs it, both in search of the imagined work and perceiving himself during the process. As Gell elaborates, this represents the "generation and testing" method that "is a fundamental feature of all complex cognitive performances" (2018, p. 85). It is also relevant to approach this relationship through the final product of the work, which is rarely visualized and idealized in advance, helping to understand this complex phenomenon.

When discussing cultural paradigms, in order to understand the expressiveness of ways in a contextualized and localized manner in Latin America, especially in the field of arts, it is essential to approach Canclini's work on Hybrid Cultures (2015). Canclini highlights how the artistic world establishes an "interdependent relationship with society, as seen when the modification of artistic conventions affects social organization" (Canclini, 2015: 40). This reiterates the fact that, by understanding the phenomena involved in artistic processes, there is a greater understanding of social phenomena. Canclini elaborates: "analyzing art is no longer just analyzing works, but the textual and extratextual, aesthetic and social conditions, in which the interaction between members of the field generates and renews meaning" (Canclini, 2015, p. 151).

In the case of this investigation, Canclini's (2015) hybridity helps to understand the relationship that current independent musicians establish with local culture and nationality in its expressiveness. As the author states, Latin American countries are the result of "sedimentation, juxtaposition and intertwining of indigenous traditions (...) of Catholic colonial Hispanism and modern educational and communicational political actions" (2015: 73). It is of immense importance to understand how this phenomenon dialogues and permeates the expressions of musicians, and how they relate to their locality, understanding "our origins and our hybrid present".

Contextualizing such knowledge in a dialogue with the phenomenon of globalization, it is essential to resort to the work of Yúdice (2013), who is one of the most important names in the subject. According to the author, due to the "characteristic dematerialization of various sources of economic growth" (Yúdice, 2013, p. 26) and the occurrence of "greater distribution of symbolic goods in world trade" (Yúdice, 2013, p. 26), the cultural sphere took on a "greater prominence than at any other time in human history" (Yúdice, 2013, p. 26).

Method

As previously presented by Pinto (2001), the intention is to address the theme of "music inserted in its cultural context" (Pinto, 2001, p. 251). For that, it is necessary to ask the "why and in what relation to the context music is made" (Pinto, 2001: 252). In order to carry out an investigation that contemplates the proposed topics, the work of Guerra (2013) is based on inspiration, who proposed "a documentary research (statistical sources, written press, audiovisual content, etc.), a fieldwork ethnographic (direct observation, social photography, field diary), life stories and semi-directive interviews" (Guerra, 2013, p. 64). The triangulation of methods, as shown by Burgess (1997), is central to understanding complex phenomena, such as the one in this project.

The work was guided by the principles structured by Thompson (1992) and Bourdieu (1996), who defend the use of simple and direct questions, in addition to a previous base about of the topic in which it is being investigated. It is also reiterated the need to perceive the relationship of the interview as a social relationship in itself, not naturalizing it to seek a better collection of data on the topic. Regarding the life history process, Silva et *al.* (2007) emphasize the importance of its connection in data collection, and how it is an important factor in the investigation as it allows understanding how the subject perceives his own vital development, regardless of the facts being checked or not.

The analysis of the collected material was structured as a Case Study based on the reading of Yin (2017), developing central points of analysis based on previously structured topics that were investigated in all interviews. This choice of his took on account of being a method, the author argues, important for the analysis of contemporary events that have direct access to their social actors, allowing, together, "to expand and generalize theories" (Yin, 2017: 10).

To carry out the interviews, producers were searched based on indications made to the researcher, who then contacted them through various social networks. After contact, the purpose of the project and the interview was explained, and copies of the consent form and the research project were sent. So, it was proposed that the interview take place at the producers' workplace, making it possible to observe and experience how they work, in addition to noting what the instruments and methods in the environment were.

The investigation is characterized as exploratory on account of investigating a previously delimited phenomenon, as defended by Creswell (2014). Three interviews were carried out, in 2019, with three different producers, all of whom were around 24 years old, of white ethnicity and had completed at least high school. All reside in the city of Curitiba, and the interviews were conducted individually, in a semi-structured way.

Analysis and discussion

About the interviewees, it is possible to characterize them as:

Interview	Characterization
1	Gustavo (anonymized name). Music producer of Curitiba origin, of white ethnicity, is 25 years old, works as a producer of bands/musicians from Curitiba and other places in Brazil, such as São Paulo, crossing several genres. In his personal work, he works mainly with instrumental music with an electronic characteristic.
2	Leandro (anonymized name). Music producer of Curitiba origin, of white ethnicity, is 24 years old, works as a producer of bands/musicians from Curitiba, crossing several genres, too. In his personal work, he works mainly with instrumental electronic music, having already participated in an alternative rock band.
3	Lorenzo. Music producer of Curitiba origin, of white ethnicity, is 24 years old, works mainly on his own music, but establishes contacts with several other artists through participation in their work. In his most recent personal work, entitled Resp, he works primarily with a hybrid aesthetic of hip-hop, indie, r&b, and lo-fi features.

▸ Table 4.7.1. - Characterization of respondents
▸ Source: the author.

Three main axes of analysis were then determined: the technical; the cultural; the individual. The technical axis allows us to perceive the diversity of materials that are part of the music production activity, in addition to the relationship that producers establish with them. In the cultural axis, we sought to deepen both the cultural influences that permeate these subjects, and the intentions of their expression in relation to their perception of the culture in which they are inserted. Finally, in the analysis of the individual axis, a subjective analysis of the producers' processes is proposed.

Technical axis

In their locations, a difference was noticed, mainly, from Lorenzo to Leandro and Gustavo. In the case of the first two, they had at their disposal a room with soundproofing for rehearsal and recording, as well as various instruments at their disposal, from synthesizers to guitars and basses. The program they used was the same, being Ableton Live 10. Despite this proximity, it was possible to observe some differences, both in types of microphones and in some equipment that had specificities for the sound that the producers were looking for, such as a workstation keyboard in Gustavo's case and a tape recorder in Leandro's case.

Lorenzo differs more sharply from the other two, mainly because his production methods are more 'homemade'. This 'homey' is due to the fact that the production of his songs takes place inside his room. During the interview, he even names the materials: "I use a condenser microphone, an audio card, a guitar, a guitar, a computer". The program he uses also differs from the others, being it REAPER, and that even produces many of the samples he uses for the beats, recording them with the condenser microphone.

It was possible to notice how there is a great concern with the textures of sounds on the part of the producers, using different mechanics in the programs they use, or in external equipment, to achieve some specific sounds, especially for electronics, as on the part of Leandro, as for organic ideas, by Lorenzo. The manipulation of the audio is permeated by several sequence filters, in addition to the superposition of sound layers, a movement that happens both in Ableton and in REAPER, with several tracks with details that, together, make up the song. These various steps and processes are seen in the work of Molina (2017a), as part of the activity of composition of montage music. The term "song", as worked by Sérgio Molina, can be understood in the excerpt:

Gradually establishing itself as a musical genre since the second half of the 19th century, popular song with a more urban characteristic invaded the 20th century to, during the 1930s, consolidate itself as a mature practice, occupying a sociocultural territory where amalgamated echoes were recognized, both from elements still virgin of the most ancestral oral culture – such as the rhythmic impairments of more African roots – and from melodic harmonies and contours that reverberated, recontextualized, the fine architecture of European written music. (Molina, 2017b, p. 90).

The use of programs to work with audio, such as Ableton, also allowed the music to become more visual, understanding the sound waves and also mapping all the components of the song, as presented by Molina (2017a). This is clear from Gustavo's account when he expresses how it works when he starts a project, which creates a file in Ableton to be able to see it, mapping where it is verse and chorus, for example.

It is also in this movement that it is reiterated that subjects, such as Lorenzo, may come to work with music without formal musical education, or melodic and harmonic theoretical notions, as in addition to having a greater timbristic focus, the fact of knowledge within the field is also reiterated. of appreciation in popular music.

The producers converge on there being no rules to start a project, as Gustavo reports: "it depends a lot, because I think it's a mess that has no rules, so you develop your own way of elaborating things, right, like, structuring their creative process like this".

Despite this, Lorenzo ends up following a certain constant model when starting his composition and production activity, which would be to record the guitar at a bpm that he designated and listen to continuously, both for future cuts and for new sequences to appear, such as a chorus. When recording this sequence, he keeps listening to these new elements and tries to continue the production, like writing a lyric that comes up in the process.

This report allows starting a dialogue about the themes previously elaborated by Gell (2018), in which there is a complexification about the artistic compositions, being elaborated from his notions of agent and patient. Remember that, for the author, the agent is the one who causes events to happen around him, being an original source of causal events, while the patient, in this relationship, is the one who is causally affected by the action of the agent. The index, as presented by Gell, is the material entities that motivate abductive inferences, and their cognitive interpretations.

In the case of Lorenzo, he expresses, at the end of the interview, that he delegates: "guitar, you will guide me", later composing a melody for the voice, after a main idea that "is born" and "does the creative work kind of on its own". It becomes possible to understand, from this account, how there is a movement of the musician becoming a patient, in which the index, the musical techniques, both as an instrument and as a program, end up exerting their influence by themselves in the production of music. This reiterates how technique, and understanding it, is essential for making music, and for understanding what aesthetics emerge from such processes.

With Gustavo, you can see this relationship in: "If you only have Ableton you will produce one way, if you have a guitar in your hand you will produce another, if you have a piano, a synth, you will produce from another." This explains how production and its results are necessarily linked to technique, and how creative developments necessarily emerge from the material availability made possible by the index, located in technical possibilities, acting as an agent.

Finally, in the case of Leandro, about one of his projects, it is possible to elucidate the relationship in:

It's just that as it's a very long project, so, too, we played all the songs and then we just recorded. It's that process that like, it's cool, but it's only cool for whoever's there, like, you're there recording, 'what if I...' (…) 'What if I put in two more guitars'. So what, wow! Nice! (Leandro, 2019).

These reports reiterate once again the ideas that arise in the process, and how there is this constant alternation of agents and patients in the musical project. The movement reiterates the need to study techniques to understand aesthetics and expressiveness in musical projects, both for what will be consumed and for how productions can be created, as they play an active role within the possibilities of expression.

Cultural axis

In this context, Gustavo exposes how he always tries to be aware of contemporary productions, citing, for example, artists such as Anelis Assumpção to the DJ duo DKVPZ from São Paulo. From this account, it is possible to see how there is, on the part of the producer, consumption and connection with the place.

Regarding the influences of one of your projects, it is possible to go even further in relation to the hybrid processes:

> *That's all, like, electronic stuff is that Four Tet, DJ Shadow in the beginning was a lot, nowadays I don't know, there was a time when a friend of mine gave me a flash drive with gigs of African music, and then I I listened a lot, but it was like, field recording, recording from the 60s, 70s, it wasn't a very incredible quality, but it was an absurd experience (…) Another logic, exactly, and then I was blown away like that and at the time I didn't even think about it, I just put it on, and after I was like, man, I have to think about it better, right, especially if it's going to be released to people. But at the time I only put it on because, wow, these super European electronic things with some super rich and chaotic stuff (interview with Leandro, 2019).*

It is noticed, in the creative process, a clearer form of cultural hybridization based on music, which becomes a continuous experimentation of sounds originating from different cultures, together with the experience of Brazilian musicality, generating continuous realities that transmit different paradigms prevailing in the culture. There is even a certain clarity and intentionality in this movement, as can be seen in Leandro's expression, when referring to the use of samples of African music previously mentioned:

> *Not that it's Brazilian influences, but I was like, as Brazilian music comes from African music I was freaking out about African music, about polyrhythms. (…) not consciously, it was just like what happened, and then something that was really cool (interview with Leandro, 2019).*

In conjunction with this notion, it is possible to relate Lorenzo's account of what he recognizes as typically Brazilian in music: "I think making noise, like that. Speak loudly, make noise, sing loudly, play loudly (…) So I think there is a mixture of that, then the Latinity, from the Portuguese too, which was more erudite."

From this expression, one can perceive the clarity about the processes that make up Brazilian music, such as the origins of Brazilian rhythms coming from Africa, and how, through reflection, no matter how unconscious, it is produced traditionally Brazilian cultural movements in independent production. This logic can be seen from Canclini (2015), when the author emphasizes how contemporary Latin American artists, even with advanced technologies, still look back, seeking the historical density of the region, generating stimuli that allow for the imagination.

It is also possible to observe how personal experiences change the notion of the culture in which the subject is inserted, as demonstrated by Leandro's account of a trip he took to Acre, a Brazillian State:

> *I felt very much that, after the trip, our contact with the idea of Brazil, what Brazil is in our minds, changed completely (…) I think the idea is more, because, oh, that thing very annoying for those who grow up in rock'n'roll like, "rock is much better than samba", you know? "Samba, geez, tosqueira", and then, like, valuing Brazil in a way (…) it's not just listening to a song, when you're there everything makes sense, people talk in a different way (interview with Leandro, 2019).*

From this notion of a Brazilian culture experienced in a different way, new forms of expression and intentions of the works, and aesthetics that make up Brazilian perspectives, are transmitted. Independent production becomes a place where subjects like Leandro, with all his experience and perspective of Brazil, both as the origins of African music and his travels and contacts, can express a cultural notion through the experience of culture, without crossing censorship or limitations of the cultural industry, making it practically an intangible heritage of the Brazilian cultural dimension.

This clarity about the bases and structures that form a cultural expression, on the part of Leandro, becomes explicit in perception about culture. By elaborating that he believes that thought is linked to language, this thought about music is linked, and how throughout Brazil, the samba language has its own identity and way of thinking.

In addition, Lorenzo reports how the independent production scenario is related to the events of common Brazilian reality, and how reality directly affects how the subjects who make up this experience of independent music relate, in which there must be union, as in the case of hardcore, because that's the only way that there is greater disclosure and less precariousness.

Realizing this, together with Leandro's reports, echo Canclini's (2015) logic in how the artistic world establishes an interdependent relationship with society, with one continuously affecting and transforming the other.

Finally, regarding the differences between national and international independent productions, despite differences in investment and material quality for production, Lorenzo expresses how independent production in the United States generates much more money, enabling a quality of life that is not possible in the United States. Brazil. However, he emphasizes that, as it generates more money, he believes that this foreign production does not seek to innovate so much through its financial link, while the Brazilian production, because it does not have this intrinsic link, allows for more experimental ideas.

It becomes possible to relate the views of producers with notions with what Canclini (2015) points out about Latin American countries being the result of indigenous traditions with colonial Hispanism. Going further, the author highlights how the musicians' expressions relate cultural origins and hybrid presents, constantly reinventing contacts with different cultures that make up the Brazilian cultural reality. In addition to explaining the importance of these productions to understand the Brazilian experience, the notion of what would be Brazilian today, as music, is problematized, since external productions are continuously consumed, in which, Yúdice (2013) reiterates, culture is no longer a 'national office'.

Individual axis

Regarding individual experiences, even following different future paths, such as formal music education or not, all producers reported having a premature contact with music, while they were still very young. All had either pictures playing toy instruments or singing, being encouraged, from an early age, by their parents.

Gustavo and Leandro started in music by learning to play the guitar, while Lorenzo with drums. Only Leandro kept formally studying music, being in the last year of the course at UFPR. Despite this, everyone took a class, even if briefly, at some point.

When reporting about his experience on the trip to Acre, which was previously commented by Leandro, Lorenzo expresses, in a more personal way, that he felt that he had changed the way he lives with other people, paying attention to them. This experience purely transcends his way of experiencing and organizing the spaces he permeates, but also in his expressiveness and intentions as a producer, both as a composition and in presentation, which began to feel closer to those who perform.

This allows us to understand these intentions to externalize the transformations within themselves based on their experiences, expressing these everyday experiences in a performative way. The impetus to express in the production the will of a different being as a subject can be seen in Lorenzo's speech, who reports that he perceives his past projects as very serious, trying to bring ideas that he still has in a lighter way, even in composition, such as "chord intent".

There is an intention, both in the chord progressions in the compositions before and in his impetus for a change in the way he currently produces, which conveys these feelings and this subjective charge on his part in these works. The experiences, as demonstrated before, are related in a complex network in relation to their subjectivity and their social reality, which, together, are expressed in compositions and productions.

Then, there is a need for each artist to do their own business, which occurs because, as Leandro reports how the music industry is orphaned by authorities, what is positive about freedom of production, but there is a negative about lack of investment. He reports: "I think music nowadays is independent even in these things, personal social networks are a great vehicle, so this is also kind of independent, marketing the person who does it".

In relation to Lorenzo, he explains the strategic responsibility for how to sell, reporting how he does not know if there is still demand on the purchase of records. Throughout the interview, he reflects on whether to release songs individually, following a new demand, instead of the classic format of the records, perhaps even creating a playlist at the end with the released songs.

The difficulties regarding this category are presented by Lorenzo when he reports the need to do "business".

In this context, he explores how he has to relate to people who have influence in the environment, even with ideological differences, for his work to permeate these spaces.

After these reports, it becomes clear how, despite all technical and cultural notions, they are still individuals who live the expressed experiences, with all their feelings, insecurities and desires, who must constantly negotiate and permeate spaces. This directly affects the production of their work, since, while they express their feelings and experiences, they must also dialogue with the external reality in order to be heard. It is highlighted, then, how musical reality is inseparable from social reality, in different instances and layers, and how independent production expresses this notion in a more intrinsic way.

Conclusion

After previous analyses, it becomes possible to understand some processes and phenomena that constitute Brazilian contemporary independent popular music. In this context, new production techniques, both from programs and more accessible materials, allow the occurrence of a phenomenon of composition and recording of popular music in an accessible way in everyday contexts, being more present in common reality and, on account of this, expressing intentions more linked to this everyday reality.

The techniques used by the producers also showed an active role in musical composition, and their technologies allowed results not previously thought of by them, modifying the final result of the song. As much as there is a greater limitation of materials, the producers consider Brazilian works to be more technically inventive.

It is reported that, on the part of the producers, there is an awareness of the role of music as a cultural expression, considering the Brazilian musical aesthetic developments. This was present in reports such as believing that "noise", as expressed by Lorenzo, is one of the great Brazilian aesthetic components, of samba as a form of language and of the process of consolidation of Brazilian music starting from African music. Noise can be perceived as an aesthetic that distances itself from minimalism, with a great overlap of musical elements, mainly of a percussive character, and how this can currently be characterized, also, by distorted timbres and a high degree of manipulation in contemporary productions.

It is also possible to point out how because all the interviewees had a premature initiation into music, it can be noticed as a more natural expression of themselves, facilitating subjective expressiveness (understood from the social actors' own and individualized experiences) and cultural (belonging to the identity dimension generated from the groups in which the subjects are inserted and identify themselves) in their works. In relation to subjectivity, it was also possible to observe how it plays a fundamental role in compositional intentions, communicating the musicians' feelings and ways of being, both as they are and as they would like to be.

The works are no longer centered on the major labels and record labels that release musicians, who were considered the greatest representatives of Brazilian culture, resulting in the possibility of independent productions becoming cultural heritage. This arises from the fact that they express, more closely, several elements that make up contemporary Brazilian culture and reality. The culture of noise is expressed exactly as these points shared between independent producers, who experience this cultural reality and express it through their productions, noise being exactly the expression of lo-fi, represented by the lower quality of technologies compared to professional studios, in their work. The expressiveness of the producers, both for the work and for the intentions (what they want to be expressed and perceived in their work) and their perspectives on their reality, is intrinsically important to understand this musical and cultural phenomenon.

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Theme tune 5

'Gender is dead. Pink is forever'. Gender, (post)--feminism, gender and sexual politics and artistic--cultural work

5.1 Fat body as resistance in visual arts: Elisa Queiroz's fat activism

Júlia Mello[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

This article analyzes the development of fat activism in Brazil considering Elisa Queiroz's artworks. The artist developed dialogs related to visual arts and her body, reflecting on prejudices still strongly present in Brazil and offering a rethinking and re-envisioning of the fat body. Queiroz uses the body as provocation, as a struggle against the imposition of hegemonic discourses, making a point to stand out as 'marginal', rather than striving for normativity. Considering works that address the fat body in European and North American scenarios, I seek to understand the development of fat activism in Latin American territories, recognizing the scarcity of studies focused on the subject. The results indicate the possibility of recognizing a record of fat activism in visual arts in Brazil, allowing the subversion of corporeal standards and making room for emergent discussions about gender, culture, and identities.

Keywords: art, body, gender, fat activism, queer.

1. Introduction

Unlike the United States and some European countries where the terrain of fat activism has been quite consistent for some decades, in Latin America and especially in Brazil, the movement is still forming. Nevertheless, at the end of the twentieth century in the field of visual arts, signs of these actions were already apparent in the works of Elisa Queiroz. The artist produced artworks that reckon with the power to represent the fat body[2] in contemporaneity, which challenges norms arising from artistic and aesthetic standards, from medical, scientific, and psychological points of view, fashion rules inscribed by thin-centric culture, and gender inequality.

The key point of this discussion is to present evidence of fat activism in Brazil through visual arts and create a record of its emergence in this national territory. Queiroz reveals the power of the margin in the disruption of hegemony. Her body, excluded and considered anomalous by the hegemonic discourse, function politically because it appears with a sense of provocation aimed at empowerment. We will see below how the artist offers the possibility of examining these counter-hegemonic issues from the point of view of fat activism.

Queiroz started her work in the 1980s as a result of the oppression of being fat in a context that considered her desexual, ugly, and unhealthy. In addition, her artworks are based on self-representation. This reinforces the possibility of intersections of identities or subjectivities and allows the construction of narratives and meanings, thinking within the scope of collective experiences, contributing to a socio-historical understanding of the perception of fatness.

We can also consider Queiroz artistic practices as a relevant element of identity politics as promoted by Homi Bhabha (1998). This theorist, concerned with the subject under colonialism, helps us understand Western discourse to be founded on binary oppositions. By proposing thinking under the instance of "in-between", Bhabha (1998: 20) offers the possibility to challenge the legitimacy of those dualistic constructions in a way similar to queer theory. As David Cross (2006) indicates, Bhabha's notion of the in-between destabilizes binary constructions such as normal/abject and beauty/ugliness. These ideas of the benefits of liminality can be applied to the visual representation of the fat body in Queiroz's artworks.

Queer theory developed at the end of the twentieth century out of political, economic, and social relations. Annamarie Jagose (1996) states that the term has broad elasticity; Guacira Louro (2004) complements this view:

> **Queer is a way of thinking and being that does not aspire to the center or want it as a reference; a way of thinking and being that challenges the regulatory norms of society, that assumes the comfort of ambiguity, of 'between places', of the undecidable. Queer is a foreign body, which bothers, disturbs, causes, and fascinates**
>
> **(Louro 2004, pp. 7-8, translated by the author)** [239]

Depending on the context, 'queer' can be a slur to mean 'maladjustment'; a sentiment shared throughout most of the twentieth century in Western psychiatry. However, in the last few decades, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and other sexual and gender minority (LGBTQ+) communities have typically used the term positively. Jagose (1996) emphasizes that queer is much more a category in constant construction – and mutation – than something solid and static.

Héctor Ruvalcaba (2017) indicates that queer theory has its origins in the so-called Global North, but that in Latin America, "queer thought and representations have gone and still go through multiple processes of resistance that end up constituting alternative identities and undertaking a politics of recognition, of liberation, and of the establishment of rights" (Ruvalcaba, 2017, p. 3). This notion makes possible thinking about resistance by connecting points related to queer theory to postcolonial considerations, especially because the Brazilian artworks we analyze deconstruct North American and Eurocentric genealogies.

The importance of analyzing Queiroz's artistic projects from a queer perspective lies in her non-compliance with normative discourses and her appropriation of elements considered anti-aesthetic to oppose the cultural system. Additionally, with a focus on the queer, Latin America has benefited from new possibilities for aesthetic expression and social participation as suggested through the artworks discussed herein.

2. Historical contexts of bodies and fatness in Brazil

Denise Sant'anna (2016) indicates that the history of the fat body is configured as ambivalent and non-linear. In Brazil at the beginning of the twentieth century, the age of modernization, there was on the one hand, the association of fat to wealth and, on the other, the condemnation of bodily excesses due to the influence of American/European trends related to the idea of thin athleticism and glamour.

With regard to the Brazilian woman's body, one notices the intense construction of new demands on her

silhouette from the 1920s onwards. From 1920 to 1940, the country was going through significant social, cultural, and economic changes due to the Revolution of 1930 and the crisis of the First Republic. This was also the period in which discourses emerged related to the desirable body and sports practices that contributed to the idea of body care as something linked to health, beauty, and productivity. In this context, if we go by the visual culture's bias towards thinness and its proclivity for the commercialization of women's bodies, it is possible to notice the propagation of fashion products that valued lean bodies and that revealed previously unseen body parts. Hollywood actresses were frequently used as a reference in Brazilian fashion magazines, showing their bodies and make-up, and sharing diets, exercises, and "beauty secrets." Body anxiety increased and the thin silhouette became representative of glamour. A slim and athletic body was seen as synonymous with elegance and refinement (Goellner, 2003).

This discourse spread during the remainder of the twentieth century through fashion, medicine, and the mass media. It is important to highlight that, although the Brazilian territory is vast and has regional peculiarities, what spread as hegemony was a thin waist and fat 'in the right places' (i.e., breasts and buttocks), especially from the 1950s to the 1960s when the 'hourglass' figure became popular. This was strongly dictated by the male gaze reflected through lyrics and poems, as suggested by Sant'anna (2014) in her study of the history of beauty in Brazil.

If we direct the analysis to the end of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first, a period corresponding to Elisa Queiroz's emergence as an artist, we observe the reinforcement of appearance ideals based on lean and athletic bodies. This can be seen as related to the influence of fitness magazines that propagated the 'feminization' of weight training and to advertisements of athletic brands such as Topper, Adidas, and Rainha (Sant'anna, 2014).

Research by Naumi Vasconcelos, Iana Sudo, and Nara Sudo (2004) reinforces these premises by seeking to understand the construction of social representations and senses about the fat body through articles published by Brazilian newspapers and weekly magazines from 1995 to 2003. According to the authors, the printed media, as a channel of information and reproduction of a discursive, and therefore ideological, practice socializes the 'facts' and norms about body aesthetics. In addition, it acts as an organizing agent of social space, occupying, therefore, a central role for the consolidation of these bodily representations that then assume a collective normalizing character in the constitution of a national bodily identity and subjectivity.

Gradually, as Sant'anna (2014) indicates, the fat body became a pathology in the Brazilian scenario, becoming commonly associated with laziness and carelessness. Prejudices spread and fatness became a public concern that captured the attention of people in the street, causing curiosity and discomfort; feelings that led Elisa Queiroz to occupy the public sphere in her artworks, resisting discrimination about her bodily forms.

In late twentieth century Brazil, the scenario of repulsion to fat was so striking that there was no openness to a political discourse in defense of the fat body. From the artist's own narrative, it is possible to perceive the oppression she faced: "I create pieces to discuss my identity and my power of seduction, using playfulness to reread the perception of the disembodiment that my corpulence suggests to contemporary western society, reconditioning the viewer's gaze" (Queiroz & Mendes, 1998, p. n/p).

Here we see the political power of confrontation to the disembodiment and oppression faced due to socio-cultural demands that appear associated with the discussion proposed by Kathleen LeBesco (2001). The author explores fatness and transgression suggesting that the dominant concept of fat appears to be linked to the etiological (e.g., finding the cause of 'obesity' as a disease), pathological (i.e., anxieties about overconsumption), and psychological (e.g., compulsive eating as the manifestation of an emotional problem). These methods for conceptualizing fatness as a problematic 'condition' were produced by the medical establishment, which is a significant influence on contemporary hegemonic views on fatness, as Hannele Harjunen (2009) reminds us. According to LeBesco (2001), fat is usually seen as something repulsive. But in the last decades of the twentieth century, fat activists began to modify that notion by arguing that our view of fat is not something natural but is naturalized. We will see here how these ideas are embedded in the Queiroz's works.

3. Elisa Queiroz's Fat Activism

Elisa Queiroz (1970-2011), born in Rio de Janeiro, was recognized for her self-referential works, including videos and installations. In the early 2000s, the artist began to work with self-representation in installations made out of food and drinks, including cookies, pasta, jams, and tea bags. These ephemeral materials have brought

a strong anthropophagic[3] effect to the artworks since the artist's body was printed on them, creating a clear relationship between her bodily 'excesses' and the food offered to the public. In *Portrait Album* (2002, Figure 5.1.1.), for example, Queiroz approaches the representations of Bacchus, God of Greek mythology associated with carnal excesses and pleasures.
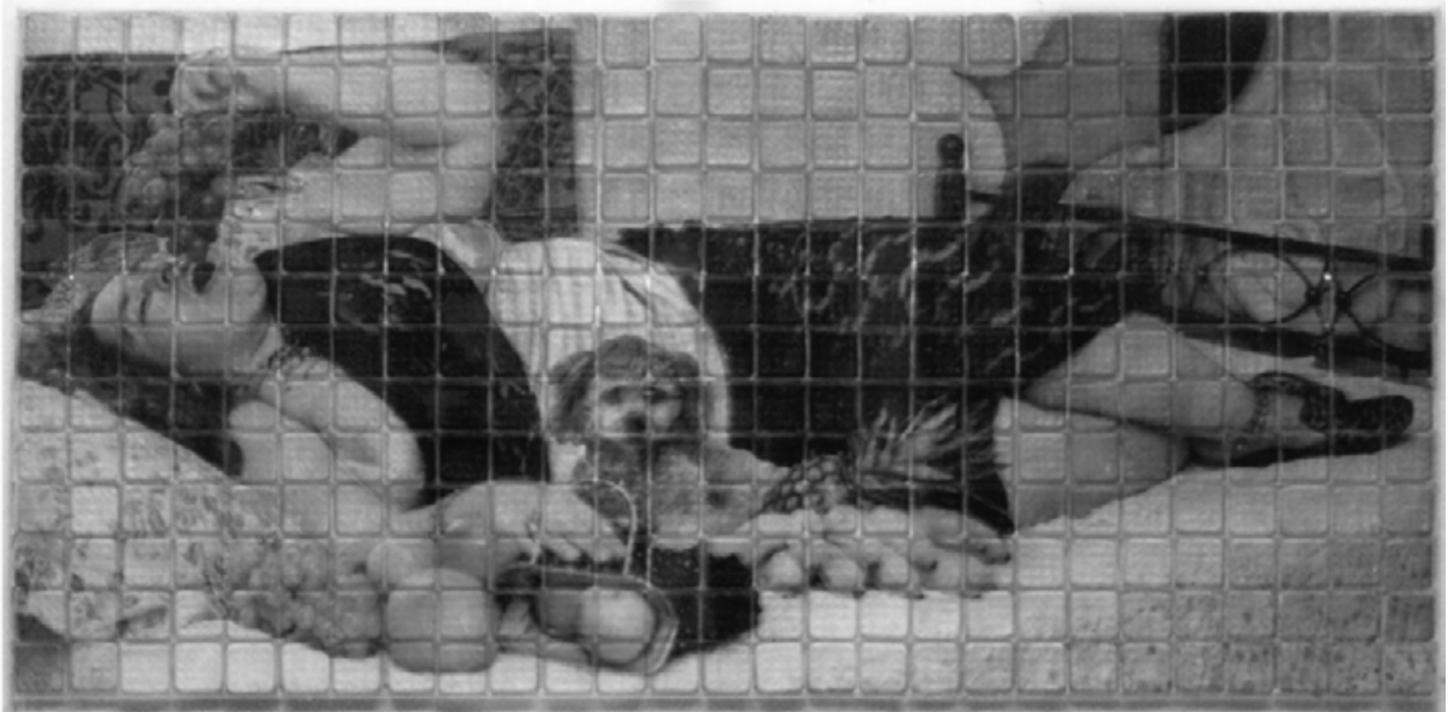
▸ Figure 5.1.1. – Elisa Queiroz, *Portrait Album*, 2002, Installation. Printed in cookies. 165 x 80 x 2.5 cm
▸ Source: LEENA archives. Accessed in September 2021

The panel was made out of cookies filled with a popular and high-calorie Brazilian marshmallow-like dessert called Maria-mole. The structure of the artwork is similar to a mosaic and the technique to transfer the image to the biscuits was edible printing[4]. Queiroz uses humor to symbolically offer her body to the public, parodying poses of muses and Greco-Roman characters portrayed in European traditional art history.

If we consider Caravaggio's painted representation of *Bacchus* (approx. 1598), it is possible to note some similarities to Queiroz's *Portrait Album*, such as the fruit, pose, and the attempt to mimic the toga through the draping work. However, unlike the Bacchus portrayed by the Italian painter, here the artist devours the grape instead of drinking the wine. The image suggests an insatiable appetite, implying excesses and sensuality through the transparency of the fabric that covers the body. The tropical fruits open the way for the interpretation of a Brazilian version of the mythology. Since the artist associates food with self-representation, this evokes the public's imagination to metaphorically decipher the taste of her body in this anthropophagic relationship.

Queiroz's provocation can be amplified if we consider the appropriation that the artist, as a fat woman and Latina, makes of elements consecrated in colonial discourse: valorization of classical mythology, European scenery, privileged class, white, thin, young, able, and sexualized bodies available for the supposedly heteronormative artistic genius. Through the artwork, Queiroz destabilizes those associations by injecting unconventional imagery of fatness, gender, race/ethnicity, and class, thereby creating visible possibilities that cross transnational and symbolic boundaries. This thinking can be intertwined with scholar Gloria Anzaldúa's concept of 'Borderlands/La Frontera' (2012 [1987]):

> *Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish us from them (…) The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants. Los atravesados live here: the squint eye, the perverse, the queer, the troublesome, the mongrel, the mulatto, the halfbreed, the half dead (Anzaldúa, 2012, pp. 25-26).*

3. In 1928, Brazilian poet Oswald de Andrade wrote the 'Manifesto antropófago', inspired by the Tupi cannibalism rites and this brought relevance to Brazilian aesthetic and social thought. Through the years, anthropophagy became a powerful and resistant alternative to the varied Euro-American historical colonizations, but it also served as a critical element to politics and social oppressions.

4. A technique used to print digital images in cakes, cookies, and food in general.

The Borderlands confront the essentialist discourse around issues of gender, body, race/ethnicity, and sexuality as in the case of Queiroz. Her artworks can be interpreted as a framework to speak out from her place and her own experience on the margins of Euro-U.S. and Brazilian norms.

Like queer theory, fat activism is multifaceted, elastic, and uses different approaches. According to Paul B. Preciado (2011), although queerness is associated with sexuality, we must recognize the power the theory/movement(s) has to resist European and North American models by juxtaposing the movements of other minoritized groups. It is in this sense that Charlotte Cooper (2016) suggests rethinking the activist practices related to the fat body, embracing the antinormative and indefinable character of queer. For Cooper, to transform the fat body into something queer is to abandon the desire to be normal and respectable, and this can be connected with the words of Preciado (2010): "from an aesthetic point of view, queer produces (…) anti-aesthetics, negative aesthetics, ugliness" (Preciado, 2010, p. 52).

The use of the body as it interacts with the contemporary politics of identity can be seen in Elisa Queiroz's *Help Yourself* (2002, Figure 5.1.2.) which is a clear reference to the reclining female figures of the cultural imaginary, such as the ones painted by Vélazquez (1650), Goya (1792) and Manet (1863), that leads us to reflect upon the categories and institutions of art history.
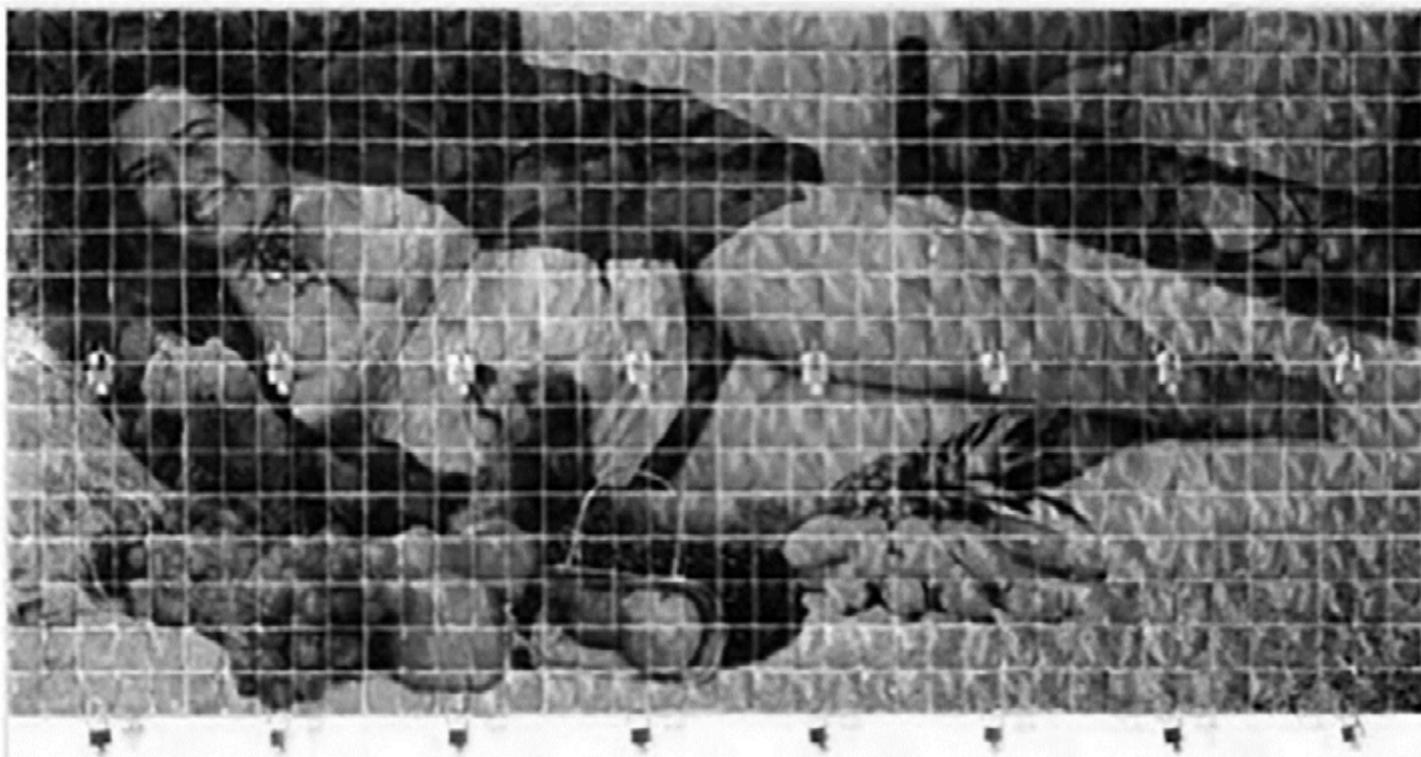
▶ Figure 5.1.2. – Elisa Queiroz, *Help yourself*, 2002. Transfer, Tea Bags, Wood and Aluminum. 160 x 80 centimeters
▶ Source: LEENA archives. Accessed in September 2021

Help Yourself includes tea bags printed with Queiroz's image, forming a large panel, like a mosaic. The panel was protected by acrylic doors, but the fragrance of fruit tea penetrated the entire environment creating a synesthetic atmosphere. Below the panel was an acrylic box with keys and a tray containing a kettle and cups, arranged on a small wooden table. The viewers could use the keys to open the acrylic doors, take a tea bag, brew it, and taste the tea. The work is loaded with sexuality since the artist symbolically offers her body to be tasted. Sexuality is a characteristic commonly divorced from fat people, as we can see in this excerpt from an interview with Dr. Alberto Serfaty, a medical professional, in *Jornal do Brasil* (JB), a traditional Brazilian newspaper:

> *JB: What changes a person's sexuality after they lose weight?*
> *Dr. Serfaty: It's fantastic. People find out, they expose themselves more, they fuck more. The fat works like armor where the person hides. If nothing bad happens inside the armor, nothing good happens either. Life is there to live, and the worst thing is that nothing happens. (Serfaty, 1998).*

With works like *Help Yourself*, Queiroz demystifies masculine and unilateral discourses like the doctor described in this interview, recognizing the fat body as socially constructed and, through irony, problematizing

the notion of bodily excesses as an anomaly or pathology. The artist shows herself in a positive way, revealing her body without shame; through the exposure of her skin, cleavage, and thighs, she implies sensuality. This artwork critiques the classic imagery of female models in representing women's bodies, especially if we consider it as a parody. Historically, white, thin, and abled women were usually shown as sexually available to the viewer through the gaze of the artist (both presumably men given the constraints of art education and economic access for women). Queiroz challenges the ways people see – and depict – female bodies by exaggerating and ironizing the canon. She confounds the rules of art history by distorting its conventions.

Snider (2010) analyzes artists considered 'deviant' or 'non-normative' (women, People of Color, disabled people, fat people, and/ or lesbians) who, like Queiroz, are seen "as monstrous, excessive and dangerous – to themselves and to others – because their physical and discursive identities have violated the boundaries of the cultural taste of their time" (Snider, 2010, p. 10). As Snider suggests, we can consider that embracing these presumed insults is a way to fight the dominant cultural ideology about the fat body. Through this lens, we can see that Queiroz develops a different perception about her artistic production and her body in society outside of heteronormative, masculinist, able, thin, young, North American, and/ or Eurocentric ideals.

There is a reinforcement of the relationship between fat activism and visual arts in Queiroz's body of work by considering the production of visual representations of the fat body as an important step toward rethinking fatness (Snider, 2010). As Snider indicates, there is still a relative lack of critical and historical writings about visual arts with a positive point of view regarding fat. By reconfiguring the visual culture of the fat body using humor and irony Queiroz contributes to thinking critically about the ethic and politics of the social constructions of fat bodies in Brazil in particular, and in the visual arts more broadly.

4. Conclusion

The artistic practices of Queiroz indicate a transversality of oppression, from the notion that it is not enough to deal with the specificity, for instance, of the fat body. The artist seeks to deconstruct hierarchies in minoritarian discourses to think of strategies that can jointly challenge the entire established cultural system. In this sense, she takes on the process of queerly denouncing exclusions in identity politics. We observe the reinforcement of differences instead of trying to 'fit' within hegemonic patterns. This artist makes possible the construction of new subjectivities by queering visual art practices and challenging norms of visual representation.

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Thinking of the fat body in this poetic line allows us to consider the margin as a place of strength to destabilize the center, that is, to think as Cooper (2016) proposes with the figure of the killjoy that creates an opportunity to be productively critical. Sara Ahmed (2017) theorizes the figure of the feminist killjoy describing her with tension and opposition. As she suggests, the killjoy "is getting in the way of something, the achievement or accomplishment of the family or of some *we* or another, which is created by what is not said" (Ahmed, 2017, p. 37). The feminist killjoy is a symbol of discord and incivility that we can see emerging in Queiroz's artworks. These are projects that frustrate the tyranny of idealized anatomy, of normative forms, and of the need to follow conventional canons of art.

Fat activism is a movement made from the margins of the dominant North American and European discourse and works as a response to the spread of dominant body models around the world. Queiroz's artworks use a queer framework in fat activism to construct new dialogues where belonging to the 'normal' is not the focus. Self-representation further proves to be a favorable fat activist device for confronting gender issues and aesthetic standards, especially if it is seen as a strategy of moving female artists from 'objects' to 'creators'. Fulfilling the agenda of fat activism, Queiroz unmasks the fat body, making it visible and present, resisting the constructions of the dominant discourses within and outside of her Brazilian context.

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5.2 A contribution to the definition of women roles in dancehall. Stories lived through femininity

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✕ Abstract

Dancehall can be defined in many ways, the primordial definition through my personal point of view is classifying *Dancehall* as a Jamaican born artistic product from a financially debilitated population that can be represented in two different but still connected concepts: Dance and Music. *Dancehall* can also be seen as a collection of experiences from Jamaicans daily lives, resulting in the creation of a new artistic style form that reflects the struggles of the Jamaican population. Jamaican women were categorized based on their economic status, their skin colour and with the relationships established with men. There is a clear urgency to research these topics on an academic level in order to get a record of not only the intricate details of this culture, but also particularly focusing on the freedom observed in Jamaican women with their sexuality as a way to conquer a place in the *Dancehall* community.

Keywords: Jamaica, dancehall, women, culture, politics, post-colonial.

1. Understanding Dancehall

It is impossible to dissociate Dancehall from Jamaica since it can be seen as collection of experiences from Jamaicans daily lives. It is the creation of a new artistic style form that reflects the struggles of the Jamaican population. To better understand certain important political events of the time, as well as the rebel aspect of the jamaican people, and the 'struggles' of jamaican women, we need to analyse the behaviour of jamaican society, specially in 'dowtown', the poorest part of it. When I use the term 'rebel' I am giving it a positive connotation, in the sense that it was necessary great amount of courage so that this rebellious feeling would culminate in moments that would forever change the history of the Jamaican people. Rebellion is not the only key characteristic in Dancehall, actually this nature of being encaged came from within the movement and the need for expression, craved by the people. Some of the most important moments for the enslaved people of Jamaica were the abolition of slavery, emancipation, the right to vote, slight economical and social changes, all achieved through different rebellion movements. These people, in their majority men, fought for their freedom and the freedom of their island, sometimes unfortunatly these heroes of history would not prevail when facing the British supremacy, being hanged as an example to those who dared to go again the colonizers, with the goal of wanting to keep these individuals peaceful, not allowing them the will to fight back on what was rightfully theirs. But eventually, the British empire would grant them their wishes. *Dancehall* can be defined in many ways, although, the primordial definition through my personal point of view is classifying *Dancehall* as a Jamaican born artistic product from a financially debilitated population that can be represented in two different but still connected concepts: Dance and Music. *Dancehall* can also be seen as a collection of experiences from Jamaicans daily lives, their emotions. Ever since the colonial ages,

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Jamaican women were categorized based on their economic status, their skin colour and according to the relationships established with men. During my master's degree thesis, I developed a panoply of methods that allowed me to contribute to one of the definitions of the role taken by women in Dancehall. I used my autoethnography as basis. From 2015 I have been travelling to Jamaica, observing the culture, the behaviors of the people, contacting with the dancers, organizing cultural trips where people from abroad would travel to Jamaica in order to contact with the creators of the dance moves. Giving them the chance during the trip to experience Jamaican culture to the fullest. Creating Dancehall Portugal, made me start organizing events, from 2014 with the major goal of developing Dancehall in Portugal and also spread the words about it, giving the opportunity to the Jamaican dancers to come to Portugal and teach their own creations. Recently I became manager of a female dancer, gaining even more awareness of how the social, political and economic system deal with Dancehall, and its commercialization. I created a construction of methods gluing them with my autoethnography. I worked with four female Jamaican dancers that were present and still have a huge impact in the female section of Dancehall, interviewing them, also created a platform that is available on YouTube named Dancehall Medz. Dancehall Medz end up being a space where the information in the dancers was saved, knowing that a lot of Dancehall information is still in the people that created it, there is an urgency to do a proper documentation of that same information, allowing it to be available to the community. With this study it is shown that there is a clear urgency to research these topics on an academic level in order to get a record of not only the intricate details of this culture, but also particularly focusing on the freedom observed in Jamaican women with their sexuality as a way to conquer a place in the *Dancehall* community. Focusing on how essential they are to the *Dancehall* genre but yet not thoroughly praised and valued by the same community they help build.

2. Women 'struggles' are continuous and continue...

It is impossible to separate Dancehall from Jamaica. The political and sociocultural changes that the country suffered through the years, ended up influencing Dancehall. This dance style embodies form and function as a singular experience, in the sense that the Jamaican culture gave it its origin. It is imperative to keep in mind that when we dive into Dancehall we also dive into the Jamaican culture, more specifically the reality that is lived daily in the ghettos/downtown.

The idea that Dancehall is an artistic phenomenon for both music and dance is not wrong, nonetheless we need to take into consideration that this phenomenon is inseparable from the culture it originated from. In case we want it to keep thriving with the same innate characteristics that seduce every year women and men from all over the world to join the community, it is fundamental that it is respected and that we also respect its natural evolution.

We can think about Dancehall as a space where to this day people reunite to dance, listen to music, to express and create a parallel life that separates them from the painful Jamaican reality or that it separates them from the social reality in which they fit in. It becomes a way to personally express and at the same time collective, that allows an almost therapeutical moment of introspection that is unconscious to those who participate.

My research allows me to affirm Dancehall as a phenomenon that is alive and that promotes a series of behaviours and thoughts that end up motivating people to rethink their way of being and living, and this incentive does not quite correspond to the Jamaican reality. The real and original behaviours do not translate in the behaviours that the outside community ends up manifesting. We can think of Dancehall as a complex space with a characteristic vibe. That same vibe stores energy and vibrations that were felt in the Dancehall through the years by those who originally intervened. After all the research work and the respective analysis, connecting also the theories and propositions from my own experience, I state that the vibe is to this day fuelled by the Jamaicans that continue attending to parties and allow this to continue happen in the streets of Jamaica. Those vibrations and energies are added to Dancehall which makes the movements store one of Jamaica's richest treasures: its energy, history, its people, all of this transmitted through vibrations that connect with the essence of each human being involved in this 'magical' moment of 'giving birth' to Dancehall.

2.1. Jamaican women, the creators of the feminine treasure within the vibe of Dancehall

In this concept and information construction that I propose, I admit that the vibe transmits the history of black Jamaican women that have been fighting for years for a place to stand in their society. It shows a reality that is lived in Jamaica by these women that are judged or socially placed by their skin colour, ethnicity or social status. Additionally, it's the stratification provoked in the female gender, a consequence of male supremacy in ghettos/downtown and consequently in the Dancehall. It preserves the competition generated among women, motivating a need for affirmation that is urgent among Jamaican women, diminishing the idea of group work.

The movements that are created and dedicated to women have a very specific vibe to them, it stores emotions that were felt back when Jamaica had their people turned into slaves. Even though these feelings are not directly impregnated in the movements, they are a consequence of the rebel revolution that was force on the female gender inside the financially debilitated people of Jamaica. The struggles they faced in consequence of the skin colour, ethnicity, economic status and the relationships they stablished with men led to a very strong will to affirm themselves in a society where male supremacy creates a stratification in the female gender that is due to: the relationships held with men, economic status, education level or even their status within Dancehall.

2.1.1. The concept of beauty in Jamaica, the rising of a "Dancehall Queen"

The concept of beauty in Jamaica is something present from back in the days until today, creating a huge impact in Dancehall community. It created a new notion of fashion when it came to the space where it was taking place. Women had and still have today to show up as they want to be known into the dance hall space. Not connecting themselves with all the categories they would be forced to belong, in the eyes of Jamaican society. Although they were not accepted in upper class competitions that would highlight women beauty, other competitions were created giving them the space to 'show off' and present their beauty and body attributes while dancing.

These competitions were mainly created by man, opening the space to the women from downtown to present themselves in competitions that regularly would appeal to a sensualized/sexualized image of themselves. Impacting once more in fashion. Winning the competition would grant them a respected title, and a status within the culture, which would give them a certain kind of power within the community.

In the 1990's, Carlene Smith organized Fashion Clashes regularly, as Margarita Bonning explains in Performing Culture: Dancehall as a ritual and spectacle (s.d.). A clash can be considered as a fight between two dancers or two teams while dancing, including many times aggressive movements that can even involve physical contact.

Clashes are very common in the Dancehall community and they happen almost every night between different teams in Dancehall parties. In this case particularly, the clash was organized and not spontaneous. The name of the event was 'Dancehall Vs Uptown'. Uptown would be represented by Miss Jamaica, also *Caribbean Queen of Beauty,* that placed on the top 10 in the conquest to win Miss Universe in 1990, her name was Erica Aquart, and Dancehall would be represented by Carlene Smith, a symbol of sensuality and beauty within the community, a feminine icon of the 90's culture. Carlene Smith won, crowning herself with the crowd support as Dancehall Queen, 'giving birth' to one of the most important titles a woman can carry within Dancehall Community – The Dancehal Queen.

In one of the interviews, I did to Carlene Smith 'Dancehall Medz', she shared: "I am aware that one of the most acclaimed Queen competitions, "Jamaican International Dancehall Queen" was organized by a man, and initially the jury would be all males. This would demonstrate the full power man had over women in Dancehall since the women that won would be validated by either and all male group or a mixed group with not enough women."

Personally, I disagree when it is said that female Dancehall, in particular in its origin country, is referred to as a sexual liberation that women face while dancing, when in fact she is just affirming her identity in the Dancehall community, defending her space.

From my familiarity with some of the creators, as well as following the interviews I did with Stacia Fyah, Latonya Style, Queen Latesha and Kimiko Versatile, I conclude that some creators are aware of this fake sense

of freedom within Dancehall and that is why they are such activists to defend the world/space for women in Dancehall, because the problematics surrounding gender that are experienced in Jamaica are far from being comparable to the one experienced in Europe. The creators that are not aware of these situations, they still experience them due to certain life experiences such as having jobs being denied to them, lack of support, etc, that end up influencing their own movements just like it does with other creators that are in fact aware of certain frustrations that happen daily and that they feel while not having a place to be themselves in Dancehall. Even though their talent is undeniable there is still a constant need for validation of their contribution to the development of this danced phenomenon that has had worldwide impacts in a variety of different people.

Using my own personal experience, I state that all we experience when we dance Dancehall is the essence of these experiences through movements that are filled with the emotions, vibrations and most deep desires of these creators. They pass on to other women feelings of freedom, power and, they transmit everything they want to accomplish, helping therefore, women all over the world to connect with their own femininity and motivating them to explore more of themselves.

The aesthetic of the vibe of the female movement is incredibly complex in the sense that the movements are not meant to be graceful: they are strong, harsh, emancipated, powerful and sexual, translating to unique movements that transpire in a beauty never seen before where women nature is shown. They show their power, the power of the female body without any taboos or second intentions, they do it because they can, and they should have their right over their own body.

3. Urgency to keep studying and mapping the Role of Women within Dancehall

Sonjah Stanley Niaah (2014, p. 130) elaborates a vision for Dancehall as an unexplored philosophical terrain, highlighting the importance of creating a Dancehall map with a holistic view of its practice, beyond the interpretations that come from texts to include interdisciplinary approaches, investigations centred in performances, and on the main dancers as well as its overall influences.

The documents available that deal unique and exclusively with the role of women in Dancehall in general are very scarce. In the majority of the cases, the female gender is only discussed in one chapter that will later complement the whole paper like in Donna P. Hope's *Inna Di Dancehall* (2006, p. 36) with the chapter *Love the punaany bad,* which literally translated to English rather than patois means: "Loving the vagina 'a lot'". This was without a doubt, the most useful document I was able to find that tackles gender and ethnic issues, also related with the colour of the skin within the female gender, having always in mind that we are talking about a community that lives in poverty, in ghettos/downtown.

If the objective is to deepen the knowledge around women in Dancehall, research is key. People who explore papers as the previously mentioned will be able to have a generalized view on women and their conquests, as well as the male supremacy in Dancehall, and showcasing all the issues that appear and directly affect women. It is my intention, to fill in the lack of global visibility Women in the Dancehall world are given by raising awareness to these issues through an academic lens and through the Portuguese society where Dancehall should be given a bigger attention to since it is a post colonialism expression of art that can be especially centred on Women. Which means that the repercussions of colonialism are still felt in these dance manifestations of movements, creating a unique connection among women, where they awaken their instincts, their sexuality, their vision for movement, their need to defend their space and their expression.

It is fundamental, especially for women all over the world that decide to enter in this culture, to have awareness of the role of women in Dancehall. Even though this role has not yet been fully explored from a dancing point of view, there are a variety of distinct motivations that makes this dance expression to be so protected by women. The male supremacy in Jamaica is to this day still very present in the Dancehall industry, and many times the female creators are motivated to perform sexual acts as an exchange for success in the community.

I give as an example the case of Dancehall Queen Danger, that won the Dancehall Queen competition in 2014, the supposedly most desired place to acquire within the culture and the maximum expression of talent and their femininity. In December 2019 she stated on social media, as a dancer for the artist Spice, who is a worldwide phenomenon, that she was raped by the road manager and Spice's 'baby father'. The dancer

never talked about it previously to the social media, she was constantly threatened by her aggressor and, this aggression ended her career, she ended up leaving the dance team she belonged, known as 'Team Spice'. I ask myself, if I was in her place where I was living in a Montego Bay ghetto/downtown with a daughter and a family to support, would I say anything or not? Through this perspective I think I would probably hold my silence; we are observing a culture where everything that is feminine is seen as not powerful, according to Donna P. Hope (2006). Spice stated in a livestream that she has been in the industry for 20 years and she has only gained recognition about 6 years ago. She went to a lot of hardships where she was hungry, she had to sleep on the streets and a variety of different struggles, all because of the passion she held for Dancehall. How many of the women that we worship in Dancehall culture that we see as goddesses, unstoppable, powerful, have been raped on their way to success?

My research, as well as all the methodology that I used, allows me to state that every woman deciding to be a part of this phenomenon have a moral and ethnic duty towards the creators of knowing the original role for women, of understanding the gender issues that Jamaica is facing, which are not necessarily the same ones we face in Europe (although, the female affirmation has not yet been reached) and that it exists a long path for it to be reached.

From my experience and my research, the role of women within Dancehall is yet far from being defined. There is a need to bring these topics to the academic field raising the urgency in paying attention to them. Simple things such as getting a visa in order for them to be teaching their own creations abroad, is a 'struggle'. Although the men also don't have easy access to the visas, women have a major difficulty to be validated by the Jamaican system and allowed to travel. Recently assuming the role of manager of a female dancer I found myself struggling with her, in order for her to have the opportunity to spread the words about her own contribute to the Dancehall community.

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5.3 Hannah Höch and the disruption in the feminine

Conceição Cordeiro[1]

✕ ~~*Abstract*~~

This presentation aims to present ways of re-reading the photomontages and paintings of Dadaist Hannah Höch (Goth, Germany, November 1, 1889 - Berlin, Germany, May 31, 1978), a vanguard female member of the Dadaist movement. We argue there is a disruptive language in her photomontages and photomontage paintings, evidenced by the selection and decontextualization of images/forms and their relocation in terms of dialogue or conflict, to become a new assumption, a new message, as it happens in film editing, made of fragments, spaces and time that recover a new unity (Dias, 2007). The images/forms take, at this new level, the same intrinsic value, without hierarchies. The relevance of the feminine is asserted in Hannah Höch´s statement of feminine creativity as a tool of power, as opposed to the manualities presented in the magazines she worked for as a designer: *Die Dame*, *Die Praktische Berlinerin* and *Ullstein Verlag*. Emphasis is given both to *knowledge through montage* advocated by G. Didi-Huberman, based on the work of artists and thinkers who see History in terms of explosion and reconstruction (Romero, 2007), and to the montage of images as a shock between two images, from which a third one emerges, which refers us back to the hybrid quality of photomontage/collage, to the existence of interstitial spaces and to the allusion to the *third space* (Rutherford, 1996 [1990]), in rupture with the narrative processes of Art.

Keywords: Hannah Höch, photomontage, paintin, feminine, dadaism, hybridity.

1. Hannah Höch between 1912 – 1931

Hannah Höch was born in 1889 in Goth, Germany and died in 1978, Berlin, Germany. We present below a short biographical and artistic data on Hannah Höch, her artistic education, how she enters the art world, and began to have a political awareness: Hanna Höch enrolled in the School of Applied Arts in Berlin-Charlottenburg, where she studied glass design with Harold Bengen from 1912 until the onset of World War I in 1914. According to Höch, the war's eruption shattered her comfortable world view and produced in her a newfound political consciousness.

In January 1915 Höch returned to Berlin to continue her studies. This time, she enrolled in a graphic arts class taught by the art nouveau artist Emil Orlik at the School of the Royal Museum of Applied Arts (later known as the State Museum of Applied Arts). In the same year, Höch met the Austrian-born artist Raoul Hausmann, with whom she had an intense, difficult romantic relationship until 1922 (N/A, n.d.). For ten years, between 1916 and 1926, Höch worked three days a week at the Ullstein Verlag, Berlin's major publisher of magazines and newspapers. Employed in the handicrafts department, Höch designed knitting, crocheting, and embroidering patterns for magazines and booklets.

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- ▸ Figure 5.3.1 - Hannah Höch, 1925
- ▸ Retrieved https://monoskop.org/Hannah_H%C3%B6ch (accessed 8-06-2021)

In the summer of 1918, while Höch and Hausmann were on vacation at the Ostsee, they claimed to have discovered the principle of photomontage in the form of the cut-and-paste images that soldiers on the front sent to their families. This find would significantly affect Höch's artistic production, for photomontage became the preferred medium for her shrewd social and political critiques of the 1920s. In addition to mass-media photographs, Höch incorporated lace and handiwork patterns into her montages (photomontages), thus combining the traditional language of women's crafts with that of modern mass culture (N/A, n.d.).

We can thus highlight her entry into the DADA movement, a disruptive movement, in Berlin, by Raoul Hausmann; her participation in the world of a working class, in a world of advertising in magazines, where guidelines would be to lead women the tools of femininity, which Hannah Höch absorbs and opposes.

*Indeed, one of Höch's primary preoccupations was the representation of the 'new woman' of the Weimar Republic, whose social role and personal identity were in a complex process of redefinition in the postwar period. Women enjoyed new freedoms, including the right to vote in 1918 and an increased presence in the working world, albeit in low-paid positions. The subsequent increase in disposable income made women a prime audience for the mass press, which became a venue for the expression of desires and anxieties associated with women's rapidly transforming identities. Juxtaposing photographs and text to both endorse and critique existing mass-media representations, Höch parodied elements of bourgeois living and morals and probed the new, unstable definitions of femininity that were so widespread in post-war media culture. Höch was the only woman involved with Berlin Dada, and she participated in minor and major events alike (N/A, n.d.).

*In the First International Dada Fair of 1920 in Otto Burchard's art gallery, the largest of all the Dada exhibitions, Höch presented her socially critical photomontages as well as her handcrafted Dada dolls,

in turn showcasing the plurality of artistic tactics she mobilized for her Dada art. In the same year as the Dada Fair, Höch joined the leftist Novembergruppe, participating in annual exhibitions from 1920 to 1923, as well as in 1925, 1926, 1930, and 1931 (N/A, n.d.).

Hannah Höch as a woman, as a woman of her present/future, analysing, producing critical work about the new women identity called 'the new woman'. She was an emancipated woman, working in magazines dedicated to women, breaking away from the feminine created by the patriarchal power. As a woman artist she embraced the vanguards of her time, Dadaism, a double break with the past. She figures in a disruptive situation as far as gender, art and politics are concerned.

2. Others Dadaist Women

Hannah Höch sees female creativity as a tool of power. Like Hannah Höch, other women embraced the Dada revolution, both in Zurich, Paris, and New York. Ruth Hemus deepens the life and work of Emmy Hennings, Sophie Taeuber – Arp, Suzanne Duchamp, Celine Arnauld, Hannah Höch, women artists in her book *DADA'S Women* (2009), giving one more contribution to the feminist theory, that in the 70s sought to unravel the participation of female artists in the avant-garde movements.

*Such a list, however, gives at the very least an indication of the presence and participation of women in Dada circles. Across European centres names include Celine Arnauld, Alice Bailly, Marguerite Buffet, Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, Nelly van Doesburg, Suzanne Duchamp, Renee Dunan, Germaine Everling, Emmy Hennings, Hannah Hoch, Angelika Haerle, Maja Kruscek, Adon Lacroix, Adrienne Monnier, Suzanne Perrottet, Adya van Rees-Dutilh, Kate Steinitz, Sophie Taeuber, Maria Van-selow, Mary Wigman and Kathe Wulff. These names encompass hubs of activity including Zurich, Paris, Berlin, Cologne and Hanover; the women's nationalities are as diverse as French, Swiss, German, Dutch, Belgian and Romanian. Women in New York, meanwhile, include Margaret Anderson, Louise Stevens Arensberg, Djuna Barnes, Katherine S. Dreier, Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, Jane Heap, Mina Loy, Agnes Ernst Meyer, Katharine Nash Rhoades, Juliette Roche, Clara Tice, Louise Norton Varese, Beatrice Wood, and Carrie, Ettie and Florine Stettheimer. In addition, there may have been women participants in Dada constellations in Belgium, the Netherlands, central and eastern Europe, Spain and Japan. The women 1 list here were involved to varying degrees in Dada but it provides a useful starting point from which to investigate the phenomenon of Dada women (Hemus, 2009).

Through this listing we can confirm the expansion of the DADA movement, in women, around the world.

Below we want to honour some of the Dada women. It is not our purpose of developing this approach, but we would not like to leave it blank. Giving importance to the photographic representation of each of these Dada women, testimony of a time and a being.

2.1. Emmy Hennings (1885, Flensburg, Germany - 1948, Lugano, Switzerland)

Emmy Hennings's photography freezes in time her beauty, her gaze and posture of a woman determined to be herself, is our chosen photo of Emmy Hennings, with no date (Bertron, 2012).

The 'mother' of the Cabaret Voltaire, Zurich, Switzerland. A performer and poet involved from the very beginnings of Dada in Zurich. Interest in her has at last increased over recent years, though largely confined to German-language publications (Piatti, 2019).

2.2 - Sophie Taeuber - Arp (1889, Davos, Switzerland – 1943, Höngg, Zurique, Switzerland)

Our chosen photo of Sophie Taeuber-Arp is the one with her work *Dada Head*, 1920, by Nic Aluf (gelatin silver print). The work covers half of her face, which is wrapped in a veil of embroidered net. A semi-spherical dark hat with a curved fold is placed over her short hair. Her work *Tête Dada*, 1920 is in turned and painted wood. Height: 29.43 cm, Paris, Center Pompidou.

Zurich-based artist, she is recognized for her innovations in painting, reliefs and designs and for her collaborative work with Hans Arp (Hemus, 2009).

2.3. Suzanne Duchamp (1889, Blainville-Crevon, France – 1963, Paris)

The photo of Suzanne Duchamp we selected is one c. 1922 by Man Ray. Suzanne Duchamp is in a profile picture, haircut and seated with her hands resting on her upper leg.

Suzanne Duchamp, the fourth of the Duchamp children, was nearest in age and temperament to her brother Marcel, and they remained close throughout their adult lives.
The participants in Paris are much less well known there is still scant scholarship on the painter Suzanne Duchamp (Hemus, 2009; Camfield, 1998).

One of the works of Suzanne Duchamp *Broken and Restored Multiplication* (1918–19). Oil and silver paper on canvas. 61 × 50 cm, confirms her participation in the Dada movement:

Like many Dada works, those by Suzanne Duchamp weave painting, collage, and language together in complex ways. Broken and Restored Multiplication is filled with visual and verbal metaphors of disorder and breakage: at the center, a schematic Eiffel Tower is turned upside down; just below it, a modern cityscape is reflected in its mirror image. The phrases that run up and down along the surface of the picture further the idea of order upended: "The mirror would shatter, the scaffolding would totter, the balloons would fly away, the stars would dim, etc." Such images and words seemed fitting for the artists who embraced Dada, a cultural movement that emerged in response to World War I (N/A, n.d).

2.4. Céline Arnauld (1885, Calarashi, Romania - 1952, Paris)

Our chosen photo of Céline Arnauld is one from the cape of the book of Ruth Hemus *The Poetry of Céline Arnaud, from Dada to Ultra-Modern*, 2020.

Céline Arnauld was a poet, and at the heart of Paris Dada. Her experimental texts appeared in the most prominent avant-garde journals and she published almost a dozen books. Yet Arnauld predicted as early as 1924 that she would be written out of history. Isolated by personal loss and financially insecure, she took her own life in 1952. Her story is one of an individuals with an elusive identity - she was a Jewish émigré, born Carolina Goldstein in Romania - who left behind a body of work rich in innovation. In this study, Ruth Hemus conveys the pleasure of discovering this neglected figure and her inventive writing. Charting one woman's navigation of the avant-garde over a thirty-year period (1918-

1948), she sets out Arnauld's quest for an autonomous poetry that she herself called 'ultra-modern'[2].

2.5. Sonia Delaunay (1885 - Odessa, Ukraine - 1979 - Paris)

We found Sonia Delaunay in the company of Sophie Taeuber-Arp, in Carnac, 1929. Sonia Delaunay and Sophie Taeuber-Arp are on a beach wearing a very graphic swimsuit[3]. Another photograph that we would like to present is the participation of Sonia Delaunay, as a costumes designer for the play *The Gas Heart* by Tristan Tzara[4].

2.6. Baroness Elsa Von Freytag (1874, Swinemünde, Province of Pomerania, Germany – 1927, Paris)[5].

Our chosen photo of Baroness Elsa Von Freytag (no date). This is a photograph of Elsa Von Freytag in a naked torso with a necklace and short hair[6].

> *The androgynous performance art pioneer whose art – and, crucially, whose life – fiercely challenged bourgeois artistic and moral convention. Ready-made precursor[7].*
>
> *Why is it hard for people to accept the intellectual and creative authority of artists and writers who are women? Why did Lee Krasner's obvious influence on Jackson Pollock go unrecognised for decades? Why was Simone de Beauvoir's original thought attributed to Jean-Paul Sartre? Why did it take centuries for art historians to recognise the canvases of the Italian baroque painter Artemisia Gentileschi as hers, not her father's, even those that were signed by her? I don't believe the people involved in these attributions were all monsters out to destroy the reputation of the artist or thinker. The evidence was there. They couldn't see it. Why?[8]*

Baroness Elsa Von Freytag is, nowadays, recognized as the forerunner of the *readymade* and author of the work *Fountain* (1917), by Marcel Duchamp. We present one of her Dadaist works called *Dada Portrait of Berenice Abbott*, (c.1922-26), and in its representation she uses different materials such as gouache, metallic paint, and tinted lacquer with varnish, metal foil, celluloid, fiberglass, glass beads, metal objects, cut-and-pasted painted paper, gesso, and cloth on paperboard, (21.9 x 23.5 cm), New York, Moma[9].

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> *Rich with references to Abbott's appearance and life, Freytag-Loringhoven's portrait captures her close personal relationship with Abbott. Freytag-Loringhoven's dog - who purportedly had a particular fondness toward Abbott - is pictured in the bottom of the canvas and a handlebar mustache on Abbott's face serves to represent her androgyny. The portrait showers Abbott's image with adornments, including a brush with a white stone, a brooch, and gold-encrusted eyelashes. Not only does Freytag-Loringhoven's portrait bespeak the artist's intimate knowledge of Abbott, but it is also an innovative example of mixed media collage[10].*

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2. Hemus, Ruth. Retrieved from http://www.mhra.org.uk/publicationn/poetry-C%C3%A9line-Arnauld (accessed 2-05- 2021).

3. It can be seen at https://archives-dada.tumblr.com/tagged/sonia-delaunay (accessed 8-05-2021).

4. We can see this works in watercolour and pencil on paper, 1923, at the page https://archives-dada.tumblr.com/tagged/sonia-delaunay (accessed 8-05-2021).

5. Some photos on the link https://www.fallfromthetree.com/2017/09/19/baroness-elsa-interesting-lady/ (accessed 6-10-2021). Also, on the page https://monoskop.org/Elsa_von_Freytag-Loringhoven (accessed 6-10-2021).

6. It can be seen at https://archives-dada.tumblr.com/tagged/baroness-elsa-von-freytag (accessed 2-05-2021).

7. Isabella Smith (February 24, 2016). *Doing Dada Differently: The Women Behind the Movement*. Retrieved from https://www.anothermag.com/art-photography/8413/doing-dada-differently-the-women-behind-the-movement (accessed 2-05-2021).

8. Siri Hustvedt (Fri 29 Mar 2019 13.00). *A woman in the men's room: when will the art world recognise the real artist behind Duchamp's Fountain?* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/mar/29/marcel-duchamp-fountain-women-art-history (accessed 2-05-2021).

9. It can be seen at https://archives-dada.tumblr.com/tagged/baroness-elsa-von-freytag (accessed 2-05-2021).

10. Artists Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, The Art Story. Retrieved from https://www.theartstory.org/artist/von-freytag-loringhoven-elsa/ (accessed 2-05-2021).

These are some of the Dada women whose life and work will mark art in the feminine and will serve as a model for future generations.

3. Photomontage

When approaching Hannah Höch's work, namely her image overlays, a question arises regarding its process denomination. Will they be collages? Will they be photocollages? Will they be photomontages?. As a note to the exhibition catalogue *The Photomontages of Hannah Höch*, 1997, the organizers Maria Makela and Peter Boswell selection of "photomontages", as follows:

> *(…) we use the term photomontage rather than collage or photocollage. The term was associated with the German word montleren (to assemble, or fit), which the Berlin Dadaists used to describe their piecing together of photo graphic and typographic sources, usually cut from the printed mass media. They enjoyed the mechanical—and proletarian—connotations associated with the term and used it to distinguish their work from Cubist collages, or papiers collés, whose formalist abstraction they considered a dead end. For most of her life, Hannah Höch consistently used the term photomontage to describe her work, although early on she also used Klebebild (glued picture) or Klebezeichnung (glued drawing). Subsequent to the Dada period, the term photomontage has often come to have a more restricted meaning: a seamless, composite image achieved either by manipulating negatives in the darkroom or rephotographing a collage of photographs, techniques favored by such disparate artists as John Heartfield and the Russian Constructivists, on the one hand, and the Surrealists, on the other. Höch never engaged in such photographic artifice (other than in an occasional double-exposure self-portrait), preferring to accept the evidence of hand cutting over the creation of seamless illusion or the mass-production of images. In employing the term photomontage, we are, therefore, seeking to restore its original usage and to remain consistent with Hannah Höch's own language[11].*

By presenting this argument, the result of a selection of texts, we intend to affirm its relevance and we will live up to it. We would like to emphasize the mechanical mode of production, linked to the proletariat, since the postcards sent during the World War I to soldiers in the middle of the battlefront, were made from magazines and newspapers clippings, and hand cutting process of mass media image selection.

4. Hannah Höch's photomontages and paintings

The works, photomontages, we selected to illustrate the disruption of Hannah Höch correspond to being a woman, a woman artist at the beginning of the 20th century, in Europe, after World War I, faced with the position of the "new woman". About this theme of the "new woman" we selected the first work *The Beautiful Girl* (*Das Schone Madchen*), from 1919-1920 (e. g. Figure 5.3.2).

11. Boswell, P., Makela, M., Lanchner, C., 1996: 2.

Her ambivalente response to the illustrated print-media´s representation of Germany´s widely publicized New Woman can be seen in such early photomontages as The Beautiful Girl (Das Schone Madchen), 1919-1920[12] and an Untitlled (Ohne Tit El), 1921[13].

In this photomontage the position of the tire, the metal bar where a female figure sits with a light bulb replacing the face, and the crankshaft. These elements form a perspective that leads to the female figure´s face, unidentifiable, and her hair properly done. On the right, a female hand appears with a pocket watch that reads 11.12 a. m. In a posterior plane, there is another female face, with the left eye cut and pasted. It seems to represent women in industrial society, prepared to be part of this universe, where they no longer have their own individuality. The women start to be part of the capitalist machine.

Höch not only removed or obliterated the faces of the women in this photomontage but surrounded them with such signs of mechanization as a crankshaft, an I-beam, and an automobile tire. The colourful BMW

12. Bosweel, P. 1996, plate 9: 34.

13. Bosweel, P. 1996: 8. Plate 11: 36.

The second photomontage is entitled *Untitled* (*Ohne Tit El*), 1921 (e. g. Figure 3 and Figure 3a). We find the female figure as the central element of the composition, as in the previous one.

▸ Figure 5.3.3 - Hannah Höch, *Untitled (Ohne Tit El)*, 1921. Morton G. Neumann Family Collection
▸ Retrieved from https://br.pinterest.com/pin/354799276901535003/visual-search/?x=16&y=16&w=530&h=644&cropSource=6 (18-10-2021)

Although this work often has been dated to 1920, its central media source—a photographic reproduction of a dancer posing on the beach (identified in the caption as Claudia Pawlowa, then on tour in Germany with the Saint Petersburg ballet)—came from a June 1921 issue of Die Dame. Hoch replaced the dancer's smiling face with that of a woman who appears pensive, even melancholic, and moved her from the glamorous and spacious beach setting to one crowded with mechanical and domestic objects. These include a ball bearing nestled in a case, whose inside lid refers to the Borsigwerke, a suburban Berlin factory that produced trains and munitions; encircled and upended diagrams of a car engine; and, at the lower right, kitchen appliances turned on their heads. All these objects float on a fragment of a sewing pattern that Hoch doubtless obtained through her job as a designer in the handicraft division of Ullstein Press[15].

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14. Makela, M. 1996, plate 9: 34.

15. Makela, M. 1996, plate 11: 36.

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Placing the photomontage in the opposite direction (180° right) (e. g. Figure 5.3.4), we find that the kitchen utensils, placed on top and the three central circles of the composition, reveal upended diagrams of a car engine. The replacement of Claudia Pawlowa's glamorous face with an anonymous and unsettling face, referring to most women. The sewing pattern in the background (several forms of lines that crisscross, numbered, corresponding to a piece of clothing to sew), the kitchen utensils turned upside down, matching the 'new woman', who is pointed out by a male figure with an insect on bald.

We may question whether the male figure is judging, pointing out to the 'new woman' condition. This judgment is not taken very much serious since the figure is presented with his back turned, bald (a problem mostly male and that questions his own masculinity, at the time), with an insect. The image of the 'new woman' is still associated with technological evolution and promises of freedom, as can be seen in the three car engines. The disruptive image of the "new woman" represented by H. Höch as a social and gender analysis.

The third photomontage is entitled *Indian Dancer: From an Ethnographic Museum* (*Indische Tänzerin: Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*), 1930 (e. g. Figure 5.3.5). We present two analyses of this work:

Hannah Höch explored gender and identity in her work, and she humorously criticized the concept of the "New Woman" in Weimar Germany, a vision of a woman who was purportedly man's equal. In *Indian Dancer: From an Ethnographic Museum* she combined images of a Cameroonian mask and the face of silent film star Maria Falconetti, topped with a headdress comprised of kitchen utensils.

 Höch's amalgamation of a traditional African mask, an iconic female celebrity, and tools of domesticity references the style of 1920s avant-garde theatre and fashion and offers an evocative commentary on feminist symbols of the time[16].

Through the cut-and-pasted elements of Indian Dancer, Höch assembled references to film, Central African sculpture, and the domestic sphere. Her collaged model is the actress Renée (Maria) Falconetti (also known simply as 'Falconetti'), appearing in a publicity still for Carl Theodor Dreyer's 1928 film The Passion of Joan of Arc. Half of Falconetti's face is replaced with the ear, eye, and mouth of a wooden dance mask from Cameroon. Atop her head rests a crown of cutlery: cutout shapes of spoons and knives, set against glinting metallic foil. This work belongs to a series of photomontages called From an Ethnographic Museum (1924–34), in which Höch juxtaposed images of women with reproductions of tribal art cut from magazines. The artist cited a visit to the ethnographic museum in Leiden, in the Netherlands, as an influence in the conception of this series;

16. Hannah Höch, German, 1889–1978. Retrieved from https://www.moma.org/artists/2675. (accessed 20-05 2021)

however, she used material from other cultures mostly as a point of departure for commentary on the status of women in contemporary German society. Invoking an androgynous fifteenth-century French martyr as embodied by a glamorous movie star, capping her with the finery of a domestic goddess, and aligning her with a cultural Other, this composite representation examines the complex facets of modern femininity[17].

▸ Figure 5.3.5 - Hannah Höch, *Indian Dancer: From an* Et*hnographic Museum (Indische Tänzerin: Aus einem* et*hnographischen Museum)*, 1930
▸ Retrieved from https://arthistoryproject.com/artists/hannah-hoch/indian-dancer-from-an-ethnographic-museum/ (accessed 8-06-2021)

The Figure 5 seems the exact still frame of Maria Falconetti in Carl Theodor Dreyer's, 1928 silent film *The Passion of Joan of Arc,* the one used by Hannah Höch in the photomontage of Figure 4, symmetrical or mirrored. We identified two long tear drops on the right side of the face of Figure 4, which corresponds to the left side of the face of Figure 5.3.6. Would it be this expression or the iconic Joan of Arc that made the selection of this female face, androgynous face, face of despair, tear face, decisive?

▸ Figure 5.3.6 - Maria Falconetti in Carl Theodor Dreyer's, 1928 silent film The Passion of Joan of Arc
▸ Retrieved from The power and the passion: LA Master Chorale's moving season opener. Posted on November 4, 2014 by CK Dexter Have. Retrieved from https://allisyar.com/tag/renee-maria-falconetti/ (8-06-2021)

This artistic process of combining images from various cultures, European and Central Africa, in a single work, we consider it with cultural hybrid characteristics. Its decontextualization and absorption into a new context reveals itself as something unique and with new readings. We can also see the art of cinema, the

17. Hannah Höch Indian Dancer: From an Ethnographic Museum (Indische Tänzerin: Aus einem ethnographischen Museum) 1930. Retrieved from Publication excerpt from MoMA Highlights: 375 Works from The Museum of Modern Art, New York (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2019) https://www.moma.org/collection/works/37360 (accessed 8-06- 2021).

art of sculpture and photography in the same work, without hierarchies. We found during our research a revealing image of how connections between artists happens. The photograph of Baroness Elsa Von Freytag with a kitchen cutlery headdress (e.g., Figure 5.3.8) resembled Hannah Höch's photomontage (e.g., Figure 5.3.7). Two women, two artists who, aware of their time, criticize/ridicule the position of women in their household tasks, building a disruption with the feminine ideal.

From Hannah Höch photomontages we will analyze Hannh Höch paintings as a photomontage. We point out the work *The Bride or Pandora*, from 1927 (e.g., Figure 5.3.10), whose collage programs are applied to highlight the larger young female face, a possible self-portrait of looking inquired/investigator, focused on another action. This figure conventionally embraces a static/rigid/hardened male figure. Around it, symbolic elements swirl in suspension, fluttering: embryo with wings, thistle and thorns with wings, serpent enveloping the apple with wings, open heart chained with weight and with wings, wheel with wings, unidentified flowers with wings and unidentified shape top to center. Reading this work, we can identify a personal experience: her relationship with Raoul Hausmannn[18].

As a painting, it is ruled by the disproportionality of the female face in relation to the male figure, as an external piece to painting. A process of decontextualization and strong revelation in the message. The purpose of enhancing the female face matches the intensity of the message. A position that clearly marks the manifesto of emancipated women after World War I. The testimony of a 'new woman', of a face that asserts itself before a male statue. In the photomontage *Untitled*, 1920 (e.g., Figure 5.3.9), we focus on the child's face and head position, like those in the previously observed painting *The Bride or Pandora*, from 1927[19].

▸ Figure 5.3.7 - Hannah Höch, 1930
▸ Retrieved from https://arthistoryproject.com/artists/hannah-hoch/indian-dancer-from-an-ethnographic-museum (accessed 8-06-2021)

▸ Figure 5.3.8 - Baroness Elsa Von Freytag (no date)
▸ Retrieved from https://foca.org.mx/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/D8DRcIwWkAAovat.jpg (accessed 8-06-2021)

18. Cordeiro, C., 2017: 130.

19. Cordeiro, C., 2017: 130-131.

▶ Figure 5.3.9 - Hannah Höch, *Untitled*, 1920. Photomontage, (no dim.). Archives Dada. Retrieved from https:/archives-dada.com/tagged/hannah-hoch (31-10-2021)

▶ Figure 5.3.10 - Hannah Höch, *The Bride or Pandora* (*Die Braut oder Pandora*), 1927. Oil on canvas, 114x66cm. Retrieved from https://medium.com/@susanday_25940/hannah-h%C3%B6ch-the-forgotten-sociopolitical-commentator-b358059a6526 (31-10-2021)

▶ Figure 5.3.11 - Hannah Höch, *Imaginary Bridge, Two Heads* (*Imaginäre Brücke Zwei Köpfe*), 1926. Oil on canvas, 72.5x65.5 cm.
▶ Retrieved from https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/217480 (31-10-2021)

With the painting *Imaginary Bridge, Two Heads* (e.g., Figure 5.3.11), Hannah Höch returns to painting and to a traumatic theme of her relationship with Raoul Hausmann. Why this theme in painting and not in photomontage? Hannah Höch leaves the theme of social and political criticism, and it is in painting that she reveals the most intimate themes, with time (Painting) as a primordial medium[20]. In the male profile, in the foreground, two curved exclamation point are located: one at the level of the skull, in black, and the other, in red, curved, ends in the open mouth, in white. In the neck area, a small female figure, from the back, raises her arms as she sees the baby being taken away by a small walking male figure. In the female profile, the baby is positioned in the mouth, one of the body's openings. The hair is filled with alpine pine trees. A light is projected from behind the head. We think that this is a very frequent situation: the rejection of a pregnancy by the male sex.

5. Art and Politics: Hannah Höch member of leftist/artistic group

About Hannah Höch's participation in *November Group* (Berlin, 1919 - 1932), we noticed her artistic collaboration in the design for the cover of publication

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20. Cordeiro, C., 2017: 133.

for November Group, 1921[21]. Introducing the November Group:

> *The November Group, a cadre of revolutionary German artists who came together in Berlin in the immediate aftermath of the November Revolution.*
> *We stand on the fertile soil of the revolution. Our motto is:*
> *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity! These words, in homage to the French Revolution, opened the November Group's manifesto, written days after the group's founding amid a torrent of discussion and activity. Their name was a nod to the November Revolution, the uprising that dramatically ended the monarchy in Germany. Alongside the founders were original members Georg Tappert, Moriz Melzer, and Heinrich Richter. At the first-ever meeting of the group—again, on December 3rd—they were joined by nearly a dozen others, such as Karl Jakob Hirsch, Bruno Krauskopf, Rudolf Belling, and Erich Mendelsohn. A number of notable names were associated with the group throughout its run, including Hannah Höch, El Lissitzky, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe[22].*

About women artists:

> *As in other revolutionary artists' associations, there were only a few women on the November Group membership list. Of the 49 founding members from the Sturm circle, Hilla Rebay was only one woman, although a large number of women were active in the Sturm area. It was different with exhibitions of the November Group. Several women in art took part here, in addition to Hannah Höch and Marie Laurencin, for example, Emy Roeder and Emmy Klinker[23].*

Confirmed by the sources listed above, Hannah Höch clearly participated in the exhibitions with other artists, but a few female artists were part of it. We will find more women artists in another group called *Der Sturm*, linked to the magazine and gallery with the same name, in Berlin.

In 2016, a retrospective of Hannah Höch's contemporary women artists is held at Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt, with the title *Storm Women, Premiere for the women artists of the avant-garde*[24]. Although Hannah Höch's name does not appear in this exhibition (more connected to the Dadaists), we confirm the female artist

21. Cover for NG: Publication of the November Group (Veröffentlichung der Novembergruppe), vol. 1, 1921. Design for the cover of publication for November Group, 1921, woodcut on paper. Collection Merrill C. Bermon. Seen at https://www.moma.org/collection/works/178130 (accessed 10-06-2021).

22. Taylor Dafoe, December 3, 2018 .100 Years Ago Today, Germany's November Group Art Movement Was Founded. Here's Why That Matters Now. Retrieved from https://news.artnet.com/art-world/100-years-later-vision-november-group-remains-relevant-today-1409680 (accessed 10-06-2021).

23. *Storm Women, Premiere for the women artists of the avant-garde* at SCHIRN KUNSTHALLE, Frankfurt, 2016. Retrieved from https://schirn.de/sturmfrauen/digitorial/en/ (accessed 10-06-2021).

Der Sturm (*The Storm*), 1910/32, Art Magazine and Gallery, Berlin. *Der Sturm* stood out from other art magazines of the time in that it included art created by women. Exhibitions organized by the magazine included works by Gabriele Münter, Sonia Delaunay, Else Lasker-Schüler, Marianne von Werefkin, Natalia Goncharova, Jacoba van Heemskerck, and others. Before the gallery closed in 1932, it exhibited works by more than 30 female painters and sculptors - more than any other gallery at the time.

Retrieved from https://de.zxc.wiki/wiki/Novembergruppe (accessed 10-06-2021).

See article by Eva Eicker and Rene Blixer, November 2, 2018.*The full avant-garde: The November Group exhibition*. From https://www.exberliner.com/whats-on/art/november-group-exhibition/ (accessed 10-06-2021).

See article *Novembergruppe*. Berlinische Galerie, Museum of Modern Art. From https://berlinischegalerie.de/en/collection/our-collection/novembergruppe/ (accessed 10-06-2021).

24. At the bottom of the page, we can find the names of the female artists who were featured in this exhibition: Else Lasker-Schüler, Gabriele Münter, Alexandra Exter, Vjera Biller, Natalia Goncharova, Marianne von Werefkin, Magda Langenstraβ-Uhlig, Hila von Rebay, Marte Donas, Sigrid Hjertén, Minya Diez Dührkoop, Lavinia Schulz, Jacoba van Heemskerck, Marcelle Cahn, Helene Grünhoff, Maria Uhden, Nell Walden. See http://schirn.de/sturmfrauen/digitorial/en/ (accessed 20-10-2021).

See article *STORM Women. Women Artists of the Avant-Garde in Berlin 1910–1932*

October 30, 2015–February 7, 2016. From https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/3301/storm-women-women-artists-of-the-avant garde-in-berlin-1910-1932/ (accessed 20-10-2021).

dynamic in this period, validated by the exhibition, in Frankfurt in 2016. The rewriting of the History of Art based on the works of women artists finds more and more followers every day. The 2016 exhibition restores the merit of the female artists of the *Der Sturm* group:

> *The STURM women and their achievements were forgotten.*
> *Now we must tell their story anew![25]*

6. Photomontage, Montage and Hybridity

In António Guerreiro interview with Georges Didi-Huberman, where, regarding António Guerreiro statement: *It was a work of art, the montage was an artistic process typical of the 20th century vanguard*...Georges Didi-Huberman answers, emphasizing: *But it was also taking a stand*[26].

Reiterating Georges Didi-Huberman's notion of film montage as an analysis mechanism for pictorial works, where formal elements of different origins come together, mix, producing the crossing of cultures, also in Hannah Hoch's photomontages, we find shapes, marks of different icons of the German society and of different cultures (as we can see in Figure 4), on the same surface, creating a dialogue, creating a new pictoriality, but also taking a position, a political awareness. Now let's look for the notion of film montage in Didi-Huberman to put it in parallel with the photomontage process.

We indicate the creative process of the montage/photomontage where all the pictorial elements mentioned above are in dialogue, thus creating a new work. Another notion to retain, for the analysis of these works, according to Didi-Huberman, is that the assembly process is a process that leaves open, that promotes multiplicity:

> *Montage is valuable only when it doesn't hasten to conclude or to close it is valuable when it opens up our apprehension of history and makes it more complex, not when it falsely schematizes when it gives us access to the singularities of time and hence to its essential multiplicity[27]*

If the Didi-Huberman film montage, according to Albera, appears as a confrontation of images providing/ originating the intervals[28] , the gaps, the cracks, we meet Homi Bhabha's concept of the *third space*[29], of the movement between cultures, in their interstices, in movement, as Alfredo Jaar[30] refers, or even of the interstices where floating languages, formless works, unconnected themes that Foucault[31] speaks to us[32]. We claim the reading of G. Didi-Huberman, as well as the notions of intervals, gaps, cracks, interstices for a new reading of Hannah Hoch's photomontages.

In the editing process, differences, mutual clashes, confrontations, and conflicts of things are evident. The montage (photomontage) composes dismembered/fragmented elements, organizing them in *dys-poser*[33], that is, arranging them/ordering them according to their differences; the assembly indicates the openings/ intervals between each of the fragments vis-à-vis the others; montage (photomontage) is a subversive game, an archaeological method, a dialectic of forms; it makes use of fragments of space and fragments of time, leaving it open, without conclusions, giving rise to multiplicity. Montage (photomontage) is the art of creating the dialectical image. Montage (photomontage) is a taking of position. Editing (cut-and-paste) is against all

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25. Exhibition *Storm Women, Premiere for the women artists of the avant-garde,* Schirn Kunsthalle*,* Frankfurt, 2016. Retrieved from http://schirn.de/sturmfrauen/digitorial/en/ (accessed 20-10-2021)

26. Cordeiro, C. (2017), p. 241, op. cit. Guerreiro, A. (2014): 14.

27. Didi-Huberman, G. (2008): 121.

28. Albera, F. (2009): 2.

29. Rutherford, J. (1996 [1990]): 36-37.

30. Canclini, (2002), p.112. Alfredo Jaar is a Chilean artist, architect, photographer, and filmmaker based in New York City.

31. Foucault, M. (2008): 155.

32. Cordeiro, C. (2017): 244-245.

33. Didi-Huberman, G. notion in several writings.

aesthetic purity, it introduces the multiple, the diverse and hybridity[1].

The conditions and conclusions drawn from a montage/assembly process, presented in the previous paragraph, are defended by us for photomontage, in this specific case for Hannah Höch's photomontages and photomontage paintings.

Conclusions

Hannah Höch, a woman of her time with political consciousness, leftist, who breaks the boundaries with the female role in society. Having an artistic education soon developed means of self-expression. Working in the world of mass media, she refined her social conscience and the role of art in society, and in particular, the role of women. Co-founder of photomontage she mixes feminine crafts with mass media publicity, disrupting/revealing/criticizing the role of feminine, "The New Woman" of Weimar Republic after World War I, creating the intervals, the interstices, the gaps, the cracks and the *third space* into her work. Assuming the Dada photomontage as a hybrid creation process, it is in the analysis of Hannah Höch's paintings, that we will find the transference from photomontage to a hybrid painting.

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1. Cordeiro, C. (2017): 259.

5.4 Re-appraising Hi-Nrg, the queer soundtrack to the 1980s

David Carroll[2]

✗ ~~Abstract~~

Only in recent decades has the appraisal of pop music gained footing in musicology (Buckley, 2003). Pop's many intersections with gender and sexualities have been well documented (Bullock, 2017; Gill, 1995; Whitely, 2000), but this paper argues that a comprehensive analysis of the genesis and impact of the 1980s genre of pop music, *Hi-Nrg*, remains unrecorded. The paper unearths the history and trajectory of the genre and affirms its place as a cultural milestone. Emerging as a sub-genre of disco, the paper illustrates how its characteristics were innately queer, in terms of its origins, and in its thematic content. From these original DIY roots, the rise of Hi-Nrg, and its subsequent appropriation, into one of the defining pop sounds of the late 1980s, is documented.

Keywords: pop music, 1980s, homosexuality.

1. Introduction

This paper aims to establish and convey the magnitude of influence that Hi-Nrg would come to exert over the pop music landscape of the 1980s, despite being a relatively unchartered subgenre of disco. From unflinchingly overt representations, to less explicit, yet abundant manifestations of coded, homo-sexualized reference points, Hi-Nrg is presented as pioneering in reach and content. Despite predominantly reflecting the lives of gay men, examples where the form can be aligned to, and located within queer theory, with its "(…) emphasis on permanent rebellion and submission of dominant social meanings and identities" (Mottier, 2008, p. 45) exist. The genre's trajectory, from the underground clubland of North America and Western Europe to its world-wide zenith in 1989 (Stock, 2004), also yields an alluring illustration of the cultural appropriation of facets of queer culture into the mainstream.

2. The death of disco?

Disco's enduring cultural impact has been well evidenced, and its place as a soundtrack to new representations and voices is also well documented (Dyer, 1992; Maitra, 2011). By the late 1970s, the disco sound saturated the pop landscape, and the aesthetics of the genre embedded further into wider pop culture (Echols, 2010). As the decade entered its end, the form's continued infiltration of the mainstream would see an increasing number of artists, as unlikely as Dolly Parton and Rod Stewart, embrace the trend as it continued its sojourn of annexation (Abjorensen, 2017).

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2.1 The paradigm of The Bee Gees

The paradigm of British group, The Bee Gees, whose harnessing of disco had seen them attain levels of success exceeding previous career highs, was noted by many artists hoping to replicate such triumphs. The group's soundtrack to the film *Saturday Night Fever* had become the best-selling album of 1978 (McLeod, 2006, p. 349). Becoming eponymous with the disco genre itself, in 1987 it earned induction into the United States National Recording Registry based on its cultural significance (Bilyeu et *al.*, 2013). The effect on this mainstreaming of disco in relation to its constituent queer and non-white audience has been examined. For Doggett (2015, p. 475), their success was evidence of a significant shift:

> In The Bee Gee's hands, Disco became the basic language of popular music. Their success coincided with a shift in perception of the discotheque's function. It was no longer an arena for subverting society's sexual mores, and breaking taboos, but proof that one belonged inside the mainstream – or in selected circles, within the social elite.

Other scholars have concurred, citing the album as "(…) marking the beginning of the 'popularisation' of disco by repressing its black and homosexual origins" (Maitra, 2011, pp. 275-376). Despite criticisms to the contrary, disco had progressed stylistically during its ascent, "(…) from its funk-orientated origins in underground clubs and private parties into a more upscale, sophisticated sound associated with the smooth consonances of *Philadelphia Soul* and heavily produced orchestral music" (McLeod, 2006, p. 348).

2.2 How disco challenged rock music

Rock music had been deeply challenged by disco. Epitomised by the infamous 'disco demolition' nights, whereby rock music fans were invited to literally burn disco records (Greenburg, 2010), the resistance has since been depicted as being as much about self-protection, reinforcing the previously rigid, heterosexual, and mainly white, representations of rock (Gillen, 2007; Mankowski, 2010). While there was significant resistance, the genre would survive in various shapes and forms, in many ways its 'death' an exaggeration (Robb, 2020). It would take, for an artist forever aligned with the genre, Gloria Gaynor, to sagely observe, "Disco music is alive and well and living in the hearts of music-lovers around the world. It simply changed its name to protect the innocent: Dance music" (Hubbs, 2007, in Robinson, 2010, p. 51).

Although disco was now losing its vice-like grip as a mass phenomenon, "(…) the gays hadn't stopped dancing yet" (Smith, 1999, in Kirk, 1999, p. 13). The 1980s, a decade in which the music industry would enjoy "(…) enormous expansion", (Jones, 1997, p. 18), would see the emerging Hi-Nrg gain significant popularity.

3. Origins

More than anyone, Hi-Nrg's origins can be attributed to Patrick Cowley and Bobby Orlando (Kirk 1999; Waterman, 2000). As Disco continued its evolution into a mass cultural medium, both would adapt aspects of its stylistic trademarks, and introduce other characteristics, which would come to define the Hi-Nrg genre. Both were from the United States, and while Cowley identified as gay, Orlando's interest in Hi-Nrg's development was perhaps less obvious. Described by poet Dennis Cooper as "(…) a hyper-macho, incredibly cocky, rampantly

homophobic ex-boxer who made gay disco" (2020:s/p), Orlando cuts a complex character; authoring a book on creationism and offering to cure his artists of their homosexuality, all the while producing songs which, in the main, were "(…) brazen odes to sex and partying" (Cooper, 2020:s/p). However, this seemingly contradictory stance does little to detract from his role as a pioneer of the form.

Despite such differences, both shared a similar approach to the execution of their productions. Of the period, Fikentscher (1991, p. 10) notes, "The early 1980s were a period in which the lines between studio producers, engineers, songwriters & DJs became increasingly fuzzy. Many DJs, in addition to spinning records, ventured into dance music production". Both producers were exemplary of this new breed of DIY musical entrepreneurs, even on occasion performing vocal duties for their songs. Again, the timing was crucial, coinciding with a period when, "(…) major record companies scrambled to drop the disco acts they had ravenously signed up, plenty of small independent labels run by gay folk sprang up to meet the demands for up-tempo dance records in their own communities" (Walters, 1996, p. 72). Although clearly derived from disco (Fritz, 1999), in a departure to what had come before, both producers sped up the traditional disco sound, establishing something altogether more frenzied. The tempo of the records paced at least 120BPM (Beats per minute), typically at 127BPM, produced a dramatically urgent sounding style (Buckland, 2010).

3.1 The term Hi-Nrg

In terms of the genre's etymology, there is a general consensus that as a term, 'Hi-Nrg' was coined by artist Donna Summer describing her song, *I Feel Love*, as having "a high energy vibe" (Jones & Kantonen, 1999; Shapiro, 2000). Produced by Giorgio Moroder, the "godfather of disco" and fellow forefather of the Hi-Nrg sound (Nika, 2015; Vivarelli, 2016), Moroder had with Summer's previous hit, *Love to Love You Baby*, introduced the concept of one track extending over the entire side of a 12-inch recording (Baumgartel, 2013).

Cowley's success came earlier, by the late 1970s he had helmed recordings which had crossed over to enjoy mainstream chart placings. Sung by Sylvester, an unapologetically queer, black artist (Gamson, 2005), one of Cowley's earliest hits, *You Make Me Feel (Mighty Real)*, was described as 'genre defining' (Shapiro, 2005, p. 74). The same work would observe how Orlando accrued some chart success, notably, in the Benelux countries (Shapiro, 2005, p. 71), although it would take a few years later before he would attain acknowledgment as a founding father of the genre. Subsequent Hi-Nrg productions for acts such as Divine and The Pet Shop Boys, would chart world-wide (Jay, 1995) ensuring additional prominence. Of note, scholars have suggested that Cowley's legacy, that of exploring sexual realms within dance music, "(…) in particular, the homosexual ones, probably contributed to his relative obscurity" (Marke, 2019, p. 23), and the implications of this queer association is shown later, to have contributed to the genres eventual demise. However, in recent years there has been a more robust re-appraisal of his legacy, as with that of his Orlando (Lefebvre, 2016).

Both in its audible stylistic modifications to that of 'disco', and in terms of the lyrical themes and qualities utilised, 'Hi-Nrg' was, by the end of the 1970s, replacing its predecessor as the perpetual soundtrack of gay nightlife (Kirk, 1999). As the genre progressed into the emerging decade, it began to develop additional characteristics which further distinguished it from its original lineage. Influences, from the gay nightclubs of Western Europe (Arena, 2017), began to gather momentum and further broaden the genre's scope.

3.2 The musical styles of Hi-Nrg

Linguistically, the term Eurobeat was coined to describe Hi-Nrg style records which began to emanate from the English club scene, courtesy of producers such as Ian Levine. Levine's output, producing tracks such as *So Many Men, So Little Time*, his 1982 produced hit, fronted by Evelyn Thomas, would use the genre's name as its title, *High Energy*. (Laski, 1993 in Miller & Shaw-Miller, 1993; Rimmer, 1984). In Italy, the term Italo Disco was used to describe the flourishing Hi-Nrg scene there. The format was soon repeated in other countries, with French, Spanish and German artists following suite (Krettenauer, 2016). Just to compound the complexity, an additional idiom; Euro-Disco, has often been used interchangeably to describe Hi-Nrg, Eurobeat and Italo Disco, and as an umbrella term for all three. A final convolution comes with the term Boys-town, also used to describe Hi-Nrg, mainly in the United States and Canada (Brewster & Broughton, 2006). Taken from the name of a suburb of Chicago, where the queer community had coalesced in the early 1970s to create one of the first 'gay villages' (Baim, 2008), the term would be increasingly replicated to describe similar urban development and migration patterns occurring across cities of the Unites States. Such was its association

with homosexuality, the name would be subsequently adapted by San Francisco band, Boys-Town Gang, whose fleet of early 1980's releases were some of the earliest Hi-Nrg songs to chart (Roberts, 2006).

Evidence of the interchangeability of these terms can be elucidated by an example from the pages of British music industry magazine, *Record Mirror*. Recognising the surge in songs produced in the Hi-Nrg musical style, the publication launched the first 'gay chart' in 1982. Running until 1988, although its original name was changed a number of times, to 'Boys Town Disco chart'; then the 'Hi-Nrg chart'; and by its demise, the 'Eurobeat' chart' (Rollo, 2019). While the addition of the chart signals a recognition of sorts, it would fall to a less likely source, Smash Hits, to dismantle what seemed a profound silence in relation to Hi-Nrg's advancement, on the part of the music press. The most successful of the influential weekly pop publications, with a specifically young readership, (Toynbee, 1993), the magazine would forecast Hi-Nrg, as "the sound of 1984" (Elliot, 2016, p. 14).

Tellingly, even in these relatively early days of its genre's genesis, the piece demonstrates a reluctance on the part of industry stakeholders to affirm its queer associations.

When proffered with the lyrics, from the then recent hit, *So Many Men, So Little Time*, as an example of the homoerotic overtones common to the genre, the interviewee (a music executive) is keen to dismantle any such same-sex associations. The author notes, how during the denial, "(...) a coy smile breaks out across his face" (Elliot, 2016, p. 14). Evidently, such acknowledgment was deemed still too risky a strategy. Despite this, the article is clear that the origins and success enjoyed by the genre thus far were of a resolutely queer nature, and that for many, Hi-Nrg was indeed, 'gay music'. Evidence as to why this was thought to be the case, is presented below.

4. Lyrics, titles and soundscapes

Lyrically, Hi-Nrg songs were frequently sexually suggestive, and commonly imbued with homocentric, glorifications of the male body. Social concepts and linguistic constructs related to the emerging urban gay experience were commonly referenced (Bell & Binnie, 1984).

4.1 'Cruising' for sex

The particularly queer idiom, 'cruising', would prove a popular theme. The act of seeking out potential sexual partners in public spaces has long been established as a method of engagement, enabling the bearer access to a world still largely stigmatised by the mainstream. Forming part of an illustrious and subversive tradition involving the use of verbal and non-verbal codes, Stacey (2005, p. 1926) succinctly describes its primary role as a conduit to initiate sexual contact, citing it as "(...) the gay male sexual sport arena, where it is all in the gaze". The subject is reflected in a plethora of titles, *Searchin'* (Looking for Love); *So Many Men, So Little Time*; *Unexpected Lovers*; *Faith in Strangers*, all allude to the forays of the practice, with even more transparent examples in the form of, *Cruising*; *Cruising The Streets*; *A Walk in the Park*, and *Cruising in the Park*.

The employment of such idioms as song-titles constitutes just one element of a wider repertoire of sexualised lyricism. Frequently songs contained provocative connotations to the degree that it can be considered as a defining characteristic of the genre. With titles such as, *Bring on the Men*; *I Need A Man*; *Megatron Man*; *Thank God For Men*; *Male Stripper*, the repeated espousal of desire for, and veneration of, the male body is a predominant theme. That some scholars have attributed this to be part of the lyric's allure to a gay male audience is hardly surprising (Buckland, 2010, p. 68).

A third selection of titles illustrate a final aspect common to the linguistics of genre, that of the employment of thinly veiled sexual innuendo (Walters, 1996), with titles such as *Man-Sized Love*, *Pistol in My Pocket*, and *Slice Me Nice*, all indicative of this trend. On occasion, any remaining nuance would be disregarded. With titles such as, *I am So Horny for You*, or in example of the Modern Rocketry song, *Homosexuality*, the queer intention is unavoidable.

Patrick Cowley's 1981 opus, *Menergy*, provides an archetypal example of the genre's use of the linguistics of gay male communities. Again, references to the act of cruising permeate, the concept indelibly stamped as a definitively queer cultural practise (Stacey, 2004; Espinoza, 2019). Referencing the 'back-room' vividly locates a geographical sphere for the lyric, the argot term adopted to describe the sex-on-premises bars of

the emerging gay, metropolitan centres of the United States (Martin, 1987). Further settings - the bar, the street, and the bedroom are each united by the commonality of serving as spaces where the possibility of sex is to be envisaged. This is graphically confirmed by Cowley's protagonists, who 'shoot off' in each verse's setting. Inclusion of the phrase used by gay men as a vernacular description for ejaculation lays bare to the explicitly queer resonance to Cowley's formative take on the genre. Such was its implicit resonance, a variation on the phrase would feature as a title to Cowley contemporary, Bobby Orlando's track, *Shoot Your Shot*. While cyclical in nature, its lyrics illustrate a similarly queer bent. This type of bawdy sexual assertiveness had rarely been observed in pop music lyrics, and never from a queer perspective.

4.2 The idea of queer sound

From its inception, Hi-Nrg would prove itself sonically adept at producing music, specifically designed "(...) to enhance the excitement of man-on-man cruising, illicit sex, and chemical stimulants through electronic means" (Marke, 2016, p. 22). Describing the effects of the sound on the more traditional setting of the dance floor, Buckland (2010, p. 96) describes how

> *It was under aided with heavy bass-tones, so that dancers did not only hear the beat, but they also felt it. The pulse felt like it was coming from deep inside your body. This connected the body to the soundscape environment, so that rather than being acted upon, participants actively engaged and intervened with the soundscape.*

Further confirmation of the genre's "(...) enthusiastic embrace of the sexual possibilities of electronic music, particularly the homosexual ones" would be affirmed (Bieschke, 2019, p. 25), and it seemed that such frontiers were in reach. While the ashes of disco still simmered, Cowley and others benefited from an unrelenting demand from queer club-land, for increasingly up-tempo records to dance to (Flick, 1997).

5. Aesthetics and performativity

The aesthetics associated with the Hi-Nrg also commonly projected transgressive subversions. Routed in the reflection of several expressions of dress and performativity already utilised within queer communities, these representations subversively challenged established gender norms and the pervasively heteronormative imagery of pop. Two divergent categorisations of such representations can be elucidated, which share the etymological distinction of having both originated as colloquial terms.

The first, the 'gender bender', is attributed to the mainstream music press as a means of describing the surge in artists who, through their attire, application of make-up and feminine performativity, demonstrated a total disregard for gender traditional roles (Brownlee, 1995; Whatling, 1984). Unlike other ambiguous popstars of the day, such was the blatancy of the appearance and aesthetics of the gender bender, there was little room for the plausible denial of their queer roots. Discernible correlations can be drawn which link the innately queer performativity of the gender bending artists, to that of the ideas of sexual theorists. Such Hi-Nrg manifestations evoke Butler's (1993) theories of gender and its acquired nature. Here, Butler credits the practice, for its role in exposing the discursive nature of gender performativity itself. Drag, she notes, "(...) in imitating gender, implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself" (Butler, 1993, p. 187). Butler's endorsement, of the parody of such performances, as assisting in the deconstruction of previous gender norms, is echoed by the overlap of the participation of the gender-bender within the resolutely queer sub-culture.

Conversely, the second term, the 'clone', originates from within the community, and was gaining linguistic popularity at the same time as Hi-Nrg's ascent (Levine, 1998). While the gender-bender brazenly transgressed rigidly held traditional demarcations of male and female gender representations in pop, the aesthetics of the clone instead reflected a sexualised, hyper-masculine homosexual ideal of manhood (Cole, 2000). The employment of gay tropes and imagery had already been successfully exploited by The Village People (Midgley, 2014), with variations of styles mined by the group dominating the fashion aesthetic of the male, gay community from the late 1970s and early 1980s (Han, 2009). Stimulated by a broad palette of sartorial reference points which encompassed everything from gay pornography (Kirk, 1999) to militaristic uniform (Rubin, 1994); the trend was unvarying in its appreciation of the projection of a rugged masculinity previously un-equated with homosexuality. Buoyed by an emerging gay leather scene (Rubin, 1994) and the growing cult status of Finish artist Touko Laaksonen, whose work as 'Tom of Finland' exemplified the chiseled, muscular aesthetic (Hooven, 1993; Shapiro, 200), this newfound style of representation was generously appropriated by several Hi-Nrg artists.

5.1 A queer eye for style

The aesthetic is most graphically depicted by the no-less explicitly named Hi-Nrg group, Man2Man. The duo's chosen attire authentically reflected the origins of their sound and was complimented with lyrics and titles emblazoned with heavily sexualized innuendo. A review of their 1987 performance on United Kingdom pop music chart show, *Top of The Pops*, sums up the homocentric nature of the attire chosen by the band.

> **Go-go boys in leather and military garb add to the atmosphere while Paul Zone strips off his leather to reveal more leather, then flannel, then a vest, then some bondage accessories to the delight of the squealing and oblivious, girls in the crowd. (QX team, 2016)*

Each item mentioned holds association with aspects of the clone's predisposition, for fabrics and attire which accentuate the sexual identification of homosexuality with masculinity. Such was the pervasive nature of the aesthetic accoutrements and imagery, that the uniform would culturally outlast Hi-Nrg, manifesting across the mainstream in several other coded guises throughout the 1980s and beyond (Levine, 1998). For example, Jones (2017) and Jonanac (2007) are just two of the commentators to explore how pop singer George Michael incorporated clone imagery to signify to multiple audiences, in turn aiding his successful career trajectory from frothy pop duo, Wham, to fully fledged solo artist.

The camp-associated elements of fabled 'trash' aesthetic (Koestenbaum, 2001; Warner, 2012), as attributed to pop-art forerunner Andy Warhol and 'pope of trash' filmmaker, John Waters (Waters, 1981, p. 22), are also evoked. While preceding Hi-Nrg by over a decade, the two forms share the distinction of both centralising the portrayal of unrepentant queer desire as prominent threads throughout their representations. Warner's description of the aesthetic, and in particular, its fondness for "(...) extravagant display" (Warner, 2012, p. 48) can be facilely extended to fit the rigorously camp outputs associated with Hi-Nrg.

While each facet of Hi-Nrg complimented the other, the relationship between the music and the aesthetic also had specific links. Shapiro (2005), describes how the genre's tempo created an urgency, reflecting a community "(...) striving for superhuman perfection, by pushing the clone aesthetic to its furthest limits (Shapiro, 2005, p. 71). In earlier work, Shapiro had already attributed Cowley and Orlando as having created "(...) an aural fantasy of a futuristic club populated entirely by 'Tom of Finland' studs'" (Shapiro, 2000, p. 44).

5.2 The complexities of male queerness and Hi-Nrg

Previously, scholars have observed "The very fact that there are gay disco charts which are differentiated from non-gay disco charts suggests there is a range of music which gay people feel has specific importance to them" (Laski, 1993, p. 116). However, studies have also illustrated that despite gay men generally demonstrating a predilection for more commercial, 'disposable' pop than their lesbian counterparts, there is also a strong indication that being queer does not predispose one to a particular musical style (Taylor, 2012). Despite this, we must also recall, Hi-Nrg's enduring association with homosexuality (Kirk, 1999). Complex questions arise from these various studies, perhaps indicative of the recent inauguration of research focused on enhancing understanding of the many intersections of pop and sexuality.

Despite the evidenced orchestration of a sonic landscape which effectively sound-tracked the lives of emerging queer audiences (Marke, 2016; Flick, 1997), some scholars have observed that ultimately, "[...] whether this music is unique to gay discos, or whether it is mainstream music which is interpreted in different ways by gay disco goers, is not really relevant" (Laski, 1993 in Miller & Shaw-Miller, 1993, p. 121). For many, the motivation of Hi-Nrg, and its intended audience, was made abundantly clear: "This is gay ghetto music with no other goal than to pump up the drama, sexual innuendo and BPMs for a male insider audience" notes Walters (1996, p. 72).

6. The assimilation, decline and complex legacy of Stock, Aitken & Waterman

The mainstreaming of Hi-Nrg is directly attributable to three English, very un-queer gentlemen, namely, Mike Stock, Matt Aitken & Peter Waterman. As producers of early Hi-Nrg artists Divine and Dead or Alive, they set about building a pop empire, with allusions of repeating the success and model of the legendary Motown records.

The trio's statistics are impressive. In the United Kingdom, they attained record sales exceeding 100 million in the final four years of the decade and by 1989 were estimated to hold a 27% market share in the English music business (O'Hare, 2009; Stock, 2004). Self-titled as 'The sound of a bright, young Britain' (Elliot, 2017), the trio would repackage Hi-Nrg, and see become a predominant chart sound of the late 1980s. They soon demonstrated they were willing to turn anyone into a popstar, from soap opera stars to television puppets. Songs were increasingly fronted by "(...) squeaky clean acts, wholesome and beaming" (Lindsay, 2019, p. 14), the same work lamenting that, "It was hard to believe the architects of records as lustily feral as *You Spin Me Round* were now making music with virtually interchangeable synth bass lines" (Lindsay, 2019, p. 14). Stock, Aitken and Waterman's ethics were increasingly compared to that of the ruling Conservative party in England (Sandbrook, 2019). Despite its distinctly queer associations, underground birth, and ascendancy, Hi-Nrg was increasingly becoming equated as a soundtrack to something very different; "(...) an avaricious product of Tory Britain" (Climie, 2012, p. 72).

Yet, their legacy is complex. Stock, Aitken and Waterman had produced Hi-Nrg records, considered genre defining. Neither did the trio ever deny the culture from which they mined: "We make gay records, there's no question about it and we're not afraid to say that", noted Waterman (Bernard,1986, in Elliot, 2017, p. 46). Regardless, and repeating the pattern of disco's appropriation, acts as unlikely as Debbie Harry, Cliff Richard, and even Judas Priest would seek out the trio for production duties. As such, the de-sexualisation of queer proclivities, formerly innate to the form, would continue as the genre's ubiquity approached saturation point (Arena, 2017), aptly described by artist Pádraic E. Moore, as the 'vanilla cul-de-sac' of appropriation (in Abbot, 2017).

It would be unfair to land the culpability for the genre's decline entirely at the hands of Stock, Aitken, and Waterman. Instead, a combination of factors may be considered. Despite their bleaching of the genre's queer roots, perhaps Hi-Nrg never lost its queer connection, to the genre's own detriment? A critic recalls attending a music conference in the late 1980s, at which "(...) the general consensus was that even a brilliant Hi-Nrg record would suffer from the albatross of a queer connection" (Flick, 1997, p. 24). Furthermore, a significant shift in pop music of the latter part of the decade has also been observed:

> **The 'traditional values' of Reagan & Thatcher had already chilled the political atmosphere. But it was the eruption of the 'gay plague' into the news headlines in the mid-'80s that was to decisively turn the tide on both sides of the Atlantic against the androgynous, gender-bending culture of New Wave (Simpson, 2015, n/p)*

There was also a final, less malevolent aspect to the genre's demise, the simple issue of changing tastes. Just as Hi-Nrg had emerged from the ashes of disco, the emerging genres of House and Techno music were in-turn derivative of Hi-Nrg (Fritz, 1999; Hawking, 2013). By the end of the decade, both had established themselves as more than adequate rivals to the increasingly bland offerings of Hi-Nrg's now over-familiar, chart-friendly execution. Hi-Nrg's days were numbered.

7. Conclusion

Pop music's proven dexterity as a fostering agent with the capacity to imbue a sense of mutual connectivity among audiences is both long and reputable (Gill, 1995; Siegel, 2001). Despite having attained little endorsement for having done so, this study argues that Hi-Nrg realised a cultural milestone, in its deliverance of a form which offered an undiluted expression of transgressive queer sexualities.

At its zenith, Hi-Nrg was the whole package; a heady mixture of electronic music and pulsating beats, supported by lyrics commonly exuding a sense of camp, and/or overt homosexual suggestibility, delivered with a visual aesthetic that frequently reflected both. The cultural penetration of the genre is even more remarkable, given the candour of the lyrics and aesthetics characteristically employed in the performance of the music.

Pioneering queer Journalist Kris Kirk noted in 1984 of the genres that "like it or not, it is regarded as ours" (Kirk, 1984, p. 117) and it is here that Hi-Nrg remains unmatched, the correlation between it and its queer audience irrefutably validating its unique cultural value. Hi-Nrg was not infallible, and it certainly spoke and reflected the lives of gay men more than others under the queer umbrella. Nevertheless, what the genre did achieve, was realising a cultural milestone in its deliverance of an undiluted, unapologetic sexual soundtrack, singing directly back, to an audience "(...) now hungry for gay role models" (Jones & Kantonen, 1999, p. 45).

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5.5 The space in the Iberian feminist queer zines

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

This paper aims to confront the idea of space around feminist and queer zines in Spain and Portugal. Beginning with the gender studies framework, these kinds of zines break boundaries between the private and public spheres. Circumscribing Allison Piepmeier's words, "most studies of zines identify them as a resistant media originating in male-dominated spaces". Looking at our context, we can point out an alternative genealogy from feminist and queer writing. Which spaces have been transgressed in these kinds of zines? The Iberian prims allow me to compare and analyze the importance of the local space in the production of zines. What is the influence of the idiosyncrasies of feminists and queer movements in the peninsula? Is there an articulated dialogue between them? And how works the space in zines when has been transgressed with cyberspace? Could we start to consider an Iberian community around feminist and queer zines? Or maybe we are part of a global community?

Keywords: space, Iberian Peninsula, feminist zines, queer zines.

This paper aims to approach the space in the production of Iberian feminist and queer zines. When I started to work with zines, I saw how they interconnect different layers of the space from the local to the national and even transnational... so, I was excited to try to cross some particular zines with the different possibilities of the theories around the space and see how the final production of the zines are shaped.

I am going from a general framework, which gives some key questions, to very particular cases. And then, from those examples, we will see how they are entries to a feminist cosmos.

To do that, I am going to separate this communication into three sections: first, I am going to approach the space from the perspective of the gender studies, then I am going to address the geographical space of production, the Iberian Peninsula, and finally, I will analyze five zines to show how space affects to them.

1. Space, gender and zines. The construction of particular knowledge.

Traditionally, zines are related to local production. The materiality of the publications and circulation always have been connected with specific areas. This has meant that the very nature of the zine is related to the "situated knowledge" in Donna Haraway's words (Haraway, 1991, pp. 183-202). That is to say that zines are produced to disseminate points of view that are not contained in the mainstream media or inclusive in the hegemonic knowledge. Thus, zines work with the lens of other spaces, or as wrote Paula Guerra, zines give the possibilities of other worlds and societies, and they can experience and develop what Michel Foucault calls "heterotopias" (Guerra & Quintela, 2020, p. 4). Heterotopias are "something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (Foucault, 1986, p. 24) a definition that fit perfectly into the concept of what could be a zine. Taking into account the overlap of different spaces around zines I

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cannot fail to mention *Zines in Third Space* (Licona, 2012) where she situated zines from the border between the U.S.A and Mexico in this third space, but actually, we can extrapolate this third space, this no-space, that is 'in-between' as a reality for the most of the zines.

From gender studies point of view, it is substantial the question of the space. One of the very first distinctions, when you are aware of how is construct gender, is to point out the public and private space. This is also pertinent when we talk about zines because a lot of them canalize intimate narratives that emerged from these private spheres. Not only this, but we can also affirm that space and gender are both social constructs. The feminist spatial critique stresses how space is build up under a patriarchal spatialization based on the division and hierarchization depending on the sex and their perception (Wrede, 2015, p. 12). The authors as women or non-binary people renegotiated these spaces and how are orientated to them. They access spaces that traditionally have been denied for those voices. They use a new canal that transgresses different areas and this is irretrievably related with the work by Sarah Ahmed and her concept of orientation and her reflections around how we inhabit the space (Ahmed, 2006). This makes sense for the zinemakers but also for the very zine itself. She affirms that the starting point for the orientation is the 'here'(the body) and 'where' (Ahmed, 2006, p. 22). Thus, to make a zine is a corporal act, and the body from where born the zine could define the orientation of the zine. If we perceive the zine as an object, also is interesting how Ahmed reflects on queer objects: "If objects are the extensions of bodies, just as bodies are the incorporations of objects, how can we locate the queer moment in one or the other?" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 224) or "We could ask, for instance, whether queer tables are the tables around which queer bodies gather" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 229). So, I can ask the same about the feminist and queer objects, and how bodies and objects flow through the spaces creating tensions and distensions with other objects and bodies.

2. Iberian feminism and the prism through I read the zines

The territory that I've chosen for my study is the Iberian space as I mentioned before. Mainly focusing on the Spanish state and Portugal. Both countries have some centuries of common history and they have a very similar political and social continuum. That doesn't mean that every region doesn't have its own particularities. I took the Iberian perspective as a prism to look at different realities that share this context. I would like to stress that the Iberian identities have been built up with different layers of cultural relations. As have been pointed out by Santiago Pérez Isasi and Ângela Fernandes, the Iberian space couldn't be seen as a close space, but as a rhizome of internal and external relations (Pérez Isasi & Fernandes, 2013). The fanzines flows can show us a new cartography of this physical territory.

Looking closer to my study the concept in which I am most interested is the construction of an Iberian Feminism. The first time that I found that was used this term was in a book with this name, *Iberian Feminism*, by Carmen Alcalde and María Aurèlia Capmany, two Catalan authors, in 1970 (Capmany & Alcalde, 1970). The peculiarity of this book is that at any point mentioned Portugal. The authors just have been used this concept to talk about the singularities of the feminisms in the Spanish state. In this way they wanted to avoid the conceptualizing of Spain as a homogenous country and, thus, Alcalde and Capmany tried to include the different sensibilities about the national feeling in the different regions. The book incorporates this notion, and they cross it with the feminisms. The feminist studies that use both countries are rare, even nowadays. In 2006 was written a thesis with a comparative perspective inside a feminist framework located in the subsequent years after were finished the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships (Simões, 2006). We had to wait until 2018 to see a fundamental manual that incorporates Iberian feminism as the vertebral presumption. *A New History of the Iberian Feminism* (Bermúdez & Johnson, 2018) made a journey through the peninsula from the Enlightened until practically the present day. One of the major contributions to the field, and I borrow it to my own investigation, was to consider the space as a net. The authors observe the whole, but also every part separately, bringing new nuances and considerations. Therefore, in the articulations of the different narratives around gender and sex, we take into account the local, national and transnational perspectives (Zobl, 2009). The Iberian component collects all these levels of analyses and brings one more.

I have just taken 5 examples of feminist and queer Iberian zines: *As+Perralheiras* in Galicia, *Os vestigos de Tiago* in Porto, *Salmorejho Majhao* in Andalusia, *Hair* in Lisbon and *Regla Fanzine* in Barcelona. But if I did a bigger study, I would probably obtain a picture of the feminisms at the Peninsula. This assumption is not lightly taken, it was suggested on different occasions that the appearance of feminist media in different spaces mark the incipient moments, giving a place and time of a map of feminism (Beins, 2017: 44) This affirmation seems even more accurate when we talk about zines, publications that perfectly capture the social momentum.

3. Five zines, five rooms

3.1 As+Perralheiras

As+Perralheiras is a fanzine made by Maribolheras Precárias a collective from La Coruña, a region that belongs to Galicia. The name of the collective is the combination of *Marica* and *Bolhera* two possible translations for queer in Galego. *Precárias* means precarious and points out the poor conditions of the members of the collective. As they explain in the fanzines the combinations of being young, queer and living in this area make their life very vulnerable, with very limited job opportunities. They made this fanzine from 2004 until 2006. They published 5 issues under the name *As+perralheiras* that could be translated as 'the sleaziest'. The fanzine is written in Galego (although some texts are in Spanish) and approaches concerns from that moment and that time. They defined themselves as "intermittent, informal, dynamic, unstable, multiple nets." They confirm that isn't a formal collective, their objectives aren't the political institutions (as they believe that it is of the gay movement) and proclaim as a direct influence from the first years of ACT UP[2]. Thus, just with the name and their references, we can connect lines between different events and where was located.

I can highlight some of the characteristics of this fanzine. The region where this fanzine was made and the language chooses to write it, are political statements themselves. Despite the Galego is an official language in the Spanish state, their use in a publication contains different claims. This is linked with an identity that has been denied for years and even forbidden in the years of the dictatorship. The same we can say about the gay identity, but with a difference that *Maribloheras Precarias* stress with the zines: in the last decades has been a movement of assimilation of gay people, provided that they can fit in in the heteropatriarchal structure. The opposition of this trend is clear from the very first issue of this fanzine with an article titled "Casa, minha filha, casa. Sobre o matrimónio e outros enganos." [Home, my daughter, home. About the marriage and others delusions[(Maribolheras Precarias, 2004, pp. 7–8).

Their sexuality is living as a political position and it is directly inspired in queer theory and movement. In Spain, the first time that was written the word "queer" was in a fanzine in 1993 (Solá, 2012, p. 267). The fanzine *De Un Plumazo* was denominated on the cover as a queer zine. This fanzine was made for one of the first queer groups in Madrid and Spain, La radical Gai composed by gay men. At the same moment, working in a parallel there was another queer group that works with La Radical Gai, which was LSD composed by lesbian women. They had their own fanzine called *Non-Grata*. These facts are important because these two activist groups and their fanzines are linked with *As+Perralheiras*. On their pages they recommend a web running by Javier Sáez (www. Hartza.com) one of the members of La Radical Gai, and also encourage to read all the fanzines of LSD that are on the web at this point. This demonstrates, even though these groups have a very limited influence, and their fanzines can be counted by hundreds, that the fanzines transcend the local space reaching other spaces. And when we talk about space is inevitable to talk about time, these fanzines, *Non-Grata*, *De un Plumazo* and *As+Perralheiras*, despite the decade of difference, are contemporaries. It is true, that in part this is easier with the arrival of the Internet. At that moment, not anymore, you could consult the fanzines by LSD in the Hartza web and at the present moment, you can consult the fanzines of Maribolheras Precárias in ISSUU, a digital platform. Therefore, these fanzines, now on the Internet, could be read from every space. How the Internet has influenced the traffic of knowledge is a topic too wide to approach in this communication. However, I would like to stress how the Internet helps to create a bigger net of the feminist and queer community. Also, regardless of the space from which you read it is important to note that these fanzines are bounded to the place of creation. This would be another characteristic to point out, how they are closely linked to A Coruña. Several topics are related to local politicians, with particulars events organized by them or they made interviews to local personalities. These fanzines are the witnesses of time and space.

3.2 Os vestidos de Tiago

Os vestidos de Tiago [Dresses of Tiago] is a fanzine, a children's story, that is made by Joana Estrela a young illustrator located in Porto. It was made in 2019. This fanzine tells us the story of the dresses of Tiago, a Portuguese male child. The zine starts with "No armario Alentejano, ao fundo do corredor estão guardados, dobrados, pendurados os vestidos do Tiago" [In the Alentejano closet, at the end of the corridor, Tiago's dresses are stored, folded an

2. ACT UP was an activist group that rises from the crisis of AIDS, mainly in the USA, England and France. ACT UP practiced performative interventions in the public sphere.

hanging] (Estrela, 2019:s/p). The first thing that attracts my attention is that Tiago's story is placed at the Alentejo. This region, at the south center of the country, is the least populated in Portugal and it is also the region with the oldest population. To placed here the story, I don't think was a coincidence, after I will stop in this fact. After the first page, the story shows the different kinds of dresses that he has: one yellow from his cousin, another polka dot dress that was bought at the mall, one violet that was a present for his grandmother, etc. It is also remarkable when Tiago and her mother go to the mall and the customer asks: "Vai a levar um vestido para o seu filho?" [Are you going to buy a dress for your son?] and she responds "Ele gosta!" [he likes it] (Estrela, 2019: s/p), with a big smile. *Os vestidos de Tiago* [Dresses of Tiago] is a naïve and natural story and there resides a big part of its political content.

Also, the fanzine wants to show the state of the Portuguese feminism and LGTBQ movements when Joana Estrela decides that Tiago and his family live out of the big cities of Portugal. There is a natural sensibility in Tiago's family. From the grandmother until the cousins or other distant relatives... all of them treats Tiago without seeing any difference with other children. Located the story in Alentejo has a connotation with certain prejudices that exist in towns or small cities. Also, traditionally the fanzines are indeed located (the creation and the circulation) in the big cities. This one for example, in some way, connects the principal cities in the country. It is formulated in Porto but published in Lisbon. The editorial is *Sapata Press* that is funded by a Brazilian immigrant. It was a project (*Sapata Press* disappeared in 2020) of intersectional, feminist editorial who publish mainly fanzines and graphic novels in Portuguese. The authors were mostly women. Once again lines that cross the country, but also across other countries. The leader of the project personally backs and brings the material to share in the different countries.

When in the fanzines world the editorial comes to play, clearly this affects the space of distribution. We can see how in the last decades the sphere of the fanzine has been expanded. To some, the space of distributions of the zines was part of its nature, of its definition: informal economy, musical, cultural, or political spaces as the houses from the fanzine were sold. A movement that never occupies any official or even formal canal. But we cannot deny that at the present, the fanzine has conquered other kinds of canals. This could be seen as a co-opting of the capitalist system, and it is impossible not to see the contradictions that emerge from these relations. In any case, in this communication, I would like to

approach it as a political victory of the fanzines that have found the way to be in other spaces. Sapata Press was a project deeply political that come to zines fairs, design fairs, different events, but also was present in bookshops and libraries.

To create *Os vestidos de Tiago* [Dresses of Tiago] is a political act, but it is also the action to be distributed in new a different space. Nancy Fraser proposed to call these new spaces inside of the public sphere as "subaltern counterpublics in order to signal that they parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (Fraser, 1990, p. 67). And she continuous her argument to point the most striking example to her, which is no other than the feminist subaltern counterpublic located in journals, bookstores local meeting places, etc. And without any kind of dude, these are the spaces where are sneaking the fanzines.

3.3 Salmorejho Majhao

Salmorejho Majhao is written by Carmela Borrego Castellano. It was started in 2018 and this zine arises some important questions to my study. She releases the number 0 of her zine after attending a master of gender studies in Barcelona. She is originally from Sevilla, Andalusia. She explains in their fanzines that when she moved to Barcelona, she started to think about Andalusian identity and Andalusian feminism. Thus, Borrego decided to do the thesis to finish the master about the last one, Andalusian feminism. However, in the public defense, she was sharply criticized to defend this concept. Though, this concept has been launched in the last few years for several voices from the feminist movement in the south of Spain. They claim that some particularities cross the gender with the class (Andalusia has been known as one of the poorest regions of the country and some of its inhabitants have claimed that they suffer class hatred) and race (Andalusia has been a border space and along centuries have been there different cultures and ethnicities). Anyhow, it is important where from theses voices have been mainly arising: fanzines, meetings in local places, from a blog of an Andalusian journalist (that recently have written a book: *Como vaya yo y lo encuentre: Feminismo Andaluz y otras prendas que tú no veías* by Mar Gallego (2020)). They recall specific intersectionality to articulate feminism in this area. Looking beyond the discussion of the concept, I want to stress where and how this emerges and how is its diffusion.

So, after the terrible experience of the public defense in Barcelona, Carmelo Borrego decided to transform her thesis into a fanzine: *Salmorejho Majhao*.

Este femzine³ pretende sacar los saberes de la academia y expandir las reflexiones a lo cotidiano. Para mi una zine permite darle circularidad a las investigaciones y seguir creando saber desde los intersticios. Es decir, posibilita crear narrativas conceptuales, crear un cuerpo vivo que transita por los barrios y los pueblos para tejer redes desde nuestra vivencias. Así, esta femzine es un relato colectivo donde vislumbrar formas de estar en el mundo que no han sido legitimadas como elementos de sabiduría. Es una forma de narrarnos y ponernos en valor como sujetas activas de conocimiento.⁴

(Borrego, 2018, p. 4)

These words resound deeply in the words of Sarah Ahmed and Donna Haraway that I showed in the first section.

Also, from this case, I can extract pertinent conclusions about the space. First of all, how the author's experience embodied 'the other' when she moved to Barcelona, moving to the south to the north of the Spanish state. That is important from a national or even Iberian point of view and how dialogue different identities inside borders. She reflected on this and she decides to bring this narrative to academia. However, the knowledge in this space does not always the best to introduce a debate that is proposed by young women from a very different region. So, the author determines that she has to move the space where she presents this narrative, and she chooses to make a fanzine. To sum up, she had to change the space to start a narrative (when she moved to Barcelona), and she had to change it again to start to disseminate it (when Borrego decided to transform her work inside of the academia into a fanzine).

In 2019 Carmela Borrego published the second number of *Salmorejho Majhao* #1 (Borrego, 2019) with the subtitle (as the previous one) *Feminismo(s) Andaluz(es) Colectivo(s)*. The plural is pointed out between

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3. The word femzine is the combination of feminist and zine.

4. This femzine aims to extract the knowledge of the academy and expand the reflections to the everyday. For me, a zine allows to give circularity to the investigations and to continue creating knowledge from the interstices. That is, it makes it possible to create conceptual narratives, create a living body that passes through neighborhoods and towns to weave networks from our experiences. Thus, this femzine is a collective story where we glimpse ways of being in the world that has not been legitimate as elements of wisdom. It is a way of narrating ourselves and putting ourselves in value as active subjects of knowledge.

parenthesis but is highlighted because is the only part in color (red) in all the cover. Loud and clear the author is not looking for a definition, nor had the intention to build up a closed theory. She uses the fanzine to enquire a broad range of possibilities. In both zines, she invites to her zine numerous friends to discuss a set of experiences to try to subtract some conclusions that may be useful to create new theories. From that net, through sharing common experiences, Carmelo Borrego brings the legitimacy to her discourse that was denied inside of academia.

3.4 Hair

Hair is a fanzine made in Lisbon in 2019 by Andreia Coutinho. She is a Portuguese illustrator and, in her zine, she tells us her relationship with her hair. She is a black woman, and she has afro hair. Through the pages of this zine, Coutinho shows us her personal journey with her afro. From their painful hairstyles that made to her once a week her mother, through her desire to have straight hair (using a large number of chemical products) to the acceptance of it (which needs a lot of care). She proclaims in the last page "O meu cabelo é a minha coroa e eu uso-a com orgulho" [My hair is my crown, and I use it with proud] (Coutinho, 2018, p. 11). The hair has been transformed into a symbol for the empowerment of the afro community, and particularly for black women who have to suffer a deeper pressure concern to their aesthetics for the simple fact that they are women (and black). Equally, the fanzine is the perfect space for the narratives of auto representations because there isn't any kind of censorship or edition between the creator and the public.

This zine, by chance, is distributed by Sapata Press as well as *Os vestidos de Tiago*. In both cases, the zines introduce to the Portuguese society meaningful topics through simple stories. But one more time, despite that are a simple narrative, the political content is obvious. Albeit Portugal has its own history of colonization and racism the debates around this have been spare. Introduce these narratives are extremely important and fanzines allow one to navigate to other spaces. As Adela C. Licona said "Embodied knowledges are uncovered in these performancies of rearticulation. Through the politics of articulation and practices of reverso, third-space zines are informing and transforming quotidian practices by linking the theory and practice of embodied knowing being, and doing."(Licona, 2012, p. 95). And also, this author remark in her book *Zines in third space,* fanzines are pieces of building community (Licona, 2012, p. 114).

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Likewise, I would like to include a new perspective to analyze this fanzine, the aesthetic one. This fanzine is print in red. The printing technique is called risograph. This technique is between a photocopy and serigraphy and is very similar to the mimeograph. The technics depend on the machine that reproduces the original. The majority of the machines are from the 1980s, but the 'risso' has taken center stage in the last years with the auto-edition because allows very brilliant colors. In the Iberian Peninsula, there are not so many machines and they use specific color tubes. However, are very successful in the fanzine scene and the price of the zines is higher than usual, not always. In any case, is funny how quickly it has become a sign of a hipster technique. That is a symbol of the mainstream path that is taking in the last years the fanzines. It is difficult to see the line that separates the fanzine as a space of creation and experimentation and the fanzine as a fancy object. At the present, this contextual situation with fanzines world influences the way we read the zine. So, this combination between form and content is really appealing and somehow could we see contradictory narratives.

3.5 Regla Fanzine

Regla Fanzine is a fanzine created in Barcelona in 2017 by Sasha Pradkhan. The center topic is menstruation and she and her collaborators have done two issues and the third one is now being prepared. She said in the first number of *Regla* (that means rule and period as well), that she was eager to create a space to talk about menstruation. The editor has her own experience between private and public space and the period. When she has menarche (the first menstruation) her mother celebrates a party with women from the family and friends. Everybody dressed in red clothes, they were drinking pomegranate juice and rosé cava, and all share their own experiences with their periods. Her mother prepared a bath with rose petals, red shower gel and give a handmade red bracelet. To sum up, it was a big and beautiful celebration. Nevertheless, when she went to school, she lived the opposite experience. The period was something to hide and be ashamed of. She explained how she takes off the sanitary pad in the school bathroom very slowly to not be heard. In her first week with the period, she had a swimming pool class, her mother did a note (include in the fanzine) where

explained that Sasha couldn't go to the swimming pool because she had the period. She lived that moment with a big embarrassment when other students asked why she didn't come to the physical education time (Pradkhan, 2017, pp. 4–5). In this way, Sasha lived a duality around this subject, although in her house was very concerned to show her that it was nothing to be ashamed of. Thus, this fanzine works, like many others, as a bridge between the public and private spheres. She wanted to reproduce, in some way, the atmosphere of sorority that she lived with the friends of her mother in her house. To share different narratives and turn out something that we don't have to hide. In fact, the first issue of *Regla fanzine* brings a red bracelet of wool as a symbol of a prospective club funded through all the readers of the fanzine.

The fanzines are composed of texts, poems, pictures, illustrations, collages, etc… How she nurtured the fanzine is very attractive to this communication as well. The majority of collaborations were agreed upon through social media. Sasha contacted some authors and some authors contacted her through DM's. She expressed her doubts around presenting this into a fanzine in the editor letter in the second issue:

> *Al ver que somos tantxs me he plateado si seguía siendo necesario un Regla Fanzine en papel, cuando es mucho más sencillo transmitir conocimiento y transmitir arte a través de un post de Instagram. Pero entonces pienso que si Regla es un espacio para hablar de menstruación desde nuestros cuerpos, desde algo tangible, tal vez sí que tiene sentido leernos también desde algo palpable, desde el papel[5] (Pradkhan, 2019, p. 1).*

Once again in this communication, we connect the bodies and the fanzines. Despite this, she combines both worlds, digital and analogical, like as a vast part of the fanzines nowadays. In this way, the construction of a net transgresses the physical space and may participate people from other countries. For example, in the first *Regla Fanzine* is published a coloring illustration of Toni the Tampon, art made by Cass Clemmer from Australia. Taking this last participation, I would like to stress another important feature of this publication. Class Clemmer is a non-binary person who defends that "Periods are not just for women" (Sargeant, 2017, n/p). This proclaim is perfectly in tune with the fanzine, where on the last page of the first issue clarify the following: "Desde regla queremos aclarar que somos conscientes de que hay mujeres que no menstrúan y personas menstruantes que no se identifican como mujer" (From *regla,* we want to clarify that we are aware that there are women who do not menstruate and menstruating people who do not identify as a woman) (Pradkhan, 2017, p. 50).

For me, one of the most important features of this declaration is that Sasha declares in an interview that this fanzine hadn't a feminist purpose. She didn't believe that she has read enough to edit a feminist zine (even she identifies as a feminist). She just wants to create a space to talk about the period without taboos (Altavoz Cultural, 2020). That shows how some disrupting ideas are introduced in society. Without Judith Butler's work (and other thinkers) who introduced the idea that gender is performative would be impossible the affirmation contained in *Regla fanzine*. Analyze zines show which is the rhythm of the society, for sure just for particular spaces, but it is important also to consider them.

4.Conclusions

In this communication, I wanted to reflect on how affects the space in the creations of Iberian zines. I have opened a map with feminist and queer zines from Galicia, Porto, Andalusia, Lisbon and Barcelona. It seems like I draw a circle around the peninsula. But what I have in front of my eyes is not a fixed route, over and above I showed flows of the feminist and queer community, increased now with the Internet: social media, digital platforms where you can upload your fanzine, digital archives, etc. Fanzines transit through their canals, some of them related to the traditional zine scene (reaching the author, in cultural spaces, etc.) but others are news (like fairs, bookshops, internet). Every year their circulation is wider, something that is not bad or good by definition. I believe that the important part is the other extreme: the creation. The orientation of these objects and the bodies of the creators determine the essence of the feminist and queer movement. Today I bring some fanzines that are create from an intimate side as *Os vestidos de Tiago, Regla Fanzine* or *Hair.* They bring narratives from the private space to the public space to liberate some political questions. "The

5. Seeing that there are so many of us, I wondered if a *Regla Fanzine* on paper was still necessary, when it is much easier to transmit knowledge and transmit art through an Instagram post. But then, I think that if Regla is a space to talk about menstruation from our bodies, from something tangible, perhaps it does make sense to also read ourselves from something palpable, from the paper.

personal is political" as shows one of the principles of the feminist movement. Other ones disrupt the public space to arise new debates like *As+Perralheiras* and *Salmorejho Majhao*. And also, I have addressed the space of the body, as the embodiment of the author as a fundamental space from where born the feminist and queer zines.

From the Iberian perspective is important complement all the narratives and how the fanzine works through this territory. With the Internet, the magnitude of the potential circulation is infinite, and the physical borders are blurred. Even if until now, in the fanzine scene there isn't a big flow between Spain and Portugal the influence on the current debates and is tangible looking at the fanzines.

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5.6 Pack Up Your Pink Tents: Camp goes to the Gala

Voica Pușcașiu[1]

✕ *Abstract*

By choosing 'camp' as the theme for the 2019 edition of their annual blockbuster fashion art exhibition – and subsequent gala, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute, brought this concept to a mainstream audience. On this occasion, people who might've never even heard of it before were suddenly interested in debating which celebrity guest 'nailed' the costume this year, and who was found to be insufficiently campy. However, the curator's approach based almost exclusively on Susan Sontag's 1964 essay *Notes on Camp* did little to pinpoint an already elusive term, leaving plenty to ponder on its exact meaning. Besides the obviously favorable climate for the (LGBT)Queer(+) community, which has once more received recognition – in this case for its particular brand of creativity and over-the-top exuberance which has influenced high fashion, Sontag's 2nd wave feminism does not particularly touch on the issue of diversity in the camp genre.

Keywords: camp, language, queer, resistance.

1. On the Met Gala

Since 1948, with few discreet interruptions – such as the Covid19 pandemic which delegated the soirée to September 13th (Stamp, 2021) – the 1st Monday in May (Gavin, 2019) was dedicated to New York's ultimate socialite event that is the Met Gala. Actually a fundraising event for the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute (Moser, 2019), it is a place to be seen, and where celebrity and fashion reign supreme. Whilst this was true from the event's origins, the scale of it all has grown greatly in recent years. It was in the 1970s when Diane Vreeland transformed it into a one-of-a-kind party that takes over the Metropolitan Museum for one night, but perhaps most importantly, she was also the one who linked the gala to an exhibit and introduced the now ubiquitous themes (Stamp, 2021). From *The World of Balenciaga* in 1973, and up to her failing health in the late 80s, she produced 14 exquisite shows (Stamp, 2019). It was during this time that pop culture permeated the guest list which became ever more exclusivist.

1999 marks the year Anna Wintour took over as chairperson, and following in Diane Vreeland's most fashionable shoes, she put all of *Vogue*'s resources into the extravaganza. The tickets get more and more expensive, the decors more elaborate, the entertainment is powered by superstars, the guest list is carefully curated by Anne Wintour herself (Hyland, 2014). However, even in recent years, when the power of social media is her harnessed, especially through *Vogue*, guests are generally banned from using social media during the dinner (Stamp, 2019). This maintains the mystery of the cocktails in the Great Hall and the dancing in front of the Temple of Dendur (Stolman, 2020), while at the same time focusing the media attention on the red-carpet entrances with audiences all over the world commenting on the most burning question: Who did and didn't stick to the year's theme?

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Some themes (N/A, 2021) are tied to a certain designer and their influence on fashion trends, making them sort of obvious and easy to adhere too in terms of sartorial choices. Such examples are the exhibitions *The House of Chanel* in 2005; *Alexander McQueen: Savage Beauty* in 2011, an exhibit paying homage to the departed designer that has since been replayed into a blockbuster of a show in the artist's native London (N/A, 2015); *Schiaparelli and Prada: Impossible Conversations* in 2012; *Charles Jones: Beyond Fashion* in 2014; *Rei Kawakubo/Comme des Garçons: Art of the In-Between* in 2017.

Other themes leave quite a bit of room for interpretation and imagination, such as: *Superheroes: Fashion & Fantasy* in 2008; *The Model as Muse: Embodying Fashion* in 2009; *American Women: Fashioning a National Identity* in 2010 – followed a decade later by *In America: A Lexicon of Fashion* in 2021. *China: Through the Looking Glass* in 2015, which celebrated Asian influence on (Western) fashion drew 815,992 visitors, making it the 5th most popular show in the museum's history (Stamp, 2019), just below *Painters in Paris* in 2000 or those times the *Mona Lisa* and King Tutankhamun visited in 1963 and 1978-9, respectively. *Manus X Machina: Fashion in An Age of Technology* in 2016 also makes the top 10; while *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination* in 2018 takes the first place with 1,659,647 visitors (Solomon, 2020). This level of popularity can hardly be blamed on good PR alone, rather the relevance of the themes has something to do with it. More often than not, like fashion itself, they manage to highlight an issue we unconsciously knew existed, but perhaps didn't quite consider (CR Staff, 2019).

A good number of themes tend to focus on 'peripheries', which are especially relevant in shaping fashion since this medium, unlike other art forms is more prone to a bottom-up influence – from street-style to *haute couture*, rather than vice versa. In this category we have *Anglomania: Tradition & Transgression in British Fashion in 2006*; *Punk: Chaos to Couture* in 2013; but none other has touched upon this more than 2019's theme *Camp: Notes on Fashion*. While Anne Wintour says she leaves the show's curators an open-ended invitation in regard to the theme she also wants it to be quite clear in people's minds, making 2019's show quite the exception, as even she admits it "created a bit of a confusion" (Laneri, 2019: n/p). Confusion aside, this paper wants to focus not as much on the slippery, seemingly elusive of camp – although this too needs to be considered – but rather on the narrow and cushiony interpretation it was given. This reflects poorly on the show's overall approach as we would argue that lukewarm inclusiveness could be more damaging in potential than flat-out ignorance. But more on this later.

2. On Camp

In order to establish who best hit the mark on the theme (Osifo, 2019) on the *pink* carpet, one must first complete the apparently daunting task of defining camp (Waxman, 2019). We will also attempt to do so here by offering a wide range of interpretations from the more technical definitions to the more empirical ones, while of the same time trying to underline oversights in the way this notion made the transition from subculture to mainstream.

The Oxford English dictionary defines camp as: "ostentatious exaggerated, affected, theatrical, effeminate or homosexual; pertaining to, or characteristic of homosexuals. As a noun – camp behaviour or mannerisms." (King-Slutzky, 2010), while Merriam-Webster sees it as: "something so outrageously artificial, affected, inappropriate, or out-of-date as to be considered amusing; a style or a mode of personal and creative expression that is absurdly exaggerated and often fuses elements of high & popular culture" (Lang, 2019, n/p) and "exaggeratedly effeminate" (Brohman, 2018). Older publication though seems to believe is a form of Australian slang meaning "a low saloon" (N/A, 1964) which proves how elusive both the etymology and the use of the term actually are.

A consensus seems to be that the word's origins stem from late 17th century French (King-Slutzky, 2010), namely Moliere's 1671 play *The Impostures of Scapin* (Yotka, 2019), but has a long history of usage in upper-class English (Ross, 1998: 61). Word-of-mouth also suggest it has a more bizarre source from the acronym K.A.M.P. meaning Known As Male Prostitute (Thompson). Also in agreement is the fact that camp tends to focus on the outward appearance (Babuscio, 1993, p. 24), or more bluntly put: "style is everything" (note 40 in Sontag, 2001), which incidentally makes it a perfect theme for a fashion-forward fête. More so, camp is seen as thriving on incongruities (note 8 in Sontag, 2001; Castañeda, 2019, p. 31), which makes it sort of postmodern *avant la letre*, and just interesting and intellectually challenging enough for a grand museum exhibit.

Another consensus is seen in the meaning behind the term referring to the *contraposto* as a "quintessential

camp pose" (Yotka, 2019), and "to camp about" as a seductive and rather ostentatious action (Garvin, 2019), or rather as "a mode of seduction with flamboyand mannerisms" (note 17 in Sontag, 2001). While being seen as "fun and empowering" (Laneri, 2019), fond of artifice and exaggeration (note 8 in Sontag, 2001; Bergman, 1993, p. 5) it is also connected in most definitions with homosexuality and queer culture (note 51, 53 in Sontag, 2001; Bergman, 1993: 5; Lang, 2019), even coming to be defined as a code word for gay (Yotka, 2019), and while the two notions are not synonymous it is usually understood that one cannot have 'camp' without 'queer' (Smith, 2019).

This brings us to the core issue of this paper because seemingly all histories on the usage of the word seems to stop here and while Christopher Isherwood's 1954 *The World in the Evening* is undoubtedly seen as the words commitment to modern usage (Sontag, 2001) his interpretation on it as does not occupy center-stage. He sees camp as "a queer-empathetic medium rooted in shared histories of hurt, secrecy, and social marginalization" (Castañeda, 2019, p. 31), the show and its notes rather rely on the work of Susan Sontag which offers up a rather different approach on what she views as an aesthetic, a taste, a sensibility, a way of looking at things (Sontag, 2001). Her essay and examples are notoriously all over the place and camp as a form of self-defense (Shugart & Waggoner, 2008, p. 23) is, unfortunately, cast to the side or spoken about in hushed voices and quick sentences (Van Godtsenhoven, 2019). And even when so-called low-brow yet iconic examples of camp are named, there are no correspondences in the show itself, one reads about the effect Josephine Baker's flap-era sequins have on her black skin (Van Godtsenhoven, 2019), and yet the mannequin is white... they all are.

The Polari language for instance manages to go utterly unmentioned even though within its 'camp' literally means 'homosexual', just like 'drag' literally means 'clothing', or 'a special outfit' (Richardson, 2005). The use of Polari is strongly connected to the United Kingdom where it permeated popular culture, but as it turns own a misfit's language that combines terms from Romani, Italian, Yiddish, Cockney, rhyming slang, back-slang, and Cant – an 18th century language of the travelling performers, carnival workers, and seamen – just doesn't cut it the gilded halls of the Metropolitan Museum. Not when compared to Sontag's austere intellectual exercise at least. Even though the language fell out of use following decriminalization of homosexuality there is a strong history of resilience behind it.

Omitting the usage of Polari from the discourse is just as damaging as leaving out the origins of the pink triangle as a symbol of the gay community and the literal reversal it had to go through to imply survival since it was reclaimed from a mark of discrimination and genocide (Finkelstein, 2017) since it identified gays and lesbians in the Nazi concentration camps. One cannot help but wonder if the idiom 'row of pink tents' meaning "someone who appears to be incredibly, stereotypically gay" in British slang (Cracky, 2003, n/p) doesn't reference the famous *Silence = Death* graphics poster used during rallies and protests. The poster design was created in late 1986, while the idiom "camp as a row of tents" by far outdates it especially in Australian publications (Tréguer, 2020), however, there is no indication of when the color pink was attributed to said row of tents as both idioms are in use, so the association might as well be true.

55 years later, the essay that made Susan Sontag famous (Moser, 2019) features heavily in the show. But at what cost? Is there such a thing as misstep, or could it be the case of discrimination that poses as inclusion just in order to check a box? We can argue that choosing to focus on it while barely mentioning minorities' views (N/A, 2019) leads to a gap in the understanding of the meaning behind the term and its usage. It is the case with many subcultures that even when they do eventually surface only a small fraction of them is visible; this superficial and frankly quite elitist view, that showcases Oscar Wilde but forgets to mention the Polari language, with infinitely more complex implications, suggests that the intention might have been to build up the prestige of the phenomenon through a scholarly approach. But camp is ironic and so is the fact that taking things too seriously is the un-campiest thing they could have done.

3. On Implications

One of the most problematic aspects of using Susan Sontag's essay as a jumping board for the exhibit's theme is the 2nd note in her essay about camp being "depoliticized, or at least apolitical" (note 2 in Sontag, 2001). Even though she herself recanted this opinion later on (Frank, 1993, p. 179), the very idea of it should seem outrageous for the opening on an essay on camp, and one dedicated to Oscar Wilde at that! If his dandyism was not political, then one might as well attribute his going to jail to foolishness. This premises could both hurt his memory and demonstrate a lack of understanding of camp. The fact that she went back

on this note in 1975, post-Stonewall riots, is blatant, but even during the original essay she seems to contradict herself in note 52 that admits that "camp for homosexuals has something propagandistic about it (...) they are legitimized in society by promoting their aesthetic sense" (note 52 in Sontag, 2001). But she still seems to miss the mark since before legitimizing the homosexuals, which is indeed still debatable, being or acting camp could be a dangerous tell.

Sontag's shallowness or even disinterest on the matter of camp was noted by scholars several times with her work being called "unproductive" (Bergman, 1993, p. 8), "purist" (Ross, 1993, p. 63), "superficial" (Frank, 1993, p. 160), and "Camp Light" (King-Slutzky, 2010). Essentially her work has for decades been criticized for its narrow approach, with voices going so far as to say she "edits the gay out of camp" (Cleto, 1999, p. 21). So why then, has the Met decided to – quite literary – go with her voice (N/A, 2019) over so many others whose work in this field sees far beyond her essay (Bergman, 1993, p. 9), the title of the show itself is clearly based on her essay (Moser, 2019), as well as much of the presentation. There is perhaps no easy answer to this question. Maybe it was her notoriety above the others, but worse, maybe the answer lies in the fact that her 2nd wave feminism provided *just enough* inclusivity to be deemed acceptable.

This is not to say that there wasn't an underlining gay discourse throughout the show, as even Sontag's essay is not entirely free of it (see notes 51, 52 in Sontag, 2001). There is no way of escaping it when touching camp (Babuscio, 1993, p. 20; Dyer, 1999, p. 110; Smith, 2019). There isn't a single mention (Van Godtsenhoven, 2019), however, of its backstreet origins, on the hypothesis of its raunchy etymology, and no nod towards the Polari language. And with precious few exceptions (Smith, 2019), none of the other scholars dedicated to camp seem to be too eager to showcase them either. One media voice that stands out is that of Jame Jackson, who in an essay that lacks bitterness directly says camp featured in brown and gay communities before it was trendy going on to mention Polari (Jackson, 2019).

This proves that the omission almost certainly goes beyond the differences between American and British culture and the show's overall focus on high western art signals it might be guilty of offering a simplified and dare-we-say sanitized version on the theme. Sure, there are puns about 'bums' (Yotka, 2019), but does that truly suffice? How about instead of puerile views and snobbish definitions the Met's curators chose to carry an honest conversation? But asides from this being one big missed opportunity, it is also something more worrying than that. It signals that gay America is artsy, liberal, fun... and white, rich beyond measure it leaves behind the raw, DIY, flashy... and brown looks and roots. There seems to be a consensus that camp is "infused with the possibilities for resistance as long as the viewer chooses to construct it that way" (Shugart & Waggoner, 2008, p. 44), but even this aspect seems to be glossed over in the exhibit in an at-best goes-without-saying manner.

Instead of providing a U.S.-centric view on the matter the show could've gone much deeper, especially because Polari is not the only queer coded language out there. Brazil has pajubá (or bajubá), an LGBT resistance language that fuses Portuguese and African dialects, particularly Nagô and Yoruba (Reif, 2019); as well as Swardspeak in the Philippines which combines English and Tagalong (Morton, 2016). Much like black-speak (Jackson, 2019) what all these languages have in common is that they trickle down into regular vocabulary, especially through younger people, who use them while at the same time missing a crucial part of their history (Jackson, 2019). And when *RuPaul's Drag Race* audiences are through the roof, one cannot help but think that they could do with a bit of educating on the matter – *Yaaasss kween*, I'm looking at you.

Sure, one could argue that we, as a society, have soared beyond the need for these coded languages that are deemed unnecessary since we are all just so accepting, and yet appropriation of form regardless of history and content should still not happen in a 'woke' culture. Along with the increased visibility of the LGBTQQIA+ community there appeared to be a renewed interest in the culture and even half-forgotten language (Richardson, 2005), Polari even featuring in the lyrics of a song on David Bowie's last album (O'Leary, 2017), proving once more that he is nothing if not a camp icon. The Met Gala theme itself pushes camp towards the mainstream in this "temple of establishment" (Moser, 2019), but one cannot help noticing how fickle the interest of it truly is. In this sense, we can argue that the one guest who truly stuck to the subtlety of the theme and even commented on it's evident (if you knew where to look) drawbacks was Lena Waithe. The screenwriter, producer, and actress jumped at the opportunity to draw on her personal belonging to two different minorities as a gay person of color and wore a tailored Pyer Moss suit with the words "Black Drag Queens Invented Camp" sprawled on the back and with highly-detailed buttons shaped like key figures in black history (Garvin, 2019) – talk about being apolitical.

Inclusion is an infinitely tricky subject, let us take the TV show *Modern Family* for example, which has been in turn lauded for its history-making approach to gay marriage (Rose, 2013) as well as deeply criticized for its stereotypical – and yes, camp – portrayal of gay characters (Romio, 2017). We choose to highlight it here because in one of the show's more serious moments it profoundly showcases what is perhaps the essence of camp in regards of performing gender: "when men impersonate women, consciously assuming the feminine in exaggerated form, they enact as a parody of femininity that reveals its constructed nature and offers critical distance necessary for resistance" (Shugart & Waggoner, 2008: 16). In other words, campiness can function as an exaggerated mask that eventually becomes a shield: one cannot be the butt of the joke if one is in on it. "You are not making fun *of* it, you are making fun *out* of it" (Isherwood in Castañeda, 2019, p. 38).

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Theme tune 6

Critical pedago-
gies, artistic
cultures and alter-
native cultures
dead. Pink is
forever'. Gender,
(post)-feminism,
gender and sexual
politics and artis-
tic-cultural work

6.1 BiPEDAL – 'The (bi)cycle and its educative potential'. Uses of (bi)cycles as forms of participation in the educating city

Vera Diogo[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

"The first mammal to wear pants" (Pearl Jam, 1998), is also the first to pedal a convivial tool (Illich, 1973) - the (bi)cycle, further on broadly replaced by another that generated more demands than it can satisfy - the automobile. BiPEDAL symbolizes the defence of our nature, embedded in our culture, not erased by it. This project aims to understand the educative potential of cycling, questioning their impact in biopsychosocial development, participation in urban space and in the construction of educating cities by analysing cultural barriers and triggers to the expansion of velomobilities in Porto, in order to promote it. Automobility (Cox, 2019) is a relevant cause of such barriers. Motorization generated detachment between human beings and their bodies. Being bipedal is no longer exciting!? The reconnection between body and mind - in individual and collective development, from an educative perspective of urban development can trigger the expansion of velomobility.

Keywords: velomobility, civic participation, educating cities.

Theoretical Framework

The paper 'The (bi)cycle and its educative potential. Uses of (bi)cycles as forms of participation in the educating city', presented at the KISMIF Conference 2021, introduced the project 'BiPEDAL - The educative potential of velomobility. Perspectives of bicycle users, educators and students', based at iNED – Centro de Investigação e Inovação em Educação. This project is grounded in an integral humanist perspective of education based on the conception of the human being as a whole – *bodymind* and a notion of culture that includes nature, reshaping it but not erasing it (Fernandes, 2021; Levi-Strauss, 2013); on the theorization on Educating Cities which recognize the city as a unique place for encounter and therefore for learning at the informal, non-formal and formal levels (Caballo, 2001); on previous research on the domination of automobility patterns and its negative effects on societies and the environment and on the conception of velomobility and its connections with human development and humanism (Augé, 2010).

In other countries, cycling uses have been framed under ecological perspectives Lemos et *al.*, 2017) associated with Do-It-Yourself ethos (Barnard, 2016; Ritzer et *al.*, 2012) as well as with the emancipation of minority groups (Ox, 2019; Furness, 2005; Mackintosh and Norcliffe, 2007; Steinbach et *al.*, 2011) highlighting its valorisation for personal development, emancipation and the (re)evolution of cities as renovated places for encounter and humanity (Augé, 2010). In Portugal, there has been focus on analysing the propensity of use, influencing factors of modal shift (Silva et *al.*, 2018), barriers and motivators for modal choice, user profiles (Felix, 2019)

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and lifestyles (Diogo et *al.*, 2018). The educative perspective has been neglected. BiPEDAL will cover that gap, by exploring the educative potential of cycling for the individual and for the collectives and contexts where he/she participates, based on the conceptualization of Educating Cities and on the theories of velomobility in contexts of automobility (Sheller, 2004; Randell, 2017; Cox, 2019).

Therefore, it is relevant to know such potential, in all educative domains - formal, non-formal and informal, and diverse disciplinary areas of education, such as, physical, social, inclusive, linguistic and artistic. By the educative potential of velomobility we mean the possibilities of learning - in an integrated sense of cognition, perception and movement; and of biopsychosocial development - based on the awareness of humans as corporal beings - that the utilitarian and recreational use of cycles can provoke or emphasize in the subjects. Thus, we are interested in the learning triggered by the use of cycles, considering it as a means of experiencing reality, construction of knowledge, self-knowledge, critical questioning, and personal and social transformation.

Velomobility is part of the evolution of social practices and mobility technologies. The uses of the bicycle that have been explored include its use as a means of everyday utility transport, its uses in different sport modalities, and also recreational uses, namely, bicycle tourism and leisure, particularly for children (Augé, 2010; Wexler, 2010). These representations are associated with social representations, which are also dynamic and variable, often expressed in artistic manifestations from different domains, from music to graphic arts, including literature.

The Portuguese Territorial Network of Educating Cities (2019, p. 2) highlighted the connections between education, the arts and sport, "in an interdisciplinary and holistic view" including all forms of artistic, cultural, social and sports expression", as we envisioned in this project and incorporated in the interdisciplinary constitution of the research team.

Despite the greater parity in the use of public roads that the 2014 Highway Code decreed and the slight increase in the use of bicycles in Portugal, the excessive use of the private car is a reality that fits into a "globally dominant pattern of auto mobility" (Cox, 2019, p. 4), presenting severe levels of noise and air pollution. According to the European Environmental Agency, transport causes more than a quarter of greenhouse gases and, unlike other sectors, this percentage has been growing; the dominant use of motor vehicles, particularly the automobile, limits public space for pedestrians and cyclists (Fernandes & Kanashiro, 2018). Precarious entitlement was the

reality described in Dublin in recent research with cyclist commuters, confirming the often shared perception of danger by urban cyclists. Even though the law grants them the use of space, that space is often insecure, other road users disregard their right to circulate and law enforcement is insufficient and negligent, making cyclists feel that their defence is in their hands (Egan & Philbin, 2021).

As a structural pillar of human existence, like time (Diogo, 2010) space is one of the internalized and embodied external factors in the processes of identity construction (Fortuna, 2013; Mendes & Nóbrega, 2004). Therefore, living in a given geographical context implies its greater or lesser appropriation, material and symbolic, sensory and embodied, depending on its relevance to everyday life and to individual and collective trajectories. Mobility patterns are a central way of living and appropriating space, through the interaction between body-mind in motion, means of transport and territory (Cox, 2019; Mendes & Nóbrega, 2004).

Given the city's functional, class and identity diversity, it is still an obligation to fight for the right to the city as defended by Lefebvre (2011 [1968]), as we have not yet managed to build fair and inclusive cities, where people with disabilities can participate, live and use the same time-space of services and resources as everyone else (United Cities and Local Governments, 2019). We understand that recreational and utilitarian uses of bicycles, when based in a logic of mobility that rebalances the need for speed and does not propose for example electric bicycles as replacement for cars (Cox, 2021), can be an important tool in the process of democratizing the design and forms of appropriation of the city, contributing to the United Nations' sustainable development objective 11 (Fernandes & Kanashiro, 2018; Ivonia & Albino, 2015; Mota et *al.*, 2019).

The Charter of Educating Cities claims the educative potential of the city, calling the focus of public entities on the development of its citizens through inclusive and participatory policies. The city is seen as a meeting place with several opportunities for collective learning, in formal, non-formal and informal spheres (Rede Territorial Portuguesa das Cidades Educadoras, 2019). According to Caballo (2001), the horizon of educating cities is the articulation between the multidimensionality of education throughout the lives of citizens and the integrated development of territories. This proposal implies the defence of the welfare state and a redefinition of socio-economic relations, favouring citizenship at the local level and local responsibilities in comprehensive and articulated educational policies (Caballo, 2001). It also promotes civic engagement by social economy

organizations, schools and higher education institutions. An educative perspective strengthens approaches to initiatives to promote velomobility (Savan et *al*., 2007), whose cooperative role is framed in this study (Meireles & Ribeiro, 2017). Within the scope of academic organizational responsibility, bicycle-friendly campus initiatives demonstrated great potential to achieve the UN SDGs objectives, as was experienced in Aveiro (Mota et *al*., 2019).

This view is in line with the emancipatory perspectives of education (Mezirow, 1997; Freire, 2012), promoting the integration of all areas of knowledge and learning contexts, as well as the non-hierarchical articulation between body and mind in the framework of lifelong learning (Unesco, 2010; Nóbrega, 2005). All spaces of education, participation, claim, conflict and cooperation are experienced from perceptual and cognitive experiences built on the basis of the relationship between the subject and the context, which is concretized in the positioning and movement of his biocultural body in interactions in a given context. This acceptance starts from the challenge to the disjunction between sensation and perception, defending an integrated conception of the sensorial, perceptive, cognitive and participative dimensions of the human experience (Mendes & Nóbrega, 2004). Both "body work and body psychotherapies have concurred for reconducting communication to its perceptive and emotional dimensions, seeking to reach beyond verbal interaction" (Fernandes, 2021, p. 17) which has been "cause of so many misunderstandings" (Fernandes, 2021, p. 110).

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The benefits of physical activity for well-being and learning are largely documented (Villwock and Valentini, 2007). However, we are still far from considering the body as a component, rather than a mere instrument, of the teaching-learning processes and biopsychosocial development (Gardner, 1999; Strazzacappa, 2001). Hence, our education systems are highly cantered in verbalized communication and have been part of the organizations that historically constructed power dispositives to discipline human bodies according to certain production logics and its inherent power hierarchies (Apple, 2004). Schools as well as cities designed according to the industrial mode of production and as an instrument of its maintenance, are crucial steppingstones to assure symbiosis between the accumulation of humans and the accumulation of capital. The accumulation of docile bodies controlled by minds that follow the norm and are formed in the acceptance that their own body functions and movements are ruled externally according to a given social order (Foucault, 2021 [1975]). How can a subject be free when built from obedience to the restriction of its own embodied experience?

In our perspective, velomobility can demonstrate how the body is an element of learning and development in itself (Hempkemeyer & Guimarães, 2016), at the same time managing to counter the artificial opposition between leisure time and work / work hours (Araújo, 2017), which will favour the revaluation of the experience so crucial in the development of collective sensibilities (Maffesoli, 1996). In previous exploratory research on groups promoting the use of bicycles in Porto, we identified ecological, anti-mechanization, DIY and anti-capitalist motivations, as well as the promotion of physical activity, sports and healthy lifestyles. This research revealed the valorisation of the bicycle as a means for biopsychosocial development and for emancipation, particularly for women, given that the movement promotes emancipation and the transformation of mentalities and attitude patterns (Diogo et *al*., 2018) The management of the senses achieved by the development of psychophysical capacities, motivated by the formation of perception in movement, favours the awareness of oneself, among others, as well as the knowledge of territories, enhancing the strengthening of emancipatory social bonds (Maffesoli, 1996).

In other contexts, velomobility has also been framed in ecological perspectives focused on promoting harmony between humanity and the planet (Lemos et *al*., 2017), associated with the DIY ethos and bicycle repair practices and prosumption (production + consumption), such as bicycle workshops (Barnard, 2016; Ritzer et *al*., 2012). As Illich (1974, p. 63) defines it, the bicycle is a "user-friendly tool" that "generates only the demands it can satisfy", maintaining a balance between "living space" and "lifetime". This means that bicycles are means of transport that favour the design of a city tailored to people (Diogo et *al*., 2020), considering the spatiality and temporality of human bodies. Such user-friendly tools (Illich, 1974) enhance human capacities without replacing the work of the body (Arendt, 2001), promoting their valorisation in spatial development (Soja, 2009), ultimately, in the work of building a future project for Humanity.

The bicycle is seen, therefore, as an instrument of democratization in urban planning (Diogo et *al*., 2018; Mota et *al*., 2019; Ivonia & Albino, 2015; Fernandes & Kanashiro, 2018) and for the emancipation of minorities (Cox, 2019). During the 19th century, its use challenged the ideas of femininity, expanding the social space of women and promoting the use of more practical clothes (Furness, 2005; Mackintosh & Norcliffe, 2007), even in our times, it was found that some women cyclists feel that they have developed

their assertiveness when taking place in the public space, interacting openly as cyclists with other users of public roads (Steinbach et *al.*, 2011). The bicycle itself is an identity object, as it is impossible to talk about it "without talking about yourself", it allows us to explore capacities and interests, "testing the freedom" that it conveys and represents (Augé, 2010, p. 9). It can even be an identity mark for a region or district, improving its cohesion and sustainability (Ivonia & Albino, 2015).

As Augé (2010, p. 84) states, "cycling is a humanism". It provides a "continuous training for the learning of freedom" and the mutual respect that the refocusing of the human experience on the "satisfaction of living" as a corporal being - completely biological and completely cultural - can provide (Mendes & Nóbrega, 2004). Velomobility can bring us back to our biological rhythm, by countering the 'whirlwind of moments' that urban agitation sets up, giving rise to an 'aesthetic of the moment' that decentralizes us. This balance with the body rhythm gives the human being time to enjoy and care for himself/herself and self-knowledge, the thinking enjoyment that favours the critical interrogation of common sense and his own experience. In a dominant auto-mobility scenario, velomobility can contribute to a greater balance between self-care and the organization of the city (Maffesoli, 1996). These grounds do not, however, encourage us to have a normalized view of cycling, hence there are many forms of velomobility and furthermore the uses of cycles are always clustered in far wider entanglements of socioeconomic structures, political frameworks and cultural patterns, including the social uses of technology and the values attributed to it (Cox, 2021). For these reasons, we perceive the educative potential of velomobility inserted in the context of Educating Cities that are based on the protection of the Welfare State and foster civic participation, cooperation and self-management initiatives by the people at the local level.

This knowledge encourages us to question, across all domains of education - formal, non-formal, informal and transdisciplinary - physical, social, inclusive, linguistic and artistic, what is the educative potential of velomobility, not only for the individual but for groups and contexts where he or she fits, particularly, in urban spaces

Methodology

The question "What does one learn by cycling?" was the starting point of this project. The moto that led us to explore the potentialities of velomobility in response to the global challenge of education.

Our acronym BiPEDAL symbolizes our human condition seen through a concept of culture that integrates nature is based on a holistic, humanistic and critical conception of education, bringing together a multidisciplinary team with training in these different areas and experience in the three educational spheres. We are united by the following finality:

To understand and promote velomobility as means to integral and integrated development of people and communities, favouring the inclusive co-construction of educating cities.

This aim is divided in the following goals: 1) identify cultural barriers to the utilitarian and recreational uses of cycles; 2) analyse the representations and practices that highlight the relations between cycling uses and learning, biopsychosocial development, civic participation and the inclusion of people with disabilities in urban areas; 3) broadcast these connections in order to promote the use of cycles.

Based on action-research (Henson, 2015) it is structured in two axes: the first is an exploratory stage in the educative context of the promoter organization, hence in order to investigate and act simultaneously, researchers should, firstly, apply reflection and promote change in their own concrete action contexts. The second axis is of more extensive research, it will be focused on diverse social contexts and groups, in order to amplify the understanding on representations and practices that constitute cultural barriers or motivators of the educative potential of velomobility.

The first axis – learn from within includes the following activities with students of several Graduate Degrees and two Master Degrees, focus groups; audio-script-visual-itineraries, experienced *in loco*; a velomobility meeting between cyclists, cycling promotion groups and the academic community, and educative projects within the master program of Heritage, Arts and Cultural Tourism.

The participatory dimension of this project is also achieved by the collaboration with our civil society partners: *MUBi – Associação pela Mobilidade Urbana em Bicicleta*, a national association focused on the promotion of velomobilities that conquer to more sustainable and living cities; and BYCS, an international

non-governmental organization based in Amsterdam moved by the belief that 'bicycles transform cities and cities transform the world'.

The coordinator of BiPEDAL has been an associate of *MUBi – Associação pela Mobilidade Urbana em Bicicleta* – since 2017 and is one of the founders of the Porto local section, in 2019, having been actively involved in the coordination and promotion of its activities since then. In July 2021, the cycling movement in Portugal experienced a particularly intense moment when, in sequence of a fatal traffic collision between a car and a woman riding a bicycle in Lisbon, several collectives all over the country have scheduled a common protest in her memory and to demand more safety on the roads for vulnerable users (pedestrians and cyclists). In 2020, 79,0% of the road collisions occurred within urban areas, 50,8% of fatal victims as well as most of the accidents with wounded victims. The percentage of fatal victims has increased 10,9%, since 2019. The rate of collisions with victims in Portugal has been above the European average since 2000 and this trend has not been changing.

Lisbon and Porto are the districts where most occurrences take place as well as most of the victims. In Lisbon, the municipality started to improve the conditions to cycle since 2008 by implementing cycle lanes and in 2017, a public bike-sharing system was created, resulting in the increase of bicycle users (Felix, 2019). These changes generated more debate on mobility choices and road conflicts, with significant clashes occurring in social media channels dedicated to cycling or neighbourhood and urban matters. The topic of road victims, particularly fatal victims has been one of the most broadcasted and debated, giving higher visibility to this serious long-lasting problem which concurred for a wide mobilization of bicycle users and sympathizers, in 2021. Indeed, urban cycling conditions became a significant subject in the local elections campaign in September, not only in Lisbon where most changes in infrastructure occurred.

Vera Diogo was announced Bicycle Mayor of Porto in March 2021. Bicycle Mayors are volunteers that act as pollinators between different institutions and groups of people in order to spread the seeds of bicycle culture. In her mandate, directed towards spreading the added value of cycling among children and women, the promotion of School Bus lines was the priority, initiated in a primary school in Porto in July 2021. This first pilot line came about given the contact with a teacher in that school in a civil society initiative to teach people how to cycle or help them gain more confidence cycling in the city. This action – Bicircular - involved people involved in several collectives, so far, it was developed between April and July of 2021, and the group is planning to restart in October. The people that participated as learners were mostly children accompanied by their parents, and a few adult women also came to learn to pedal for the first time or to (re)gain confidence, and have succeeded, at least for a first level of motorial skills. Among the group, another member is leading a parents' association in a neighbour municipality, Matosinhos, together with other parents, he has made contacts with the local authorities to create conditions to start a School Bike Bus line, also there.

These initiatives have proliferated in Lisbon, since a municipal project was launched under the School Mobility section of the Mobility Department with support from a civic movement that created the first *School Bike Bus – Cicloexpresso do Oriente*, in 2015. In 2021, a national federation – *Federação de Cicloturismo e Utilizadores de Bicicleta* – started to organize school mobility meetings of people involved in the promotion of School Bike Bus Lines and other initiatives involving educative communities. From north to south, including one experience in the Islands, Azores, these Bike Bus Lines are running. A common nationwide initiative is planned for 2022, with the purpose of giving visibility to this important pattern change and its benefits in children's and parents' wellbeing and motivation to start the day, reclaiming attention and support from political authorities.

The second axis includes the collection of songs that represent velomobility; map representations and practices of the population of Porto Metropolitan Area through a questionnaire that will allow us to understand what associations are made between cycling and learning and which are the groups that highlight it more.

Through interviews, we will explore the representations and practices related with velomobility, from diverse groups: i) cyclists - developing in depth analysis of their experiences and reflections; ii) elderly people that are former cyclists - with the intention of finding lessons from the past, regarding active mobility; iii) people with disabilities - with focus on the specific factors that may drive them towards or away from cycles; iv) representatives of educative organizations, municipal representatives and members of the Portuguese Territorial Network of Educating Cities. The analysis of the representations and positions of the last groups will be particularly articulated, with the purpose of understanding the concepts of Educating Cities that are defended and operationalized by them, and the place they assume in the co-construction of these cities and,

particularly in the promotion of velomobility.

Currently, we are developing the first axis of our project, analysing 13 Focus Groups with students. The exercise presented at KISMIF was a first experience in analysing a song lyric that develops on concepts that are crucial to our project – human evolution and human nature.

Pearl Jam's Do the evolution

This song was included in the album Yield published in 1998, and according to Rampton (2019) inspired in a novel by Daniel Quin, Ishmael, which questions human supremacy and sheds light on relevant challenges of modern societies as ethics, sustainability and global risks.

Do the evolution by Pearl Jam (Album Yield, 1998)

Woo
I'm ahead, I'm a man
I'm the first mammal to wear pants, yeah
I'm at peace with my lust
I can kill 'cause in god I trust, yeah
It's evolution, baby

I'm at peace, I'm the man
Buying stocks on the day of the crash, yeah
On the loose, I'm a truck
All the rolling hills, I'll flatten 'em out, yeah
It's herd behavior, uh huh
It's evolution, baby, good

Admire me, admire my home
Admire my son, he's my clone
Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah
This land is mine, this land is free
I'll do what I want but irresponsibly
It's evolution, baby

I'm a thief, I'm a liar
There's my church, I sing in the choir
Ooh ooh ooh ooh
Ooh ooh ooh ooh

Admire me, admire my home
Admire my son, admire my clones
'Cause we know, appetite for a nightly feast
Those ignorant Indians got nothin' on me
Nothin', why?
Because it's evolution, baby

I am ahead, I am advanced
I am the first mammal to make plans, yeah

I crawled the earth, but now I'm higher
2010, watch it go to fire
It's evolution, baby
It's evolution, baby
Ah, do the evolution

Come on, come on, come on

As can be read above, the lyrics highlights six main traits of human societies constructed throughout the modernity process:

❋ Antropocentrism – the *first mammal to wear pants* is the first to produce other animal species according to its needs and to perceive the ecosystem as its own property. The development of the notion of culture and of culture as human's specific nature (...), as well as the long processes of civilization that disciplined the bodies by camouflaging human's animality (Elias, 1990), has favored this worldview.

❋ Domination of nature – exploitation of resources and reshaping of natural ecosystems and landscapes only with focus on the requirements of the expansion of economic activities, as the phrase *All the rolling hills, I'll flatten 'em out* pictures.

❋ Mechanization of humanity – the same processes applied to the natural world are applied to human nature, which is reconceptualized, limited and shaped according to a given social order that is centered in a form of production – industrialization ruled by mechanization. *On the loose, I'm a truck* impersonates the individual as a motor vehicle as if the human body is not powerful enough and at the same time hence it is no longer in control once mankind has followed this track of intoxication with technology.

❋ Conformism and normalization – expressed clearly in the phrase *It's herd behavior*. This scenery is only made possible by the power of the norm and the establishment of power-knowledge relations that perpetuate authority positions and obedience to authority as moral behavior pattern based in the dualism of obligation and punishment (Foucault (2021 [1975]); Kropotkine (2018 [1899]).

❋ Private property defines one's freedom – *This land is mine, this land is free* prescribes the logic of freedom based on economic rights and the land as the first commodity, free for the taking, not free to share or as the basis of ecosystems which are respected in their own balance. Free, once a legal system defines the limits and the order of each users' freedoms, rights, privileges and power.

❋ Individualism and carelessness – *I'll do what I want but irresponsibly* does not reflect the logic of the individual freedom perceived as dependent on the preservation of the species (Kropotkine (2018 [1899]). On contrary, this is the individual that did not learn to think in morals terms guided by reason, therefore once free from control, this subject's actions are only directed towards self-satisfaction, in complete disregard of others and oblivious of how the consequences of such actions in the others and on the environment affect his own subsistence.

Inconclusions

The brief content analysis exercise of *Do the evolution* which critique is easily read by our theoretical lenses, can serve as a symbolic portrait of the *homo economicus* or the unidimensional man (Marcuse, 2011 [1964]) which BiPEDAL is opposing to. The six categories identified can become pivotal transversal themes for future analysis of song lyrics directly referencing bicycles or cycling, therefore this analysis has contributed for the advance of the project. There is some relation between the analytical exercise here presented and the preliminary analysis of the Focus Groups with students, which despite not being the object of this paper, already gave us some insights of the deep cultural level of barriers that the promotion of cycling, particularly for utilitarian purposes in our daily lives, can face. Higher education students of this age have

been entirely raised in the era of the automobile, motorization, and automation. Particularly, for those who have always lived in urban areas and grew up in sedentary families, not having learned how to cycle or barely remembering how is not uncommon. Nevertheless, students also reveal areas of human experience where cultural triggers to promote cycling can be explored, such as the sensation of freedom, inner peace and reflection time that cycling allows, as well as its possibilities to explore landscapes and diverse itineraries in the city and to be in touch with the natural elements. These triggers are contrary to the human portrait displayed in *Do the Evolution,* they are more in line with the integral perspective of human being – bodymind – to whom cognition, emotion and movement are interrelated and in confluence.

The inclusion of some types of velomobility in Do It Yourself and resistance cultures is a background that BiPEDAl cherishes, considering our view of cycling promotion goes far beyond its simple increase in numbers, it is directed "toward human flourishing, connection and wellbeing" (Spinney, 2021, p. 3), through emancipation, citizen participation in democratic social states and in the inclusive co-construction of Educating Cities.

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6.2 Shazam Walks & voice notes: Soundscape, sociality & joy

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✕ ~~*Abstract*~~

The global pandemic temporarily transformed the way music was listened to in East London. In the absence of licensed premises or large corporate music festivals, most of the music that was heard in public spaces was generated by the communities that live there. I propose that, rather than branding portable sonic expressions with pejorative and moralising terms such as 'sodcasting', we need to learn radical, empathetic listening that transcends taste and the perceived right to silence and develops an expanded sense of collective joy. East London has been experiencing increasing privatisation and homogenisation of space. When venues closed for lockdown, this highlighted what many residents instinctively know – that the creation of ad-hoc, temporary music spaces is a joyful aestheticisation of the city.

Keywords: gentrification, sodcasting, joy, sociality, soundscape, urbanism.

1. Shazam Walks

Early in 2020 I began collecting field recordings of London's markets, squares and parks. Originally, I planned to use these recordings in combination with the original pieces of music (sourced using the music-discovery app Shazam), juxtaposing the two in abstract digital DJ performances that celebrated music as an integral part of the urban soundscape. Soon after the initial recordings were made, however, the COVID pandemic hit the UK and lockdown was imposed. This changed the nature of the project somewhat. Not only did the project become focused on my immediate area of Hackney, East London, as we entered Spring and then Summer of 2020, *all* the music heard locally was community-generated — either played in public spaces or overheard through windows and over garden walls. Not only were there increasing numbers of people out in the parks and squares with mobile phones, bike speakers and portable sound systems, but all music heard was juxtaposed with an absence of music from commercial venues (pub gardens that mainly cater to the wealthier residents of the area, for example) and large, expensive ticketed festivals that have begun to dominate the summer in East London over recent years. COVID also had the effect of localising the recording process to my immediate surrounding area (Clapton): it became an exercise in listening to the musical life of those who live around me.

2. Portable Music, Grayson Perry & Gentrification

In August 2020, when my recording process had been in full swing for some time, visual artist Grayson Perry tweeted:

> *Hot days in London: I'd quite like five minutes when I'm not forced to listen to someone else's music, in my house, in the garden, in the street, even from other cyclists, it's relentless. If playing music please be aware, everyone else HATES YOU. (Perry, 2020, n/p)*

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This sentiment seemed to strike a chord amongst his followers and a thread that numbered nearly 600 replies or quote tweets followed. Out of these, over 500 supported the statement. This discourse is reminiscent of the debate following Pascal Wyse's entry in his Wyse Words column in the Guardian where, 10 years previously, he coined the phrase 'sodcasting':

> *Sodcast [noun]: Music, on a crowded bus, coming from the speaker on a mobile phone. Sodcasters are terrified of not being noticed, so they spray their audio wee around the place like tomcats. (Hancox, 2010, n/p)*

Here Wyse presents his speculations about the sodcaster's motivations as fact and assumes anti-social intent, as indeed do many of the replies in the Perry thread. The issues surrounding mobile music have been addressed in several articles and book chapters on the subject. Richard Bramwell (2011) examined the sonic life of London's buses, particularly the participation of racialised youth in mobile musicking. A common suggestion in Perry's replies was that, when playing music in public, people should wear headphones so as not to be 'anti-social'. However, the activities of group singing, rapping, dancing, and sharing tracks via Bluetooth are inherently social. Bramwell describes the young people's creative aestheticisation of the bus as opening possibilities for interactions outside of the group. Interest shown in the music is received positively. Similarly, in his rebuttal of Wyse's piece, Dan Hancox reframes these ephemeral musical moments as "a resocialisation of public life through the collective enjoyment of music; it's friends doing the most natural thing imaginable – sharing what makes them happy" (Hancox, 2010: n/p).

Perry lives in Islington, a borough with one of the highest wealth disparities in London (Segal, 2017). Neighbouring Hackney, where I live and the recordings were made, has undergone intense gentrification in the last 20 years, creating a similar disparity (Travers et al., 2016). In *Terraformed*, Joy White starkly lays out the implications of gentrification for the musical landscape in nearby Newham, where the public musicking of the local black youth was vital to the development of grime (2020). The presence of local youth on the streets has become increasingly policed as the area is developed for post-Olympic gentrification and local pubs cater for the new 'communities' that are formed. Across London, parks have been subjected to neo-liberal ideology and councils have been put under increasing pressure to monetise them. This has led to more and more high-price festivals taking over public space for many weeks during the summer months (Smith, 2019). There is also data showing that noise complaints to the police increase as the demographic of an area changes (Misra, 2018).

> *I quite like it. I feel connected to other humans this way. It feels like the heat brings out something primal in us that seeks connection through joy. And music brings joy universally. Obv we might have different tastes but its just them sharing pleasure. Justsayn (X, 2020)*

A small number of the replies in the Perry thread speak to what I experienced as various small-scale manifestations of collective joy in Summer 2020. I don't have any detailed demographic information for Grayson Perry's Twitter followers, but obviously they are only a small sample of society. However, they do seem to reflect a liberal, individualistic entitlement to peacefulness as a commodity which runs counter to my own field recording observations and experiences. The listening to and, in one case, participation in this public musicking struck me as intrinsically joyful. Together, these mostly quotidian events were a collective celebration of the diversity and multiplicity of East London (London Borough of Hackney, 2020). It also seemed like a celebration of music itself, and the multitude of ways it is manifested in everyday social life, particularly given the almost total lack of commercial music contexts. The musical and the social were reconstituting each other in real time (DeNora, 2000).

In the following paper I will examine ideas of collective joy in relation to music, highlight the importance of macro-social context in such examinations and describe in some detail the many and varied micro-social music encounters I had whilst collecting recordings for the project.

3. Music, Sociality & Joy

Tia DeNora proposes that music's meaning is shaped by the social situations in which it is manifested. Rather than focusing on semiotics, DeNora (2000, p. 81) is concerned "with what it 'does' as a dynamic material of social existence". Her extensive interviews with women detail how they use music as a 'technology of

the self' allowing for intimacy, sociality, mood enhancement, catharsis and more. Georgina Born builds on these ideas to stress that it is important to look not only at the immediate micro-social site of the musicking, but to examine musical activity across four planes of social mediation: first, the micro-social situation of the musicking itself; then the 'imagined communities' that the music invokes; third, the wider social context of the musical activity; and fourth, how the musicking relates to the power structures of the distribution or performance of the music (Born, 2017). Whilst neither of these theories are inherently radical in themselves, they provide useful tools for examining the concept of collective joy in relation to music.

But what is collective joy exactly? Barbera Ehrenreich (2007) has charted a history of group ecstatic experience and describes a broad range of activities including sporting events, religious rites, carnival (both European and Black) and rock concerts. These are framed as "expressive of our artistic temperament and spiritual yearnings as well as our solidarity (...) distinctively human, and deeply satisfying" (Ehrenreich, 2007, p. 496). Through an examination of the sites of my field recording during COVID, I hope to show that it doesn't take a mass event to do this: in fact, collective joy can be found in these more everyday encounters. First, however, I would like to look at the importance of macro-social context in examining group experience and its political potential.

In relation to music, raves are often cited as prime examples of the power of collective joy in action, particularly the era of the late 1980s/early 1990s before the Criminal Justice Bill and the subsequent extreme commercialisation of dance events (Gilbert, 2013). It is not surprising that raves are seen as contributing to this history of ecstatic joy. They tend to be more 'collective' than other music events due to the focus being on the dancing crowd rather than the DJ or band. The have also provided important spaces for solidarity and safety for marginalised groups and can channel vital subaltern energy. Jeremy Gilbert frames them as sites of what John Protevi calls joyous affect, or an affect which increases the "potential power of bodies, enabling them to form new and potentially empowering encounters" (Protevi in Gilbert, 2013, p. 419). Here Protevi and Gilbert are invoking a Spinozian model of affect that links emotions to power in the sense of emergent potential and ability. However, positioning rave, even at its peak, as a model for the political

power of ecstatic collective joy is to miss some of the complications posed by the macro-social context in which it became popular. One of the foundational venues for late 1980s/early 1990s acid house and rave in East London was Club Labyrinth in Dalston, which is credited with hosting the Prodigy's first live appearance. Club Labyrinth was a renaming of the 4 Aces nightclub after a change of management in the late 80s. The 4 Aces was setup by Charlie Collins and Newton Dunbar in the 60s to provide a space for the black community of the area, who were often refused entry into West End clubs. Over its 20-year history it hosted acts such as Desmond Decker, Bob Marley and Stevie Wonder. After persistent police raids throughout the 1980s the venue finally closed its doors and reopened as Club Labyrinth and the demographic of the crowd changed from majority black to around 80% white (Geldher, 2018; Oppenheim, 2014). This is a long time prior to the aggressive gentrification of Dalston, which we can perhaps trace to the compulsory purchase order of the space by Hackney Council in 1997 to build the luxury apartment complex that was subsequently built on the site. This is not to diminish what was a vibrant and influential scene, nor the significant (but often overlooked) contribution to rave by local black artists such as Shut Up & Dance (Bennett, 2011). However, it is important to note that, unwittingly or not, many urban raves benefitted from a clearing-out of spaces by racist over policing and economic marginalisation and were a whitewashing of Black music scenes and musical forms[2]. Interestingly, Gilbert is co-organiser of a party called Lucky Cloud that is been held regularly in Dalston since 2014. The event is explicitly modelled on David Mancuso's the Loft, a club now legendary for providing a safe space for queer NYC residents of colour to dance, commune and party. Lucky Cloud, however, whilst retaining a music policy and style informed by Mancuso, and undoubtedly generating a joyful atmosphere, appears (based on personal observation) to be mainly attended by middle class white people. If we are looking for political potential, Black carnival may be a better site, given its actual history of very real resistance through joyous dancing (Ehrenreich, 2007; Henriques & Ferrara, 2014; James, 2021), and it is surprising that it is not talked about more in this context. Either way, the joy I experienced whilst recording for my project, whilst still collective, was on a much smaller, everyday scale than any of these events and provides a different, but equally valid lens into the political, perhaps precisely because it is such an everyday occurrence.

2. For a description of how similar dynamics played out in the North of England during the development of bleep techno see Matt Anniss' *Join the Future* (2019).

Like Perry, Lynne Segal is a resident of the 'distinctly desirable' London borough of Islington. In *Radical Happiness* (2017), she explores the history, conceptions, and potentials of joy, informed particularly by her experiences as a feminist organiser since the 1960s. She situates joy in opposition to the neoliberal 'happiness' industry, with its insistence on individual responsibility and refusal to acknowledge structural causes of the current epidemic of depression, anxiety, and loneliness (Hertz, 2020). She explores joy from several angles, including the ecstatic histories explored by Ehrenreich. She also looks at squatter communities, feminist activists, communal gardens and the park occupations in Athens all as examples of "joy's traditional ties with things that are larger, better and more exciting than we are individually" (Segal, 2017, p. 127). The UK feminist activist group Sisters Uncut are mentioned, and it is worth noting that their use of music at protests is a powerful affective force. There is a video that circulated Twitter of their young black members dancing and singing along defiantly to Nadia Rose's track *Squad* in front of a wall of police who were protecting fascists that were marching that day (Brinkhurst-Cuff, 2017). Segal frames joy as something that "jolts us out of the ordinary" but also, significantly, the possibility of "communalizing the everyday" through "a diversity of creative endeavours" (Brinkhurst-Cuff, 2017, p. 118). It is this everyday communalising and creativity that seems significant to my research, the extra-ordinary embedded in the quotidian constructed by music's unique affordances for world-building (DeNora, 2000). Or, as Kathleen Stewart puts it in her remarkable book *Ordinary Affects*: "the ordinary is a circuit that's always tuned in to some little something somewhere. A mode of attending to the possible and the threatening, it amasses the resonance in things" (Stewart, 2007, p. 33).

Rather than assessing the significance of large-scale 'ecstatic' events, in the next two sections I will examine the micro-social encounters of my own field recording practice through this reading of small-scale, everyday collective joy that was particularly visible in Summer 2020. This is not to further entrench a taste-based good/bad dichotomy that is present in the Perry Twitter thread, but to further explore the affective potential of public music within social context.

3.1 Musical Parklife in E5, Summer 2020

In Springfield Park two young women walk past speaking intensely and a speaker plays Hozan İsmail's version of the traditional Kurdish folk song *Şev Tari Tari*. A small group of young people sit around a bench listening to the summery UK rap track *Spin Around* by Wretch 32. There is chatting, birds tweeting and then all sound is drowned out by a police helicopter flying overhead, a daily occurrence during lockdown. In the bandstand young black girls are learning dance routines to Nigerian producer DJ Spinall's *Dis Love*. A nearby couple are working out to some high-energy Euro trance. On the canal towpath a cyclist gives us a fleeting yet energising taste of Soca delivered by Fadda Fox's *Ducking*.

In Millfields park a group of young mothers congregate with their prams near the playground listening to Sweet Female Attitude's *Flowers (Sunship Mix)*. More old-school garage music is heard from the filter beds, and on Hackney Marshes a father pulls his son along in a cart, with a kite attached, soundtracked by DJ Luck & MC Neat's *Masterblaster 2000* and MJ Cole *Crazy Love*. A solo middle-aged man with a contented look on his face rolls a cigarette under the A12 underpass staring at a sizable Bluetooth speaker playing unidentified pumping dance music. Ghostly, disembodied opera singing, and trumpet playing is heard across the water at different points. Elsewhere soul, jazz, disco, classic pop and drum and bass mix with the sound of birds, traffic and conversation from over garden walls, through open doors and car windows. An open-topped truck drives down Leaside Road, orthodox Jews broadcast a meditative chant to the neighbourhood, as they are unable to go to synagogue. Over in Markfield park, Noel Gallagher's voice singing Wonderwall comes into focus. The source is revealed to be a young man on a bike wearing a ski mask and brightly coloured leisure wear (he is a regular fixture on the towpath). As he passes our group an abrasive EDM dubstep beat drops on the chorus and a small group spontaneously starts dancing and laughing.

There are many more examples from my recordings of E5 in Summer 2020, but this gives a broad overview of the different musical scenarios that played out in parks, streets, marshes canals and so on. Similar scenarios play out every spring/summer in the area but, as I have highlighted, the context was different. There was a marked increase in the number of people out on any given day. It was an exceptionally favourable summer weather-wise, and a proportion of people were on furlough. Most significantly, there were no commercial gathering spots to visit in day or night. Whilst local cafes and bars serve a narrow section of local residents, it felt like I was listening to a soundscape that was truly representative of the diversity of the area, and this is reflected in the music discovered using the music recognition app Shazam. This is certainly music in everyday life, music that facilitates and aestheticises the social. Technologies of self-expression play out in a myriad of small ways. It would be a stretch to suggest that these encounters were akin to the radical expressions of

collective joy in claiming the commons such as the ongoing occupation of parks in Athens or a Sisters Uncut protest. However, there are some thresholds of possibility.

Stavros Stavrides (2016) also writes about the park occupations in Athens and the distinctions between public and common space - common space being actively created and constantly negotiated. Michael Warner's influential conception of the 'pubic' is actually similar to this idea of 'common': it only comes into being via participation (Kosnick, 2010). Is this happening in these cases? Are the protagonists in the recordings using music to aestheticize the public space, like the young people in Bramwell's bus? Or is this simply municipal park use as intended, with the addition of inconsiderate noise-making that infringes on others' ability to do the same in 'peace'? Stavrides defines an urban threshold as a porous social border as well as a spatial one. If we see music as being exceptional at creating porous boundaries (LaBelle), then these scenes are thresholds into these micro-social worlds and imagined communities. "The prospect of a city of thresholds might represent an alternative to the city of enclaves" (Stavrides, 2016, p. 180). Perry and his followers are demanding that their peaceful enclaves are not bothered by the noise of others and that public music should be contained by headphone listening. However, none of the scenarios described here could be played out with headphones. The solo bike riders cannot wear them for safety reasons, but I also suspect they wouldn't want to. There is a clear element of broad- (or narrow) casting here. The people on their own appear to have their speakers as company, but also as an invitation for potential engagement, either to enjoy the music with them or at least a provocation to engage with it and its players' existence. They are literally sharing the music (with discovery possibilities as highlighted) but also creating a threshold to a discursive social imaginary. This was summed up succinctly by one of the few dissenting voices on the Perry thread. As a counter to the much-repeated suggestion that the most considerate and least anti-social way of listening to music was through headphones, they simply wrote "OK, so what if you're not alone" (Karim, 2020, n/p).

3.2 Karaoke Encounter

In the other recording situations described, I am participating only as a resident of the neighbourhood with ears and a mobile phone in what, at times, felt like quite a voyeuristic set of field recording / sound walks. This scenario was different as I, and a small group of friends, were actively participating in the music and space creation. In June 2020 I was tasked with throwing a 40th birthday karaoke party for my then partner. Lockdown rules still dictated no indoor gatherings and only small groups outside. The solution I found to this challenge was to enlist the help of some friends who lived on a narrowboat on the Lea Navigation canal near our house. A powerful speaker was attached to the roof, a screen to the end of the boat where there was a seating area, mics were provided and a subscription to the online Lucky Voice karaoke service was obtained. For approximately four hours on a sunny Saturday afternoon, we cruised up and down the Lea navigation taking turns to sing songs, some solo and some duet, whilst other members of the group joined in and danced on the roof. The idea was that, if we kept moving, the noise wouldn't annoy any one set residents of the canal or nearby flats for too long. As a group, our composition was 4 white men, 4 white women and one South Asian man (who's enthusiastic rooftop dancing was undoubtedly a memorable part of our visual makeup), all in middle age, and a 1-year-old baby.

We had no preconceptions about how the people we encountered would respond to our activities. As it was a sunny weekend afternoon, there were many people out walking on the canal towpath as well as boat residents sitting out on the bank and on various vessels also travelling on the navigation. The response from passers-by was generally very positive – smiles, waves, dancing, clapping, song requests, participation etc. It was the overriding feeling of the group that we seemed to be generating positive affects well beyond what we might have expected. As a group we attributed this to (a) the timing of people just starting to come out of the first lockdown, (b) the fact that it was karaoke rather than just playing music / having a party. It was noted that some of the observers' expressions visibly changed from initial bemusement / possible annoyance or disapproval to smiling when they realised what was happening.

On the return leg we passed a low-rise council estate whose front doors face the canal with a communal area in between. There were two middle-aged black women in the area and a man who was starting a BBQ. We were singing TLC's *No Scrubs* as we were passing, and this was a song that they knew. They started to join in and beckoned us over to moor up by the estate. What followed was the most interesting and layered exchange of the day, which was unfortunately only partly documented in 2 short video clips. After the TLC song had finished, we tried to collectively find another song we would all know. Sean Paul was suggested but the selection I made*, Get Busy*, proved to be difficult to sing due to its fast pace, and not something any of the women seemed particularly enthused about. After this awkward moment, one of the women

suggested a contemporary dancehall track, *Rubberband* by Jahvilliani. This was not something I was familiar with, nor was it on Lucky Voice. However, I found the original track on Youtube and played it. The track wasn't a karaoke version and, instead of singing along, one of the women then proceeded to MC over the track in a style that evoked a dancehall party or carnival (Henriques & Ferrara, 2014). Captured on the recording is the woman shouting-out the event of the 40th party, the one-year-old baby that was part of our party and the small crowd that had gathered on the towpath on the other side of canal. "We see you you're still here", she shouts. A number of people are filming the scene on their phone. A cheer goes up with the chant of "pump pump pump". The party continued with another dancehall track, Kranium's *Gal Policy*. One of the women went inside the house and brought their mother to meet us and passed round a bottle of brandy. After the second track we were invited to "play some of our music". A few of us on the boat had an urgent conversation about what this should be. After some suggestions of Elton John and others were rejected, we decided on a reprise of TLC to avoid any more awkward moments, such as the one created by the unsatisfactory Sean Paul track, that might risk ruining what we all acknowledged as a special vibe. This is captured in the second video. Following this we headed off, with both parties waving fondly to each other and having been affected in seemingly quite a deep way. Well, almost everyone – as we drove away, we noticed two younger teenage boys playing just off to the side of the estate, who seemed non-plussed by, what might have seemed to them, a rather embarrassing musical encounter between old people.

This encounter was certainly extraordinary. In the other recording scenarios I've described, although the context was unique, any singular event is also just a slice of ordinary sonic life in East London. In my experience, it is unusual that a narrow boat would come floating past a housing estate in the middle of the afternoon having a full-blown karaoke party. The disruption appeared to have strong affective reactions from those we passed, many appearing to be positive. The most notable of these was the opening-up of the micro-social encounter at the Homerton housing estate. This situation was improvised by those involved and supported by the observers on the far bank. It felt like an ephemeral communing of space and subtle negotiations were required for all to feel included. We also literally created a threshold space between the boat and the women's homes. After its usefulness as an icebreaker, for the encounter to successfully continue the conventions of karaoke had to be jettisoned in favour of those of a dancehall party. Feelings of togetherness were thickened by the reprise of the TLC song that we all knew. It is, given the dynamics of urban segregation in the area, unlikely that either group would have ended up at a party in either of our backyards.

The encounter did not seem to afford any kind of explicit examination of macro-social contexts. As there has been no follow-up interview with the estate residents, I don't have any way of knowing whether either gentrification or the recent BLM marches in London were at the forefront of their minds. Either way, the imperative seemed to be to uphold the party atmosphere and convivial exchange. In this respect it seemed to be an example of what Luis-Manuel Garcia (forthcoming) terms 'liquidarity'. He coins the term to refer to dancefloor interaction in minimal house clubs that creates "a state of fluid cohesion that generates a sense of inclusion uncoupled from identity or other forms of categorical belonging". What does seem undeniable was that the music and convivial atmosphere generated by the karaoke party afforded this extraordinary encounter and it's resulting joyous affect, that did indeed seem to increase potential power to form new connections.

Finally, it should be added that it was not just the teenage boys who were dubious of the floating event. Although I was not able to save it before it expired, a friend reported that MC Grindah of the TV show People Just do Nothing, a mockumentary about a Brentford Pirate radio station, had posted on an Instagram story a picture of our boat with the word 'GENTRIFICATION' emblazed across it. To the actor Allan Mustafa, the aesthetics of our temporary sonic territorialisation epitomised the negative effects of the changing demographics of the area. Alongside the positive effects of this experiment, it is necessary to accept that a narrow boat with a group of mostly white middle class, middle-aged people singing karaoke could certainly engender these feelings.

4. Thresholds of Possibility

Given the sociability and potential joyous affects detailed here, why the extreme negative emotions expressed by Perry and his followers? It is certainly true that neighbour noise can be obnoxious to the point of being genuinely distressing. Urban (sound) space must be negotiated. Given the number and variety of different noises present in the urban soundscape however, it seems unreasonable to expect to be only able to hear the

ones you personally find to your taste. Some of the tweets explicitly state that neighbours have turned their music down when asked. A lot of the ire directed at public musicking seems to speak to what Gilbert (2013) describes as liberal freedom being the freedom to be left alone. Within neo-liberal, individualist ideology you have earned the right, through hard work, not to have to interact or think about others. 'A man's house is his castle' – with very high walls.

Richard Sennett (1970) posits that the desire to enclose, as was being made real by the rapidly expanding suburban developments in the US in the 1970s is born in adolescence – the desire to escape an increasingly confusing world on the part of those with the means to do so. Nigel Thrift (2005) warns us to not discount the comfort people find in misanthropy. Garcia builds on Thrift's 'light-touch intimacy' (Forthcoming) to form the concept of liquidarity in regard to the necessary smoothing of social relations amongst club-goers, allowing them to participate in the micro-social collective joy of the rave. However, he is keen to also point out that this approach can cover over macro-social inequalities and issues that have been recently highlighted within the dance music industry. Sennett proposes architecturally designed sites of disorder that encourage 'contact' points between diverse people, even if this involves conflict. Gillett Square in Dalston, an earlier site of recording for this project (Williams, 2020), shows how this light touch and self-policing can have a positive effect on inclusive conviviality in public space.

However, viewing whiteness as a Deleuzian assemblage, Arun Saldanha (2007) devastatingly demonstrates how 'contact points' are not sufficient to break down colonial lines of flight remanifesting themselves (in this case at Goa trance parties). He points to possible creativity in creating new lines of flight to counter the cleverness of the whiteness machine. There are parallels between the whiteness assemblage described by Saldanha and the kind of aggressive gentrification demonstrated in East London. This is white-capital-as-machine erasing and appropriating both physical and discursive space. Pubs that cater almost exclusively to new residents play legacy disco and reggae; expensive street food markets are soundtracked by grime. Returning to adolescence we should remember that it is the young people that are the big losers in this, subject to constant policing of their public gathering (White, 2020).

Beyond taking more Bluetooth speakers out into public spaces and engaging in more floating karaoke/dancehall parties, which I thoroughly encourage, what further strategies can be adopted to promote a representative soundscape and encourage collective joy in urban environments that is not mediated by capital? Much is said about the importance of the night-time industry and economy; but in divorcing music from its industry, we also need to value the power of music in everyday life. What can be done to encourage convivial space-commoning and new lines of flight? The activist sound artist collective Ultra-red has been fighting gentrification in Boyle Heights (Desarrollismo, 2019) and exploring the ways sound can be used to focus and facilitate activism. Maybe similar approaches can be used in education to promote pro-activist approaches to urban soundscape and placemaking? Can London's public space be reclaimed for more inclusive musical events for all the residents of an area? Historically there are examples of radical musical events in London's parks (Transpontine, 2012), as well as more recent joyous scenes at Hackney Carnival's LGBTQI sound system. It is these local legacies we need to build on.

And for those thinking of calling the police on your neighbours, maybe I can draw your attention to potentially the most provocative of the replies to Perry's tweet, which was simply a link to a conversation between the composers Morton Feldman and John Cage from 1966. Feldman was bemoaning the sonic intrusion of rock-and-roll radios playing on the beach and the inability to think. Cage, after suggesting he simply listen to it as one of his own compositions, suggests that it is Feldman's desire to think that is imposing on the radio[3]. Or, as a friend of mine recently said in relation to being kept up by an all-night Jamaican wake that happened in his neighbourhood recently, "if you can't beat them, Shazam them".

For more details on the creative project this paper is based on and to hear a playlist of the music mentioned, please visit http://www.jfbwilliams.com/shazam-walks-voice-notes/

3. It is worth noting, however, that John Cage was somewhat dismissive of Black music (Lewis, 1996).

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6.3 Ethical issues during ethnographic research among the Finnish Roma: a personal experience

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✖ Abstract

Cultural diversity manifests in all relationships, including research relationships. Academic investigators work across a broad range of cultures that goes beyond ethnicity. What implications are most important for academic researchers to consider when designing and implementing a project? Also, a review of relevant literature suggests that ethical implications begin with the power aspects in the research relationship. Consent, research processes, research design, data ownership, and uses of data are also salient issues that arise. Thereby conducting research across any cultural context requires intense attention to ethics. A cross-cultural research relationship inherently involves a dynamic of power: E.g., in Finland data ownership has become increasingly articulated as a major concern for research participants (Roma and non-Roma) and particularly participants from any marginalized groups. In this paper, I question some of the 'taken-for-granted' conceptions and consider an alternative to the existence and practices of Finnish Romani music studies. Examples from Romani community based my intensive field research among the Finnish Roma since 1994.

Keywords: ethics, Finnish Roma, power, control, research design, data ownership.

1. Introduction

As we can read, the title of my article is a complex one. Why we non-Roma are so interested about the Roma? It could be also like this; why we the main population are so interested about the minorities? What comes to the Roma, we know that there is a lot of historical background, ideological and cultural aspects – some stereotypes (similar like orientalism) - but also the question of esthetic – what comes especial to the music and arts – and the question of power and personal orientation. In my opinion, we must understand that the cultural diversity manifests in all relationships – not only Roma, but many minorities - including research or ethnographic work. Academic investigators work across a broad range of cultures that goes beyond ethnicity. That is why a cross-cultural research relationship inherently involves of course a dynamic of power: E.g., in Finland data ownership has become increasingly articulated as a major concern for research participants (Roma and non-Roma) and particularly participants from any marginalized groups. And now, in this paper, I question some of the 'taken-for-granted' conceptions and consider an alternative to the existence and practices of academics. Examples from Romani community based my intensive research projects among the Roma between 1994 - 2017 presented as illustrations.

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2. A Brief History of the Kaale

Finland has perhaps the most homogeneous Romani population in Europe, with the *Kaale* population comprising groups of the Roma who arrived through Sweden as early as the sixteenth century. In the nineteenth century, this group was strengthened by Russian Romani immigrants who have since merged with the Finnish *Kaale* (see Pulma, 2006, p. 215; 2012). The Finnish Roma, nowadays about 10,000—12,000 in all, lead a traditional way of life; there are also 3,000 Finnish Roma who live in Sweden, mainly in the Stockholm area (Markkanen, 2003, p. 262). The process of estimating the numbers of Roma in Finland is a problematic one. These problems are rooted in the general difficulties associated with counting so-called "ethnic minority groups, and mobile communities" (Clark, 2006, p. 19). During the 1990s, Finland became more multicultural than ever before. The growing number of foreigners coming to the country raised discussion about human rights, tolerance and discrimination. However, there is still very little information about the old minorities, such as the Roma, in the teaching materials of the comprehensive school, in materials for different occupational groups, or even in teacher training (Markkanen, 2003, pp. 264–265).

3. Why non–Roma researching the Roma

This is not only question about the Roma, but majority cultures have in fact influences the development and expression in all of cultural identity of minority in Finland as well as elsewhere, sometimes more than the minority themselves and members of the majority have wished to believe; either this has not been recognised or it has been ignored (Kopsa-Schön, 1996, p. 251). What comes to Finnish Romani music tradition the reason has partly also been research tradition. Roma, like other 'alien cultures' and communities have been studies from the perspective of divergence. Definitions and categories are repeatly created by which ethnic communities and minority cultures can be distinguished from one another. Not so often has been examined the influences by which various communities mould on another. For that reason for me they is no sense in speaking about the original sources of Romani music or essentealists theory or source of Romanies own customs and practises; it is more to the point bear in mind that the Roma have been in contact with numerous cultures of the World. This idea is of course a new one. The English gypsy scholar R.A. Scot Mcfie describes in 1908 that the gypsies have succeeded enimatic, partly because they are still made an object of mystery in literature and research, either unconsciously through lack of correct information, or consciously to suit goals of gypsy and cultural policy. One explation is roma exotism or as I sometimes want to call it "orientalism inside the Europe".

3.1. The Impact of Romani Exoticism on the Ethnography of Romani music

We know that the image of the Roma has gradually spread via literature to other genres, the visual arts and music in 19th centuries. In music, Romani stereotypes were applied to a major degree in both stage music and in entertainment for courts and the bourgeois middle classes. A connection with the world was actualized especially in Romani music and dance as all-encompassing freedom and as the authentic, natural, fiery and colourful characteristics of stereotypical 'Gypsiness' as the Hungarian composer and piano virtuoso Franz Liszt (1811–1886) described the Romani music that he heard and its manner of performance as deeply emotional, with its free chains of modulation, large intervals, oriental ornamentations and rhythms that gain pace. The virtuoso, artistic and colourful (emotional and fiery) character of Andalusian flamenco made the Romani entertainers of Southern Spain representatives of Spanish culture as a whole (Lindroos & Böök, 1999, p. 37). Romani entertainers quickly became popular all over Europe (Blomster, 2012).

Although the stage performance style of Romani music, or estrad style came relatively late to Finland if we compare it with the Romani population elsewhere in Europe, 'stage Roma' identity involving images and associations also influenced the picture of Finnish Gypsy dance. Descriptions of dance from the late 19th century and the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries are highly different from earlier ones. Now in archive we can read that relationship of the Gypsy dances with the Spanish chachucha is mentioned (the theory of the Roma as international). Also, the middle part of the dancer's body is often mentioned. In 1936, folklore collector Otto Harju describes the movements of the dance: The dancers snap their fingers, move the middle part of the body and remain in place performing steps in the manner of the *polska* etc., kicks, turns etc. Female sexuality – one of the strongest gypsy stereotypes - underlined in the descriptions of dance ('skirt pulled up

to the thighs') can be seen not only in terms of the international Gypsy stereotype of sexuality associated with Romani women, i.e. a sexually active, fateful and seductive Romani beauty, but also from a folkloristic perspective as part of the asymmetry of ethnic relations. The erotic humour and sexual comedy present in the dancing, whether as class or ethnic *eros* berating and humiliating marginal and socially inferior people (or vice versa), continuously considers the relationship of mental images with the opportunities provided by reality (Knuuttila 1992, p. 249). Accordingly, the Gypsy dances as performed by members of the majority express the mental images and fantasies of Finns regarding the uninhibited nature of Romani women. Dance produced by the majority with reference to Gypsy dance is specifically revealed by the fact that women's chastity has always been a subject of particular focus in Romani culture (Viljanen-Saira 1979). The change in descriptions of Gypsy dance may be associated more generally with the spread of stage music into Finland after the middle of the 19th century.

3.2. Finnish Romani music and the Exotism

Interest in the Roma emerged in Finland in the 18th and 19th centuries in both scholarship and the arts. A study by Christfrid Ganander (1741-1790) from 1780 is regarded as the first scholarly work on the Roma of Finland (see also Rekola, 2012, p. 47; Viljanen, 2012, pp. 375 – 377). It focused on the vocabulary of the Romani language, but also included interpretations of the origin of the Roma. The material consisted of published sources along with an ethnographic approach. After Ganander 'Gypsy Baron' Arthur Thesleff (1871 – 1921), known as a bohemian figure in research, compiled the first known collections of Romani songs in Finland, including songs in the Finnish and Romani languages (see Tervonen, 2012, pp. 89-92; Blomster, 2012; Åberg and Blomster, 2006). As a non-academic musicologist, Thesleff was not oriented towards comparative research, unlike his colleque Heikki Klemetti, who wrote of Oriental influences in Finnish Romani music. In his article *Zigenarmusiken* (Gypsy Music) from 1922, Thesleff makes the distinction between the 'own' Gypsy tunes performed among the Roma and their music-making that is primarily aimed at the majority population (Blomster, 2012, pp. 324–326; Åberg, 2015).

In the early 20th century, Finnish musicologists remained outside international discussion on Romani music. The few texts that appeared in this area were mainly on the orchestral music of the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe. In many texts, I call it 'romantic turn' of Finnish approaches to Romani music is attributed to a description of the performances of Romani orchestras from 1923 by the composer Axel Törnudd (1874 –1923), a trailblazer of musical pedagogy in Finland, who noted the creative nature of the performances:

Researchers of Romani music unanimously rejected the idea of a national dimension for it, focusing their attention on all phenomena characteristic of Romani music. In the spirit of Romanticism and in its wake, there was also discussion of the impression made by the music on its listeners (see Åberg, 2015). I would not claim that the interpretations of Törnudd, Väisänen and the researchers who followed them regarding the music culture of the Roma were fundamentally incorrect. Nonetheless, there is caused to regard them as inadequate in the sense that they describe culture in terms of general principles within which identity was understood as a project of belonging and collectively essentialist or promordialist theory of Roma culture. It is illustrative, however, that both in Finland and elsewhere in Europe questions of the origin of Romani music was underlined. they describe culture in terms of general principles within which identity was understood as a project of belonging and collectively essentialist or promordialist theory of Roma culture. It is illustrative, however, that both in Finland and elsewhere in Europe questions of the origin of Romani music was underlined.

4. Personal Orientation to the Music – A Shared Orientation

It has been typical of the ethnomusicological approach to consider music and cultural groups as entities, and therefore groups that are culturally "isolated" (either in the passive or active sense) have come to be chosen to be studied (Suutari 2007, p. 98). In these situations, it is readily forgotten that the multi-layeredness of identity is always associated with the idea of musical orientation. A perspective that is well suited to my research is the notion of tradition or "heritage" as an individual process of choice (see also Acton, 2004, p. 2). Elsewhere, Jeff Todd Titon (1980, p. 276), for example, has suggested that personality is the main ingredient in the life story "(...) Even if the story is not factually true, it is always true evidence of the storyteller's personality". In this

sense people also interpret music tradition from their own frameworks and commitment to a specific genre of music or musical environment does not exclude the possibility of other circles of tradition (see Åberg, 2015).

Modern people can move more easily than before between contexts that maintain different forms of tradition, transferring from one to another while changing forms of expression. Even musical life is no longer bound as before to given forms laid down by tradition. In many cases a certain style is only one focus of musical orientation for the individual among many others. Therefore, I apply as one of the theoretical frameworks of my study approaches utilized in orientation studies, such as traditional orientation (see Siikala, 1984) and the perspective of musical orientation inspired by cognitive psychology. With reference to musical orientation borrowed from schematic theories, we could assume that the surroundings, life experiences and events also steer the individual's notions of music, musical values and choices of musical activities made within their sphere of influence. This means that there are presumably numerous influences on music orientation and its origins, beginning with music in the home and among the family, the environment, and the formation of personal musical taste, the musical self and the musical world view (Juvonen, 2000, pp. 27-28). The individual's musical orientation is also shaped by the strong emotional charge of music, its experiential nature, which has also been emphasized in recent anthropological studies. Ruth Finnegan (2003, p. 183), for example, notes, that experience is increasingly envisaged not as mysterious inner state or unthinking primeval impulse but as embodied and intertwined with culturally diverse epistemologies. As a universal phenomenon, music can combine personal, social and cultural meanings and relations of meaning, while serving as a mediator of the various forms and styles of human existence.

An interesting body of material, in both source-critical and experiential terms, consists of the recordings in which I have played music together with interviewees. In these situations, the recordings automatically included playful or more serious discussions – even debate – on the finer points of the techniques or variation of certain musical phenomena such as ways of playing or singing. Playing or singing as a form of artistic expression is also a flexible way to cross the boundaries of culturally regulated gender. This emerged in some research situations with the men withdrawing from the interviews and power given to the singers who were present and often recognized by the community. The men who could not sing gave the stage to the women, and so I interviewed them. Accordingly, when it is claimed that folklore reflects gender differences, we easily gain the idea that differences appear to everyone as similar and unchanging. During the fieldwork, however, I came to notice repeatedly that although gender roles seem, at first sight, to be distinct and given, conventional roles attached to gender were only the overall line of the situation. A closer look at the material revealed to me various ways of represented and negotiating gender identity.

The effect of my identity as a musician on the research situation depended on whether there were older or younger persons, singers or instrumentalists present among the interviewees. The Romani songs of which the older generation had complete command – as heritage generating a sense of community – maintained the role of an outsider researcher of the majority regardless of whether I was accompanying these songs or not. Compiling and recording the traditions remained my concrete task. In this respect, my role as a musician had no effect on defining my position. It is necessary here to underscore the significance of the age and gender of the interviewees as factors defining my role as researchers. Younger male informants, especially ones who can play instruments, broke down cultural boundaries by including me in the position of musician, and my category-bound activities included various accompaniments and often the performance of competencies associated with various styles of Romani music. In the latter case, we were often in the position of interlocutors throughout the interviews. In other words, we did not judge the cultures by pointing to their good or poor aspects or by comparing them with each other. Playing music together indicated interests along similar lines and generated a sense of community through shared action. Like other arts, music is a flexible way to break down the bounds of primordiality and to open new kinds of encounters between different cultures.

In the interview situations, I constructed for myself a researcher position of the above kind, not only when explicating the meaning of my study and my interest in the theme (the 'Gypsy music' of different countries, such as flamenco, Sinti or Manouche Jazz, the song of the Roma of Finland etc.) but also when identifying with Romani identity through the joint performance of music. This means that in my fieldwork, the musical instrument (acoustic guitar) was also an important element and potential means for roles and relationships in the field. With the instrument and through playing music I could consciously promote mutual interaction and even 'provoke' discussion. Although the guitar is a natural instrument for both men and women among the Roma, it inevitably functions as a masculine symbol of musical reality.

Playing music together had an emancipatory effect that broke down boundaries of gender. The feeling

of community with the interviewees that was created by playing depended on various factors: the instrumentalists, the singers, their age and gender and especially the music that was performed. In each specific context, masculinity had a different effect on how the empirical material was composed. At best, playing music together makes it possible to bridge dichotomy of the 'gap of alterity', but depending on musical orientation and competence it can also underline separation and difference. Depending on the music that was played, I found myself in different research situations to be simultaneously an insider and outsider: the former because of shared musical orientation and the latter because of cultural difference.

Religious faith (mainly Pentecostalism) is part of Romani life, in which religious music is also of major significance for ethnic identification (Acton, 2004, p. 3). Since the religious dimension and the worlds of Romani songs generally intersect to only a small degree, I was identified among people active in religious music in a marginal position regardless of my gender, as a non-believer. I also had a different musical orientation. The position of marginality should thus be understood here as remaining at the edges or set aside in relation to a centre, in this case religiosity and the contexts of religious or spiritual music. A different musical orientation, however, does not mean the deepening of different masculinities, but will in some cases promote the recognition of the relationship of oneself and the other as interaction, a bilateral process reinforcing both parties. In these situations, playing music together and discussing it served as a fruitful means of self-reflection whereby the recognition of the other could also lead to awareness of oneself and one's own masculinity. An individual who is an outsider is thus not invisible or hidden, but particularly visible precisely because of his or her marginality and associations related to it. Religiosity was underscored in these interviews on religious or spiritual music.

In the contexts of music performed in restaurants, a feeling of equality may be the best term in my fieldwork context to describe the socio-cultural feeling of self-esteem in which the various cultural perceptions of individuals are levelled. Conversations on popular music, its content and performance opened paths from culturally specific to the general. My role shifted between a researcher of Romani culture and a musicologist depending on the situation that arose. As a result, conversations in restaurants with dancing or karaoke bars thematically concerned only the skills of playing music or singing. In musical contexts, the researcher could readily place himself in the 'mainstream', i.e., in the centre in relation to the persons studied, while in other contexts the individual can be in the margins at the same time.

5. Some Ethical Issues

Fieldwork in ethnomusicology requires researchers to form interpersonal relationships with informants. Because of this, researchers must be aware of their own ethical responsibilities with the informant. These concerns can include questions of privacy, consent, and safety. Anyway, the ethical issues in the field of ethnomusicology parallel those found in anthropology. Mark Slobin (n/d, n/p), a twentieth century ethnomusicologist, observes that discussion on ethics has been founded on several assumptions, namely that: 1) "Ethics is largely an issue for 'Western' scholars working in 'non-Western' societies"; 2) 'Most ethical concerns arise from interpersonal relations between scholar and 'informant' as a consequence of fieldwork"; 3) "Ethics is situated within...the declared purpose of the researcher: the increase of knowledge in the ultimate service of human welfare." Which is a reference to Ralph Beals; and 4) "Discussion of ethical issues proceeds from values of Western culture." Slobin (n/d) remarks that a more accurate statement might acknowledge that ethics vary across nations and cultures, and that the ethics from the cultures of both researcher and informant are in play in fieldwork settings.

Summary

Conducting research across any cultural context requires intense attention to ethics. A cross-cultural research relationship inherently involves a dynamic of power. As members of colonial cultures, researchers have traditionally held power in forms of money, knowledge, and 'expertise' over their human subjects. Cascading from this foundation of power, the research relationship spawns other ethical issues of informed consent, control, research design, and data ownership. A community-based partnership project incorporating an ongoing process of communication and consent offers an ethical solution that is mutually beneficial to both researcher and cultural group members.

Power is a central aspect to consider in cross-cultural research relationship. Research with cross-cultural participants such as Roma for example, has often reflected a power imbalance that is rooted earlier colonialism. Poor people, gays and lesbians, youth and the members of other marginalized groups in western society has also been identified as lacking power in academic environments. I my opinion notion of power may be less problematic for a community when researchers join the community rather than enter as experts' interlopers. Creating a partnership with research participants – like via musical performance – and as a group may reduce the risk of unethical or unintentionally insensitive action or treatment. Additionally, research projects that are carried out using participatory methodologies may be more effective both in terms of ethical conduct and accurate research results. For example, ethics, in terms of research with Roma groups requires a special definition; ethics, in such a context, is a fluid context that requires constant re-examination and redefinition, within informant consent viewed and implemented as an ongoing process. Similarity cross-cultural research ethics cannot be singly defined because each group has its own conception of ethics, based on its culture, which must be individually understood by the researcher.

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6.4 A DIY music pedagogy

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✗ Abstract

In the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, a self-managed network of women dedicates themselves to promote musical experiences to girls and women, seeking to strengthen their self-esteem and awaken in them, musical interest. The members are artists and feminist activists, many connected to the punk scene of Porto Alegre, which is predominantly occupied by men. With the objective of understand the musical pedagogy practiced by them, I am doing a qualitative study, for my doctor degree, centered in women's experience, as lived, and described by them. I've joined this network, collaborating in the musical actions, and I am doing in-depth interviews with the group's members and participants of these actions. I hope to demonstrate the importance of these actions for fighting gender inequalities in music education and music practices in general.

Keywords: musical education, musical pedagogy, feminist methodology.

1. Introduction

I will present in this paper a research communication related to my doctor degree in music education. I am currently a PhD candidate at UFRGS (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul) and Professor Doctor Jusamara Souza is my advisor. She is also the leader of the research group 'Music Education and Everyday Life' (Educação Musical e Cotidiano), which I am part of, since 2014. I am also a professor at IFRS (Federal Institute for Education, Science and Technology of Rio Grande do Sul), which has granted me with a scholarship for integral dedication to my research.

The objective of my research is to understand the music education that a group of women, in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, promotes in projects dedicated to the creation of safe spaces for girls and women to have music experiences, while also strengthening their self-esteem and awakening in them, music interest.

The former group that organized this project of music education, in 2016, was formed by artists and feminist activists, many connected to the punk scene of Porto Alegre, which is predominantly occupied by men. Nowadays, this group has changed considerably, with artists and other professionals coming from a variety of backgrounds other than the punk scene – however, the predominance of men in their professional spaces remains a common issue between them, which makes them to embrace these projects of music education exclusive for female-identified people. Organized in a horizontal system and identified with anarchism and DIY perspective, they have refused institutional connections, using their own resources to provide music experiences for girls and women.

I have joined this group in 2019, when I first volunteered in the girls' rock camp project, organized by them, which is a music camp based in rock bands, only for female-identified people. I remember I was absolutely amazed by what I have seen and heard. Being a music educator myself with a classical piano training, I had, personally, a very different experience with music learning and performance. I have internalized that you supposed to study music many years before you could express yourself through your playing. Instead,

in the girls' rock camp I have worked, I have seen those women, who are musicians, producers, and artists, embracing the girls with an enthusiastic support, motivating them to express themselves by any possible music means. As the result of the combination of these experienced musicians with this inclusive approach and openness to any music expression, I have heard amazing music made by beginners, music that they could really be proud of – and the women that were teaching them were making sure that they knew that.

I was starting my doctor degree in music education by the same time, and I decided to talk with the women who had started that movement in Porto Alegre. In this process, I have come to know that the girls' rock camps were part of a bigger, worldwide movement, so I started to search other works about it, to learn more about its history and development.

2. The Girls Rock Camp – A Worldwide Movement

The Girls Rock Camp had its first edition in 2001, in Portland, a city in the USA. The idea of a music camp based in rock music only for girls was articulated by Misty McElroy, as her final undergraduate project. McElroy decided to do it because, being 26 at that time and having begun as roadie by the age of 18, she was tired of having to be so defensive all the time, by being almost always the only woman in the crew. In her own words: "When you're a woman in rock, you have so much more to prove," she explains. "In every context I was in, it was assumed that I didn't know what I was doing, whether it was engineering, a tech situation, loading, whatever. I was always talked down to." (McElroy in interview for Dunn, 2002: n/p).

Willing to change this situation, McElroy took this undergraduate requirement as an opportunity to make a Rock Camp only for girls, where she could "provide an opportunity for as many girls as possible to possess something that she never had as a child: a sense of entitlement to her own voice and place in the world" (Origins, n/d.).

Since its first edition, the camp turned out greater than McElroy could expected. As she explains: "After watching it transform the lives of the participants and the instructors, we had to go on" (McElroy in interview for Dunn, 2002: n/p).

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Today, there are more than a hundred independent camps around the world, all of them connected, since 2007, through an international alliance, where organizers can gather and share their experiences in running these projects in their own communities and help each other's in finding solutions for common problems.

Now, 20 years after its first edition, there are many papers and research about the girls' rock camp, and many of them, relating the camps with the Riot Grrrl movement.

The Riot Grrrl was a "feminist punk movement and female-oriented subculture" that happened in the 1990s and was a "a feminist response to the aggressive, testosterone-fueled hardcore punk scene in DC" (Ali, 2012, p. 144). Ali summarizes the relations points she sees between the camps and the Riot Grrrl movement:

Girls Rock Camp uses the creation and performance of music as a means for campers to assert an unapologetic sense of self, while simultaneously taking part in a strong community of collective female identities. By using active participation for girls as its most valuable educational tool, the camp is able to teach campers to play instruments by using Riot Grrrl values, while incorporating various practices that have come to represent the Riot Grrrl movement as a whole, the camp's methods also consciously point to both why and how dominant cultural discourses of women in rock should be challenged (Ali, 2012, p. 142).

Here in Brazil, there are also a few research relating the GRC and the Riot Grrrl movement, especially the work of Gellain (2017).

In Porto Alegre, however, even though this may have been the case back in 2016, when the first edition of this girls' rock camp was being prepared, in 2021 the scenario has changed quite a few. None of the collaborators of the research have mentioned the Riot Grrrls movement and most of them seem to have no historical or emotion connections to it. Even rock and punk are no longer an omniscient presence in the music produced in the camp – a situation that, it seems, is happening all over the world, as the international alliance itself has entered in a process of changing its name to contemplate a wider concept of organizations (others than camp), musical practices (others than rock) and gender (others than girls). However, its heritage regarding its pedagogical and music practices remains, even though its origins may not be clear to all participants.

3. Methodological Approach

To pursue my research objectives of understanding the music education practiced in these projects here in Porto Alegre, I am conducting a qualitative study through a sociological perspective. This perspective underlies a reflexive approach, based in Melucci (2005) and Giddens and Sutton (2017), which argues that, in the late modernity, understood as a "'detraditionalized' context" (Guiddens & Sutton, 2017, p. 64), individuals are "forced to be continually reflective about their own life and identity" (Guiddens & Sutton, 2017, p. 64), due to their isolation within the social structure (Sutton, 2017). In research practice, as "the discoveries of sociological research become part of society's knowledge pool" (Sutton, 2017, p. 64) and interact with the reflexivity of individuals in their decision-making process, the positivist approach to the study of an 'external world' becomes increasingly meaningless, "as the gap between researcher and research subject is eroded" (Sutton, 2017, p.64). Thus, the "concept of reflexivity became fundamental for the creation of social theories and for the methods of sociological research, emphasizing the inevitable connections between the two" (Sutton, 2017, p. 65).

The reflexive approach in the methodology is important because this is research made about women, for women and by a woman. As woman and musician, I can many times relate with what I see and hear in the empiric field. I share, at least partially, a point of view with the collaborators of the research. However, I am also a PhD student, a member of the academy, and, therefore, I am also talking and writing from a different perspective from the women integrating the field. To be aware of our differences and similarities, to make these movements between being both a member and a foreigner in the field, to register, to consider it in the analysis of the data and reflect upon it, it's something made possible by a reflexive posture from the researcher.

The methodological tool chosen for building the data was the in-deep interview, based in the work of Oakley about interviews with women (1981, 2015) and Limerick, Burgess-Limerick and Grace (1996), about the power relations in interviewing.

For Oakley (1981, p. 41), is clear that "in most cases, the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship". The author develops her positioning in a second paper (Oakley, 2015), where she discusses the power relationships in the interview process in dialogue with and Limerick, Burgess-Limerick and Grace (1996). In this paper, the authors argue that the dynamic of power in the interview is nether fixed or asymmetrical, but, instead, it shifts "according to the phase of the interview process and the unique research relationship established between researcher and participant" (Limerick et *al.*, 1996, p. 458). In this scenario, the interviewee is "reconceptualized as an active participant in the production of knowledge in the research process" (Grace, 1996, p. 458).

Based in these authors, the interviews for this research have turned into rich moments of exchange and construction of knowledge. Oakley (1981, 2015) and Limerick, Burgess-Limerick and Grace (1996) have encouraged me to celebrate – instead of ignoring – and value the relationship I have built with the collaborators of the research while also working with them in the music-pedagogic actions. The result were rich conversations and a great amount of data that, through the analysis, will enable the understanding of the music education practiced in these musical-pedagogic actions made for and by women.

4. A brief look on first results

I will now present a brief look over some excerpts of the research. For this communication, I will focus on the pedagogical aspects that have surge from the data so far and that can be connected to a specific line of music education, that is the Community Music.

According to Banffy-Hall and Hill (2017) Community Music "means active group music creation, through which music is developed as an expression of that community and reflects its social context" (Banffy-Hall & Hill, 2017, p. 1). Its origins can be traced up to the pos-war Europe and, in the 1970's, it intertwined with the punk scene in London, where, as Higgins points out, "both punk and community musicians rebelled against the focus on consumerism perpetrated by the self-styled "music industry" (Banffy-Hall & Hill, 2017, p. 50), claiming that music was, mainly, an act of participation.

20 years later, in the 1990', the act of participation remained as one of the foundations of the Riot Grrrl movement, in which girls were inspired to form their own bands, make their own music, publish their own zines – in other words, to produce their own culture instead of consuming what was being served to them. By doing their culture themselves they could reestablish the control over their self-images, plans, desires, ways of fighting their own fears. And they were not doing that alone, but as a community, that celebrated each other's participations, by attending concerts and festivals where those girls' bands where performing, consuming the music produced by them and exchanging letters and zines across the country.

Inspiring girls and women to make their own music is precisely what remains behind the rock camps for girls (and women) till today. The focus of the camp is not to "teach the girls the correct way of playing" (Campbell, 2017, p. 183), but to show them alternatives forms of producing music. As Campbell points out, "technical skill can often be a mechanism of exclusion from participation in music scenes, and rather than only offer a corrective that merely seeks to repair this skill deficit, [the camp] also seeks to foster alternative means of participation" (Campbell, 2017, p. 183).

The meeting between such pedagogic perspective with children so young, that many still don't have developed the self-censorship, which is usually what imposes to adults a great challenge in learning music, results in fascinating events. Children and this participatory perspective seem to fit together almost perfectly, and this ends up by reflecting very strongly in the adults that follow up this process, as demonstrated by this report from one of the interviewed women:

My bass player (from the band I worked with in the girls' rock camp) was smaller than the bass, she was 8 years old, in the last day of the camp, she had band Aids all over her fingers, because it hurts, right? And then I thought: why am I not playing, you know? (laughing) I am there, thinking that I can't play the three notes I know in the bass (laughing) Actually, they have empowered me, in the end, the whole process, sometimes, I think it is more empowering for the adults than for the children. For them it is… A vacation moment, really

(Note from interview).

This volunteer, precisely thinking on how adult women seem to need more help regarding their encouragement for expressing themselves through music creation and practice, is currently dedicating herself in create more projects as the girls' rock camp but now for adult women.

5. Conclusion

By being together with other women and working with children, these volunteers feel musically fulfilled, even if they didn't go through years of resilient music study. Because of this, they can assume new projects and take their currently works up to new levels. This is a pedagogic approach which celebrets the engagement and the participation of everyone, starting from where she is and what she can offers, believing, indiscriminately, that everyone is always giving their best – and that, by being their best, it is good enough.

Many of the women I have met in these projects are not formally trained as music educators – some of them wouldn't even considered themselves as musicians! – but these women are some of the best music educators I have ever met. They start from their own music experience and incentive the participants to take ownership of the instruments, playing without concerning regarding what could be considered right or wrong. In actions that can last less than a week, girls and women confirm that they are able to occupy a stage and musically express themselves. It's a pedagogic strategy that, as the music that inspires it, is furious and intense, and, in this case, focused on girls and women. The objective is clear: Keep [the learning] simple, make [the music fulfillment] fast.

As a music educator, I understand that the study of pedagogic projects and practices as these will contribute with the establishment of music education practices that are less inhospitable and more dedicated to help people to accomplish music fulfillment. It is important that the music education practices don't reproduce the same social structures that make harder the music participation of individuals. The girls rock camps demonstrated to be a successful project regarding the engagement of more girls and women in music practices and the understanding of the music education made there will contributed for a music pedagogic approach more engaged and more aligned with questions of fighting gender discrimination that are relevant to our contemporary times.

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Theme tune 7

'Out of control'. Under-ground music scenes and diy cultures facing a global health crisis

7.1 The challenges for cultural spaces during the COVID-19 pandemic: collaborative spaces and temporary uses in Berlin

Claudia Seldin[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

The COVID-19 pandemic has had an enormous impact on the cultural sector of several cities, with facilities having to close or drastically diminish their capacity over time. This paper focus on possible alternatives to mitigate the negative impacts of future crises by looking into digital options and small-scale collaborative spaces in Berlin, Germany. Often considered a paradigm for a 'creative city,' Berlin possesses several temporary subcultural spaces reflective of its carefully constructed authentic image. Aware that its urban brand would suffer immensely with another shutdown, cultural producers have made some specific attempts throughout 2020-2021 to maintain their practices, including the transition to online events. With the occasional easing of restrictions, community temporary spaces have played a key-role in keeping socio-cultural activities alive. An example is the Zentrum für Kunst und Urbanistik (ZK/U). With a focus on collaborative use, it can be seen as more sustainable alternative in times of crises.

Keywords: Berlin, COVID-19 pandemic; collaborative planning; temporary spaces, digital events.

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Introduction

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has had a worldwide impact, affecting cities with varied social, economic, and cultural realities. In many of them, the cultural sector stood out as one of the most affected, since its spaces usually involve meetings, exchanges, and agglomerations. The 'social distancing' rule has become a challenge for conducting various practices, such as films screenings, theater plays, musical concerts, art exhibitions and clubbing. Consequently, cultural events and facilities were forced to reduce their capacity or even cease their activities for months on end during the years 2020 and 2021. Given this situation, this paper aims at looking at possible characteristics and solutions for cultural production and in the configuration of cultural spaces to mitigate the negative impacts of possible future pandemics, including the notion of temporality and collaboration.

This mitigation is necessary because, in addition to its social function, the cultural sector has played a vital role in cities' economies since the 1970s-1980s (Evans, 2001). After diverse worldwide deindustrialization processes, which generated abandoned and degraded places, many politicians and urban managers bet on the creation of carefully designed images to portrait their cities as cultural hubs and attractive tourist destinations (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993). Over time, scholars and activists have controversially perceived this bet because it has generated more negative than positive consequences to cities, with gentrification

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usually standing out as result (Bernt et *al*., 2013). When it comes to urban and cultural strategic planning (Arantes et *al*., 2000) and trends in urban branding (Colomb, 2012a), which use art and culture as a tool to revitalize spaces, the city of Berlin is often cited as a paradigmatic example (Seldin, 2015). Scholars see it as a place that, since the fall of the Wall and German reunification, has been reinventing itself, seeking, firstly, the status of a spectacular 'cultural capital' and, more recently, of an innovative 'creative city' (Seldin, 2017).

In the Creative Berlin, temporary and improvised cultural spaces are presented as glorified markers of a desired authenticity, able to attract the by-now-much-dreaded-yet-profitable 'creative class' (Florida, 2002). Consequently, a brutal shutdown of its cultural sector can severely damage not only the arts, but also the local economy, affecting everyone from lower-income artists and cultural producers to those who actively engage in building the German's capital image and reputation within today's competitive global network.

From the last months of 2020 on, some specific trends were easy to spot in Berlin as attempts by the cultural sector to keep its activities going, including the transition to online events and the restricted operation of selected outdoor activities. While there has not yet been enough historical distance to assess the long-term consequences of the pandemic, it is necessary to investigate what kind of role these glorified temporary spaces play in keeping the Berliner cultural sector alive in times of crises.

Whereas many museums, art galleries, theaters and nightclubs had to close their doors, certain ephemeral practices could occasionally operate. While most outdoors bars, open-air cinemas and flea markets were still affected by social distancing rules and could only open on-and-off, some multifaceted community centers and gardens managed to bypass restrictions. One such case was the Zentrum für Kunst und Urbanistik (ZK/U) in the Northern district of Moabit. It became a place of refuge for neighbors who had stayed locked up for a long time and yearned for more sociability. This case study was approached through ethnography during the open house events that took place in 2020, where not only the center's coordinators were interviewed, but also visitors and participants in activities from the neighborhood. This consists in a preliminary study, which itself was affected by the social distancing rules still in place now of closing of this article. The research was complemented by data and facts gathered from local newspapers and web portals, which reported on the on-going situation during the first waves of the pandemic in 2020 and 2021.

2. Creative City Berlin: Context

In the late twentieth century, cities gradually became showcases for spectacular cultural facilities endowed with star architecture (Sánchez, 2010), reflecting the transition from financial capital to cultural capital as a new driving force in the global economy. The controversial strengthening of the instrumentalization of culture in urban planning and public policy can be directly linked to a political and economic neoliberal context, in which the State retracts, moving from the position of planner and regulator to speculator and market facilitator. This has allowed urban space to be frequently determined by the interests of profit (Harvey, 2012).

In the past two decades, the so-called culturalization of urban space (Vaz, 2004) – so evident in the turn of the century, shifted to incorporate a 'new' concept: creativity. The notion of a 'creative class', disseminated by US economist Richard Florida (2002), gained ground, becoming increasingly popular with urban managers, policy makers and planning professionals worldwide. His controversial research proposed the rise of a new trend-setting group (mistakenly characterized as a 'class'), whose presence would be essential to the development of a successful contemporary city. This group would be characterized as young, bohemian, cool, diverse, and tolerant. It would also include very different professionals under one big umbrella: artists, scientists, entrepreneurs, IT workers, and political leaders, just to name a few. For Florida, these professionals are the producers of the creative and cognitive capital that move the twenty-first century global economy. This would be justified by the fact that we are now largely dependent on the development of high technology, research and the dissemination of information and communication (Krätke, 2011).

Despite the abundant criticism to his exclusionary theory, Florida's ideas were widely disseminated. Politicians, such as German Chancellor Angela Merkel and former Berlin Mayor Klaus Wowereit (mandate 2001-2014), began to directly mention him in their speeches while glorifying the so-called 'creative class'. They also began adopting measures to attract a much-selected type of new gentrifying residents to the country and its capital city (Seldin, 2020).

That is partially how, by the mid-2000s, Berlin managed to establish itself as a pioneer 'creative city,' also carrying UNESCO's seal of approval as a member of its Creative Cities Network under the specialty of design.

A big part of building Berlin's creative brand was the elation of its temporary spaces, especially the ones with a cool and subcultural character. These included politically charged cultural and residential squats, street art and improvised seedy spaces, often advertised in the city's official urban marketing campaigns and web portals (Seldin, 2020; 2017; 2015).

3. Temporary Urbanism and Artwashing

When it comes to temporary uses of space, Berlin is portrayed as a pioneer city. Often described as a 'laboratory for urban experiments' (Colomb, 2012a), it was there that the first publications written by architects and urban designers on the great potential of temporality for planning emerged (see Hayd & Temel, 2006; Urban Catalyst, 2007; Oswalt, Overmeyer & Misselwitz, 2014). They highlighted temporary urbanism as a possibility for community participation in the city building process and, notably, its ability to attract the interest of the real estate market and renewal strategic urban areas. Ephemeral activities in empty and degraded sites were quickly advertised as unique. Also celebrated were festivals and cultural events with themes reminiscent of the diversity of the local population, such as the gay parade Love Parade, the multicultural fair Karneval der Kulturen (Carnival of Cultures), and other similar ones, which contribute to portray a cosmopolitan, metropolitan, and tolerant Berlin.

This pioneering role of Berlin in relation to temporary uses of space is, in many ways, a direct consequence of the abundant presence of urban voids and leftover spaces in the once divided city. Until the turn of the millennium, the German capital gathered a considerable number of former industrial sites, ranging from transport and urban services companies to demolished buildings. Their costs of revitalization were too high due to soil pollution, the absence of the necessary infrastructure, legislative bureaucracy, and restrictions of different kinds (Seldin 2017). In 2007, there was an estimated 500 hectares of empty and/or unused former industrial land alone (Urban Catalyst, 2007, p. 29). However, these urban voids did not result only from the processes of deindustrialization, but also from the very peculiar presence of the Berlin Wall. Cutting through the city, the Wall entailed in several extensive adjacent unbuilt spaces - the so-called 'death strips' or 'no man's lands' (see Figure 7.1.1).

At first, these spaces were deemed as obstacles to the reunified capital's urban renewal process due to their often-complicated property status. Most were set aside by both the State and their owners, who rented them out for very low prices or simply allowed their occupation with temporary (sometimes decades-long) contracts in exchange for protection against vandalism or degradation. These initial temporary users proved that, with little capital and a lot of willpower, they were able to revitalize the leftover sites spontaneously through their activities, indirectly remodeling their image and, thus, contributing to increase their real estate value.

▶ Figure 7.1.1. Sunday karaoke at the Mauerpark (wall park), a former no man's land
▶ Source: Claudia Seldin, 2007

A strong example of how cultural occupations were able to bring attention to certain degraded or destroyed areas of the city was the Kunsthaus Tacheles (Tacheles Art House – Figure 7.1.2), a former Jewish department store built in 1907 and occupied by international artists just three months after the fall of the Wall (Seldin, 2015). Between 1990 and the end of the 2000s, the site became a reference point for subculture, attracting

visitors from all over the world and appearing in tourist guides and the city's urban marketing portals (https://www.berlin.de).

In the publications hailing from Germany in the mid-2000s-2010s, short-term cultural uses were frequently described as 'miraculous solutions' or even best-practices to be incorporated into formal urban planning schemes as a means to solve diverse urban issues. This perception led to an encouragement of the practice of temporary use (or as it is known in German: *Zwischennutzung*) by local urban administrators, who even started to finance research on the subject. An example of that is the Urban Catalyst group (2007), who quickly began to emphasize the ability of this type of use to renew the degraded urban fabric in a cheap way (i.e., without State investments) and to attract tourists, going hand-in-hand with neoliberal ideals and recent trends in placemaking and city marketing. This contributed to temporary urbanism being turned into a new planning strategy – one that rekindled interest in forgotten or degraded regions.

The glorification of temporary urbanism as an efficient instrument for real estate speculation led, in the 2010s, to intensive gentrification processes and the direct or indirect eviction of many cultural and residential occupations, whose contracts had been established during the 1980-1990s. In recent years, a great number of temporary users once featured in Berlin promotional brochures have been expelled by new owners – mostly financial institutions and property developers interested in turning the land into luxury apartment complexes or creative business clusters. The Kunsthaus Tacheles itself underwent eviction processes between 2012 and 2013 (Seldin, 2017; 2015), remaining empty for years. Only in 2019, construction began at its site to ensure its conversion into a mix of residential buildings (with star architecture signed by the Swiss duo Herzog & de Meuron) paired with a photographic museum of the chain Fotografiska (with branches in Stockholm, New York and Tallinn).

▶ Figure 7.1.2. Cultural squat in the backyard of the Kunsthaus Tacheles in protest of the main building's eviction months before
▶ Source: Claudia Seldin, 2013

Amidst this recent instrumentalization of temporality, many artists and social movement collectives began to look down on some strategic and pre-planned short-term interventions carried out by developers with second

intentions. In 2020, the Berliner art collective Kunstblock & Beyond expressed via interviews for this research their outrage at recent 'artwashing' practices in the city. Artwashing happens when real estate developers invite artists to hold short-term exhibitions or events in empty buildings to draw attention to them and increase their sale value, attracting a greater number of potential buyers while branding their company as 'art-friendly.' In a way, the practice of artwashing reflects a process of programmed gentrification, in which the artist is, from the beginning, used as a pawn to fulfill existing speculative interests, not always being paid for their work.

An example of current artwashing in Berlin is the initiative 'The Shelf' by the developer group Pandion. In order to increase interest in one of their projects, they invited artists to use, for months between 2018 and 2019, an empty warehouse complex, previously occupied by a car rental company in the district of Kreuzberg. As a sign of retaliation against their actions, the Kunstblock & Beyond collective began to carry out tactical protests them in an attempt to raise awareness, especially among other artists.

Given these recent negative tendencies of using temporary urbanism for strategic purposes, we must question whether short-term and ephemeral cultural uses can still have beneficial consequences for cities. This on-going research in Berlin hypothesizes that they can indeed result in benefits to local communities if they are thought out in a horizontal and collaborative manner. In fact, the COVID-19 pandemic has only reinforced the need for adaptive, multifaceted, solidary, and transparent spaces.

4. The Berliner Cultural Sector during the COVID-19 Pandemic: alternatives

The COVID-19 pandemic, which devastated the cultural industry globally between 2020 and 2021, brought the possibility of reinventing temporary cultural activities not necessarily embedded in broader strategies of revitalization, placemaking and real estate speculation.[2]

Concerning Berlin's cultural sector, so far, three main trends have been observed: 1) solidarity and fundraising campaigns for gastronomy, artists, cultural/ entertainment spaces; 2) the online streaming of (paid or free) cultural events; and 3) the encouragement of outdoor activities or in semi-open spaces in moments when the number of Corona cases is low.

The first two points refer to new technologies and digital platforms that enable communication, the exchange of information and the establishment of solidarity and sociability networks in the city without personal contact. An example of a solidarity campaign was the one entitled 'Helfen.Berlin' (https://helfen-shop.berlin/, loosely translated 'helping Berlin'), developed by marketing designer Karsten Kossatz (Ollivier, 2020b). The non-profit online platform allows residents to purchase advanced vouchers for multiple activities and businesses, ranging from restaurants to beauty salons and nightclubs. Within the scope of the campaign, these businesses are deemed a 'Lieblingsort' (favorite place), which designates an affectionate relationship between the customer and the small business on the scale of the neighborhood. Its concept is simple: small ventures can register for free to the online platform and are sorted by district. The customer can then choose a voucher with a predetermined value or type in the amount they would like to spend. The transaction implies an advance commitment to execute a service or provide a product. For example, the client anticipates 25 euros from the price of a theater ticket and has the guarantee that they will able to use the voucher once the venue reopens, regardless of the season. In addition to the online platform, businesses can also place posters on their shop windows or facades indicating that they are part of the campaign as a 'Lieblingsort.' The posters (Figure 7.1.3) feature a QR code that passersby can contactless scan with their mobile phones, directing them immediately to the platform. Until December 2020, Helfen.Berlin announced the collection of more than 1.5 million euros.

▶ Figure 7.1.3 - Campaign poster for Helfen.Berlin in the district of Friedrichshain: "I am a Lieblingsort."
▶ Source: Claudia Seldin, 2020

2. I emphasize that this paper was written during the pandemic (between 2020 and 2021) and, as of its publication, not enough time has passed for a proper analysis of the long-term effects of the events here discussed.

It is noteworthy that, in Berlin, the State played an essential role during the pandemic, providing subsidies for a considerable number of professionals, who were not simply left at the mercy of donations made through solidarity campaigns. With reports of financial losses by artists of up to 75% (DW, 2020a) in March and April of 2020, the municipality announced several *Soforthilfe* (immediate help) benefits for autonomous workers and small businesses in the cultural, creative and event sectors between 2020 and 2021. Despite some complaints about the delay of the benefits, excessive bureaucracy and a selective vein, the values could exceed 5,000 euros per aid[3]. These subsidies continued to be granted, even with indications of a 10.1% drop in the German economy before the middle of 2020 (DW, 2020b) – the largest since the post-war period. This attests the relative strength of the German well-fare system and the privileges of countries in the center of global capitalism, often taken for granted by its citizens. In nations like Brazil, the subsidies during the pandemic in 2020 were as low as 600 euros divided in five monthly quotas and available only to unemployed citizens, who are not already receiving any social benefits, with several complaints issued to denounce problems and corruption in the payments (Mota, 2021).

The second trend observed in the cultural sector cities around the world, was the holding of online events. One of the major concerns raised by the Berliner cultural sector during the pandemic was the need to support its *Klubkultur* (club culture), so essential to its creative brand. As stated by Bader and Scharenberg (2013), Berlin's urban managers have worked for years on the connection between the image of the city and electronic music. Since the late 1990s, Berlin has been considered by many as a reference for techno music and for exclusive and world-renowned nightclubs and fetish clubs, among them the Berghain and the KitKat Club. Closing such places for months would bring irreparable damage, not only to the cultural producers directly involved, but also to the club sector itself, which has weakened in recent years.

With this in mind, digital communication agent Armin Berger created another online platform called "Berlin (a)live"[4], this time dedicated to hosting paid online events. The project was supported and encouraged by the city's Department for Culture and Europe (Senatsverwaltung für Kultur und Europa).

Berger's agency had only five days to create the interface, following the example of a series of other events, which were beginning to go digital, such as classes and conferences. As of June 2020, Berlin (a) live was already offering more than 500 streaming events, including from major cultural institutions, such as the Schaubühne (theatre) and the Deutsche Oper (opera). The schedule also featured smaller recurring events, including ballet lessons and storytelling (Ollivier, 2020b).

Still, the Berlin (a)live project was not the only one created in the German capital with a focus on *Klubkultur* during the pandemic. Another similar initiative emerged under the title 'United We Stream'[5], mainly organized by nightclubs and musical performers. The project streamed live parties with famous DJs of the local scene, playing from their homes or places with social distancing rules. The shows were broadcast through an official website, working as a fundraising platform to support this particular sector. In 2020 alone, they streamed 73 live events, raising around €570,000 for 67 Berlin nightclubs and another €45,000 for a charity benefiting refugees migrating across the open sea. By the end of the year, 2068 artists had participated in the project, filming their events from 425 spaces in 92 cities around the world. As such, the initiative ended up crossing German barriers, using the potential of the internet to support other artists and nightclubs from different cities.

The success of virtual events as an occasional replacement for interaction, work, culture and academic activities makes it clear that our traditional view of 'spaces' is transforming to increasingly incorporate the 'digital' into our daily lives, whether we want it or not. The pandemic has certainly accelerated this transformation and made the inequalities of access to technology between inhabitants and among different places in the world more evident. Still, no matter the number of virtual events, human beings have the basic need to develop in-person contacts and to experience culture as a sociable exchange.

4.1. Adapt to Survive: Flexible and Multiple Spaces

In addition to the phenomenon of digitalization of cultural events, the pandemic also brought about a provisional shift in the function of certain spaces.

3. Available at: *https://www.berlin.de/sen/kulteu/aktuelles/*

4. Available at: https://www.berlinalive.de/

5. Available at: https://en.unitedwestream.berlin/

These were places, which suffered, not only from the new rules restricting social contact, but also from the implement of a limit of public capacity per square footage and sporadic bans on the consumption of alcohol. These measures substantially harmed their profits and ability to pay their employers. In light of that, several gastronomy, art and entertainment spaces in Berlin turned into temporary hospitals, testing or vaccination centers, partially as an attempt to keep them receiving some income while closed for their original activities. This was the case with the fetish nightclub KitKat Club, which functioned as testing center (The Local, 2020) from 2020 to 2021, and the Messehalle Berlin fair and exhibition pavilion, which become a field hospital for patients infected exclusively with COVID-19 (Haak, 2020). Additionally, the Berlin state opera staff was reported to use their venue to sew protective masks for the population instead of costumes (Pottamkulam, 2020).

Another interesting phenomenon was the adaptation of certain entertainment spaces into other cultural modalities that entail in smaller crowds and the possibility of social distance. This is what happened to the famous and exclusive Berghain nightclub, partially turned into a temporary art gallery (Carter, 2020). The success of the gallery was such, that the Berghain kept it open in 2021, and is likely to maintain the space (an adjacent house to the main club under the name LAS). With the easing of restrictions in summer of 2021, LAS successfully hosted the high-tech exhibition 'Berl-Berl' by artist Jakob Kudsk Steensen, setting the ground for future similar events.

Despite the surprising response of the public to digital cultural activities, the many platforms created did not replace the need for face-to-face exchanges and the experiment of culture in person. That is why, during the summer months of 2020 and 2021, when the number of COVID-19 cases were down, Berliners were encouraged to frequent open areas to carry out cultural activities.

This encouragement was not limited to the traditional Biergärten, Strandbars, Freiluftkinos, and Flöhmärkte. It also happened through alternative projects such as the Draussenstadt (outdoor city) program[6]. Also sponsored by the Department for Culture and Europe, the program aims to connect different cultural actors in the city, allowing for dialogue between artists, researchers, and activists. They can formally apply to receive funding to carry out artistic intervention's outdoor spaces. The program also encourages think tank meetings, open-air clubbing, and neighborhood activities.

Of course, one must consider that many of these outdoor activities depend on good weather conditions. This means that, in colder months, such events are made difficult, imposing obstacles to the program. For this reason, in November 2020, the Department began collecting ideas for interventions capable of overcoming climate barriers. By early December 2020, many restaurants and events started using mushroom-shaped outdoor heaters to continue operating (Bath, 2020), before being completely shut down due to the pandemic's third wave. These heaters were controversial due to their low sustainability and negative environmental impact.

The Draussenstadt program, still in its initial phase of application, has focused on activities in more consolidated and central cultural spaces, such as the Berlinische Galerie and the Kulturforum, which are not easily accessible for residents of more distant neighborhoods and who do not feel comfortable to use public transport. For this reason, another type of space has stood out as an important point of reference for sociability and culture in the German capital: community centers, especially those partially opened and created from collaborative planning schemes between residents, artists, and planning professionals. One of them is the Zentrum für Kunst und Urbanistik (ZK/U).

5. Case Study: The ZK/U – Zentrum für Kunst und Urbanistik

The Zentrum für Kunst und Urbanistik (Center for Art and Urbanity – Figure 7.1.4), located in the Northern district of Moabit, occupies the land of a former railway warehouse. In the early 2010s, the area was the object of a participatory planning process guided by the representatives of the broader district of Mitte. As a result, a variety of stakeholders became responsible for different parts of the site, which included one building and a large yard.

The outdoor area was turned into a public park of 15,000m², including playgrounds, a large lawn, and a communal garden. All of them are open to the local neighborhood. Managed by the non-profit association BürSte e.V., the garden contains communal vegetable plots and orchards.

The building was renovated in 2012 under the management of the KUNSTrePUBLIK collective, which includes architects and artists. The hybrid multiuse space functions as a cultural center for art exhibitions, urban festivals, research, and even conferences. The former warehouse is divided between office spaces, exhibition areas (a basement and a large hall) and a back area with temporary housing units for foreign artists accepted into their residency program. The back of the building includes a semi-opened terrace with an independent bar. The ZK/U's agenda also includes activities aimed at integration with the neighborhood, such as open houses, football viewing parties, film screenings and food markets. At the space designed by the KUNSTrePUBLIK, the community has the freedom to carry out sports and leisure activities in the open and semi-open areas.

▸ Figure 7.1.4. The Z/KU in Moabit
▸ Source: Claudia Seldin, 2020

During the pandemic, the different actors involved in the center's organization remained connected, creating bridges that allowed for dialogue regarding the use of the site. In 2020, following the restrictions imposed by the municipality, they held events such as the Open Haus (open house - Figure 7.1.5). During these, local groups, resident artists and small food producers shared the lawn and terrace to play, have fun and share their initiatives, personal and collective projects with the public, developing a exchange of ideas with visitors (mostly from the neighborhood, but also from other parts of Berlin).

During a field visit to an Open Haus in August 2020, it was possible to interview individuals and groups spread out on the lawn, trying to conduct or advertise different activities. The event gathered: a gym for female self-defense and martial arts, a bocce competition, mediators of social organizations in charge of youth programs, food producers, resident artists, and guest musicians, among others. Most of the interviewees highlighted the importance of the location for Moabit due to its openness, adaptability, and the presence of a large green area – something unusual in the district.

Social worker Nadine[7] stressed the importance of the space to establish a dialogue with the local youth. She explains that giving their own space to take care of makes them feel responsible for it, preventing certain vandalizing acts that took place in the past against the warehouse. ZK/U's project coordinator Miodrag Kuč emphasized that the space "has a natural ecosystem, which facilitates the meeting of different people." He believes that the neighbors' interest in the center and its possibility to continue operating, despite the restrictions imposed on other cultural spaces, refers to the multiplicity and resilience of the ZK/U. According to him, this "resilience is directly linked to the flexibility of the location." However, the idea of 'flexibility' is not just physical. It is embedded in the ZK/U's ideology. For Kuč, this results not only from the spatial characteristics of the site, which mixes extensive outdoor areas with semi-covered ones, but also from their proposal to maintain an open organizational structure, in which all the actors involved have the power of speech. Unlike

7. Her last name is suppressed for the sake of anonymity.

other traditional cultural centers, the constant dialogue and flexibility of the different actors involved in its decision-making processes, allow for creative solutions in difficult moments. Because they can think 'outside the box' and be more adaptable, places like the ZK/U could have an easier time operating in crisis mode than museums, cinemas, theaters, among others, pointing to a need to rethink our models of cultural facilities in contemporary cities.

▶ Figure 7.1.5. Open house at the ZK/U during the pandemic: each distant group, identified by a sign, corresponds to a neighborhood initiative exhibiting and publicizing their work
▶ Source: Claudia Seldin, 2020

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6. Final Considerations

This paper presented the first observations concerning alternative solutions developed by the Berlin cultural sector to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-2021. Naturally, not all cultural producers in this city were able to carry on with their activities. The examples mentioned here simply point to a few successfully executed ideas and actions, able to take place due to the existence of resources, State support and pre-established contact networks that allowed for acts of solidarity. It is also important to highlight that, during the year 2020, some members of Berlin's event sector held protests against the virus prevention measures, demonstrating against the use of masks and the reduction/ban of their activities, joining forces with right-wing voices. For instance, protests with the slogan #OnFire took place in September of 2020, featuring hundreds of vehicles that crossed the city demanding more specific aid programs to help private companies financially (RBB24, 2020). What this shows us is that, despite the possibilities of reinventing some cultural activities and spaces, especially about the use of new technologies and digital platforms, the challenges faced by the cultural sector remain, especially when the sector is so strongly tied with market forces.

What the Berlin experience also shows us is that there are limits to the impact of virtual activities and, even, to more horizontally organized spaces. Culture means more than art, leisure, and entertainment. Culture is a basic human right connected to the exchange of experiences, the realization of sociability, and the possibilities of encounters with others. It plays a huge role in our emotional and psychological well-being, something largely affected during the pandemic. Because of its enormous value, we need to think of culture as more than just a past time or a business and invest in a true reformulation of the public policies around it.

In terms of urban planning and tendencies, examples, such as the ZK/U, point to the need to think about culture in urban space with greater flexibility, escaping from fixed standards and considering actions at a smaller scale, focused on dialogue and on the real demand of local communities in a decentralized way. This does not mean replicating decontextualized formulas of so-called 'tactical urbanism', so easily glorified as best practices today (see Seldin et *al.*, 2020). It means moving away from pre-defined formulas and understanding the need of each community, each neighborhood in a situated manner; moving from the spectacle and the large business model to provide for the artists per se.

As a point of conclusion, it is necessary to highlight that, in regard to the COVID-19 pandemic, only when we have enough historical distance to understand the extent of its effects, will it be possible to have a true analysis of the necessary changes to cultural facilities in the cities of the future. Still, what this very peculiar moment is telling us is that, perhaps, it is time to focus not only on the economy of culture, but also on its impacts on the evolution of human relationships.

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Control... Release: Dance music scenes' reflections on a pandemic

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

This paper chronicles the reflections of participants within dance music scenes regarding the impact of COVID-19 regulations. Drawing upon analysis of et*h*nographic data from Facebook Group discussions, an online survey, and interviews conducted during the UK's 'lockdown' it reveals the extent of dancing's significance and value at a time when prohibited. The paper also looks in depth at the discourses surrounding reactions to illegal raves in UK warehouses and fields during the summer of 2020 as some people sought ways to dance, and illicitly escape pandemic restriction's social controls. Such discussions are framed within *societal* theories surrounding the broader, oppositional et*hical* stances which underpinned the pandemic experience. The paper also examines dancing's importance for well-being in the lives of clubbers and their articulation of an anticipation of release, and a *return* to the dancefloor.

Keywords: social dancing, covid-19, pandemic.

Introduction

This paper arises from doctoral research investigating the persistence of 'the underground' within dance music scenes carried out during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. The paper draws on analysis of ethnographic data from Facebook group discussions, online surveys and interviews conducted during the UK's 'lockdown'[2]. The findings presented here voice the reflections of Liverpool-based clubbers, promoters, venue owners and dancers within the context of an unparalleled prohibition of social dancing in the UK, at a time when illegal, unlicensed dance music events were singled out as representing the nadir of irresponsible behaviour during a pandemic. Dancing was portrayed in the media as both the worst thing one could do, revoking it as a folk devil *cause celebre*, and simultaneously as representative of freedom, as a signifier that its (legal) return would mark the end of repressive restrictions.

Control...

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic the UK entered a 'lockdown' in late March 2020 which legally enforced the entire population to 'stay at home' and brought about an immediate cessation of all social dance activities. Clubs were shuttered and all events were cancelled. These latter restrictions remained in place for over a year (UK Government, 2020b). Initially there was little contesting that to be indoors, in a warm, poorly ventilated environment, dancing in tight proximity with other people, would be amongst the worst places to be in a viral pandemic (Christakis, 2020). News of nightclub super-spreader events (Kanga et *al.*, 2020) solidified the notion that dancing, and its associated sociality must remain prohibited. It was evident that clubs would be among the last places to reopen on the other side of the pandemic.

With all arenas of physical social contact largely unavailable, online communities found their significance amplified as sites of virtual gathering as people retreated into individual households. Consequently, the fieldwork research presented here essentially followed participants into online realms, focusing on the discourses emergent within dance music centred social media. It also draws upon reflections of respondents to an online survey (n=183) and semi-structured interviews with dancers and those involved in the local dance scene infrastructure (n=28). Survey results showed Facebook's dominance as an information source for event details. Nearly 70% of respondents discovered events through Facebook feeds and 55% were members of Facebook Groups[3].

I mean, I've mainly use Facebook, just because that's usually where events get posted. And sometimes I see like promoters and stuff that I follow on Instagram posts, but I would still go to Facebook to go to the event.

With their focus around shared interests such as genre and locality, Facebook Groups exist not only as information resources for upcoming parties but also as nurturing places in which members garner a sense of support and community. In the absence of physically being on the same dancefloor, online communities helped as surrogate sociality. One research participant when referring to a DJ's online presence described how such sociality blossomed during the lockdown,

> *it started off from him doing live streams. There was quite a little community in the chats... there's active discussions on stuff related to music. There's a book club... there is like a literal I would say community... I definitely have looked for more of them since not being able to go out and speak to the people who I would call my circle of friends.

Yet for all the comfort they can provide as public forums such groups were as wide open to occasional disagreements and the toxicity characteristic of general online discourse. Tensions naturally reflected the divided rhetoric prevalent across society in relation to COVID-19 and its impacts. This could be generalised into a trio of essentially conflictual ethical positions pitted against each other. These ranged from a dutiful acceptance of the control measures enacted to suppress COVID-19 transmission; a fear that such controls threatened the economic survival of dance music event infrastructures; and a resistance and weariness to the controls in the face of diminished freedoms. Before examining how these positions were articulated in response to the absence of a physical scene, it is worth considering societal and moral frameworks into which such discourses can be situated.

Keeping it Locked(down)

Recognition that the UK's National Health Service's (NHS) operational capacity was at risk of being overwhelmed whilst facing an exponential rise COVID-19 cases, led to the lockdown and attendant messaging, 'Stay Home, Save the NHS'. This sought to focus attention on the primacy of the NHS as a 'public good' - a service all members of a society benefit from (Smith, 2003). Despite commonly held beliefs that collectively funded, non-exclusive service provision widely benefits societies and their economies (Sekera, 2014), opposition to centralised public goods is central to neoliberal economic policymaking (Adam Smith Institute, 2021; Cornes & Sandler, 1994). Given the prevalence of neoliberalism within the UK government during the pandemic, control measures adversely impacting business and consumer markets were deemed highly undesirable.

3. Consequently, the project's methodology was expanded to identify relevant Facebook Groups; select appropriate conversation threads; and then scraped anonymised data from these. All quotations used here are paraphrased from their original form to preserve the anonymity of sources.

The UK government's calamitous and divided response to COVID-19 in both structural alleviation measures and within public discourses is reflective of the observations put forward by Beck (1992) which describes contemporary societies as characterised by uncertainty and risk. As Giddens (1999, pp. 7-8) similarly argues, rather than seeking collective solutions to social risks, problem solving is delegated to an individual level, as is the responsibility to act, 'in and ethical or accountable manner' in the face of uncertainties. As the pandemic atomised populations into household units, it brought such theories into tight focus. Nina Power suggested, people were forced to,

> *balance the relationship between their individual desires, their concern for people they know, concern for people they don't, their general appreciation of risk and the laws, rules and guidelines. (2020)*

Within the context of dance music scenes what were these 'individual desires', and in what way did ethical dilemmas manifest in such communities?

"Dancing's part of our basic needs"

Whilst venue owners, promoters and DJs suffered economic impacts of operational closure during lockdown, the experience and reflections of dancers represents a clearer view on the implications of not dancing, unhindered by financial concerns. In its absence, the lockdown experience revealed just how much dancing is valued. Survey respondents described themselves drawing from dancing a sense of community. An older male commented, "As someone who has thought quite a lot about this over the years, I have been grieving for the loss of the scene and my emotional release outlet since the start of Covid". For a younger female clubber, "My life just revolves around it really... it's my favourite thing in the world". It was however older female respondents who most clearly articulated dancing's importance as identity affirmation (Hall, 2013, p. 106), "It is part of my character to dance"; "I'm a mum of two and it makes me feel like I'm me again". These verbalised associations of dancing's life affirmation were most fundamentally defined by another older respondent as representing, "part of our basic needs". This attribution to dancing as a *need* reflects an appreciation of concepts first outlined in Maslow's (1954) motivational theory. Despite lacking a foundation of empirical evidence and subjected to critique (Wahba & Bridwell, 1976), Maslow's hierarchy of needs has persisted as one of psychology's most influential ideas (Kremer & Hammond, 2013). Subsequent motivational theorists have expounded the idea that humans have innate motivational needs (Abulof, 2017; Ryan & Deci, 2000). A recent large-scale global study by Tay and Diener into the fulfilment of needs and subjective well-being largely vindicates Maslow's hypothesis that once basic safety needs (such as health) are met, individuals seek out fulfilment of 'higher' or psychosocial needs (Maslow, 2011, p. 361). Dancing, in collective, mutually supportive environments as described by Malbon (1999) and Pini (2001) can be considered as constituting the means to fulfil psychosocial needs within the 'social support and love' and 'feeling respected' categorisations outlined by Tay and Diener vindicating the research.

COVID-19 constituted a disruptive force to the security of health as a basic safety need. However, this risk was not equally shared. COVID-19 primarily impacts the elderly. Younger healthy people are significantly less likely to experience serious complications or death. This distinction complicated the social response. Seemingly less-threatened youths could consider themselves, individually, as facing a low risk. Their reflexive approach to the pandemic would require an empathetic recognition of social risk (Giddens, 1999, pp. 7-8). Circumstantial context subsequently played its part as to what aspects of lockdown were tolerable and contributed to a disjunctive field of tension. What some perceived as selfish hedonisms, others considered inalienable rights towards their realisation of psychosocial needs. Within dance music scenes, the physical closure of venues meant most clubbers did not really have a choice. Until the weather got better. An unseasonably warm April coincided with the phrase 'illegal rave' reappearing within local and national media vernacular as dance music events contravening lockdown's legal restrictions began to take place throughout the UK.

Raving's Return

The term 'illegal rave' term entered the UK public consciousness in the late 80s as London's black diaspora communities requisitioned vacant docklands warehouses for parties playing House music utilising dub reggae sound systems (Melville, 2020, pp. 111-115). By 1989 these had spread throughout the city and

beyond into abandoned and rural locations accessible from London's M25 ring road (Reynolds, 2013, p. 74). Subsequently outdoor raves were established across the UK as traveller communities' mobile festival culture adopted dance music (Collin & Godfrey, 1998, p. 185; Malyon, 1998, p. 192). For few summers in the early 1990's the UK police battled to shut down unlicenced events. Such raves were subsequently criminalised under the 1994 Criminal Justice Bill (CJB) (Keeler, 2017, p. 162), though many sound systems simply continued the free party ethos away from the media gaze (Crisp, 2020; Wolfson, 2016). As in the 1990s, 2020's media embarked on a crusade against such parties. Within a pandemic context however, their rhetoric was supercharged by tapping into a moral outrage against the "sheer irresponsibility" of social gatherings within a pandemic. For the tabloid Daily Mail, illegal raves represented "one of the ugliest and most disturbing by-products of the nation's 14-week coronavirus lockdown" (Boyle, 2020, n/p).

Coronavirus Parties

2020 pandemic parties took advantage of technological advances. Encrypted messaging applications allowed organisers in some instances to vet prospective attendees through examination of their social media timelines before sending PayPal ticket links and secret location maps (Marshall et *al*., 2020). Batteries powering Bluetooth speakers, enabled smaller, more mobile events. Larger scale raves in the countryside did occur, most notoriously in Greater Manchester where two events over the same weekend made national news due to a fatality, a reported rape and three stabbings. An estimated 6,000 people in total attended these (BBC Manchester, 2020). In London, proliferation of events in derelict spaces began to take place from June onwards involving organised security and contactless card payments entry systems on the door[4] (Boyle, 2020). One interview participant discussing their friend's attendance at lockdown parties on, "disused train tracks" found that punitive measures to disincentivise their organisation[5] contributed to their profitability,

*Some were ticketed, especially when the fines got bigger (…) before the ten-grand fine I'd say it's less ticketed. But after that, some people were charging thirty pounds a head for an event that could start at nine o'clock and get shut down by ten, which happened quite a few times.

Furthermore, the potentially lucrative nature of these event for organisers was recognised as they hooked into traditional marketing strategies around scarcity,

They seem to follow the same format as legal rave where two, three weeks before the event, it would be five pounds then it goes to ten pounds, or twenty pounds one week before. That definitely seems to be more prevalent when the fine started increasing.

In Liverpool, one DJ described in an interview that they had been booked to play at a seated event later in the summer 2020 when some UK restrictions had been eased to allow seated drinking with table service. Dancing remaining prohibited until mid-July 2021.

4. Credit card processing infrastructure at illegal events carrying a high risk for organisers is unlikely to be unusual. One respondent noted this, 'wouldn't surprise me one bit (…) I've seen that with people outside clubs selling NOS [Nitrous Oxide] balloons with card readers. (see Frank, 2021).

5. An on-the-spot £10,000 fine was introduced for anyone found guilty of organising social gatherings under the Coronavirus Act.

It was sold as a socially distanced gig where there were tables and stuff... there's like an outdoor area where there are loads of people, no one was wearing masks. The tent area where the decks were, there was a crowd of like a good 150 people all crowded around the decks. I think people bought tickets, thinking it was socially distanced... [There was] a tonne of young scousers who just wanted to dance (...) it wasn't like the bouncers were trying and were overrun. They didn't even bother. The staff were really like, pleased because they were selling so many drinks.

Online Commentary

As soon as illegal raves were reported, conversations began in dance music focused Facebook Groups. Whilst survey data demonstrated all age groups used Facebook for event discovery, student focused groups gravitate towards noticeboards for ticket exchange rather than forums. Consequently, debates prompted by posts featuring pictures taken at 'illegal raves' tended to involve predominately older participants, few of whom were likely to have attended such events. In fact, over the course of the year from March 2020 no commentators openly discussed their own attendance. Yet within debates strong opinions were ever present. Occasional post replies suggested approval, such as "Can we have one where I live?!" and "it looks great!", however, most were condemnatory: "If these nobheads weren't shopping in same shops as us, I'd be happy for natural selection to take its course... but it's prolonging the pandemic and could kill their grannies". Yet within comment threads strewn with messages of disapproval, there was recognition of why they were taking place, "Total idiots. Yet I can sympathise as to why they want to get together". For older scene members a question frequently posed in Facebook groups was, "What would me at twenty have thought?" There appeared an appreciation that younger generations may simply feel little risk from the virus. Attendance at an illegal rave representing the fulfilment of their individual psychosocial needs without rationalising this through a prosocial perspective to protect the collective public good. Consequently, there was a hesitancy to cast judgement as one older female clubber described in an interview contextualising this ethical dilemma,

I think for the kids, there's always going to be that rebellious streak. There's always going to be 'a fuck you I won't do what you tell me'. The risk of Corona to the kids was minimum (...). I think in their minds, they probably weighed up and thought why should I put my life on hold for something that isn't really going to affect me? And the whole bigger picture of well, 'you might take home to your Nan' or whatever. I don't think that's probably coming into their reasoning at all.

For organisers of illegal parties, some of whom went public, there was an attempt to draw upon nostalgic analogies with the 1990s and the rhetoric of 'raving as rebellion', and as a release from restrictions.

Going to an illegal rave is a statement of the person saying: 'Hell to your rules and I am going to break them,' and you get that extra buzz from doing it. It gives illegal raves that real edge over legals. (organiser of Rave Events UK Facebook page quoted in Bloodworth, 2020)

However, within the Facebook Group commentary examined in this research, such historical parallels were met with swift retorts from veterans, "When we went to the Blackburn parties, we didn't risk our families lives though". The disdain for the parties in May and June 2020 extended beyond their obvious viral transmission risk. One notorious event which made national news near Manchester met with the disapproval of those who would normally be organising free parties in the summer,

Message to attendees of last night's events: stabbings, leaving the place an absolute tip and annoying local people ruins the reputation of sound system crews. Our scene doesn't stand for this behaviour (...) This is only going to make things harder for everyone in the future, even licensed events.

There was a sense that many of the media reported events were opportunistic rather than mobilisations of pre-existing sound systems where people tended to know each other and "understood they'd need to get involved in clearing up the site afterwards". Events during the pandemic often appeared to be more akin to annual festivals in which attendees, "assume someone's getting paid to clean after them, so places get left in a right state".

A prevalent theme throughout debates was that if illegal parties became in effect 'super spreader events', then the lockdown would be prolonged, "More these go on, cases rise, clubs remain shut, we all lose". Such sentiments were not entirely down to personal inconvenience but also a recognition that the livelihoods of many involved in the scene (club owners, workers, DJs etc) were at risk. "The picture is not like it was in the 1990s. People's work is on the line if the lockdown goes on longer because of events like this". Many commentators probably knew people economically affected by the lockdown's impact on dance music ventures and recognised that the ensuing negative media attention arising from 'illegal raves' did little to help this infrastructure be financially compensated throughout the lockdown.

The Return of the 'Folk Devil'

As illegal raves gained media amplification, their threat to the public good of health elevated media reaction to that of a moral panic. As Cohen observed in his book 'Folk Devils and Moral Panics', "sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight" (Cohen, 1972, p. 1). Whilst Cohen's study on adolescent delinquency observed that dance halls were often locations of Mods and Rockers subcultural sociality in late 1960s UK, the activity of dancing is not mentioned in the book.

Yet throughout history social dancing has been considered a representation of 'ways we should not behave', as decreed by hierarchical powers. In her book, Dancing in the Street, Ehrenreich traces a lineage of repression against dancing dating back to ancient civilisations. Early Dionysian cults using dancing to achieve communal pleasure were violently purged. European medieval social history is characterised by an erosion of collective celebrations under the auspices of the church authorities. As early as the Fourth Century, church edicts aligned dancing with heresy and proclaimed it a confessional sin (Cohen, 2006). Across the entire European continent from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries carnivals were suppressed by ecclesiastic authorities. Protestant reformations banned festivities which had no redeeming economic value as emergent capitalism required obedient full-time workers (Cohen, 2006, p. 100). And as European powers expanded imperiously across the globe, their distaste for dancing rituals discovered amongst aboriginal peoples in the colonies led to repressive missionary zeal and genocidal brutality (Cohen, 2006, p. 179). This hostile drive against collective dancing continued into the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

The UK government's implementation of 1994's Criminal Justice Bill (CJB) was a clear response to the moral panic surrounding early 1990s 'illegal raves' (Alwakeel, 2010; Huq, 1999). The CJB expanded and explicitly criminalised collective trespass, and in effect enshrined into law the centuries old fears held by authorities that through collective dancing, sociality posed a threat to public order.

The 2020 pandemic's unprecedented lockdown was enforced through emergency legislation in the form of the Coronavirus Act 2020 which granted powers enabling the, "prohibiting, or imposing requirements or restrictions in relation to, the holding of an event" (UK Government, 2020a). This proscription of all gatherings subsequently framed all sociality within the realms of ethical debate and law-abiding decisions, as sociality posed a threat to public health.

Before the pandemic there was unequivocable agreement around free/illegal parties. For the tabloid media these were always folk devils to pursue. Within dance music scenes, free parties were semi-mythologised, markers of a heyday era endowing significant subcultural capital to those who participated (Thornton, 1995). COVID-19 disrupted this binary opposition. It was now no longer simply the media who viewed dancing as the nadir of irresponsible pandemic behaviour; people within dance music scenes also found themselves condemning illegal parties. One prominent voice condemning Manchester's illegal parties was Sacha Lord (2020), night-time economy adviser for the region and co-founder of The Warehouse Project club nights who described attendees in tabloid terms as 'morons' and 'selfish idiots'.

Within the Facebook groups investigated, condemnation was the dominant, though not a universally held view. Whilst 'headline' comments bore similarity to enraged letters to traditional newspapers, there was nuance to the discourse present within group commentary. There was anger: "Total tools. This will lead to us going into higher tiers[6] and get fully locked down again"; alongside insightful recognition of the potential perils of short-term satisfaction: "Just be sensible and hold out instead of making the scene something

6. Tiers refers to differentiated levels of regionally specific COVID-19 restrictions. Higher tiers were more restrictive.

people can say, 'those selfish twats spread the virus'". Some expressed a sense of sadness, "I can't wait to go out again, but there's too much risk with these events"; "this is how the virus starts its travels to the elderly". In opposition various commenters celebrated video footage of illegal warehouse parties extolling, 'life is for living'. The scene was far from homogenous on such issues, and disagreements cut deep as described by one interviewee:

> *It's quite a wedge issue (...) I really feel like it cleaved people into like, one branch of sort of libertarian, and one branch of community minded, shall we say. The people who really felt they, er... needed to be 'not all in this together'. I don't want to demonise or judge anyone. But that felt like the wrong thing to do at that point. And I was aware of it and I was like, fair enough. I'm not gonna let it disrupt our friendship, but there were moments where people stopped being friends because of this disagreement.

And those who danced?

Unsurprisingly, mainstream media coverage of illegal raves focused solely on the reactions of authority figures and their condemnatory response to "mindless' behaviour" (BBC South East, 2021). What was not present in the examined social media conversations were the voices of those who danced during the pandemic.

Online articles in which journalists had managed to speak to attendees of illegal parties were illuminating. Lauwd magazine captured the opinions of some attendees whose thoughts revealed an initial trepidation towards going out,

> *The experience of partying during lockdown has been, interesting. In the beginning obviously there was a lot of hysteria and people weren't really willing to go out. And for the first two, three months I definitely was not partying. But like the first party I went to it was packed. It's like everyone was just dying to go out. (2020)

Very few of those I interviewed had attended illegal events or chose not to admit this. Several alluded to their friend's attendance. There was an understandable avoidance of self-implication in what might be considered anti-social activity. As social geographer Marie-Avril Berthet observed, "Now just being closer to someone is illegal. That says a lot about what's being negotiated in today's raves" (Barrett, 2020, n/p). However, one interviewee had partied, and described their entrance into an illegal event, hidden in plain sight in a UK city centre:

> *Their downstairs area made it look like the place was shut. So, you walked in and then there'd be a girl at the bottom of the stairs and she would be cleaning and she'd say, 'Oh, who are you with?' And I was there to see my mate, and she went 'Oh, yeah, go upstairs'. And at this point you can hear faint music, but you don't think there's a party upstairs. Walk up the stairs. And it's a full-on party. Sweaty walls, and everyone's just dancing, and there's DJs on. They were doing that the whole way through the end of lockdown. When it was really bad as well.

The recognition expressed here that, at this point the COVID-19 situation in the UK was "really bad" reveals something of the inner tension within this dancer. The same interviewee expressed their experience of fragmented and conflicted feelings as to their own participation, and a certain disrespect for the organisers of the event they themselves had attended and been part of:

> *I was like, this is hilarious. But it's also like, what are we doing? And I remember feeling really happy to be there. To be honest I was like, this is amazing that this is going on. And then like, after I'd got home, I was like, that was so wrong that they were doing that. But everyone in there was just so excited to be able to dance again. And you could really feel it in the air. But yeah, they really were naughty, and they didn't get caught.

Dancers in the Lauwd article similarly recognised the ethical balancing required of themselves to take part,

> *Parties at the moment is difficult because you have people on one side telling you that it is bang out of order as you might be affecting vulnerable people, and then the people on the other side that just want to dance, enjoy themselves and go back to their normal life. Parties exist to bring people together, but people are divided. There's too much conflict. (2020, n/p)

Such inner conflicts reflect that decision making in the face of risk is increasingly manifest at the individual level (Bauman, 2013, p. 29). The context of dancing in a pandemic has made this starkly obvious, and the stakes were high, as one dancer admitted, "If I was responsible for someone's death, that would be awful" (Kale, 2020, n/p).

Reports from some party-goers attending events on the continent captured an ambivalence towards the disease, "I don't give a damn. Of course, this virus scares me, but I've got to enjoy my twenties", and "The desire to party is stronger than the disease" (Marshall et *al*., 2020, n/p). These reports suggest that very few events took any anti-viral precautions in terms of mask wearing or social distancing, "No one is physical distancing. There's a sense of nihilism now, like: whatever will be, will be" (Kale, 2020, n/p). One interviewee who had not attended illegal raves pointed out that their decision to dance had little to do with either their own health, or consequently any appreciation of a wider public health:

> # If the clubs are open, and it was still quite dangerous I would still probably choose to go at this point. But yeah, it's not like a moral issue. Yeah, it's more of just a legal issue rather than a scare of the virus or what it could do.

A further theme that emerges from the recollections of 'illegal dancers' is that their justification for deciding to dance often reflects a perception that the act of dancing is an important contributor to their sense of wellbeing. As one UK raver described,

> **For me dancing and socialising with like-minded people is a very important therapy in my life. I know what I'm doing is illegal and appreciate some people can see it as being selfish in this current climate. But [raves] are a huge part of me keeping my sanity if I'm completely honest. (Lauwd, 2020, n/p)*

This experience many found impossible to replicate in any form of online surrogate. When asked whether they danced online, one interviewee explained

No dancing online. I have done lots of dancing through the pandemic, though. Yeah, I've danced around the coffee table. I've danced in the kitchen. I've danced in the garden, in the rain when I was feeling quite sad. And my other half came out and we danced in the rain. And we could hear the music and it felt better. And it made me feel a little bit more alive. Because I've missed it. I felt like a part of me soul has been not killed, but part of the soul is missing.

What was evident throughout social media conversations, despite morality debates was a sense of humour and periodic posting of messages of communal support around themes such as "we will dance together again soon" and "can't wait to see you on the dancefloor". These anticipate an explosion where "sociality is its own goal and purpose", an urge towards 'being-for' togetherness (Bauman, 1995, p. 47) upon the release of COVID-19 controls. As one Facebook poster summarised, "I aim to snog everyone's face off when I get out again".

...Release

This recognition of social dancing's vitality and contribution to mental health and happiness goes some way to explain the significant risks people were prepared to undertake to dance during the pandemic. As Holm wrote regarding the 'the politics of partying during a pandemic', "the pull of fun would seem to be such that it can motivate citizens to defy the will of the state and even risk exposure to a potentially fatal illness". Whilst

police broke up a party in Liverpool, students protested they just "wanted to have fun" whilst being handed out a £10,000 fixed penalty notice (Croll, 2021). Even pre-pandemic, clubbers were prepared to accept a lot to dance. Entry restrictions into select clubs involved official ID, being photographed, metal detectors, as this participant observed, "Fold [in London], which is maybe I'd say he most underground club I've been to. Even they scan your ID on the door".

What many participants articulated in both the survey and in interviews was that the club experience itself, once inside, in that space, constituted a freedom and release from the controls of everyday life (Griffin et *al.*, 2016).

> *For me, a lot of the reason why I go clubbing and I like to dance in nightclubs, is because it gives me that sense of kind of freedom and also being carefree.*

In that sense dancing's equation with freedom became part of the UK's wider release rhetoric. When discussing the ending of COVID-19 restrictions the media invariably stated, 'this will be the date when nightclubs can reopen'. In effect social dancing would signify the ultimate measure of freedom from restrictions. As one interviewee who spent three years in prison remarked,

> *I know when people get back to that dance floor, they will just be overly ecstatic. It will feel better than before, It really will. And we'll all be feeling it at the same time. So it's gonna be a massive surge. I think it's gonna be fantastic.*

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7.3 Facemasks and the Emergence of newness: a field guide to the creation of an object

Nicholas Hardy[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

What does an art installation made from face masks tell us about the relation between the process of research and the unpredictability of social life? The absence of ready-made solutions to social problems requires the re(de)fining of the modes of engagement of encounters with the world. Through a focus on the event, this paper presents a field guide to the creation of an art installation as a case study of the process of research, its entanglement with the more-than-human and chance. The process of creation of the art installation is presented in relation to an epistemological corpus woven together by its recognition of *aesthesis* as a disruptive form of conjunctive sense perception and collective prehension. Following the views of radical empiricists and contemporary philosophers of science, this paper advocates for an implicated approach to research via the event, attuned to the influence of *chance* and collective experience within the *polis*.

Keywords: event, situation-ethics, covid-19, research process, creative interaction.

1. A Field Guide to the Creation of an Object

Because there are no ready-made solutions to problems such as environmental crises and pandemics, the creation of *speculative objects* via the engagement of *aesthesis* provides an implicated manner of perceiving issues through direct encounters in everyday life. Through the situation-ethics of attunement to the intricate ensemble of more-than-human relations, *aesthesis*, the disruptive classical Greek term for sense perception, calls for the use of heuristic approaches to research that feature direct encounters with the world.

This text's objective is to serve as a field guide detailing the reflections of the process of creation of a mobile art installation presented via video-presentation in the panel *'(Good) Collapse under the Empire': Humanitarianism, Collaborative Production/Consumption and Sustainable Development*. This text is inscribed in the experimental and speculative practice of a productive approach to research. Far from neutral, knowledge is neither fixed nor directly assigned to objects and situations, requiring the sensibility of *aesthesis in actu*. This affirms the senses' reliable contact with reality, and assumes that episteme is plural, multiple, affective, changing, in perpetual flux, without losing its power of being evident (placing episteme within life itself). Moreover, the social and consensual quality of sense perception deindividuates the experience of research allowing for the stimulating and often unpredictable influence of collaborative approaches throughout its process. The reader is invited to view the video-presentation which accompanies this text (see references).

Have there ever been truer utterances than *the medium is the message*? The possibilities and affordances of the medium of video-presentation provides the venue for a synesthetic mode of presentation and reception of the art installation, which, due to pandemic restrictions, could not be materially displayed during the conference. In the context of this presentation, the juxtaposition of images and reflections provide new ways of seeing, hearing, and feeling the object, also allowing ideas to be presented in new ways.

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The process of creation detailed in this text relies on a local methodology concerned with the variegated, plural, and emergent qualities of objects and sites. This approach to research seems to violate the sacrosanct rule of the sociological canon: thou shalt not manipulate thy research data... that is, the belief in the immutability and immobility of research – of research as ossified: an objectified form resulting from a set of predetermined parameters and *a priori* categories to be recognised within a (flattened) field of experience. The bottom-up approach defended by the situation-ethics of a radical aesthesis breaks with this modernist interdiction and its concern with making spatial claims over the representation of social life. This, in turn, offers distinct methodological opportunities capable of activating the *possibles* encountered in the real. In short, this methodological 'transgression' calls forth an attention to the details encountered within the everyday which in turn reconfigures one's sociological practice. Considering this, the text of my presentation attempts to convey *in situ* theoretical reflections that are autochthonous to the event of creation of a *speculative object*: a mobile art installation created from face masks. This text homes in on the event as a 'case' to reflect on the process of creative interaction, inscribing the creation of the object in a DIY approach to scholarship informed by the complex, heterogeneous, extra-ordinary and relational qualities of exterior social reality.

2. A Topological Field of Disruptive Knowledge

The speculative object composed of face masks has many special features. Notably, the masks no longer seem to fall under the categories of an imperial system of knowledge and governance of human society. By virtue of the event, the creation of this object diverts the masks from the hold of a global semiology, as well as from their material emplacement within a global network of prolongment and circulation of commodities that invades the totality of the world's singular localities. The creation of the object entails a removal of face masks from their semiology and tasks. Better yet, the creative interaction alters the face masks' form (cf. Bateson, 1979).

The object is a kinetic art installation that transfigures the configurational qualities of space. More that the alteration of private space, the object seems to transfigure exterior reality by emancipating it from the hold of a projected social model unto the city. This process reveals gravitational centers, or sites of lively exchange within the city. Through this, one encounters the material grounds of society, no longer sacrificed, as Piper would say, to the exigencies of system. Moreover, the affordance of the mobile sculpture resituates one within a conceptual and material world that is both entangled with and extraneous to a global – Serres would say 'martial' – ordering of the world.

As noted, the event that is presented to the viewer via this text and medium of video-presentation foregrounds an experiential practice. Through this I wish to develop a form of scholarship based on the invention of thought *in situ* and *in actu*. I argue that this evidence the compresence of different social modalities in the local spatiality and objectal details of urban social life. Through the engagement of sites, one attends to the phenomena of rareness encountered therein.

The skeins of a body of scholarship from pre-Socratic philosophers (Empedocles, Democritus, Protagoras, etc.), to the radical empiricism of James, the base-materialism of Bataille, and to more contemporary thinkers such as Serres and Deleuze and Guattari, can be said to thread together a field of knowledge that recognises and engages the relational aspects of aesthesis. Considering this, I wish to disentangle the forms of knowledge of categorically distinct social models as entailing different relationships to physical reality (indistinctly natural and social) and to manners of *sensing*.

Reading Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (2000) as a discourse on physics that remains *in* and *of* the world, Serres contrasts the dualism of the 'Venetian' and 'Martial' epistemes, and of the *foedus naturae* and *foedus fati* – their respective forms of contract with the world. From this perspective, the current hold of global capitalism on the planet stems from the trajectory of a Martial order of society which federates the world, thereby ordering its spaces and its global *episteme*. Contrarily to this, a Venetian episteme, based on an accord with nature, affirms the senses' credible contact with the world, and pertains to an autarchic model of society. Other similar prosopopoeia can be found elsewhere, such as in Ishmael Reed's *Mumbo Jumbo* where Set represents an *autocratic* order of society characterised by a hatred of nature and an obsession with discipline and war, while Osiris represents an *autarchic* model of society based on an accord with nature, theatrical practices that engage *aesthesis* through music and dance, and agricultural knowledge. These distinctions entail different relationships to knowledge. To this effect, Serres states that: "Either knowledge is a system (…), or it is only plurality. Space in general is homogeneous and integrated, or it remains scattered, flowering and

furnished with local singularities. Everything happens by necessity, or everything happens by chance. Two mathematics regulate these two states of things: one, global and prolonged; the other, of singular varieties" (Serres, 2000: 188).

By virtue of a particular manner of being at work with the object, can face masks evidence their entanglement with the latter heterogenous form of knowledge, as well as with space as local, flowering or generative?

3. If the Mask no Longer is a Mask, What Does it Do?

We are used to the watertight and global concepts of over-arching theories which claim a hold on reality. Curbing this hold is what Cooper has in mind when referring to 'anti-classification' as a heuristic exercise which "should in principle be vulnerable and not be watertight" (Cooper, 1978: 50). Put simply, "anti-classification means seeking and stating existing differences as opposed to enclosing entities in boxes and hierarchies of boxes" (Cooper, 1978: 49). By enclosing the world, over-arching theories betray a primary concern with the ancient idea of law, that is, with overdetermination, control and absolute mastery (Serres, 2000: 67). In short, they are concerned with power and order rather than with the qualities of objects of study, such as the hyper-complexity of local sites of sociality, indeterminacy and uncontrollability, chance, deviation from the laws of system, the open, the exception, emergence and newness. These qualities are precisely what evade overarching theories of the urban. Can the event of creative interaction, by engaging *aesthesis* through creative interaction, mark a shift toward a heterogenous form of knowledge?

The art installation made from face masks evokes Bataille's notion of the *formless*:

> **A dictionary begins when it no longer gives the meaning of words, but their tasks. Thus, formless is not only an adjective having a given meaning, but a term that serves to bring things down in the world, generally requiring that each thing have its form. What it designates has no rights in any sense and gets itself squashed everywhere, like a spider or an earthworm. In fact, for academic men to be happy, the universe would have to take shape. All of philosophy has no other goal: it is a matter of giving a frock coat to what is, a mathematical frock coat. On the other hand, affirming that the universe resembles nothing and is only formless amounts to saying that the universe is something like a spider or spit (Bataille, 1970, p.217).*

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If what Bataille says is true, the *base materiality* of the splatter of excretions and the tangle of the spiderweb are perhaps closer to reality than the autocratic and ontological machines that govern academic production and condition imperial forms of knowledge. The splatter and tangle are in fact the main qualities of this art installation created via the event. Bataille's thought enables an understanding of the kind of event that is needed to create an object that breaks with the hold of an imperial semiology over the masks insofar as to create this object, one has to take the masks beyond their limit! As such, the event itself is tasked with the transgression of the limits of the usual. To refer again to the condition of splatter and tangle, entanglement becomes part of a method of research, or rather, one becomes entangled if features a different figuration of the real that I call: the diar-r(h)eal!

Bataille's point is that to transfigure one's emplacement within the social world and to activate a discrepant form of knowledge, one cannot take this act of transgression lightly. It is not a benign act merely 'performed' without diving headlong into the experience, but one which carries specific requirements (for e.g. the adoption of different disposition that breaks with a cognitive frame of mind): one needs to skyrocket, so to speak, through the confines or enclosures of the 'society of labour' (cf. Bataille, 1973). In this sense, to engage the surplus of elements which exceed the projection of an order unto physical reality, one too must cross a limit that is both material and epistemological by accepting the risks of the experience. As Hunter S. Thompson might say, considering the situation, a gonzo method of research might in fact be the only remaining sensible approach.

Let us consider that the event itself becomes a gravitational center that is exceptionally freed from the constraints of the usual. As such, it possesses transfigurational capacities. Indeed, there is nothing usual about the event. Exceptional things are drawn to it and by chance happen. In this sense, the event takes one down into the world. I will now attend to the process of creation of the object.

4. The Birth of the Event in the Interstices of Edmonton's River-Valley

The city is more than the capture of matter and space that defines its enclosures, it has its extensions, its surround and also, its interstices (cf. Simone, 2017; Harney & Moten, 2013; Serres, 1991). In Edmonton, Canada, there is a small island, where the North Saskatchewan River reaches the center of the city that may be considered one of the city's interstitial spaces. It is a site that evades strict surveillance, where one may enter in a form of *conjunctive contact* with that which is *more than* the City of Edmonton as the projection of a political order unto space. This small island offers a more intimate encounter with the material grounds of the city. Interstitial spaces evidence informal sites that evade an absolute capture of space. Further, there is something ludic about the island. This favours an awareness of other possibilities – a certain ebullience and effluvia – encountered in interstitial spaces. The river, which divides the city in two, may be taken to be the city's true heart. Moreover, it is a gravitational center, imparting a feeling of liveliness that mixes the natural and the urban. The eddying stream and natural enclaves have an attractive quality making this island the first site of the creation of the object.

5. Masks and the Emergence of Something New

For over a year, face masks have invaded the sites of everyday life. The masks have become part of the everyday, gathering as excess and trash in the city. Less commented upon is the availability of the masks for other uses.

In the context of a creative practice, the masks were originally used to deal with the accursed share of spilled paint as part of preparatory rituals for street art interventions. So it is that the indirect manner of working with the masks defined a technique for the active engagement of the sites of the city via the event of creation of the art installation.

What does a mask do, what is its task? To contain, like class, to set a limit, to recode the face (cf. Deleuze & Guattari, 1972). But once altered by paint, the masks look more to me like a manifestation of *clinamina*. Clinamen is "a term which refers to an unpredictable swerve in the fall of atoms into their place, such that atoms then collide and initiate new formations" (Harris, 1990: 74). The spontaneous deviation of atoms – of existents – initiates the creation of new worlds, further relating the manner of engaging *aesthesis* to the natural processes of collision-and-emergence within situations encountered in social life.

Masks come neatly individuated in the laminar order of the box. Interweaving the masks seems to alter the form and behaviour of the object, freeing it, so to speak, from its task of having to be a 'mask'. The surfeit of masks piled together turns the object against itself. This leads them to suggest changes of appearance, from a snake to the heavy-weight champion's belt, and to the exuberant mane of an otherworldly ceremonious mask. The box was burned for good measure, marking a point of no return in this process of transfiguration.

6. Ludic Incursions into the Event

It is much less remarked upon those processes of entanglement have their own becoming whereby the tangle only continues to exhibit new formations. However, it is important to note that removing the object from its semiology and designed affordances does not entail its destruction. Rather, it becomes available for something new and indeterminate. One could claim that the masks are a form of active surplus, lending themselves to the becoming of the object. In this process, the qualities and capacities gained by the quasi-object exceed the measure of one's actions upon it.

In the context of the event, opening the "open constitution" of the city (i.e., the city as more than an enclosure), altering one's own demeanor, manners of sensing and using the body, are all integral aspects of the creative interaction. In this regard, humour is of great recourse. It was Bakhtin who claimed that laughter would destroy the authoritarian feudal order; that laughter could bring another age into being (Hebdidge, 1988: 243). This remains true, yet with the pandemic as atmosphere, opening the mouth, laughing, and howling gain a heavier significance. The mouth becomes a dangerous zone of psychosocial eruptivity and contagion. The ceremonious un-containment of the mouth thus serves as a ritualistic gesture within the event. These ludic gestures aim to add to the energetic potency of the object, defining a creative direction otherwise unimaginable from a logical perspective.

The aim of ludic gestures is to generate momentum. The exuberance and craziness that are the mark of excess play a stimulating role in this event. The ludic demeanor harnesses a momentum where energy is not squandered gratuitously but focused unto the object, that is, at the edges, or point of contact, between human and nonhuman. I call this focused expenditure. Through focused expenditure, excess is inscribed in the event as part of the technique of creation of the object. By means of excess face masks are taken beyond the limit of their semiology; bodies are taken beyond the limit of cognitive rationality, and the sites of the event become gravitational centers available for the emergence of something new. Via this practice, one works with excess at the service of the creation of the object in preparation for the event's main moment of eruptive 'expenditure'.

7. Creative Interaction: The Eruption of the Diar-r(h)eal!

The relational forms of sensing the city through *aesthesis* as creative interaction are an ongoing problematic that is explored via the event. A vacant field adjacent to Edmonton's 105th Street – a main artery leading to the city's downtown – served as a site for the culmination of the creative interaction. The object, affixed to a retaining wall, has been the recipient of attention and vital energies throughout the night. It has now gained a state of quasi-autonomy from human volition.

The manner of working with the object must once again be specified as occurring indirectly. The object comes to be through the *collision* of projectiles of paint with the retaining wall. In this sense, the masks "paint themselves", so to speak. The uncontrollable splatter of paint affects the becoming of the masks which in turn express their affect. Marking a return of repressed sensibilities, one may refer to this scene as diar-r(h) eal. Just as new formations are initiated through the collision in the swerve of atoms, and, just as for Gadamer (1998), *aesthesis* entails a collision with reality, the object is born of the collision between the projectiles of paint and the wall.

Within the real, the creative interaction evidences the compresence of the intangible and the material. Officially, the vacant field is considered inert – dead space frozen in time until future commodification. Due to its context and interstitial quality, the site's own states of volatility take part in the creation of the object.

Strung on the wall in the splatter of dripping and mixing colors, the masks temporarily transfigure this local site. Beaming affect in the night, it is a bright spark provoked by lively exchange and haptic interaction. One could say that the site is *eddying*: it becomes a gravitational vortex, implicating one beyond the measure of the creative gesture by virtue of its affective qualities. Ancients might have referred to it as a site of apparition (cf. Serres, 1987) – more contemporarily, one might recognise this process as pertaining to the invention of place. In this sense, the event evidences the eddying of emergent qualities in lived social spaces – despite their so-called enclosure within global networks.

A manner of working enabling the involvement of chance in the creation of the object is defined via the event. The influence of chance in the production of the intricate details of this sculpture warrants future investigation. This project is thus situated in a field of study where prediction and control are, in principle, taken as impossible (much to the contrary of the popular belief held by the canon of social sciences). Bateson and Serres (along with contemporary scientists such as Brillouin, Monod, and others) demonstrate that scientific knowledge is in fact concerned with the unpredictable, the rare and the outstanding (Bateson, 1979: 40-41; Serres, 2000: 78). The aura of the art installation – that is, the ways in which it calls forth perception – seems to transfigure the social world on an intimate level. It poses questions which require the sharpening of our senses, placing the perceptibility of reality, the presence of episteme in the world and the materiality of the collective polis within circles of entanglement and relation. More than the Benjaminian wish image of a classless society wedded to the elements of primal history (Benjamin, 1999: 4) – although this may correspond to the imaginary of the object – the mobile sculpture is the harbinger of a different reality that the creation of the object provokes.

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7.4 Case studies for a possible sonic lab. Hugh Davies' DIY and hacker methodologies

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

One example and a case study of this research is the Electronic Music Studio. Although sound studios are not generally named labs, most of the practices developed are related to laboratory practice. According to Jussi Parikka (2016: 81), "the studio (as in artistic creativity)" is a place where to practice "the method of invention" (Parikka, 2016: 81), which is essential for the functioning of the lab. Therefore, I feel legitimated to include the EMS in this study. Following this, the research will examine how studios adopt experimental methodologies and defy a hegemonic definition of the laboratory. Studying these methodologies and focusing on sonic practices developed in an academic lab environment will be helpful to define and establish the concept of a sonic laboratory.

Keywords: DIY, hack, hacklab, artist.

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1. DIY and handmade practices

In this research, I want to focus on artists' methodologies related to laboratory practice. To this end, I will produce a case study of Hugh Davies, a pioneer in DIY and handmade practices, which is exemplary for this section. Davies's methodologies characterise what hacklabs and other labs from the 90s will develop and focus on through their practice. Of course, I refer to DIY and handmade practices that are nowadays developed in hacklabs as a critical methodology. However, these appear to be central in Davies's practice during the 60s and '70s, even before hacklabs existed. In this way, Davies' practice is pioneering hacklabs methodologies using DIY, hands-on, learning by doing, and building self-built instruments.

2. Davies's practice is influenced by laboratory environments

Hugh Davies was a sound artist who helped and contributed to developing the Electronic Music Studio. According to the authors,

> *In autumn 1967, Hugh Davies, following his two-year tenure in Germany as Stockhausen's assistant, proposed the establishing of a Goldsmiths electronic music studio to Stanley Glasser, who was soon to be Head of the Music Department. By January 1968 the 'Electronic Music Workshop' had begun evening classes. (Young et al., 2008, p. 1).*

The archival material and the papers that contributors and authors have written about EMS explicitly highlight the processes of acquiring resources such as synthesisers, computers and other devices to build up the studio as a place where engineers, artists and researchers could work with sound. The EMS had, on the one hand, this technical aspect of developing sound and music. However, on the other, the studio was one

of the first academic institutions to teach experimental music, with Hugh Davies leading the EMS from his experience learned with Stockhausen. In other words, "This, by a small margin, was the first such facility in any institution of higher education in Britain" (Young et *al.*, 2008, p. 1).

Probably the context of the EMS, seen as a laboratory, influenced Davies' practice. 1967 was the foundational year of the EMS at Goldsmiths, University of London. That is when the Head of Music, Stanley Glasser, approached Davies to set up the EMS. Just back from Cologne, Davies, at Goldsmiths, set up one of the first educational institutions in Electronic Music. According to the author, "He became the inaugural studio manager of the new Electronic Music Workshop - a position that enabled him to acquire further equipment that he could not afford to purchase personally, including three high-quality stereophonic tape recorders, one of which Davies modified." (Mooney, 2017, p. 7).

The EMS was not only an engineering sound studio, but it was a place dedicated to research and teaching experimental electronic music. This tendency of including experimentation into an academic institution was pioneering in Britain. The methodologies applied to the teaching and research were fundamental to understand the EMS as a possible model for the formulations and definitions of an alternative view of the laboratory. For instance, the authors state, "They emphasised the importance of students doing practical work" (Sound on Sound, 1987, n/p), and continue "The students, who included three up-and-coming composers Don Banks, Anthony Gilbert and David Lumsdaine, had one lecture each week and a practical session every fortnight." (Sound on Sound, 1987, n/p).

Consequently, the practical work was mixed with more theoretical lessons, and this gave the EMS an aesthetic dimension that contributed to enlarge the studio's technical capabilities. Not only theory, practice and technical resources confirmed the basis of the studio, but Davies' experimental capabilities. Learning from the great experimentalists in electronic music in Europe, Davies contributed to developing the studio in what can be said today as the methodology of learning by doing. As the authors boldly put it,

Hugh Davies was well informed on the history and repertoire of electronic music, but his practical experience was very limited. He chose equipment because he was familiar with it and other composers had used it. He managed to keep a few steps ahead of his class in technical matters by learning from the equipment as he went along.

(Sound on Sound, 1987, n/p).

The EMS activities were a remarkable achievement in technical development, practical and theoretical teaching and research activities, and the creative activity of their researchers and students. However, another significant aspect of the studio is Davies's experimentalism in researching and his possibilities for developing instruments. In addition, Davies's DIY influence towards the EMS helped develop creative skills in instrument building for some of their students. For example, "The members of one of our several evening classes also constructed a 32-channel sequencer for the studio." (Sound on Sound, 1987, n/p).

By highlighting the teaching features, building technical resources, and developing creative skills, the EMS contributed aesthetically and technically in developing what this research is investigating, especially as an alternative view of the laboratory. The idea that studios can be equated to laboratories contributes to present the laboratory as a place of creativity, innovation and experimentation, but inclusive and open to new lines of work. With the exemplary figure of Davies, the EMS could be a pioneering example of this alternative laboratory view.

Davies composed and worked on different musical projects such as Galactic Interfaces and Quintet during the EMS years. Among the collaborations, Davies was part of Gentle Fire, a six-member ensemble that performed their compositions alongside those by Stockhausen, Cage, and many more.

Davies's influence remains today and is seen as a reference for the culture of 21st-century electronic music, but he also figures as an essential exponent in creating self-built instruments.

3. Davies's self-built instruments

In 1967, the same year as the inauguration of the EMS, Davies started building his first instruments. One of the most famous is the Shozyg. Davies's self-built instruments also include springboards. All of the instruments are mostly built following the principle of sound amplification (Mooney, 2011).

Davies was a pioneer through his DIY practice in modifying "electronic sound apparatus in his early live electronic compositions (…), through the 'instrumental turn', represented by his first self-built instrument." (Mooney, 2017, p. 1). Davies, after a residency in Cologne, returned to England. In 1967, Davies started working with equipment "he could build himself" (Mooney, 2017, p. 4) and "he began to build makeshift 'instruments' comprising every-day household objects fitted with contact microphones." (ibid.). By that time, Davies also started playing live electronic music "using amplification of conventional instruments by means of contact microphones." (Mooney, 2017, p. 1).

Some examples of Davies electronic music compositions are Quintet (Alstrabal) (1967-1968), Galactic Interfaces (1967-1968), and Not to be Loaded with Fish (1968-1969).

For Quintet (Alstrabal), Davies used a mixing console to control acoustic feedback via microphones and speakers, with a sine/square-wave generator, in the style of Max Neuhaus and Stockhausen (Mooney, 2017, p. 9).

Another key example is Galactic Interfaces (1967-1968), composed of two self-built ring-modulators, two sine/square-wave generators, amplified objects with contact microphones and recorded sounds from two stereophonic magnetic tapes, prepared by Davies at the EMS (Mooney, 2017, p. 9).

In Not to be Loaded with Fish (1968-1969), Davies worked with a modified record player that controlled sound distribution through two potentiometers (volume controls) and a custom-built 2-channel pulsing unit consisting of two repurposed telephone dials. (Mooney, 2017, p. 9).

In 1968, Davies started assembling found objects (made of wood, metal, glass, plastic) and "mounted them together with a pair of contact microphones" (Mooney, 2017, p. 10) inside an Encyclopedia volume with the alphabetic range "from SHO to ZYG" (Mooney, 2017, p 10). Davies named the instruments Shozyg I and Shozyg II. These were" 'instrument[s] for live electronic performance'" (Davies, 1968, cited in Mooney, 2017, p 11). Shozyg instruments had a profound impact on the experimental and improvised music scene during the 1960s. Davies's instruments were a result of an "increasingly hectic performance schedule" (Mooney, 2017, p 12), when "the practicalities of travel and the inevitably limited setup and rehearsal time highlighted the need for equipment that was compact, portable, and self-contained – all properties that the Shozyg instruments possess." (Mooney, 2017, p 12)

In 1969, Davies continued with the instrument-building practice, naming all the instruments Shozyg "to describe 'any instrument (usually amplified) built inside an unusual container'" (Roberts, 1977 in Mooney, 2017, p 13). The majority of those instruments "were intended, not for concert performance, but for exhibition in art galleries as sound sculptures." (Mooney, 2017, p 13).

Davies also continued developing his concert instruments adding "individual found objects" (Mooney, 2017, p 13). Such objects "were coiled metal springs (…) amplified via an electromagnetic pickup" (ibid.). Davies's experiments with springs "led to the construction of five new concert instruments in 1970 that he referred to as Springboards" (Mooney, 2017, p 14). Springboards were Mk. I, Mk. II, Mk. III, Mk. IV and Mk. V and consisted of springs attached to a board and amplified by pick-ups.

During the 1970s, Davies started modifying foot-pedals, for example, "a homemade ring-modulator 'with a choice of two oscillators'" (Mooney, 2017, p 15), "a commercial 'wah-wah'" (Mooney, 2017, p 16); and "a fuzz distortion and phase-shift pedal" (Mooney, 2017, p 16).

In 1971, Davies and his ensemble, Gentle Fire, were "invited to participate in the world première of Sternklang, a new composition by Stockhausen" (Mooney, 2017, p 20). Davies "built two new 'Stringboard' instruments"

(Mooney, 2017, p 20), using "cello strings rather than springs" (Mooney, 2017, p 20), but Davies "was not convinced that the instrument was musically effective" (Mooney, 2017, p 21).

In 1972, Davies "began building a new instrument" (Mooney, 2017, p 21) described as between the Springboard and the Stringboard. The Springstring "comprised two interconnected semi-springs (…) with a single pickup for amplification." (Mooney, 2017, p 21). Mooney adds that "the instrument was intended to be played by bowing." (Mooney, 2017, p 21).

Mooney continues with Davies's story of building instruments and follows, "In 1973, Davies began a new phase of Springboard development" (Mooney, 2017, p 22) with the Springboard Mk. VI, with four springs plus one semi-spring. It was "lower in pitch (…) and larger in physical dimensions" (Mooney, 2017, p 22). The Springboard Mk. VII and Springboard Mk. VIII followed it. These new developments culminated with the Springboard Mk. X added a "second, concentric 'keyring' with smaller springs" (Mooney, 2017, p 23) and the Springboard Mk. XI.

Mooney refers to Davies as an active electronic music composer, who

> *continued to exhibit his instruments regularly, both in solo shows, and alongside the work of other instrument-builders such as David Toop, Max Eastley, and Paul Burwell, whose group exhibition 'New and Rediscovered Musical Instruments' included all of Davies's Springboards (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, in 1975). (Mooney, 2017, p 25).

Mooney concludes that "Davies's DIY approach to music-making" (Mooney, 2017, p 25) took a political dimension, declaring that the use of "'junk' materials was being described 'as a corrective to the wastefulness of modern society" (Mooney, 2017, p 25), encouraging awareness of planetary resources, and turning his career into an "explicit statement against consumer culture" (Mooney, 2017, p 25) and "promoting environmental sustainability." (Mooney, 2017, p 25). Mooney's phrase "The DIY approach in Davies's work was thus born out of necessity, as a way of exploring live electronic techniques with little money and no institutional support" indicates the core ethics of the do-it-yourself underground movement and shows Davies as one of the first sound artists to contribute to the movement, and a powerful referent nowadays for hackers and makers.

Resuming and highlighting his paramount practice as a composer and a pioneer in electronic music, as well as a researcher and instrument-builder, Davies's trajectory and instruments "represent several significant milestones in the history of (live) electronic music in Britain." (Mooney, 2017, p 2).

Mooney also describes Davies' early instruments in 1967-68, the same period that Galactic Interfaces was composed. This period coincides with Davies's return to England after working with Stockhausen and finding he "could not afford to buy any such equipment of his own (Davies, 1979 in Mooney, 2015b, p 3). Davies earliest self-built instruments are characterised by being very similar to Stockhausen's techniques used in Mikrophonie I am using found objects and "amplified via contact microphones" (Mooney, 2015b, p 4). Mooney recovers Davies's words, according to which "These early instruments were originally developed as ways of generating sound material for tape-music compositions (Davies 1997 in Mooney, 2015b, p 4). Davies also "began to build instruments specifically with live performance in mind." (Mooney, 2015b, p 4).

This case study on Davies shows us how his development of techno-cultural apparatus, indeed sonic apparatuses, modifies commercial technology's logic, adding radical philosophies, ecological thinking, and critical methodologies with the imposed dynamics of the technoscientific corporate model of knowledge. Davies' contribution is essential in this research as it shows how artists methodologies in the laboratory, such as learning by doing, hands-on, and handmade, appear to be a radical contestation to imposed culture. Moreover, the instruments that Davies built can support this idea of techno-cultural apparatus rooted in a media materialist theory that defies logic on systematic production using recycled materials, as hacklabs nowadays propose. Moreover, how Davies works and applies different methodologies are an example that will be later developed in the 90s hacklabs.

Next, I want to highlight Davies' methodologies and how they are used nowadays in virtual labs (mostly environments to develop live coding) and hacklabs and hackerspaces. In doing so, artists' methodologies such as DIY and handmade will explore the laboratories' creative potential.

4. DIY and handmade practice

Davies's practice at the EMS was influenced by the electronic music masters and new music composition pioneers, but Davies added to this scene the DIY approach that contributed to teaching and learning in a more hands-on experience. Learning by doing and hands-on are applied in most media labs and hacklabs since Dewey started using it in the Bauhaus and other academic laboratories in the US.

Here, I want to highlight how Davies' practice is similar to the activities developed in virtual labs and understand these as virtual environments to develop live coding. Live coding is based in open-source, and in this way, virtual labs favour the use of free/open technologies and operative systems that hacklabs promote as a radical opposition to institutionalised labs, commercial hackathons and corporate tech. Live coding is a coder practice that contributes to musical creativity through live programming. Many live coding practices are built through open and free operating systems.

I refer to the studies by J. Mooney to show these relations between live coding and Davies's DIY and handmade practice. On the one hand, Mooney highlights that Davies' practice and live coding are developed by building their instruments. In Mooney's words:

> *in Davies's practice, as in live coding, it is the performer him or herself that builds (and/or modifies) the structures through which the music is mediated. Davies built his own instruments, which were then used in performance; live coders develop the algorithmic structures by which the music is mediated in real time, as the performance proceeds. (Mooney, 2015a, p 7)

On the other hand, Davies's practice and live coding are both based on participation and community exchange:

> *there is a clear desire to promote understanding through participation, which manifests itself in a distinct demonstrative, or perhaps even 'pedagogical' aspect, and in community or group-based activities with an emphasis on hands-on engagement (Mooney, 2015a, p 8)

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Mooney makes relations between live coding and Davies's practices that highlight aspects of Davies's performativity that are useful for defining the laboratory as a space for musical creativity through collaboration and a hands-on pedagogical approach. For example, Mooney says, "in Davies's practice (...) there is a clear desire to promote understanding through participation and learning by doing." (Mooney, 2015a, p 8). In addition to this, Mooney adds to the list of Davies's teaching features "an emphasis on hands-on engagement." (Mooney, 2015a, p 8).

These two factors, learning by doing and hands-on, are essential for Davies's contribution to the laboratories' creative potential. As hacklabs and maker labs develop their practices through collaborative processes in open-source software/hardware, Davies' practice resembles practices in hacklabs. According to Mooney, "activities like Davies's instrument building practice (...) could very well find themselves taking place side-by-side in the many so-called 'hack spaces' and 'maker' events" (Mooney, 2015a, p 8). In this context, Davies becomes a reference and pioneer for hacklabs and maker spaces that dedicate their activity to developing audio tools, researching sound, and contributing to building sonic practices through a DIY approach, using learning-by-doing techniques promoting the practice of handmade or self-built instruments. Mooney presents more references about how evident is the fact that Davies's practices resemble hacking, "In all of these self-built instruments Davies's tendency to repurpose, modify, or hack ready-made or every-day objects can clearly be seen" (Mooney, 2015b, p 5). Another aspect of Davies's practice that resembles current practices in hackerspaces and maker labs is found in Mooney's text: "Hands-on engagement is also evidenced in the many 'Hackspaces' and 'maker' events in which live coders sometimes participate (e.g., Leeds HackSpace 2015; Maker Faire UK 2015). All of these kinds of activities have strong agendas of learning and making, or, rather, learning by making." (Mooney, 2015b, p 8).

Mooney also refers to two other theoreticians interested in seeing Davies as a pioneer for DIY and handmade culture, namely Keith Potter and Nicolas Collins. Mooney explains:

> *As Keith Potter suggests: In the 21st century, it seems that Hugh Davies's innovatory, do-it-yourself, lo-fi approach – which in several respects prefigured present laptop culture is finding favour with a younger generation to whom this remarkable and iconoclastic innovator now appears as a significant father figure. (Potter, 2005 in Mooney, 2015c, p 3-4)

One example included in the laptop culture that Potter refers to is live coding, where coders are using open source in hacklabs and virtual labs. There is a relation between DIY and open source as both are interested in opening black boxes and understanding systems, which occur in self-established and non-hegemonic laboratories such as hacklabs or hackerspaces. Live coding through open-source and programming can be seen as a DIY methodology, where coders and programmers build their software and programs. DIY software and hardware methodologies used in hacklab communities are a referent for an alternative laboratory. Continuing with Mooney's references, Nicolas Collins

> *identifies Davies as one of the earliest pioneers of the genre of 'piezo music': In the aftermath of Cage's 'Cartridge Music' many sound artists sought affordable techniques for amplifying mechanical vibration and microscopic sounds. Since the mid-1970s the proliferation of 'Piezo Disks' in beeping appliances has effectively put contact mikes within reach of anyone with a soldering iron… [T]he disks have insinuated themselves into surprisingly diverse corners of our recorded soundscape and have given rise to a genre of 'Piezo Music.' Hugh Davies (1943-2004) (UK) and Richard Lerman (USA) were two of the earliest innovators. Davies began inventing piezo-amplified instruments in the 1970s (Collins, 2009 in Mooney, 2015c, p 4)

Nicolas Collins is one of the references in handmade electronic music, and he is a practitioner of electronic music, influencing in this way tendencies in sound art, sonic practices and music composition. Collins's views of Davies as a referent for handmade culture are used in this research to defend the laboratories' creatives potential. Davies's practice influenced the EMS as a laboratory to apply handmade electronics and DIY learning by doing.

Davies' practice is a referent to analyse the artists' methodologies in the laboratory and transform this into a place for knowledge and creativity. Davies can also be seen as a referent for hacking methodologies. For example, when Mooney refers to Davies's instrument-building practice as influenced by Mikrophonie I: "First, it involved the repurposing—which is to say, 'hacking'—of every-day objects as musical instruments." (Mooney, 2015b, p 3). Moreover, Mooney insists on Davies' practice as hacking: "live electronic music, amplification, and the hacking of every-day objects—went on to become defining characteristics of Davies's instrument-building practice" (Mooney, 2015b, p 3).

In short, the figure that Mooney, Collins and Potter describe as a pioneer of DIY, handmade electronics, and hardware hacking can be seen as a precedent for hacklabs, hackerspaces and maker labs that focus on working and researching about sound, sonic practices and music. In addition, Davies participated "within several over-lapping contexts, including avant-garde art music, jazz, improvisation, and of course the broader context of instrument-building itself "(Mooney, 2015c, p 5) working "with various other instrument-builders, notably Max Eastley, David Toop, and Hans-Karsten Raecke" (Mooney, 2015c, p 5).

The DIY ethos was a trend in underground and counter-culture movements, and in which Davies contributed with the construction of several instruments used in live performances and compositions. Mooney refers to some features that contribute to seeing Davies's DIY ethos as a referent for future live coding, "These are: economy, materiality, community, and the environment" (Mooney, 2015c, p 5). All these characteristics appear recurrent in hacklabs, makers spaces and virtual labs that practice live coding.

Principles of reduction, reuse, and recycling are like Davies's DIY ethos and practised and promoted by today's hackers, makers, and live coders who participate in the open-source movement. In Mooney's words, "Davies's instruments were economical in the sense that they were quite minimalistic, and used found, recycled, or cheaply available objects as their constituent materials." (Mooney, 2015c, p 5). Moreover, hackerspaces develop their practice based in the community and share and apply networking practices. Hackers and makers are associated through extensive connections between hackerspaces and maker labs and the practice of online networking performances, as is the case with live coders. These movements are centred on the participation, collaboration and creation of communities that develop their tools, instruments, devices, and computer software. About the community-centred practice in terms of Davies's DIY ethos, Mooney says

> *There was also an open, community-spirited ethos underlying Davies's practice. He ran instrument-building workshops with children, for instance, where the idea was that anybody could participate, regardless of background, and without the need for formal musical training. He also frequently exhibited his instruments in art galleries, where members of the public were encouraged to interact with them. For Davies, music, as an activity, was supposed to be inclusive, collaborative rather than competitive, and non-hierarchical. There is a sense that he wanted as many people as possible to become involved in music-making, and he structured his activities around this credo. (Mooney, 2015c, p 6)

Davies's music-making through DIY ethos proposes a view of the laboratory where artists, sound artists, hackers, makers (and others) contribute to sound practice and research in an open and inclusive perspective. This coincides with the idea of the counter-laboratory in Latour and the feminist lab in Emerson. The actor-network theory about the laboratory defines the lab as a cross-relational space where different practices, from science to politics and economics, interfere. In this sense, Latour opts for perceiving the laboratory as an open space where relations between agents happen. In Emerson's perspective of the lab, inclusivity is the critical element in the reformulation of laboratory practices, as labs are places of collaborative work with different agents, not only male humans but others such as females and non-humans.

Furthermore, Emerson claims a feminist perspective of the labs, referring to women's theories and practices in lab environments. Inclusivity criteria are vital in criticising hegemonic knowledge and current laboratory practices in techno-capitalistic developments and exploitative resources management. This dimension connects with the fourth feature that Mooney highlights in Davies's DIY ethos: environmentalism. According to Mooney,

> *Davies was also an environmentalist, and this is reflected in many aspects of his creative output and professional practice. His compositional work often took its inspiration from nature and the natural world, and he held parallel interests in field recording as well as advocating the building of acoustic parks in cities. Recycling and repurposing were prominent characteristics of his instrument-building practice, and one of the stated aims of his workshops was to encourage participants 'to realise that the riches of our planet do not need to be consumed and thrown away so quickly' (Mooney, 2015c, p 6)*

Davies operated a significant influence in the UK education scene working at the EMS, where he developed learning by doing. Davies also participated with these pedagogic techniques, coping with new apparatus, instruments and synthesisers acquired by the laboratory he was working in. He approached new technical resources from an artistic perspective without having a scientific or engineering background. As Davies himself explains, "By the end of the 1960s, it had become possible to build simple circuits from magazines without any detailed knowledge of electronics" (Davies, 2001, p 53). Another creative methodology that Davies applies in the laboratory is about the self-taught experience: "We were both self-taught on the technical side, learning as we went along" (Davies, 2001, p 54). Nowadays, most media labs acquire and develop STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) and STEAM (science, technology, engineering, art, mathematics) practices in a transdisciplinary approach. Again, Davies is a pioneer for media labs practices applying music and art to develop engineering and electronics and embracing creativity to operate and create new instruments in the laboratory environment. The Goldsmiths' laboratory, in which Davies experimented shows contributes to understanding the lab as a creative place for arts and music.

5. Curating

Moreover, Davies challenged the curatorial practice in developing activities such as instrument-building workshops and public exhibitions of instruments, because "throughout his career, Davies built more than 120 musical instruments and sound sculptures that 'incorporate[d] found objects and cast-off materials'" (Roberts 2001 in Mooney, 2015b, p 1). Davies is also a referent for alternative curatorial practices developed through laboratories, exploring the possibility of challenging curatorial tendencies through workshops and new exhibiting dimensions. Davies's laboratory influences curatorial practices through workshops and exhibitions not in a conventional way, but "not undertaken solipsistically, nor purely for his own artistic gratification." (Mooney, 2015b, p 6). Working with the laboratories' creative potential, workshops, and new challenging exhibition methods can be a feature for developing a reviewed concept of the scientific laboratory. Davies presented creative laboratory methodologies such as workshops and exhibitions in a challenging manner. In Mooney's words, "Davies's frequently staged instrument-building workshops for children" (Davies 2002, p 96), for example, as well as regularly exhibiting his instruments in art galleries, where members of the public would be encouraged to play them. Such activities were underpinned by a commitment to learning by doing, a methodology contributing to exploring creativity in laboratories. Davies's ethos is shown in the very first of his performance instruments, the Shozyg, which was described in the BBC's The Listener magazine as "'an encyclopedia degutted to substitute direct experience for learning'" (Davies, 1974 in Mooney, 2015b, p 6).

Davies also challenges traditional curating, a methodology that developed in laboratories offers a creative view of the laboratory, more inclusive and related to knowledge production from a different view, not science-centred, and offering a radical position in front of traditional practices based in the occidental and colonialist perspective often applied in cultural institutions.

6. Conclusions

Davies's use of creative methodologies in laboratories contributes to reify the view of the laboratory. Through different methodologies, such as learning by doing, DIY, handmade, hands-on, and self-built instruments, Davies participates in advancing hacking culture and creating media labs and hacklabs in academic environments. For example, at the Electronic Music Studio, Davies built a laboratory where practice, theory, and teaching developed through learning by doing and hands-on methodologies, which are nowadays applied in media labs, and hacklabs, and also laboratories dedicated to sound art, sonic practices and music, that contribute to redefining the laboratory in itself and its role in society.

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7.5 Black boxes in times of pandemic: The COVID-19 pandemic and the acceleration of remote-digital transmissions of theatre

Gustavo Henrique Lima Ferreira[1]

✕ Abstract

The advent of the global pandemic, caused by COVID-19 (Corona Virus Disease, 2019), established a necessity for social isolation among people, impacting various sectors, among them the cultural sector, with physical spaces closed and their activities suspended. On the other hand, the need for quarantine and physical withdrawal of individuals, ended up promoting the use of digital tools for the establishment of social interactions, both at work and at leisure. This situation provoked a rush in search of a remote medium for the production of scenes, which boosted the number of shows transmitted digitally. It is in this context that an investigation is proposed on the structuring of this theatrical performance through the media apparatus, and the expansion of the notion of presence in an increasingly connected world.

Keywords: arts, Brazil, scene arts, pandemic, theater.

1. Theater and virtuality

What are the consequences of a phenomenon whose categories, that were previously organized by physical interaction in person, are now organized by technical images, and when even the notion of presence is virtualized? Are we facing another theater, another artistic form, or just the subsequent transformation of an activity that goes back thousands of years?

Considering this panorama, we intent to analyse some examples of this remote-digital theater both before and after the advent of COVID-19 and how the pandemic accelerated this process of transmediality between the scenic apparatus and a multimedia scenario.

How can this impact the process of creating images and (re)translating text into images, through the actor on the scene, which is now (re)organized, (re)translated and (re)transmitted through the mediatic technical image.

To understand for the best what a virtual theater would be, we first need to think about the term that adjectives it, that is, to think what 'virtual' means. Let's start, didactically, by analyzing the term on the dictionary.

> *Virtual adjective*
> *ALMOST 1 almost a particular thing or quality; (...)*
> *COMPUTER 2 describes something that can be done or seen using a computer and therefore without going anywhere or talking to anyone. (Cambridge, 2008, p 1621)*

Initially, this second definition can already indicate one of the points of our discussion here. Virtual theater, therefore, would be all that set of theatrical actions, which takes place through computer means: digital media, such as social networks, websites, platforms streaming video.

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But as artists and art educators, I believe we must seek a wider understanding. Therefore, I'm much more interested on that another meaning also linked to the term virtual, found on the same dictionary: *virtual* as an almost a particular thing or quality. It means that virtual could be understood as something that exists as a potency, in the philosophical sense of becoming (*devir* in Portuguese, *devenir* in French and Spanish), as the possibility and the potential of change.

In this sense, we can consider art as a virtuality. Art is a way of producing new forms to view the world, forms that are worlds in potential, worlds to become, therefore, worlds in becoming. Then we can say are virtual worlds. Art is by this definition, also a virtuality. Talking about virtual theater then, it's to talk about the meeting of two virtualities, the virtuality of art, which empowers us new worlds, with the virtuality provided by informational technology, which simulates the world through computer, digital, technological means.

Therefore, Theater is a virtuality that is inserted both in time and in space and works with visual, auditory, olfactory and often also tactile senses and tastes. If theater allow us new ways to see the world, what are the transformations and impacts of this mediation of theatrical art by the digital medium? They are enough to establish their own characteristics and different?

Over the last decades, numerous artistic actions, as well as academic analyses, dealt with the relationship between art and cyberspace.

Arlindo Machado, still in the 1990s, already discussed about presence in cyberspace, as well as the relationship of art with technological tools and if it was important for an artist to know and operate the necessary programs and devices to formulate his work. Machado's text, by itself, rescue the issue of technological devices such as *black boxes*, an expression used in the previous decade, either in *Filosofia da Caixa Pr*eta (*Philosophy of the Black Box*) by Flusser (1985) or the *Boîtes noires* (*Black Boxes*), by Edmond Couchot (1990). "[These] devices are black boxes that simulate human thinking, through scientific theories, which, like human thought, exchange symbols contained in its "memory", in its program. Black boxes that play at thinking." (Flusser, 2018: 40; translated by the author[1]).

The impact seen throughout the twentieth century of the theater's dialogue with other languages, resulted in a post-dramatic theater that presents a fluid notion of theatricality, leading to aesthetic hybridisms, as Lehmann (2007) points out, mixing incorporating characteristics of different manifestations and directly influenced by which Flusser will point out as technical images. How then this relationship with digital media and profusion of scenic content production through these media can transform theatrical action?

For the realization of this remote theater, the action of the artists, the scene, needs be captured by a device, in this case a camera, passing through a transmission via digital media, to then be displayed on another device (TV, cellphone, computer, tablet…). The spectators will have to relate, themselves with similar questions. Will they watch the scenes in full screen, or even in the background, while performing other activities? They can be hidden, or have their images shared as well. In in some cases, they could interact, make comments. But they also will have to deal with possible limitations, related to the technical capacity of the device and the speed of connection to the internet network.

2. Remote connections and the COVID pandemic

The advent of the global pandemic, caused by COVID-19, established a need for greater isolation between people and, with that, boosted the search for transmitted actions through digital media. But it must be clear that the notion of a virtual theater is already discussed and performed scenically long before we are in isolation, flooded by lives and the like. Over the last few decades, the experiments in the which the scene seeks to present itself through other means.

However, how to maintain this same potentiation relationship of presence, in an exchange through digital media, of virtual environments. Maybe through conversation, through the exchange for videoconference between the artists, in a mutual celebration, stimulating the public to celebrate together, including participating in specific moments, through tools of Digital communication.

Serving as an example of this remote interactions of theater through the digital field for decades, the British-

1. Aparelhos são caixas pretas que simulam o pensamento humano, graças a teorias científicas, as quais, como o pensamento humano, permutam símbolos contidos em sua "memória", em seu programa. Caixas pretas que brincam de pensar. (Flusser, 2018, p. 40).

German Group *Gob Squad* was producing the work *Show me a good time* to be launched in 2020, where the audience would watch from within the theater an interaction in real time of artists broadcasting scenes live in different locations in the city. "In Show Me A Good Time, Gob Squad send out time-travelling, shape-shifting explorers into a strangely unfamiliar reality, to find out how to go on and where, amongst the dust and the dirt, a good time might be found again" (Gob Squad, 2020, n/p).

With the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic and the impediment of the public's presence in the theater building, the group reorganized the work in a 12-hour live event broadcasted from the HAU - Hebbel am Ufer theater, in Berlin (6 pm to 6 am local time), where only one person stood on stage, in front of an empty audience, interacting with the other artists by videoconference, while the remaining artists circulated around the city with personal protective equipments trying to interact safely with other persons on public open areas.

The play was lately presented as originally conceived with part of the audience at the theater, but the group choose to maintain the live streaming version simultaneously, which leads us to another important issue, that is the realization of hybrid plays, where in addition to the virtual modality, there is a resumption of the face-to-face audience.

In those cases, presential and remote modes coexisting simultaneously. At the center is the notion of *telepresence* in the Greek sense of *téle* as of distance, and the Latin *praesentia*, which means being ahead, being within reach. On one hand, there are those who inhabit the *théatron*, the place where one can see the event within reach. On the other, there are the remote spectators on their *tele-théatrons*, places from which the event is seen from a distance. At the same time, we see the actors performing the same kind of interaction, between those present on the stage, in direct contact with other actors and actresses through a telepresence. If the face-to-face viewer is invited at a certain moment to participate in the scene on stage, the one who watches at home could be summoned to participate from a web chat, or by telephone, in this case we see again the radical *téle*, as something away, next to *phoné*, of sound, expressing a distant communication by sound. The theater then functions as a vortex, a force of attraction that seeks to intertwine these presences in the search for the scenic event.

▶ Figure 7.5.1 – *Show me a good time*
▶ Source: Gob Squad, 2020. Photo by Dorothea Touch.

I mention now a work done by me, at the end of 2020, with students from the Theater course at UFT. In the play, called "Delírios de uma vida quarentenada" (Delusions of a Quarantine Life). Even not promoting an active participation of spectators, the structure of the show sought to maintain a direct connection, where even pre-recorded actions were included in the present moment, that is, everything was presented at the same time as the spectators were watching.

▶ Figure 7.5.2 – *Delírios de uma vida quarentenada* (Delusions of a Quarantined Life)
▶ Source: author's archive.

If we understand that the feeling of presence, the presentification, happens when spectator finds himself in the same space and time in which the action is being performed, the presence in the virtual field maintains the temporal axis, but expands the spatial relationship to any place where individuals can connect, in the same cyberspace, to the same time.

But even the temporal axis is relatively maintained, as the connection needs to be realized at the present moment, but the use of technological devices can expand the image of the artists through time, but always in a link with the present, when the connection is held.

The notion that everything that happens in the scene could happen while you watch and, therefore, anything new could happen. Everything is virtually possible, whether in the artistic sense, as well as in the transformation of our homes into virtual audiences.

Effectively, the stability of the internet connection is another risk that appears in this modality, since it depends on the operation of appliances that require power and connection. But honestly, also in a large theater, if there is no light, most of the shows could not be continued. If the solution on the presential stage can often be the use of emergency lights or even candles, in the case of a virtual scene, we might need to make use of personal chargers and mobile data packages to give continuity to a scene.

3. In conclusion

We're already heading to the end of the conversation, so it's worth reinforcing that, more than that a discussion about one or another modality of scene construction, about one or another show, the key is to understand what is inscribed in this concept, what it encompasses what we can understand as virtuality and theater. Techniques and forms, like this as devices, they transform, change, but if we understand the logic with which they relate, we will be able to adapt and relate to future developments, which we barely glimpse.

Whoever owns the device does not exercise power, but who programs it and who carries out the program. The game of symbols becomes a game of power. It is, however, a hierarchically structured game. The photographer exercises power over who sees his photographs, programming the receivers. The photographic apparatus exercises power over the photographer. The photographic industry has power over the camera. And so, ad infinitum. In the symbolic game of power, it is diluted and dehumanized. This is what "computer society" and "post-industrial imperialism" are. (Flusser, 2018, p. 40; translated by the author[2]).

In this Flusserian perspective, where the ontological elements of technical images render the phenomena that manifested before them obsolete, what would be the impacts of this digital transmission of the theater, of this remote-digital theater, in the theater itself and in the notion of theatricality?

When Flusser spoke about our relationship with the virtualities, many of us were not even born, so like digital cameras, cell phones, and even the internet. But his speech resonates perfectly today, not because Flusser was a prophet, but because he knew explore the concepts and relationships that were already there, presented, in the formulation of the gadgets. Relationships that were already willing and that only intensified

The artistic manifestations and, among them, the theater, reflect the relationships of their time and make use of the technological advances of each the time. Since the architecture of Greek theaters, great works use knowledge and technology to their advantage, passing by the machinery of medieval theater, to the use of perspective in Renaissance art that exerted influence theater, with the construction of scenarios designed in geometric proportions, creating an illusion of depth, which were benefited by a front stage theater model.

In the modern era, the use of lighting and numerous technological innovations was always presented at the theatrical spectacles. It is reasonable, therefore, that in a society which a large part of the interactions takes place through digital media, then the virtual interactions would also appear in the theatrical making.

When Euripides lowered a large basket, supported by ropes and pulleys, carrying an actor from the ceiling to the stage of the Greek arena he was able to shape the image of a god, who descended from heaven to enter the scene. *Deus ex Machina*, a god that was present by the machine. Today the biggest entertainment venues have numerous automated poles, capable of suspending scenarios and actors, making them even fly about the audience. But the principle remains the same, to make something visible to us imaginary. We may consciously know that the actor is not flying, but we are able to imagine this. A flight that has no real effect, but exists as a possibility, as a virtuality.

While in the scenic black box, numerous resources are used to build playfully the theatrical scene - the use of lighting, changing sets, trapdoors, elevators and poles that make small elements or even character appear or disappear – in the technological black box, we have access to other tools, as the recombination of images and sounds, as long as the artist seeks to play with the device, in order to explore possibilities not foreseen in its original programming, thus, producing new scenic virtualities.

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2. Quem possui o aparelho não exerce o poder, mas quem o programa e quem realiza o programa. O jogo com símbolos passa a ser jogo do poder. Trata-se, porém, de jogo hierarquicamente estruturado. O fotógrafo exerce poder sobre quem vê suas fotografias, programando os receptores. O aparelho fotográfico exerce poder sobre o fotógrafo. A indústria fotográfica exerce poder sobre o aparelho. E assim ad infinitum. No jogo simbólico do poder, este se dilui e se desumaniza. Eis o que são "sociedade informática" e "imperialismo pós-industrial". (Flusser, 2018, p. 40)

7.6 DIY in times of Crisis: COVID-19 Adaptations of Turkish Alternative Music Scene

Nil İpek Küçükbaşlar[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

In Turkey, the quarantine had started abruptly in March 2020. Combined with government restrictions, live performances were mostly canceled. The venues, bars and cafes -which played an important role as a center for both performance and musical community- remained closed. Musicians had to learn a new set of skills and new technologies to adapt and stay active during the quarantine. This study tried to understand and explain how familiar the musicians (both singer-songwriters and instrument players) to certain DIY practices were that helped them get through the Covid-19 crisis. The study focused on the 15-months-period of quarantine in Turkey. T Thematic analysis of semi-structured in-depth interviews with 10 singer-songwriters was combined with the author's auto-ethnographic observations as an independent singer-songwriter. Three themes related to DIY production; Home, Expectation of Visibility and Digital Income Model, and two sub themes under Covid-19; Economical Uncertainty and Creative Anxiety were observed. Further discussion suggests a connection among each theme.

Keywords: DIY, Covid-19, Turkey, social media.

▸ Figure 7.6.1 - Soundcheck in Beykoz Kundura Fabrikası
▸ Source: the author.

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A great stage was constructed just next to Bosphorus, in Beykoz. The sound system was great, the view from the stage was spectacular. It was our first full band live concert after a long period of time, and we were very excited. The view from the stage was unbelievable, the sound system was great, the weather was just perfect and there were comfortable chairs placed socially distanced for the audience. Yet, we still weren't sure if we would be able to give the concert or not. A new notice by the Governorship of Istanbul was banning all concerts without exception, using Covid-19 as an excuse. The starting date and time were ambiguous, so it was still being discussed while the soundcheck was being done.

That night, we took the stage. However, due to the ambiguity of the notice by the Governorship of Istanbul, only a few people were present as the audience; people already thought the concert was canceled. The concert was really nice, but while I was singing -and I have to say my music is usually extremely calm and quiet- a coast guard boat came near the stage and yelled at the audience, who already had their masks on, to put their masks on with a megaphone. If you'd ask me how it was to be a singer-songwriter during the pandemic, I would show you this picture. This is how being an established singer-songwriter in Turkey can be described, endless uncertainty and regular disturbances. And while this description was already valid, all its elements were amplified during the Covid-19 pandemic.

This article aims to describe how the Covid-19 crisis was experienced in the Turkish alternative music scene for the reader and to explore if a survival toolkit is possible for the musicians. Beginning from the first Covid-19 case in Turkey, live concerts and musical events were cancelled, leaving the musicians unemployed for a long period of time. However, it is possible that musicians who adopted DIY practices might be in an advantageous position during a time of economic uncertainty and social distance. They may have been able to do both musical and visual production at home and managed their tracks' promotion all by themselves, since this had always been what they did. Did they experience a faster adaptation? Did they feel like they survived through the quarantine?

1. A brief summary of what happened

The first Covid-19 case was seen in Turkey in March 2020; the announcement was quickly followed by preliminary restrictions, including cancellation of social events, curfew for certain age groups, closing of venues and bars and traveling limitations (Narlı, 2021). The curfew was extended to all age groups for every weekend later in April, however in May, a gradual normalization was announced to be applied; this normalization included the possibility of outdoor events being held. This fast normalization resulted in increased numbers of Covid cases in July and new restrictions in September. After a confusing notice by Ministry of Internal Affairs announcing that any type of concerts held in cafes and restaurants were banned (DHA, 2021), a further notice came from Governorship of Istanbul, making any type of concerts, shows or festivals forbidden (İstanbul Valiliği İl Sağlık Müdürlüğü, 2021).

March 2020	-First case and death from Covid in Turkey -Preliminary restrictions includes event cancellations -Regulations: Curfew for 65+ and 20-, working hours for markets, travel restrictions -Erdoğan announced a donation campaign where citizens fere expected to donat money to the government.
April 2020	-Weekend curfews started suddenly (2 hours before the weekend) -Prisoners were released -Records on Dolar and Euro exchange rates -20% price increase on foods
May 2020	-Partial normalization started: Shopping Malls and Barbers were open. -A new record for Dolar exchange rate. -New taxes (%30) for imported goods such as electronics, musical instruments, game consoles, cameras, recording and broadcasting equipment -All places except entertainment venues can be open until 22.00 -Outdoor concerts can be organized -New Support Campaigns for musicians: Festtogether, IKSV
June 2020	-Normalization started, but entertainment venues remained closed. -No more weekend curfews -Football league started -Food prices raised again -Online concerts by the Presidency
July 2020	-Covid cases increased -Hagia Sophia became a mosque
August 2020	-Natural gas found in Black Sea -Caria Museum also announced to be a mosque

▶ Table 7.6.1 - A brief summary of what happened from March 2020 to August 2020
▶ Source: the author.

While events were being banned, a support package for musicians was announced by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in December 2020, 9 months into the pandemic (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2020). This package was offering 1000 Turkish Liras (roughly $135 or €111) each month for three months, and it should be considered that the monthly hunger threshold was 2590₺ and the poverty threshold was 8436₺ for a family of four at the time being (Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, 2020). It should be also mentioned that, during these nine months period, outdoor concerts were held only for three months, and concerts were to be forbidden for the next six months.

September 2020	-Restrictions started again -Schools started face to face education partially -A complex regulation: Concerts get forbidden. Masks became obligatory. -Vaccinations would start in the first months of 2021; Erdoğan announced.
October 2020	-Because it was suspected that the number of Covid-19 cases announced by the government were not true, the tables changed. This resulted in a lot higher numbers of cases. -All events were postponed until December 1. -Earthquake in Izmir (6,9)
November 2020	-More restrictions and weekend curfews again. -All events of NGOs were postponed for 3 months. -Minister of Economy (Berat Albayrak) resigned.
December 2020	-Covid case number is 5 times higher than April -Vaccinations started -4 days curfew -Financial support package for artisans and shopkeepers
January 2021	-Ministry of Culture announced a financial support package for musicians (1000 ₺ a month for 3 months-then it continued for a while more)
February 2021	-Normalization will start on March 1, the Ministry of Health announced. -Government discusses not using Meyhane or Nargile in places' names
March 2021	-Minister of Health announced that 14 million vaccinations were applied, and 100 million units will come.
April 2021	-Because of the increased numbers, partial restrictions started again. -A total curfew was announced (April 29 - May 17).
May 2021	- "Enjoy I'm vaccinated" ads for tourists from abroad -120 million units of Biotech vaccination. -Taksim mosque opened with a huge crowd despite the pandemic
June 2021	-Partial normalization announcement had nothing to say about music or concerts; only music and venues were excluded from the regulations. -Another record rate for Dolar -All age groups get vaccinated -While announcing the new normalization process, Erdogan announcing the music bans after 00.00 by saying "No offense but no one has the right to disturb another". By musicians and the secular population, it was taken as officially accepting that music is a nuisance. -New regulations for venues make it impossible to profit from a concert for small-medium scale venues.

► Table 7.6.2- A brief summary of what happened from September 2020 to June 2021
► Source:the author.

Ministry of Culture and Tourism supported musicians for a total of 7000₺ until the second gradual normalization in June 2021. Yet, there was no information about musical organizations or concerts in normalization announcements, as if almost ignoring a whole sector. The long-awaited announcement came towards the end of June by President Erdogan; the ban on live music was lifted under certain regulations; turning it off by 12 AM being one. While announcing the good news for the music industry, Erdogan made a comment

independent from the pandemic regulations and said, "No offense, but no one has the right to disturb one another in the night" (Deutsche Welle, 2021, n/p). This sentence created a huge backlash when combined with the visible changing cultural policies of the last years and the frustration of the last 16 months.

Being a musician in Turkey is like swimming in a sea of political and social uncertainty; most musicians do not have health insurance or any guarantees, the income constantly fluctuates, and musical events are always the first ones to get canceled during crises and mournings: This uncertainty gained strength during the pandemic where the government's approach towards the cultural industries became more visible. Covid-19 regulations mostly put the musicians and artists in a disadvantaged position compared to other fields of work. Sometimes even specifically concerts were banned while other performative arts could take stage. Also, most of the venues were closed if they didn't have a restaurant or tourism license. Bars -as the main meeting and staging places for alternative musicians were closed for a year and a half without any financial support, making it almost impossible to stay alive. During the pandemic, while crowded political congresses were being held, a huge number of people performed namaz in cami openings or funeral rituals; cultural events, specifically live music events were canceled. Not the quarantine or the restrictions alone, but the double standards created frustration among musicians.

In addition, reaching necessary equipment during the pandemic became harder, considering the state of Turkish economy and additional taxes on electronics and musical instruments. Not only the Turkish lira lost value (Dolar from 6.33 to 8.88, Euro from 7.03 to 10.41), but also additional taxes were put on a wide range of imported products in the second month of the pandemic. These included but not limited to recording and broadcasting equipments, instruments, electronics etc. This situation made it almost impossible for musicians to obtain the necessary equipment for digital works or bedroom productions after the pandemic because none of this equipment can be found produced in Turkey.

This study aims to understand how Turkish musicians from the alternative scene experienced this period and to explore their DIY practices that helped them through the quarantine. It was expected to observe DIY practices in both audio and visual production, resulting in an effective use of new media (including digital streaming platforms and social media.

2. Method

2.1 Sample

The study focuses on singer-songwriters who might have been in a more advantageous position compared to other types of musicians such as singers, instrument players or band members. The possibility for this advantage comes from being able to write their own songs and to communicate directly with their audience via social media channels. The sample consisted of 10 singer-songwriters, selected for the study via judgmental sampling; musicians were selected based on having control over musical production and promotion processes at the moment or in the past. Among them, six musicians have never had a contract with a label for their own projects, three musicians had been previously signed with major labels, and the remaining three musicians had been signed with a label at the time. The singer-songwriters were based in Istanbul and were between 23 to 38 years old. The genres embraced by the musicians varied from alternative rock to spoken word, however, a DIY approach towards music was a common trait. In addition, these musicians were selected because of the mutual experiences; being on stage at the same festivals and venues, sharing a common listeners' profile, started being active after the 2010s and reaching popularity around 2018 based on my professional judgement as an active singer-songwriter in the scene.

2.2 Data Collection

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the subjects. Most interviews were conducted and recorded through Zoom, while two interviews were conducted face to face and recorded by a handheld field recorder. Questions focused on musicians' production processes, DIY practices and Covid experiences as well as living as a musician in Turkey.

2.3 Analysis

Transcribed interviews were coded for thematic analysis in TAMSAnalyzer (Weinstein, 2010) and then transferred to Numbers for analysis. After determining the overarching themes, all sub-themes that were observed are being coded, first steps being within single interviews. As described in detail by Braun and Clarke (2006), the process continued with reviewing themes, defining them and producing a report, using sufficient quotations as evidence. The coded quotations were reread and reanalyzed for repeating patterns and keywords.

3. Results

3.1 Home (Produce-It-Yourself)

You know; where I create music is the room I live in. So it still exists, until they kick me out. Until I become homeless, at least I have the place where I make music. (Subject 6)

Musicians rarely report any loss of social connection. Instead, the sameness in the life and production was emphasized: At home, they had the equipment to record a new track from scratch. Instead of relying on a recording technician or an expert in the field, they preferred to do most of the recording by themselves. When places they meet with other musicians were asked the most common answer was "home" again. Carrying out their own production process and being able to record at home helped singer-songwriters to create and release songs during the pandemic.

3.2 Expectation of Visibility (Promote-It-Yourself)

During the pandemic, we didn't have any materials at hand, we didn't have any concerts, anything to get excited about… Unless we are releasing a new song or there are some news about something that we are interested in, there is nothing worth sharing. So, we all became social media monkeys looking for things to do, I think. I think many musicians experienced this. (Subject 5).

Even though singer-songwriters were familiar with promoting themselves in social media and they have given digital concerts; all musicians complained that visibility became more important than the creative output itself. Since they have the full control over the processes of promotion in social media channels, feeling obliged to share constantly is combined with the frequent exposure to other musicians' outputs in social media results in an uncanny feeling of responsibility and creates anxiety. In addition, digital concerts were despised by most subjects, especially because the pandemic made it almost obligatory. The relationship with a smartphone camera differed from the relationship with a live audience, and although sponsored digital concerts had been a serious source of income for some musicians, still, none of them was comfortable with the idea.

3.3 Digital Income Model (Operate-It-Yourself)

I don't see music industry as a whole block. If you are more at the performance side, if you work on and around the stage, this is a lethal crisis since all the venues are closed. But if you could have created an income model that can exist in digital, and if you did it beforehand, if you have that system, it doesn't kill you, it just pauses the process. (Subject 3).

I never expected anything like this pandemic, and if I wasn't an independent musician, I wouldn't have an income like a monthly paycheck. (Subject 5).

Musicians who were receiving passive income from previous releases had been more comfortable during the pandemic. Besides being able to create or produce new songs, keeping the previous tracks' rights was another important aspect for survival in quarantine. Some musicians, who were signed with labels previously, even reported regret, mentioning that they were not sure if it was worth it.

3.4 COVID: Economical Uncertainty and Creative Anxiety

We are observing how a whole culture, arts and entertainment sector vanished and how it could not gain any attention besides from the insiders of that sector. I think making art, working on art is like being a flower in the desert on this land. This is why I appreciate my fellow musicians, I love them. I'm glad I am doing this job. (Subject 7).

There is a little feeling of abandonment, you know… Of course, we were seeing some signs of this in other crises, I mean, disasters, bombings, etc… But I really didn't know they didn't give a single f*ck about us. It hit me like a slap on my face. You know what it's like, our parents used to say, "Do your music, of course, but you need a job". They proved them right! It's so hard to swallow, because it's something you devote yourself to. From top to the bottom, it's something you give so much from inside, from yourself... (Subject 4).

Economic uncertainty caused by Covid regulations is not totally independent from musicians' position in Turkey or the government's approach towards cultural industries. Although most musicians who were interviewed succeeded to remain in a stable economic condition, the risks were seen as high due to new social media regulations, sudden tax policies and the visible double standards in regulations against performing arts. In addition, news about musicians committing suicide due to lack of income during the pandemic resulted in a feeling of insufficiency and despair. In their statements, the situation of these musicians acted as a proof of the government's lack of interest.

4. Discussion

The aim of the study was to reveal any possible adaptation strategies or DIY practices adopted by singer-songwriters, and to suggest a survival kit if possible. As predicted, long term strategies embraced before the pandemic, such as keeping the streaming rights, or owning sufficient equipment for recording and producing music were helpful during times of crisis. On the other hand, expected DIY activity related to visual production was found to be almost nonexistent. Musicians accepted and liked their role in the musical production; however, they pass the visual part to the professionals.

While observing musicians' relationship with social media, one should consider that concerts are a source for content. During the pandemic, one of the most prominent sources of content has disappeared, but the need for visibility was still there. The creative anxiety is not solitary; it is connected to economic uncertainty and also the very nature of social media. In addition, having the control means having the responsibility; these musicians who own the means of production and who manage the ways of promotion have to take full responsibility for their successes and failures. Although this level of control creates a certain advantage, it does not provide comfort; interviewed musicians either confessed a high level of anxiety originating from social media or stated that they were doing it mechanically.

Another interesting point is that what mainly helped musicians through the pandemic had not been their familiarity with social media or visual DIY practices; it was their familiarity with the recording equipment and technology. Reducing musical production to home recordings and individualistic modes of production may have two sides (besides its sheer possibility); first, the comfort and second, the economic uncertainty. As mentioned, "Home" was an important theme which frequently occurred in interviews, the ease in home recordings may be undeniably useful in especially vocal recordings, since all the subjects were singer-songwriters. On the other hand, the effect of economic uncertainty should not be underestimated; the musician, who is also responsible for business decisions, has to create a balance between expenses and income.

Thanks to the availability of user-friendly and cheap but decent equipment and software, the expenses for the musical production can be significantly reduced. These two sides are not actually apart from each other; the comfort of the home recordings partly come from the lack of time limit, which is a direct result of studio fees: It is a luxury to fiddle around a studio. Even singer-songwriters who were signed to the major labels stated that they recorded their albums in home studios or collective studios. The budgets provided by labels are also not very high.

Lastly, as mentioned before, an existing digital income model helped musicians get through the quarantine. However, although it reduced the economic uncertainty, it did not reduce the anxiety resulted from economic uncertainty. It may be even said that similar to the anxiety observed related to social media, an anxiety upon the control over business decisions is visible.

5. Limitations

This study represents a small part of a larger study on Independence, New Media and Covid, which aims to cover a bigger part of the industry in Turkey, including representatives from professional associations, digital distributors and major labels. Although a sample of ten musicians is definitely helpful in insight into a certain type of production and experience, it may be insufficient for new definitions and connections. Although a response saturation was observed for most subjects, further research is needed for a wider understanding.

In addition, the study lacks a comprehensive theoretical background. A theoretical approach would be needed both to understand and derive new meanings and to comprehend the nature of the anxiety, which had been a common theme among musicians.

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7.7 'I'll record it…let me just try to understand how I hold the microphone on the bass': From live performance to DIY during the COVID-19 pandemic

Maria Teresa Lacerda[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

The coronavirus pandemic has shaken everyday life. In the music scene, the criminalization of nightlife has led to a drastic reduction in live music (Nofre et *al.*, 2020), and artistic professionals, like other gig-workers, found themselves in a position of vulnerability (Jean, 2020). But it was not only the performances that were affected by social distance: conditioned access to studios also made rehearsals and recordings difficult. In this context, access to technology has become indispensable. When musicians are wondering "how can I monetize online?" (Nobre, 2020), DIY is an alternative to consider. Composing and recording at home for later dissemination is a means of passing the time, preserving the perception of productivity and contribution to society, maintaining a close relationship with audiences and still get some income on streaming platforms. This study uses an ethnographic approach that combines participant observation and semi-structured interviews, to address the relationship between technology and creativity.

Keywords: music, COVID-19, confinement, online, DIY.

This paper is the result of preliminary and exploratory research carried out within the scope of the doctorate in ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon, Portugal. This study uses an ethnographic approach that combines participant observation, interviews, and informal conversations to address the relationship between technology and creativity.

In order to maintain a certain diversity, people from different music genres who perform in Lisbon, classical music, burlesque, *fado vadio* and indie, were interviewed. The majority accumulate musical work with other activities to provide a certain stability[2], which is in accordance with the results of the Survey of Independent Professionals of Arts and Culture carried out by the Portuguese Observatory of Cultural Activities (Neves et *al.*, 2021) and data from the Union of Show Workers, Audiovisual and Musicians. My parallel work as a performer favoured the dialogue with the musicians, uniting them a shared experience of running out of concerts, trying to find motivation to explore new things and "passing time" while struggling to cope with isolation, having rehearsals cancelled by confinement measures – and even trying to do it illegally, and being stopped by the police. By being seen as an insider, it was possible to approach sensitive themes such as transgression in the daily life of a musician.

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2. Even though teaching was a recurrent option, in this small sample there were also musicians working in design, creating content for social media, and driving touristic transports - jobs that allow management of the workload.

Despite saying that they are available to conduct the interviews in their own name, the interviewees expressed discomfort with the situation, especially when we addressed contractual issues – not wanting to harm themselves or the establishments that employed them sporadically or regularly. As the consent was not enthusiastic, it is more ethical to make them anonymous in this paper. A similar fear was noted by *Ação Cooperativista* (Cooperative Action)[3], in an inquiry revealing that the obligation to pay for canceled shows by public entities, established in Decree-Law No 10, was not fulfilled (Lusa, 2020). It is worth asking who gains the most in maintaining the topic taboo. In other hand, anonymity is safer for queer artists, as homophobic violence did not decrease with the pandemic.

1. Emergence of the coronavirus in Portugal

The first case in Portugal was identified on March 2nd, 2020. On the 9th, the World Health Organization declares a pandemic. However, it is only on March 13th that the government declares a State of Emergency – establishing a strict confinement. The climate of uncertainty dragged on until June 1st, when the Government implemented the Deconfinement Plan, which allowed the reopening of concert halls and music venues under strict hygiene and safety standards. From September onwards, there is a new increase in cases, which leads to the declaration of a Calamity Situation on October 15th, and a State of Emergency on November 9th. The Government opts to grant an opening at Christmas, allowing circulation – perhaps anticipating massive disobedience and strong criticism from Catholic believers. Vaccination begins on December 27th, prioritizing the elderly. On New Eve there was no exception regime, maintaining the State of Emergency until March 2021. On March 11th, a new Deconfinement Plan begins, in a delicate balance of advances and setbacks, with measures constantly changing, sometimes allowing, sometimes preventing, the planning of events in the short and medium-term. The monitoring of measures in place at the moment can be consulted on the government website Estamos On (República Portuguesa, 2020).

As Jordi Nofre et *al.* (2020) pointed out, the criminalization of nightlife has led to a drastic reduction in live music. Tyra Jean adds that artistic professionals, like other gig-workers, found themselves in a position of vulnerability (Jean, 2020). As an example, an excerpt from the interview conducted with a burlesque singer:

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> *Basically, I had two concerts a week in March. I did three and then they canceled everything because of COVID. [...] It was my understanding that it would be paid with a receipt. I tried to go to the finance department in my area and they were closed because of COVID... and I was postponing. I didn't receive a receipt... I wasn't receiving any money either... And on June 4th – the reopening of the space where I went to sing – I was paid for the four concerts, "under the table", without a receipt. [...] They didn't give me any security. They said: "we are all in the same boat, we don't know what is coming from now on".*

But it was not only the performances that were affected by social distance: conditioned access to studios also made rehearsals and recordings difficult. Even when it became possible to return to rehearsals, it also had its challenges. Despite trying to maintain a certain distance in the rehearsals, two different members of the alto section in the Gulbenkian choir[4] confided that there were transmission chains there, which meant that they quickly had to go into prophylactic isolation. They point out the specificity of voice projection as an aggravating element, for which the distance of two meters was not considered.

In this context, access to technology that allows adaptation to the life in confinement has become indispensable. Suddenly, it seems the virtual scene Richard Peterson and Andy Bennett write about was the only one available (Bennett & Peterson, 2004).

. . . .

3. Ação Cooperativista is an informal activist group created on April 14th, 2020, that practices a collaborative, non-hierarchical work methodology that seeks to unite, valuing diversity, workers in the arts and culture in Portugal (*Unir Sem Apagar as Diferenças*, 2020).

4. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation appear in 1956 by the last will and testament of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, a philanthropist of Armenian origin who lived in Lisbon between 1942 and the year of his death, 1955. Established in perpetuity, the Foundation's main purpose is to improve the quality of life through art, charity, science and education (*Overview*, 2021). With that intention, the Foundation created the Coro Gulbenkian (Gulbenkian Choir) in 1964. Nowadays, the choir has a full symphonic formation of around 100 singers, but it can also appear as a smaller vocal ensemble, according to the nature of the performed musical works. Thus, the Coro Gulbenkian may appear as an a cappella ensemble or join the Orquestra Gulbenkian or other orchestras to perform choral-symphonic literature. It has also performed (and often premiered) many 20th century works by Portuguese and international composers (*History*, 2021).

2. Turning to online – the rehearsals

Software such as ZOOM, Facetime or Google Hangouts, among others, have allowed the collective musical real-time practice to be transposed into a format compatible with social distancing. Ursula Levens, musician and music pedagogue at University Carl von Ossietzky and editorial board member of the journal *Music Cognition*, thinks those tools can help make the isolation more tolerable, because they allow visual contact, which creates some kind of proximity (Levens, 2020). But it comes with some disadvantages: latency affects the perception of beat and rhythm and the feeling of synchrony, and expressive dynamics might be inaudible or distorted. Artists who also teach music manifested a stronger concern with the sound, as they felt it didn't affect only them, but also made it harder to help their students as much as they would in presential classes.

3. Who wants to DIY?

The quote that inspires this paper is from a classical contrabassist that was trying to record music at home. We started playing on a project of an indie singer and songwriter who had record her EP in confinement. As they[5] are struggling to figure out how to do that for the first time – until then their career was as a performer of classical music mostly, so they didn't feel the need to record – the rest of the band didn't have the same challenges. The singer, the only one who used to record from home, had microphones and software dedicated to that activity. I come from a piano classical education but also have some past experience as keyboard player in a post-rock band, so I was a little bit familiar to the use of technology. It became obvious that the different backgrounds of each element of the group conditioned the knowledge and equipment available at their home.

In an interview, a violinist that plays with several quartets and orchestras shared the same experience. The sound he was looking for, he couldn't achieve at home. He also thought it wasn't worth the effort or the financial investment – specially with the reduction of income due to the cancellation of concerts. He said his time was best spent practicing and leaving the recordings for the orchestras. The turn to online silences the population fringe of those who are technologically excluded, such as the elderly or the poorest or those who live in areas with a bad network, etc. – reinforcing pre-existing inequalities to the pandemic. Thus, it is clear that not everyone can or wants to transition to the virtual scene. So, who wants to DIY and why?

Guilherme Nobre, a researcher at the Unesco Chair for Sustainable Human Development, urges musicians to look at DIY as a way to monetize online (Nobre, 2020). But is this really a viable option, is it possible to earn a living wage? All interviewees didn't think so. They said: "maybe for the already famous artists who actually can live from the royalties". That is definitely not the case for the large majority or Portuguese musicians, and let's be clear, quality or quantity of the work done has nothing to do with it. That doesn't mean it is not worth it – as the burlesque singer points out: "for a time, the online festivals were the only way to be paid".

Richard Frenneaux and Andy Bennett (2021), in the article published in the journal *Rock Music Studies* suggest that going online is a way for artists to maintain a close relationship with their audiences. They also point out that musicians who were into DIY pre-COVID already have the skills necessary to adapt to the new circumstances. That was the main goal of the indie singer and songwriter. She is in her twenties and she performs since child as singer and dancer. She used the extra time to record at home for the first time the songs she was already performing in concerts, both in Portugal and England, and the positive feedback from the audience encouraged her to keep writing. She ended up producing a whole EP and some videoclips. She said that helped a lot psychologically: she used to be busy, so she needed something to pass the time and to feel productive and give back to society. It was also a way of preserving her musician identity – as the question "What kind of performer doesn't perform?" was making her feel sad and depressed. Her music is on Spotify and YouTube, and some previews on Facebook, Instagram and TikTok. She has mixed feelings about that: although she thinks the streaming platforms exploits artists, as a female queer musician who is enthusiastic about doing it all by herself and having total creative freedom, she finds it hard to make her work known through traditional media such as radio. She also stressed that, even though she had less streams per song on YouTube, they paid her way more than Spotify.

5. As a non-binary person, the pronouns preferred by the contrabassist are "they" and "them".

The *fado vadio*[6] singer doesn't think his practice could be done online, as a subgenre based on intimist mood and improvisation. However, he finds the DIY recordings at home could really pay off. For him, the quality of the final result doesn't matter, as long as the tourists keep buying it. As the process is inspired by pirate CDs of the turn of the millennium, it is possible to have a real return on the investment. Sometimes, the badly done record can even be preferred as is perceived as more 'typical' or 'authentic'.

4. Final thoughts

The pandemic of COVID-19 came to highlight the precarious situation facing the culture and arts sector, and live music is no exception. Without concerts, the musicians found themselves struggling to have an income. The virtual scene appeared to be the only one option available, so some performers tried to adapt to the circumstance. Aesthetics preferences, financial situation and technological knowledge conditioned that transition. Finally, it's worth noting that, in the scope of this investigation, there are more testimonies of singers going online, starting DIY and staying's on with social media than instrumentalists. Thus, the next step will have to do with realizing if there is a connection between these concerns and "being the face of the band" or if those who played electrified instruments were already more used to recording from home, or if there is a different explanation.

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6. *Fado vadio* is a type of fado in which both amateur and professional fado singers can participate, accompanied by house guitarists. Usually, the singers choose the songs in the moment, based on what they feel is a good fit for the mood of the room or themselves – an exercise similar to what Tia DeNora described as "knowing what is needed" in self-programming musical material (DeNora, 2000).

Theme tune 8

'Protest and survive'. Protest, artivism and new social movements

8.1 The improvised city: contributions of informal dwelling towards an expanded paradigm of the metropolis. The case of Porto, Portugal

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

Acknowledging the importance of dominant global discourses and aesthetics in the validation of a hegemonic urban development model that reinforces urban inequality, this paper addresses the need for narratives and representations that challenge current paradigms. Taking the city of Porto as a case study, we hypothesize that within this context, the acknowledgment and valuation of informal dwelling may provide relevant contributions to the construction of such alternative discourses. Delving into the aesthetics and the implicit politics of informal dwelling, we examine its contributions towards aesthetic and social diversity, and the opportunities it presents for participation in the construction of Western urban landscapes. Contrasting the emanant visual character of informal dwelling with hegemonic representations and re-branding narratives in the city of Porto, the paper brings light to a ubiquitous, yet disregarded reality that may bring crucial inputs to a purposeful debate on diversity, equity, and democracy in urban environments.

Keywords: informal dwelling, gentrification, Porto, counter-hegemonic discourse, countervisuality.

Introduction

In the city of Porto, as in many other "heritage-rich European cities" mass tourism and real estate speculation have been transforming the physical environment, as well as the social fabric and economic activity (Fernandes et *al.,* 2018, p. 183). Under the rule of global neoliberalism, developing cities as competitive products, most often targeting external consumers and investors has been turning cities into destinations[4], historic centres into 'theme parks' (Solá-Morales, 2016), and empty buildings into financial assets (Bismarck, 2019). As residents' needs are not at the centre of such development strategies, the city has become unaffordable even for middle-income citizens.

This development model is supported by local reproductions of global discourses and aesthetics that foster processes of gentrification and spatial segregation, tending to reinforce urban inequality. The branding

operation implemented by the Porto City Council since 2014, is an example of the reproduction and dissemination of such narratives and representations. Using a generic graphic language, easily recognized internationally, the 'Porto.' brand projects a marketable version of the city, largely presented as its rightly, endemic identity (Rebelo et *al*., 2022).

The pursuit of a more equitable and plural urban reality demands narratives and representations that challenge current paradigms and help envision alternatives. The hypothesis presented herein is that in contexts such as Porto, the aesthetics and implicit politics of informal dwelling can provide important contributions to the formulation of such alternative discourses and representations, thus helping counter a narrative of inevitability that underpins the hegemonic neoliberal vision of the city as a competitive product in a global market (Anholt, 2007).

The paper firstly provides a contextual definition of the research subject, through which we begin to unravel the subversive potential of informal dwelling practices and aesthetics (which lies in the very characteristics that determine their designation as informal) as well as to evince the aesthetic and legal intricacies of informality. We subsequently outline a theoretical framework for the defence of informal architecture as fertile ground for the identification of aesthetic and conceptual elements that can fuel counter-hegemonic discourses. Lastly, a case study provides preliminary empirical evidence that supports our hypothesis, through the observation and interpretation of informal architectural aesthetics from the city of Porto, and corresponding juxtaposition with the globalized visual rhetoric of the city's brand and graphic identity.

1.1 Informal dwelling: a working definition

The diversity of situations to which the concept of informality is applicable, within the context of architecture, requires a specific definition within the present research. Informality, as the word explicitly indicates, is defined in opposition to what is formal. The word 'formal' derives from the Latin word 'forma', meaning form, figure, and shape [5]. It also refers to "an agreed and often official or traditional way of doing things"[6]. In the case of architecture, the concept usually refers to the norms that regulate the practice of construction, but it also applies to the characteristics of the physical form of buildings. It is also significant that the Portuguese word *forma*

['fɔrmɐ], meaning shape, is a homograph of the word forma ['formɐ] which means mould - a matrix that produces identical forms. Thus, the same spelling indicates a material result and provides a metaphor for the normative system that produces it, evincing the interdependence between process and form, between practices and aesthetics.

The normative systems that regulate architectural construction and frame architectural aesthetics are set through explicit legislation and tacit conventions. Legal norms concern property rights regulations, local development plans, building norms, the last of which are ensured by the legal requirement of professional expertise. Tacit norms concern tradition, architectural styles, and dominant aesthetics commonly referred to as 'good taste'.

Taking the perspective of visual culture, our research primarily focuses on informal architectural aesthetics, those in which a 'mould' or matrix cannot be identified, and that consequently resists framing within the above tacit conventions. This means that we will not be examining architectures that have been produced, partially or entirely, through informal practices, if they reproduce normative aesthetics, as in the case of vernacular tradition. Nor will we address architectures that are visually unconventional if they were conceived within the exercise of professional architecture, for we are interested in the political significance of amateur architecture. We are interested in informal aesthetics, which derive from building processes that are partially or entirely informal, because such architectures, we argue, have political potential in both respects.

Therefore, although our case study focuses mainly on informal dwellings' transgression of tacit aesthetic conventions, we will address aspects of the transgression of building legislation as well, as they are enmeshed with aesthetic transgression and - because their analysis is concurrent with our objective of providing contributions towards the construction of alternatives to current hegemonic visions and representations of the city.

Besides the differentiation of the various natures of the norms that regulate formal practices and aesthetics, we should point out that architectures that present aspects of informality often also include formal processes. This hybridity has been noted by various authors (Alterman & Calor, 2020; Ateliermob, 2014), and its acknowledgement presents a more consequent approach to the study of these phenomena than classifying architectural objects into separate categories.

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5. https://www.etymonline.com/word/formal

6. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pt/dicionario/ingles/formal?q=formal_2

There is indeed a spectrum of practices (Roy, 2005) and aesthetics in which we can identity degrees of formality and informality, ranging from dwellings that were illegally self-built on illegally occupied land, with reduced material availability, to luxury residences illegally built in protected areas[7], to illegal transformations of high-end buildings[8]. However, our research hypothesis does not concern these later examples.

Our focus on dwellings stems from "the emotional, personal and symbolic connotation of the house" (Rapoport, 1990, p. 22), and its relevance as a privileged space for the expression of personal identities that, self-building practices, contribute to the visual character of public places.

1.2 Previous contributions towards the legitimization of informal dwelling

Since the middle of the twentieth century, various authors have identified self-construction, or participated architecture, as a laboratory where experiments spontaneously take place, not only on construction solutions and aesthetic forms, but also in alternative relationships with economy, property, power, and the environment. Our hypothesis is supported by those works that address aspects that hint at the counter-hegemonic potential of informal construction practices. The most relevant examples are discussed below.

In the 1970s, in a different political atmosphere, John Turner was an outspoken advocate for "dweller control of the housing process" (Turner & Fichter, 1972, p. 2), a vindication that in his words "was treated as subversive nonsense" (Turner & Fichter, 1972, p. 150). Already then, he argued that housing must be conceived as an activity, rather than a commodity, and that "decision-making power must, of necessity, remain in the hands of the users themselves". (Turner & Fichter, 1972, p.154)

In Portugal, shortly after the 1974 revolution, a nation-wide decentralised project was launched to assist local communities living in precarious housing conditions, in the construction of dwellings and neighbourhoods that would take into account their concrete needs and desires (Bandeirinha, 2007). It was a short-lived project, as was the political atmosphere that enabled it. Still, the SAAL[9] experience and documentation are an international reference in participated architecture, which tried to establish a different housing paradigm, involving the reconfiguration of land property, as well as a revision of the roles of architects and dwellers in housing construction. Then as now, housing was a critical issue.

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The work of Amos Rapoport (1990) on the meaning of built environment is also relevant to our investigation. His approach of the built environment as a system that enables and encourages particular ways of living underlines the critical importance of built environment design in the maintenance of social order. His argument for the importance of dweller meaning in housing architecture, as distinct from designer meaning, informs his critique of what he considers to be overdesigned environments, which he sees as a product of the modernist paradigm:" in fact, the whole modern movement in architecture can be seen as an attack on users' meaning" (Rapoport, 1990, p. 22).

More recently, the work of Ananya Roy highlights the political stakes of informality in the Global South, while remarking that urbanism policies that work with informality can also be useful wherever planning is "concerned with distributive justice" (Roy, 2005, p. 147). Her analysis demonstrates how urban informality brings up issues of inequality and exploitation and evinces the injustice of the capitalist paradigm: "dealing with informality requires recognizing the 'right to the city'— claims and appropriations that do not fit neatly into the ownership model of property." (Roy, 2005, p. 148)

Most of the field research on informal dwelling addresses the context of the Global South, rarely addressing its presence in Western European contexts. The reason for this, other than the obvious fact that informal construction practices have become rare in such regions, may also include a visibility issue. The formal construction paradigm, asserted by the modernist project, has become so prevailing in these contexts, as to be perceived as natural, invisibilizing other practices. Although much of the built environment in Western European cities is considered vernacular and as such fulfils criteria that would classify it as informal, self-construction is perceived as a practice pertaining to the past, as it is hardly ever envisioned as a contemporary practice in hegemonic projects for the future of cities.

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7. See for example: https://www.jn.pt/justica/justica-pede-demolicao-de-seis-moradias-ilegais-no-geres-e-acusa-18-pessoas-13498035.html

8. For a highly mediatic Portuguese example, see: https://ionline.sapo.pt/artigo/736712/polemica-marquise-de-ronaldo-pode-violar-direitos-de-autor?seccao=Portugal_i

9. Serviço de apoio ambulatório local.

Still, examples can be found that explore different types of informal construction practices and expressions, produced in Western contexts, within different social dynamics. Once again, we highlight examples which take on a political stance. Recontextualizing the work of Collin Ward, Richard Bower has revisited the history of 'plotlander' housing in the UK in face of the contemporary housing crisis, suggesting the "positive potential of informal and alternative housing models in the UK and wider Westernized world" (Bower, 2017, p. 79). António Coxito (2016) has examined the role of contemporary vernacular architecture in the context of activism and alternative communities, to ascertain the possibilities of autonomy and autarchy in architecture, framing it within research on architecture as an instrument of utopia.

These few studies and experiments stem from the disciplinary fields of architecture and urbanism. Our research project examines the subject from the perspective of visual culture studies, aiming to contribute to the constitution of a body of research, visual material, and conceptual elements from which citizens can draw in order to imagine and formulate alternative futures. Although we approach our subject from a visual perspective, we work on the premise that aesthetic and political aspects of our subject are intimately linked.

2. Case study

Our argument is framed within an understanding of public space as a discursive scene. Brand placement and architecture are two important means of intervening in the public scene and constitute the focus of our case study. We contrast the ubiquitous and imposing presence of the 'Porto.' brand in the streets of Porto, with the widespread yet disregarded presence of informal dwelling aesthetics, in order to evince the latter's subversive potential. Considering public space as a scene where hegemonic projects work to establish cultural dominance (Mouffe, 2007), and built environments as expressions and representations of cultural, social, and political systems, we examine the respective roles of the 'Porto.' brand as a dominant representation of the city, and informal dwelling aesthetics as a counter-hegemonic visuality.

2.1 The aesthetics of 'Porto.'

Designed to represent the city as well the City Council, the 'Porto.' brand simultaneously promotes both, targeting tourism as well as the local population (Rebelo et *al*., 2022). Since its inception, in 2014, the City Council uses a wide diversity of means to grant the 'Porto.' brand massive visibility in public space, as well as online. It labels public buildings, municipal vehicles, and street workers uniforms, signals building sites, and is widely used in billboard communication. The scale of some of these interventions is gigantic: for example, the wrapping of buildings in the process of rehabilitation (Figure 8.1.1). Large three-dimensional logos placed in touristic locations to serve as selfie backgrounds. The brand's intended ubiquity, the variety of scales and its placement, both imponent and pervasive (Figure 1), its sudden and spectacular appearance, denote a strategy to invest the city with a dominant discourse and a constructed identity, an instance of what Sola Morales (2002) referred to as abusive identities imposing overwhelming homogeneity to citizens.

▸ Figure 8.1.1 - Building wrap | Figure 1b - 'Porto.' logo labeling a municipal vehicle
▸ Source: the authors

Although the brand was internationally awarded, it also faced criticism from local designers (Laranjo, 2016; Moura, 2014) as well as citizens and organized groups who contest the development model it represents, and the brand's legitimacy to represent the city (Melo & Balonas, 2019). Its graphic language has been at the centre of discussions on originality, plagiarism, and design trends that have placed it anywhere between a trend-leading brand and a product of global homogenization (Moura, 2015; Ribeiro & Providência, 2015; Rodrigues, 2019). Its formula is widespread internationally and has been adapted by other Portuguese municipalities on different occasions[10]: elements deemed characteristic of a given place are selected and represented through icons, using a generic graphic language (Figure 8.1.2).

Two main concepts are central and repeatedly used in the brand's promotional discourse: tradition, namely evoking heritage and connected to the concept of authenticity; and the opposite notion of "cosmopolitan modernity" (Aires, Moreira and Santos, 2017, unpaged). If we analyse this through the hegemonic logic of capitalism - which underlies discourses that equate the city's identity to a brand - we see that the city is conceived as a product, whose main assets are the aforementioned concepts. The brand's design highlights these two assets, through the representation of traditional local elements using a global contemporary graphic language that, as noted by Moura (2015), is characteristic of our historic period rather than a particular place.

The smooth and clean aesthetic of this graphic language is not specific to place branding. According to Chul-Han (2018, n/p): "The smooth is the signature of the present time". The "aesthetics of the smooth", enables accelerated communication. It does not "ask to be interpreted, to be deciphered or to be reflected upon" (Chul-Han, 2018, n/p). The advantages of such aesthetics in the context of branding that targets external consumers are evident: it produces representations of places that translate their alterity into easily recognizable global references, suitable for rapid touristic consumption (Porto Pelo Porto). It provides what could be called a *fast-otherness* - emptied of potentially challenging alterity - that can be absorbed during a weekend break.

▶ Figure 8.1.2 - 'Porto.' graphic identity
▶ Source:© Eduardo Aires/White Studio

The massive presence of hegemonic visual languages in public space is a means of asserting the domination of cultural, social, and political systems. In the present case study, the capitalist vision of the city as a product is manifest and endlessly repeated in public space, namely through the placement of a city brand. It is also manifest in the city's architecture, either in the 'smoothed' rehabilitation of heritage buildings, in the

'cosmopolitan modernity' of international iconic buildings[11], or the stingy aesthetics of generic apartment blocks, in which a profit-driven logic seems to leave no space for superfluous aesthetic concerns.

The pervasiveness of the language and symbols of capitalism is deep-seated in the urban landscape, having become so familiar as to seem natural. The existence of alternative expressions in public space is therefore crucial if other visions of the city are to resist the seeming inevitability of the current social order and different futures are to be envisioned. In face of the hegemony of global capitalist aesthetics, the visual character of informal dwelling can provide an antidote or a counter-image of the city, that in the words of Solá-Morales (2002), may provide a critique of the prevailing city model, as well as a possible alternative.

2.2 Informal architectural aesthetics as countervisuality

What we are designating as informal architectural aesthetics does not fit in the 'Porto.' product package. Informal dwellings are not considered as heritage, because, unlike vernacular tradition, their visual expression does not correspond to recognizable tacit norms, nor do they look modern or embody hegemonic conceptions of innovation. They would not be considered cosmopolitan or international, according to the prevailing imaginary, although they do present, in different forms, aspects of internationalism in the diverse origins and global accessibility of some of the materials employed, in their visual references, and even the people who inhabit these dwellings, as they are often the only possibility for low income or undocumented immigrant populations (Matos & Rodrigues, 2009)

Informal aesthetics cannot, by definition, be framed within known categories. The expression 'informal' serves as an uncategorized folder that accommodates a diversity of expressions that cannot be fitted in defined categories. This makes them intriguing and somewhat ungraspable, and as such, difficult to integrate in the regular tourist experience, whose brevity demands more immediate satisfaction.

Nevertheless, when adequately 'smoothed', some types of informal aesthetics that in the past were disregarded by the market, have become viable products: such is the case of Porto's endemic urban typology known as 'ilhas', many of which have been the object of functional and aesthetic reconfigurations in order to integrate the local accommodation market (Coutinho, 2017). This has been causing speculative pression over Porto's 'ilhas', and its inhabitants[12]. It is also true that there is a touristic market (even if essentially a niche market), for the type of rough and often disconcerting architectural aesthetics produced by informal processes, namely among a public that is suspicious of the products of globalization.[13] Such cases suggest the possibility of co-optation processes by which capitalism absorbs potentially subversive expressions, rendering them innocuous and turning them into yet another commodity (Alvelos, 2003).

Informal aesthetics are anything but smooth or clean. If, as Chul-Han (2018) proposes, smoothness is associated with perfection, the aesthetics we are looking at revel in imperfection. Surfaces often display the harshness of raw materials, presenting variable textures and colours, forms are irregular because of the employed tools, mirroring the singularity of the gestures that produced them (Figure 8.2.3). This complexity resists conceptual grasp but is generous to our senses. Resonating with Pallasma's comparison between the medieval "city of sensory engagement" and the modern "city of sensory deprivation" (Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 43), we see the expressiveness of informal aesthetics, in stark contrast with the aseptic smoothness of global graphic trends, and the mute aesthetics of generic apartment blocks.

11. See for example the visual and discursive presentation of the new business, cultural and civic centre *Matadouro*, by Kengo Kuma: http://ooda.eu/work/matadouro/

12. See for example: https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2018-01-24-Moradores-da-Ilha-da-Tapada-no-Porto-recusam-ser-deportados-para-dar-lugar-a-turistas

13. On this subject see: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/jan/28/no-one-likes-being-a-tourist-the-rise-of-the-anti-tour

► Figure 8.1.3 - Irregular wall | Figure 3b - Informal dwellings | Figure 3c - Informal dwelling detail
► Source: the authors

As we were able to document, although the presence of informal aesthetics is widespread and can be detected in a wide range of locations in the city of Porto, it may not be evident to the untrained eye. Unlike branding tags or spectacular architectural icons, informal architecture is embedded in the urban fabric, for they are the result of quotidian, long-term, non-centralised processes. Their visual character emanates from the landscape as a collective – even if dissonant - expression. Indeed, through the personalization of dwellings' exteriors that often occurs in informal construction (Figure 8.1.3 and 8.1.4), personal identities reach public space. Therefore, the resulting aesthetics can legitimately be regarded as a representation of that collective.

► Figure 8.1.4 - Framed gate | Figure 4b - Exterior house decoration | Figure 8.2.5 - Decorative elements on façade
► Source: the authors

It is worth noting that much of what is now valued as the city's-built heritage was produced before formal construction processes have become prevalent in the domain of housing. Although tradition was then very dominant, the fact that citizens directly intervened in the construction of their environment produced a diversity that constitutes the visual character of Porto's heritage landscape (Icomos, 1996), widely disseminated as the city's visual identity. The contemporary concentration of building activity in the few hands of professionals, developers, and affluent citizens, increasingly makes for an urban landscape that is the product and representation of dominant social groups.

The issue of citizen participation in the construction of built environments is a point of confluence in our study, where tacit aesthetic norms intersect construction regulations. Legal norms – as well as social and economic hierarchies – inhibit the participation of a large majority of the population in the construction of built environments, consequently impeding their contribution to the visual character of places, and their representation in public space. To a certain extent, the legal norms that render the building activity an exclusively professional domain also ensure control over urban environment aesthetics. In that sense, self-

building is often the expression of aesthetics deemed illegitimate. By intervening in the creation of urban landscape aesthetics, dwellers not only subvert the accepted role distribution paradigm, they also seize the opportunity to produce countervisualities (Mirzoeff, 2011) (Figure 8.1.5).
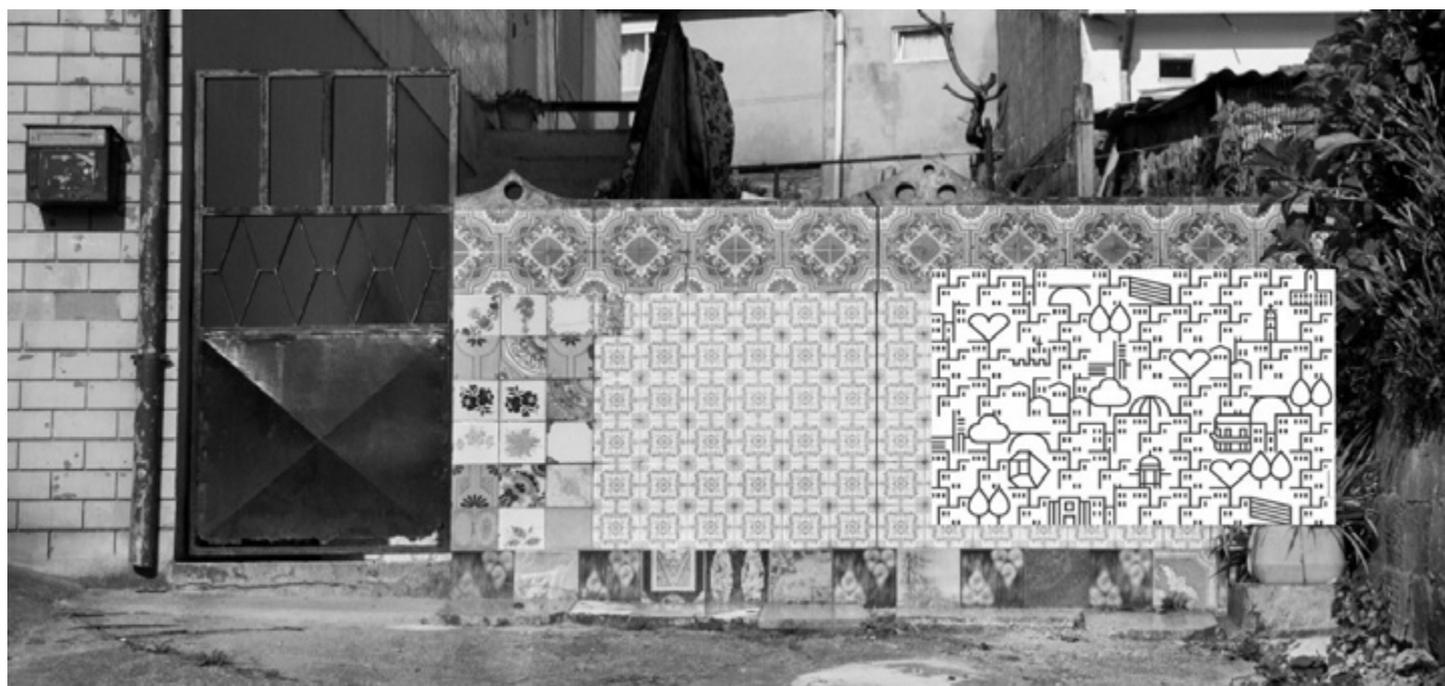
▶ Figure 8.1.5 - Detail from 'Porto' graphic identity over photograph of tiled wall
▶ Source: the authors

The aesthetic diversity produced by informal dwelling is a potent antidote to the homogenising effect of global design trends that attempt to represent cities, as to the pervading monotony and anonymity of contemporary generic architecture (Elsheshtawy, 2011). But perhaps its most valuable quality is being an expression of social diversity and democratic representation in urban landscapes. Keeping in mind that built environment aesthetics are powerful instruments in the assertion of political, social, and cultural systems, as well as persuasive enablers of corresponding lifestyles and relationship modes (Rapoport, 1990), aesthetic diversity means more than pleasure for the eyes: it contributes to the vital existence of alternative modes of building, dwelling and exercising citizenship in urban environments.

Concluding remarks

We have been able to identify concepts and aesthetic qualities that reinforce our hypothesis on the pertinence of looking into informal dwelling, for contributions to the construction of counter-hegemonic discourses and visualities in the city of Porto, and potentially in similar contexts.

The contextual definition of our research ecosystem enabled the identification and interrelation of concepts that contribute to the comprehension of the subversive potential of informal dwelling practices and aesthetics. A reflection on the relationship between the concepts of norm, form and mould, evinces the intrinsic connection between process and form, practices, and aesthetics, fostering the acknowledgment of the evocative potential and political meaning of informal dwelling aesthetics. These concepts also and provide a synthesis of that connection that can be employed in the formulation of counter-hegemonic discourses. The consideration of the explicit or tacit character of the normative systems that produce informality also contributes to disclosing the interconnections between legal and aesthetic conventions, namely in regard to their common political potential. This differentiation also informs the ascertainment of which, among the diversity of practices that can be designated as informal construction, may correspond to the research objectives.

A succinct literature review identified previous contributions to the legitimization of informal dwelling that foreground its political stakes, providing a theoretical foundation for our argument, and situates our research in geographic and disciplinary terms.

The case study offers a contextual analysis of the potential enunciated in the research hypothesis, by proposing to consider informal dwelling aesthetics as countervisuality, in the city of Porto. The city's graphic identity is examined as a dominant representation, that promotes a capitalist vision that currently dominates the city's development. The analysis of this identity enabled an identification of the visual strategies employed to establish the hegemony of that vision, namely the brand's pervasiveness in quotidian environments, through different scales of placement in public space; the use of a globalized design formula, and a generic graphic language to promote the city as a product, among prospective consumers; and the employment of the type of visual language that Byung Schul-Han' has designated as "aesthetic of the smooth" in order to facilitate the flow of uncritical consumption.

The identification of such aesthetic strategies and characteristics enables their confrontation with informal dwelling aesthetics, as a means to ascertain its potential as countervisuality. Thus, a set of aesthetic qualities was identified as potentially subversive: non-conformity to the promotional representation of the city (namely its association with tradition, innovation, and cosmopolitanism); unclassifiable aesthetics unfit for fast touristic consumption; complex and perceptually challenging aesthetics; its emanant rather that imposed character; and aesthetic diversity as a representation of social diversity and the product of participation. However, we just as much signal the risk of co-optation of such aesthetics by hegemonic discourses.

Further investigation is needed to fully ascertain the counter-hegemonic potential of informal dwelling and experimentation is required in order to determine the effectiveness of an employment of concepts and aesthetics emerging from informal contexts, in the formulation of counter-hegemonic discourses and representations. The present paper endorses the pertinence of such research.

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8.2 Transforming Urban Public Space through Art Initiatives: The Darağaç Collective in Turkey

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

In the last few years, besides very few commercial galleries and art institutions, İzmir has become a stage for several art initiatives and independent art events. These initiatives are diverse, as they appear structured under different logics of production with corresponding terminological differentiation. Darağaç, the art initiative discussed in this study, is an exceptional example in terms of both the activities it organizes and the relationships it establishes with the residents of the neighborhood. This study introduces the Darağaç Collective to discuss the effects of independent art spaces and artist initiatives on regional and urban transformation. Qualitative research methods, including on-site observation, interviews, and literature review were employed to discuss how the artistic intervention affected residents and the neighborhood. The purpose of this study is to discuss the relationship between the artist initiative and the residents of the neighborhood and its role in urban transformation.

Keywords: urban transformation, art initiatives, artistic intervention, public space, İzmir.

1. Introduction

The complex and dynamic systems that they are, it is inevitable for cities to undergo changes. We can observe different practices and experiences regarding urban transformation, a phenomenon closely related to the concepts of urban growth and urban change. Emerging from the interaction of many internal and external dynamics, urban transformation can occur as both a result and a modeled process. Given that urban change occurs according to the unique characteristics of a geographic area and that the approaches regarding the management of this change differ, practices and experiences in the context of urban transformation vary. Urban renewal, urban regeneration, urban redevelopment, urban revitalization, urban rehabilitation, and gentrification are some of the different forms of urban interventions aimed at achieving demographic, functional, physical, or social changes in cities (Tallon, 2010).

From the marketplaces (*agora*) in Ancient Greece to the public spaces in today's cities (Arendt, 1958), ensuring the flow of trade, communication and information, the common areas of cities, showing the urban dynamism, are important indicators of urban transformation. When public spaces, where real life and human experience take place, are the domain of rulers, they reinforce the status of power and position the public as spectators rather than participants. On the other hand, through public art objects, urban furniture, and landscaping, public space acquires a character in the eyes of those who use it (Habermas, 1997). According to Lefebvre (1991, pp. 358-359), there is a close relationship between space and social relations, and each relationship gains meaning in the space in which it takes shape. An understanding that takes into account the decision

mechanisms of the people and the demands of the public can help to strengthen the ability to organize publicly, the ability of people to express themselves and the sense of belonging to a place. Spaces enabling the interaction of people, who are not under control and do not know each other, increase this effect.

The sample area of this study, the district Umurbey, where the 2016-founded Darağaç Collective is located, is a potential urban renewal area in the southeast of the region formerly known as Darağaç, which, close to İzmir Bay and the port, covers an area between Alsancak Stadium and Halkapınar. An integrated and systematic renewal project for the area has not been announced yet. However, both the private sector projects consisting of commercial and residential building blocks and the idle industrial buildings, which the local government recently put in working order again, give an idea about the urban renewal process that is underway. Comprised of 19th and 20th century multi-storey (but not high-rise) residential buildings, inactive industrial buildings, factories, and warehouses that are no longer operational, the area has a heterogeneous texture. Today, many of these structures are out of order, damaged and/or abandoned. Meanwhile, with its small-scale repair shops, warehouses, and workshops of craftsmen and artists, which are located behind the harbor, the area still preserves its industrial character. In addition, the buildings converted within the scope of the refunctioning projects of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, such as the Historical Gas Factory Cultural Center, Izmir Vocational Factory, and Yaşar Painting Museum, are mostly used for cultural events and craft-related trainings that emphasize historical values.

In this study, which examines the role and impact of art initiatives in urban transformation by looking at the Darağaç Collective in Izmir's Umurbey district, we benefited from the literature on urban transformation, public space, street art, and artist initiatives. Focusing on the case of Darağaç, this study deals with the role of participatory and collaborative artistic activities in urban transformation processes. In this context, we discuss the place of art initiatives in the broader cultural and artistic environment in Turkey, the relationship of art initiatives in İzmir with the city, and the distinct features of the Darağaç Collective in terms of its collaborative and participatory activities. The relationship between the Darağaç Collective and the residents of the neighborhood was evaluated with reference to a community-based model of transformation. Using a mixed methodology and embedded in a theoretical framework concerning public art, art initiatives, and participatory and collaborative art approaches, this article offers a case study aimed at determining the role of art initiatives in urban transformation. Two different methods of data collection were employed during this study, which is based on on-site observations and findings regarding the physical and socio-cultural structure of the neighborhood on the one and semi-structured interviews with the artists, residents, and craftsmen who were the pioneers of the urban renewal process in Umurbey on the other hand. In the light of these data, we evaluated the organic relationship established by the artists with the area as well as the effect and role of collective production in urban transformation.

1.1 Urban Transformation and the Community–Based Transformation Model

The force with which different models and practices related to urban transformation intervene into the urban fabric varies on a range from preservation of the status quo to reconstruction. When compared to urban conservation activities like restoration and refurbishment which require the least intervention and preserve the existing form, function, and texture of the urban fabric, rehabilitation, involving improvement and functional change, implies a higher degree of urban intervention. The greatest urban intervention and destruction comes with renewal, redevelopment, and gentrification (Longa, 2011, p. 15). Uneven growth in the production of urban space and new office housing complex projects are important causes of gentrification and displacement in today's cities (Smith, 1996, p. xviii). Generally, these projects are shaped according to the priorities of the private sector; this tends to be true even for transformation projects carried out within the scope of public-private partnerships (Harvey, 2000, p. 152).

The transformation of neighborhoods may cause effects such as displacement due to economic, physical and social changes, neighborhood changes or housing unit changes (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2009, p. 304). The impact of gentrification in urban transformation processes is characterized by a strongly intervening and highly destructive force. The concept of gentrification was first used by Ruth Glass (1964) to describe how, in the 1960s, the British nobility employed the services of artisans and craftsmen to transform detached Victorian houses in the central working-class districts of London into ostentatious and expensive residences, leading to the displacement of low-income workers from these areas (Hamnett, 2003, p. 331). According to David Ley (1996), the demographic characteristics and cultural values of the gentrifiers, as well as their consumption

norms and cultural preferences, lead to an aestheticization of consumption. In this framework, the first stage of gentrification is linked to counter-cultural lifestyles and involves avant-garde artists, LGBT, and activist political organizations (Ley, 1996). After the 1990s, the linking of culture with the urban economy has led to the dominance of a new and competitive mode of cultural management which is characterized by a stronger involvement of the private sector. The shift in local politics towards creative industry and entrepreneurship triggered by the strategy of attracting the creative class entails the implementation of elitist policies that encourage gentrification (Harvey, 1989). The prioritization of the preferences and interests of a small elite (Beglund & Olsson, 2010) and forms of urban planning and design that are geared towards marketing the city cause a deepening of inequalities which in turn increase social polarization. Those who have a say in determining the city marketing strategy, the image used to market cities, and the cultural elements that make up this image, also interfere with the collective memory and aesthetics of the city. In this regard, Harvey (2002) emphasizes the danger of allowing multinational capital and small local elites to monopolize the symbolic capital of cities. Towards the end of the 1990s, the issue of social exclusion and programs to prevent social exclusion came to the fore and centralist approaches were gradually replaced by approaches based on participation and the neighborhood scale that were organized around local communities (Duyar-Kienast, 2015).

In current examples of gentrification, one can observe attempts to resolve dichotomies like lower/middle class, economic/cultural, and production/consumption on the axis of common interests (Lees et *al.*, 2008). As a new urban lifestyle, proximity to cultural activities and historical landscapes have gained value in the housing preferences of upper- and middle-class city dwellers. In the cities of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, where urban transformation is particularly intense, transformation projects are mostly realized in partnerships between the local government and the private sector. Criteria such as historical value and proximity to cultural activities and the old city center shape the demand in these projects. In areas where such projects have been implemented, local residents ended up being displaced (Uzun, 2013, pp. 245-250; Ergun, 2004, p. 399). The fact that the Umurbey district is an area where new housing projects are being developed and which is preferred by the urban upper- and middle-class, requires us to consider culture-based urban transformation together with concepts like cultural economy, and cultural management that became popular after the 1990s. Before the 1950s, urban policy was defined as reconstruction, while the relationship between public space and art was primarily being seen as an art object (statue) in public space.

1.2 The Role of Art in Urban Regeneration

Cultural activities have begun to play a more active role in urban transformation almost all over the world since the 1980s. The increase in the number of biennials and public art projects is an important indicator of this dynamic. Art in public spaces, which is installed to enrich and aestheticize these spaces, and the broader framework of the relationship between art and public spaces are discussed with reference to notions such as art in the public interest and art as public spaces (Kwon, 1997). In the 1980s, the number of studies on the impact of art on the urban economy increased, and although many artists would still criticize concepts inspired by an industrial economy like art managers and creative sector in the 1990s, these concepts were used more frequently, and in the following decade, art managers, funders and policy makers began to use the term 'cultural industries' instead of the word 'arts' (Evans & Shaw, 2004).

In Turkey, in addition to the cultural and artistic activities carried out with the support of the public and private sectors, non-profit artist initiatives also play an active part, especially with respect to the production of art in public space. The Istanbul Biennial, first held in 1983, is an important event in the Turkish culture and arts scene in terms of the impact of art on the urban economy. The increase in biennials, festivals etc. in Istanbul in the 1990s corresponded to an understanding of art in the public interest and was supported by the public and private sectors, although the economic contribution of these events to the city was rather limited. The dense migration to the cities which occurred in the 1970s led to a rebuilding of cities and the development of new housing projects in the 1980s and 1990s. Apart from art in public spaces, approaches like art in the public interest or art as public spaces were discussed only in very small artistic circle in these years. Examples of art as public space (like *Oda Projesi*) have increased since the beginning of the 2000s. This artistic approach of interacting with neighborhoods began to play a more active role as art initiatives started to spread towards the end of the 2000s. As in Istanbul, spaces run by artists began to spring up in Izmir in the early 2000s and became an important part of the creative economy of the city after 2010.

1.3 Art Initiatives and Public Space

The term art initiative refers to a non-profit organization, implying that the latter is 'artist-run'. The term 'artist-run' is commonly used to describe grassroots organizations founded and managed by artists. Artists establish and maintain these spaces as individuals, collectives, or groups. The term "artist-run" also emphasizes the production processes within these spaces. For us to understand these spaces, it is important that we examine the needs catalyzing the creation of artist-run spaces, and the forms of self-organization, DIY, volunteer labor, and skill that subsequently shape them. Such spaces often provide an opportunity "for emerging artists to display their work before moving on to more established venues" (Pryde-Jarman, 2013, p. 18). At the same time, due to their organizational form and the underlying understanding of a gift economy, they are likely to be a laboratory for avant-garde pursuits outside commercial art. Community-based urban regeneration models involve non-profit social initiatives and grassroots approaches which operate on a "neighborhood" scale to ensure local participation. Allowing the development of community-based cultural policies that enable the participation of local people instead of state-led (top-down) urban transformation models harmonizes with art initiatives and art as public space.

One of the important determinants of Izmir's culture and art environment is that, compared to the population of the city, the number of exhibition venues of established art institutions, museums, galleries and art centers is rather low. For this reason, there has been a search for alternative venues other than the white cube for exhibitions and art events, especially since the 1990s. There are over three hundred art initiatives in and around Izmir. More than half of them operate within the creative industries. One of these artist-run structures is the Darağaç Collective, which has reached an audience above the art scene average with the activities it has carried out in the last five years, and which adopts a participatory approach to engage in artistic production together with the people of the neighborhood. These features distinguish Darağaç from other art collectives.

Since 2010, independent art movements and non-profit common spaces have emerged to complement the few galleries located in Izmir. In the absence of art institutions like museums and galleries, especially art initiatives, generally founded by young artists in collaboration with more established artists, play a decisive role in the culture and art environment in Izmir. By strengthening both the solidarity among artists and the relations with the local government and international institutions, artist initiatives activate the culture and art environment of the city (Kılınçarslan, 2021).

If we want to gauge the impact of art initiatives in the development of an understanding of urban transformation that is determined not as the domain of the administrators, but by the decision mechanisms of the people, while also ensuring public organization and considering the demands of the public, we can look at the activities of the Darağaç Collective and the urban revitalization process in Izmir's Umurbey district. We will try to analyze the process of local revitalization that unfolded in the area while it was undergoing urban transformation by looking at a few examples from the activities of the art collective and examining the data obtained from interviews conducted with artists and residents of the neighborhood.

2. The Darağaç Collective

The Darağaç Collective is an artist-run, independent, non-profit organization founded in 2016. In 2013, some of the artists in the collective moved their studios to the neighborhood for economic and social reasons. Settling in the neighborhood for individual reasons and in a scattered manner, these artists developed an organic relationship with the people of the neighborhood. The artists who came together in 2016 to form the collective started to engage in art activities that included the neighborhood. Having acquired the official status of an association in 2020, the initiative continues to operate as a non-profit organization. Adopting the principles of street art as a search for alternative exhibition spaces apart from museums and galleries, an alternative and performative mode of production and a proposal for life (N/A, 2014, pp. 9-21), from their very first meeting, the artists of the Darağaç Collective have embraced a horizontal mode of organization in which they continuously discuss and try to develop their artistic production and exhibition strategies.

The first exhibitions of the Darağaç Collective in 2016, which were initially organized to showcase contemporary art works and contact the neighborhood, lasted only one day. This event helped to establish a relationship with the locals that made it possible to collaborate in graffiti and street art projects. Street art, which was born in the political climate of the 1960s, provided artists, who pointed out the differences and junctions in the demographic structure of the city, with a space of freedom and an opportunity to share their work

with wider social segments. Falling into the category of street art, graffiti constitutes a freer form of self-expression and of spreading one's existence across the city (N/A, 2014, p. 11). The spread of graffiti in the neighborhood has enabled both other artists from Izmir and artists from other regions to meet in the neighborhood. Today there are around 230 murals and graffiti in the neighborhood. These graffiti and street art events, which over time began to receive different funds and forms of support and were joined by artists from different cities in Turkey and abroad, bring together the actors of the culture and art environment with the locals and have had other positive repercussions in terms of Izmir's urban life. In fact, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has been organizing the Izmir Mural Fest since 2018, inviting artists from the Darağaç Collective to sit in the organizing committee of these events.

The participatory and collaborative processes established with the residents of the neighborhood have been supported by contemporary art's approach that blurs the border between life and art and by the value it attaches to the temporary, heterogeneous, and pluralistic. Likewise, giving room to the performative, the nature of contemporary art as well as its proposal for an alternative production and life and the corresponding artistic persona are all compatible with community-based transformation models and culture-based urban transformation models. Meanwhile, the illegal, temporary, and uncompromising nature of street art is important in terms of reintegrating local people into local democratic processes and developing civil society.

In addition to events like site-specific installations, digital art works, mural works, and performances (Altuğ, 2009), which spread over the neighborhood and are an increasing number of participants (see figure 8.2.1), the artist initiative also conducts workshops with the children of the neighborhood. Having entirely turned into a large artist workshop, the neighborhood's structure reflects the positive and sustainable social relations established between artisans, craftspersons, the local people and the artists. The artists of the collective, who embrace the neighborhood culture, create an original and constructive change in their environment. The artists turn the physical deterioration of the industrial area into an environmental advantage by using it as a value. Design-based artistic interventions done to derelict and old buildings in the neighborhood become part of the artistic production as elements that enrich the environmental texture. The Darağaç artists choose a modest, temporary artistic style and street art techniques such as graffiti and mural to create a texture that harmonizes with the area's inert

and derelict structure. The medallion designed by the collective artists in memory of Sir Alec Issigonis, the designer of Mini Cooper, who is thought to have lived in the neighborhood in the past, shows the bond that the collective established with the history and cultural heritage of the neighborhood regarding the period when it was inhabited by non-Muslim minorities. This relief medallion is the artists' first work as a collective.

▶ Figure 8.2.1 - The Cultural Memory of Neighborhood: Sir Alec İsigonis Medallion
▶ Source: Darağaç Collective, 2018

In the context of the relationship between artist, artwork and community, we may identify concepts such as relational aesthetics, participatory art, community-based art and Ranciere's (2009, pp. 1-25) "emancipated spectator" in the activities of the Darağaç Collective. In the neighborhood, a grocery store, repair shop or home can become a performance or exhibition space, while mechanics, craftspersons, traders, and residents' figure as artists. The collaboration between artists and residents has increased since 2016. Some of the residents of the neighborhood took part in art events, taking on the roles of artists, gallerists, and collectors. The local Hüseyin Özgürtepe (see figure 8.2.2), who owns a repair shop, used his shop as an exhibition space during the Darağaç III exhibition in 2018. He exhibited a selection of works gifted to him by the artists of the collective as the Hüseyin Özgür Collection. The 2018 Darağaç II exhibition featured a performative storytelling by Nazmiye Birecik, one of the residents of the neighborhood, in front of her own house. In the performance titled "Nazmiye Bilecik Story", which she prepared together with Tuğçe Akay, one of the collective artists, Birecik told a story about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and her father's love for him in front of the family's 50-year-old house. The items mentioned by her in the story could be seen in a room reserved for Atatürk.

► Figure 8.2.2 Hüzeyin Özgürtepe (mechanic in neighborhood), Collection of Hüseyin Özgürtepe
► Source: Darağaç III, 2018

► Figure 8.2.3 - Aycan Genlik, Media Assignment: Daragaç Newspaper,
► Source: Darağaç III, 2018

Apart from the fact that some of the residents participate in the collective's other activities, the Darağaç event, which is held every year for the entire neighborhood, essentially is a festival., Since they bring the enthusiasm and hustle and bustle of a festive holiday to the neighborhood, residents call these events *bayram*. Fittingly, the headline of the fictional newspaper created by artist Aycan Genlik in his work *Media Assignment: Darağaç Newspaper* writes "It's Bayram today" (see figure 8.2.3). As this work indicates, the relationship between the artist and the neighborhood has started to create its own value and collective memory. These artistic activities constitute examples of "participatory art" in which the roles of artist and audience and the boundaries between private and public spaces disappear (Pasin et *al*., 2020).

While the guest artists coming to the neighborhood produce works specifically designed for its public spaces, they focus on topics related to the daily relations, collective memory, physical characteristics, and political agenda of the neighborhood. The Immigrant Registration Update Center opened by the Izmir District Governor's Office in 2018 has

changed some of the dynamics in the neighborhood. The fact that sometimes as many as 400 immigrants a day wait in the narrow streets to obtain their IDs has created an unusual movement in the area. At the same time, stories about immigrants have become part of the daily dialogues between the residents of the neighborhood. Photojournalist Mert Çakır (see figure 8.2.4) created large prints of children's passport photos, found images stemming from photo albums left behind by refugees who tried to go to the Greek islands from Çeşme, and hung them on the facade of a house in the neighborhood. Then he photographed this installation for two years, documenting how it was destroyed by the weather. Another guest artist, Leman Sevda Darıcıoğlu, observed the presence of immigrants in the neighborhood, their waiting in the queue and their dialogues with each other and the residents of the neighborhood, leading her to do the performance *Waiting II: Darağaç* "Who waits for whom, when, and for how long?" in which she tied herself to a tree close to the immigration office and kept watch for 24 hours.

► Figure 8.2.4 Mert Çakır, GAP, digital print from found image
► Source: Daragaç III, 2018

Similar to the examples given above, the activities of Darağaç provide a platform for reflexive and critical works that suit the understanding of art as a public space. At the same time, workshops that help establish a relationship with the neighborhood reinforce the experience of coproduction. Apart from the art workshops with children organized by the Darağaç Collective artists (see figure 8.2.5), designer Emre Yıldız's signboard design workshop for local shops is an example of participatory and collaborative production.

► Figure 8.2.5 - Emre Yıldız, Darağaç Signboard Workshop
► Source: Darağaç IV, 2019

Integrated into urban transformation and social policies, public art can work to reduce both physical and social exclusion and thus strengthen the sense of identity and belonging. Alongside its contribution to creating a more beautiful environment, public art aims to improve environmental quality and enhance people's attachment to a place. As in the example of Darağaç, art is used as a communication tool, enabling collaboration with local producers and artisans to learn new skills and convey different forms of knowledge. This opens up new perspectives on the labor market and potential roles for both artists as the urban precariat and local shopkeepers. The joint productions and mutual knowledge sharing of the Darağaç Collective and the neighborhood's craftsmen and artisans seem to have affected the local government's approach to cultural economy. Although the local government, in its culture-based understanding of urban transformation, has not yet developed effective cultural policies to support local and grassroots organization, it considers the relationship and communication between the Darağaç Collective and the residents of the neighborhood as a model. It should be considered whether a civil form of urban transformation based on participation at the neighborhood level as it can be observed in Barcelona, whose approach is presented as a 'success model', because it is built around civic ideas/ideals and centers on neighborhood committees (Degen & Garcia, 2012), can also be a viable option for Izmir.

Within the framework of community-based urban transformation, local governments can achieve objectives such as increasing the responsiveness and quality of local services by informing local people and reintegrating them into local democratic processes and involving users in management processes. In addition, macro-scale approaches like continuing to invest in the infrastructure required for cultural production or supporting cultural tourism through major events related to the city's local heritage and other high-profile art events, can be employed to develop a holistic branding strategy in city marketing (Kong, 2000, p. 387).

The most frequently mentioned issue in the interviews and surveys conducted with artists and neighborhood residents is the uncertainty as to whether urban transformation will imply the displacement of locals. Since the renewal of the social fabric took place as a process involving both the artists and the residents of the neighborhood, it did not have a negative impact in terms of displacement and exclusion. Meanwhile, even though we do not yet observe very high differences, initial increases in rents have led to fears about commercial gentrification. Although cooperation with the public and local governments does not yet pose any problem, neighborhood residents, artisans and artists are worried that public-private partnerships will take shape in line with the priorities of the private sector rather than the priorities of the public.

Although macro-scale cultural projects which emerge because of public-private collaborations play an important role in the city marketing strategy, they can create the problem of cultural injustice. The commodification and commercialization of the area targeted by urban marketing, and its handling as a marketed product may deprive that place of its unique characteristics. While marketing emphasizes the uniqueness and authenticity of places, once having become marketable, they tend to lose their uniqueness and authenticity, resulting in what Harvey describes as their Disneyization (Harvey, 2002, p. 397).

3. Darağaç Art Events During the Covid-19 Pandemic

In 2020, the annual Darağaç exhibition took place in a hybrid format due to the pandemic. The efforts of artists as an urban precariat to sustain themselves despite the pandemic, as well as economic and social challenges determined the name of the 2020 exhibition. "Darağaç Exist" (see figure 8.2.6) includes production and exhibition strategies that simulate a life that, under pandemic conditions, has become superimposed by imperatives like hygiene, sterilization, control, security, and masks. As part of this fiction, security guards wearing masks and sterile clothes took the audience's temperature before they allowed them inside the exhibition.

The exhibition took place in public space, closed off by a curtain installed by the collective. For those who were not able to attend the exhibition physically, a virtual tour was prepared, which used a video game aesthetic. While the Darağaç Collective's direct relationship with the neighborhood and the participatory and collaborative production processes continued throughout the pandemic, the Collective's interaction with the audience remained mostly limited to online events. *Darağaç-İcra*, another performance event organized by Darağaç Collective in collaboration with invited artists in 2020, included interactive works. The performance *Walkthrough: Darağaç* by the artist collective 'tibia x fibula' was designed to resemble an interactive video game where the audience can participate online by casting. Due to the curfews during the lockdown, the artists walked the audience through the exhibition in interactive online tours where they followed the directions given by the audience. The artist collective Medyartiz found an interactive way of exhibiting the online dialogues in their performance *My liar valentine*, reflecting these dialogues on a screen set up in the neighborhood. This and similar online events that took place during the pandemic have had two interesting effects. While the artists did not lose their direct connection and physical contact with the neighborhood because their studios are located in the neighborhood, their physical ties with their audiences shifted to online platforms. Thus, their activities have become more decentralized and diffused. While the members of collectives that do not have a production space or whose production and living spaces are separate, express that they were experiencing difficulties in terms of their artistic production and interaction with their audiences (Yiğit, 2021), the members of the Darağaç Collective were able to continue their collective production as the neighborhood has become their production and living space.

▶ Figure 8.2.6 - Darağaç Exist, 2020
▶ Source: Darağaç Collective Archieve

4. Conclusion

The differences observed in urban transformation practices and experiences allow us to discuss the force of their respective interventions. Decisions taken on a range between the preservation of the status quo and reconstruction processes may lead to the deterioration of the social fabric of that region, commercial gentrification, and increasing pressures towards displacement. When creating urban transformation policies, approaches that prioritize participation and the neighborhood scale and put local communities at their center instead of a centralist approach, while simultaneously taking into account the issue of social

exclusion and programs to prevent social exclusion allow for urban interventions that are more compatible with the social fabric of the area and carried out through grassroots organization. Given that the majority of the world's lives in cities today, it has become more important to control growth and develop sustainable city models. Non-competitive urban entrepreneurship and city marketing policies, increasingly spreading inter-city networks, and local area agreements that can work together with culture-based urban transformation models support a sustainable form of the city. Social enterprises, participatory and collaborative approaches, enabling communities to participate in urban governance, and ultimately urban policies and rights that support approaches like decentralization on a local scale, can all help to solve the problems of gentrification and displacement. In this sense, culture-based urban interventions will have a greater impact if the state and local governments procure political and fundamental rights, provide resources such as economic funds, and support local policies with global inter-city networks when developing inter-neighborhood networks at the local level. Especially in cities where there is a high concentration of independent non-profit organizations, as in the case of Izmir, where the culture industry has not yet fully developed, the creative economy will have the opportunity to grow when these social enterprises are supported with planned and sustainable policies.

Unlike other art initiatives in İzmir, the Darağaç Collective has developed organic relations with the area and thus undertaken positive interventions to the social fabric. The approach of the Darağaç Collective has also added dynamism to the city's culture and art environment. Even though the true colors of the urban transformation process in the Umurbey district yet remain hidden, the participatory and collaborative process between artists and neighborhood residents is promising. As this example shows, to create a sustainable urban form, it is essential to consider the role and impact of art initiatives in culture-based urban transformation models and for local governments to create policies that support community-based models.

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8.3 Media activism in the music industry: the resistance of working-class Women in online music network projects

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

The present paper discusses the construction of networks for Women inside the music industry, focusing on two projects from the Global South: Raia and Women Walk Together. From this corpus, I focus on the debate around representation, the importance of all-female networks, and the concept of unusual spaces inside the music industry. Using an ethnographical approach, I emerge in both projects' online presences – their website and profile on Instagram – to reveal important shifts in digital activism, the feminist movement of the 21st century, and the music industry itself. In this way, I wish to engage in a discussion that takes into consideration various elements, such as the strategies of survival of Women in the music industry from the Global South, female presence and resistance in the music industry, and the construction of networks and friendly environments when it comes to gender equality.

Keywords: networks, feminist studies, music industry, global south, representation.

1. Introduction

The low participation of Women workers in the music industry is a subject that many authors and studies from different countries have dealt with (Farrugia, 2012; Reddington, 2021; Wolfe, 2020; Zanellato, 2020). Despite the noticeable low participation of Women mainly in specific areas such as sound production, engineering, composition, among others, these Women strategize their space inside the industry by creating ways of maintaining and reinforcing their legitimacy as professionals. One strategy discussed in this paper is creating online networks to engage communities and build personal and collective references. I focus on two projects being developed from a Global South context and perspective: Raia, a Brazilian online platform, and Women Walk Together (WWT), a project created in South Africa and that today also has the participation of Women from India, the United Kingdom, Guinea, and Brazil. I understand both projects as feminist activism or cyberfeminism in practice since the Women involved with them use online tools – such as social media platforms and online networks – to "crate spaces online that are empowering to [W]omen" (Gajjala, 1999, p. 617).

With that in mind, this work proposes a discussion from three leading questions. The first one is regarding the place of Women inside the music industry. In which functions and areas do they situate themselves? To tackle this question, I'll be reviewing studies conducted in different countries while debating the idea of *unusual spaces* for Women in the music industry.

In terms of materiality, I investigate how Raia and Women Walk Together are composed? In this sense, I intend to present these platforms to gain visibility and articulate Women's participation in music. I will also introduce the initiatives, their history, and their works and projects to show the practical work Women in music do.

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The last question concerns the matters regarding female participation in music and the networks. Here, digital activism is not necessarily a centerpiece for a political stripe, such as in the case of governmental and non-governmental party-political groups (Bennett et al., 2012). The activism employed by both initiatives is independent feminist activism that brings together collective actions and an individual share of experiences (Dieminger & Oliveira, 2015). With Raia and WWT, we can see networks that surpass the online and offline logic since both spheres are dependent on each other. Through these networks, working-class Women in the music industry enable a sense of belonging and create a community to feel valued as professionals.

This article demonstrates a practice in constant growth and involves people that identify as the female gender – that is why in this work, when I talk about Women, I am talking about cisgender, transgender, and non-binary women. The idea is to think about the constructions around femininity and the music market from the margins. By considering the perspective of a decolonized South feminism – as discussed by Raewyn Connell (2014) and María Lugones (2008) – I propose investigating the practical points in contemporary feminism. This way, I am looking for the feminist Global South within these projects as catalyzers for theory creation and not only data production. They are fundamental activist and scientific de-centralized movements from the academic thought on the supposed exclusivity of the Global North as the theoretical producer axis.

2. What is unusual about Women in the music market?

When discussing capitalism and the process of creating and reinforcing a workforce, Silvia Federici (2009) defends the idea that the system based on primitive accumulation uses – exploratorily – women's lives and bodies as a tool to strengthen itself. "At the core of capitalism there is not only the symbiotic relation between waged-contractual labor and enslavement but, together with it, the dialectics of accumulation and destruction of labor-power, for which women have paid the highest cost, with their bodies, their work, their lives" (Federici, 2009, p. 17).

The capitalist system structures itself in the segregation of men and women in the work field. The differences between unpaid work and salaried work bore deep marks in the sexual division of labor. As Federici (2009) explains, women started to be incumbent to domestic work-life, reinforcing the creation of a new workforce (from childbirth and raising to the establishment of a place where men could rest), while men did the work outside on the fields. The housework began to be deemed as labor that did not need remuneration and, therefore, was considered to be less significant than the work that men did:

> *"(...) the power-difference between women and men and the concealment of women's unpaid-labor under the cover of natural inferiority, have enabled capitalism to munensely expand the 'unpaid part of the working day', and use the (male) wage to accumulate women's labor; in many cases, they have also served to deflect class antagonism into an antagonism between men and women. Thus, primitive accumulation has been above all an accumulation of differences, inequalities, hierarchies, divisions, which have alienated workers from each other and even from themselves" (Federici, 2009, p. 115).

This gendering in the work field that started at the beginning of the capitalist system still influences different markets today. As Lucy Ferguson (2013) clarifies, women worldwide are still responsible for more than half of the unpaid housework. Not only that, but they also tend to be less well placed in the market: "recruitment and employment practices are based on gendered assumptions about women's 'natural' capacities, leading to the classification of such work as low skill and low paid" (Ferguson, 2013, p. 338).

Marques and Ferreira (2015) debated women's struggles regarding job promotion and payment by analyzing 127 companies in Portugal, with 467 contributors. One of the authors' conclusions is that, despite having more experience in the field, women tend to reach top positions more slowly. Even when they get there, their salaries are lower than the ones men receive.

Something that also occurs in the music industry. The 2020 report conducted by the Brazilian Composers Union – *União Brasileira de Compositores* (UBC) – concluded that Women represent only 10% of the people with a high income (Einselohr et al., 2020). Another proof is the study conducted by DATA SIM (2019) with

537 working-class Women from the music industry. From the 28 areas[2] divided in the study, women have an expressive number in the higher career ranks of only five: music creation, production/staff/technician, executive production, curatorship, and commercial/sales. This data highlights another problem within the music industry: the gendering in the functions.

In another report published by UBC more recently, in 2021, the organization shows that the functions in music are highly gendered. Women are a minority in all areas in comparison with men. However, the numbers lower when the position has a high technical demand: 6% of females are composers, 7% are producers, 8% are authors, 15% are singers, and 29% are lyricists (Schutt et *al.*, 2021).

Another example comes from the Argentinian context, where the numbers are not much different. Following the study conducted by the Instituto Nacional de la Música (Liska, 2018), from the 60.000 people registered working in any areas of the music industry of the country, less than 20% are female, not even one percent is gender fluid/agender, while 79,8% are male. Meanwhile, the voice is the instrument more used by women in the industry: 49% of the women have chosen to be singers, 25% play the harmonica, 7% play percussion, 7% play wind instruments, 6% opted for the classical string instruments (e.g., violin, cello), 3% synthesizer, 2% choose composition and music direction, and only 1% went for the concertina. The numbers differ when it comes to men: 57% of them play the harmonica, 14% opted to be singers, 13% play percussions, 5% play wind instruments, 4% play synthesizer, 2% opted for the classical string instruments, 2% went to composition and music direction, and 2% play the concertina. These numbers also prove that the constructions around women being good singers, but not so good instrumentalists are still a reality.

From all the information and data discussed, I propose to think about the concept of unusual spaces. This concept comes from a logic that Women defy social construction by occupying spaces in the music industry – even if they are less valued. When Women act as producers or DJs, they must face struggles to belong in a numerically less represented place (Farrugia, 2012). Following the social constructions limit the work women can do and where they are supposed to be – hence the idea of places that women in the music industry unusually occupy. Because of these limitations, women must fight against patriarchal oppressions structured in Western society. Usually, these Women develop strategies to be legitimized as excellent and valid professionals and increase the numbers of others like them, such as networks (Wolfe, 2020). The networks help them conquer spaces, obtain knowledge (in an educational and interpersonal sense), and stand up for a gender-biased system.

As Paula Wolfe demonstrates in her book, networks are essential tools and skills for Women to secure their places in the music business. It helps them fight the disparity "between the work women do and the gendered identities imposed upon them, which undermines their work and/or renders their positions invisible" (Wolfe, 2020, p. 53). When united, Women lose the sensation of loneliness, tokens in a field where they stand in lower numbers, proving to themselves and the men in the business that they are capable professionals with lots to offer. Next, I will present two networks investigated in this article: Raia and Women Walk Together.

3. Raia: shedding light in the music industry

Raia is a Brazilian platform created by Women for other Women who act in different music business areas. Its name refers to the rays of sunshine, or rather the pouring lights of the sun's rays. The project was developed by Amanda Desmonts, owner of the *Raia Produtora*, an independent production company, in 2019 and started as mapping and the hashtag #ElaRaia (SheShines). Through the mapping, a website was created[3] and, then a network was established.

Desmonts talked about her initial idea in an interview to the online magazine *Folk Comunicação*:

. . . .

2. The areas are divided in the following categories: music distribution, authorship rights, music production, music creation, production/staff/technician, executive production, curatorship, ticket office, governmental/development agencies, NGOs, audiovisual, photography, design, marketing, communication/press office/PR, incentive laws/cultural projects, management, booking, partnershipn/patronage/special projects, commercial/sales, technology, importer/distributor/manufacturer, music store, luthier, music teaching, music business/marketing teaching, research, others.

3. The website can be found in: https://www.raianamusica.com.br/

"Beyond a tool that amplified contracts with cis and trans women, the aim was to create a network, a way to access ourselves quickly, you know? And, yes, we understand that as a constant necessity to promote, more women are hired and professionally recognized. As a producer and team maker, the search for professional women is much more difficult and demands more of my own determination. (...) The market is still majorly masculine, so (...) the probability of receiving a man's contract was always greater than receiving a woman's contract. (...) I notice that the search for professional contracts is connected frequently with the ideal of strengthening ourselves to balance and diversify the market. However, not everyone had this resolve or premise [especially] with the burden of asking more people, accessing other networks, and spending more time finding and contracting a professional woman instead of choosing the quickly indicated man. With all that, the desire to facilitate this bridge between services and professionals grew, [I wanted to] create something that expands the access and promote more encounters between demands and the women in music." (Desmonts in interview with Cavalcante, 2019, n/p).

Raia's network gives sense to a type of action much needed in the music industry and in feminist activism itself. From the idea of collaboration among Women, I discuss two concepts as modes of breaking barriers and building bridges: sisterhood and coalition politics.

Sisterhood is an older term dating back to second-wave feminism and proposed mainly by white women to destroy the differences and bridge the similarities among the female gender. However, this concept has significant problems, especially when it comes to Women and differences. bell hooks is one of the theorists that most criticize the intake on feminist sisterhoods because it was based on the idea that every woman had the patriarchy as a common oppressor. This idea, coming from a bourgeois white feminist background, only considered the oppression women from this context suffered, dismissing the struggle of colored working-class women. When Black, Chicanas, and Indigenous Women discussed their experiences and oppression, including how the white women did not legitimize their struggles, they were heavily silenced by white feminists that saw that as a direct attack on the (white) feminist movement. "For a time, these mandates created an illusion of unity, suppressing the competition, hostility, perpetual disagreement, and abusive criticism (trashing) that was often the norm in feminist groups" (Hooks, 2015, p. 47).

Coalition politics is a way to establish alliances inside Feminisms, to forge and strengthen bonds through recognition and self-interest (Lyshaug, 2006). However, this theory is not sufficient. As Brenda Lyshaug demonstrates, this connection emerged from self-interest and not on solid mutual recognition, which can put minority people – especially Women of color and LGBTQI+ – at a disadvantage and even risk. "Feminist connections across difference must be built on a more durable and generous form of reciprocal recognition than that of mutual instrumentality if a sense of mutual accountability is to be maintained between allies" (Lyshaug, 2006, p. 81).

Looking for another concept, the idea of network creation is especially compelling to me, mainly when talking about initiatives such as Raia and Women Walk together. The network is also a keyword that often emerges from contributors and creators – as we see in the interview made by Amanda Desmonts – and in references such as Hellen Reddington's (2021) *She's at Controls*, and Paula Wolfe's (2020) *Women in the Studio*. Networking is a fundamental process inside and out of the music industry. With it, professionals are acknowledged and make valuable contacts for upcoming jobs. There is facilitation when it comes to career-building, the feeling of being unheard is diminished, and support, being that emotional or not, is increased. The creation of networks is a solidified practice among the men in the music industry, which offers the sensation that the market is a 'boys' club' because of the exclusively or majorly male partnerships and indications" (Reddington, 2021). A network developed by Women for Women can have all the same advantages and more since they are a minority in numbers and representation in the field.

Nonetheless, Women struggle when it comes to network building. In a study conducted by Greguletz, Diehl, and Kreutzer (2018) with 37 women workers of different large German corporations, they concluded that professional females have more difficulty creating networks inside their fields because of the constructed notion that women should stay at home. Work-family conflicts hamper the process of identification and time management for these connections to take shape. Besides that, women usually have a stronger moral compass, in comparison with men, when it comes to exploiting their relationships and instrumentalizing social ties, which "cause them to under-benefit from networking activities based on the social exchange of benefits" (Greguletz, Diehl &

Kreutzer, 2018: 23). All these matters, together with the idea of gendered modesty and low self-esteem, interfere in creating all-female networks – even in the music industry, if I may add.

Hence, Raia must take place as it does. The promotion of music professionals happens in a very intuitive manner. The website where the network takes shape displays cards (Figure 8.3.1) with professional and personal information of professionals: their names, the place they reside, functions and areas they act, and contact information (e.g., social networks profiles and email). By clicking on one of these cards, the person navigating will meet complete information, such as introductory texts and portfolio. The professional can also inform a descriptive text of the work she performs, music genre interest, time acting on the market, previous jobs, among other data visible to the public.

There are two ways that a person can search through the platform. One is by searching manually, looking for the professionals you need by reading card to card. The other is by specifying in the filter the State, City, and Activity the professional performs. This network has the clear objective of engendering visibility for Women-workers and their music-related expertise. Doing a quick manual search, one can find professional singers to guitar players, producers to composers, engineers to roadies, among others.

Raia also goes beyond the platform network when it comes to visibility and reference improvement. When we look at the project's Instagram profile[4], there are plenty of posts featuring pictures of Women-workers edited with their names and functions (Figure 8.3.2). In the description of the images, people can read details about the works these professionals make and who they already worked together. These descriptions reinforce the network these Women created, which gives legitimacy to them as recognized professionals, with career paths that can be of reference for other Women who wish to enter the music industry or are already inside it.

▸ Figure 8.3.1 - Raia professional's network
▸ Source: https://www.raianamusica.com.br/elaraia, 2021
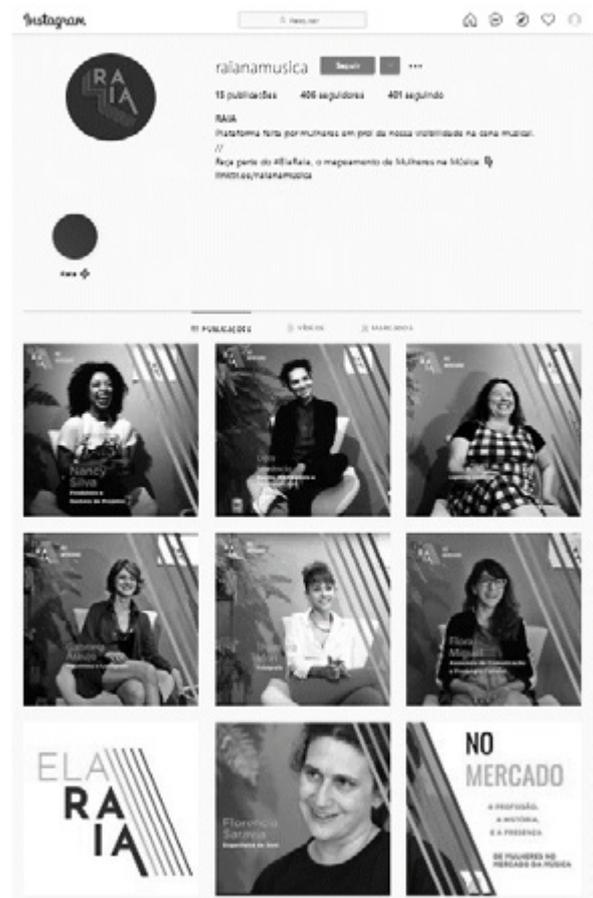
▸ Figure 8.3.2 - Raia's Instagram feed
▸ Source: https://www.instagram.com/raianamusica/, 2021

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4. The Instagram can be accessed through: https://www.instagram.com/raianamusica/

Raia has another visual project: a web series collaborating with the independent audiovisual production company Amaré Audiovisual[5]. In the seven videos published, the Raia team interviewed seven Women: Florencia Saravia (sound engineer), Flora Miguel (PR, journalist and cultural producer), Thamara Mori (photographer), Gabriela Araújo (costume and set designer), Miló Martins (light designer), Dora Florêncio (roadie and sound technician), and Nancy Silva (producer and project manager). The videos do not have many views; the most significant one has around 325 views and 27 likes until this date[6]. While this is not a lot, the project focuses on a low-numbered community of female professionals in the music industry. Therefore, the effort Raia makes by giving a spotlight to these women should not be disregarded as something minor.

In the web series, the Women speak about their experiences as professionals, history, and points of view regarding the music industry. They talk about themselves instead of being spoken about. One example appears in the video of sound engineer Florencia Saravia. When explaining how she first began in the music industry, she recalls:

> **"I really heard 'no, because you're a woman. I didn't hear 'no, because you don't know how to do it,' or 'no because you're unlikable.' It was 'no because you're a woman.' I think nowadays, this [rejection] doesn't [exist] explicitly. First, because it's [the sexism] not explicit [anymore], second [it] occurs less because of all this work that has been made with the awareness of the dudes [regarding women in music]".**

Her experience resonates with the interviewees of Tara Rodgers' book *Pink Noises* (2010). In the beginning, the rejection came explicitly in the form of sexism. However, the common thought is changing; the men are running out of excuses if they don't want to work with women because of bigotry, which does not mean that women have an easy path ahead of them. As Florencia talks about in the interview, "For now, we [Women] cannot stay on the average." Women have to be better than men because the measure for them is much more strictly applied.

4. Women Walk Together: a network beyond borders

On the 18th of July 2018, the Walk Together campaign took another turn in the fight for social justice and equality. On this date, the Woman Walk Together (WWT) project began its trajectory, giving more space for women to display their abilities as professionals and fight against gender inequality in music, arts, and event production.

According to their website, Walk Together "is a global campaign to inspire hope and compassion, celebrating communities working for the freedoms that unite us."[7] The project was established in 2017 by the organization

5. The channel and project can be accessed through: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLOhM5aVu6TtZRxw1rBcy8hJvqs6s4QpT9

6. 20 October 2021.

7. See information and more about the campaign at: https://www.walk-together.org/

The Elders[8] to give a platform for minority people worldwide. Walk Together have a paramount role in the international actions around themes concerning Peace, Health, Justice, and Equality.

The Women Walk Together is a string that emerged for Nelson Mandela's centenary celebrations, hence its strong political force. The group is self-entitled as "Global Showcase" and features an all-female staff working in different functions necessary to make an event happen. WWT already produced events in South Africa, India, UK, Guinea, and Brazil. It has strong Global South bonds. The main focus falls on musical events, including fundraisings, launch events, and music performances.

The project has a robust, practical type of activism, barely focusing on the academic potential it produces. As we also observed in Raia, WWT aim in the process of recognition and visibility for Women working in the background of productions. They do that by inviting these Women to events where they can demonstrate their professionality. This sort of activism is something familiar among the string of activism happening in the Global South. In other words, both projects, and especially the WWT, have a certain theory-practice to it, applying the feminist concept to an everyday life context.

As Raewyn Connell (2014) debates, the hegemonic North-centered academic narrative deemed the South to produce data but not as theory producers[9] for many years. This thought construction left out the feminists' views created in the South, marginalizing the researchers, philosophers, thinkers, and other academic people that came from that axis as if they were mere reproducers of North-created theories. Connell (2014) demonstrates in her work that the theory creation of the South does not follow the same logic from the North. The colonization process imposed in South countries and the global domination of the North, unable both axes to follow the same pattern for creation of epistemologies, methodology development, and even the way people see the world. She exemplifies:

> *"It is worth noticing the sheer diversity of forms that concepts and methodologies can take: from Arabic poetic tradition as a vehicle for critique of women's subordination in the Gulf states, to the radical art practices of the amazing Bolivian feminist group Mujeres Creando, to international online discussions among human rights activists" (Connell, 2014, p. 538).*

The way of feminist theory production from the South is through practice. Lugones (2008) defends the idea that theory and practice connect intimately so that one necessarily influences the other in the South. For the author, it is impossible to think about the fight against coloniality of gender without thinking of the intersection of theory-practice, which is fundamental in the sort of activisms we see unfold in countries of Latin America, for example.

We see all that happening in projects such as WWT, where the idea is to increase the feminist theory by tackling the matter outside the universities' walls – and devising a change through that movement. Women Walk Together aims to be a platform and to construct spaces where female technicians, engineers, roadies, and event producers will be paid fairly for their work. The interest is to show-by-make that Women can be in these unusual spaces and that, in fact, their presence should not be unusual whatsoever.

We see this theory-practice taking shape mainly in the concern to the prioritization of Women's numbers. WWT is 100% female-centered in the contract of females in the technical event support – however, it does not reject male artists but only if they are part of a gender-mixed band or group, for example. With this approach, the initiative highlights the necessity of more Women acting in the unusual spaces where technology is the primary source of production and work material.

In her book *Beyond the Dancefloor*, Rebekah Farrugia (2012) defends that, despite being tools to create "more opportunities for getting to know the right people as well as for acquiring pertinent information" (Farrugia, 2012, p. 69), networks are also essential to engage girls' technology education. The education around technology uses usually follows the social construction that dictates it is something mainly masculine. Because women tend to receive less for their work and tech apparatuses are typically expensive, the gap between the "female"

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8. Founded by Nelson Mandela in 2007, The Elders are a group of independent leaders from various countries that advocate in favor of human rights. See more at: https://theelders.org/

9. About the said theory, the author writes: "By 'theory,' here, I mean creating agendas of research, critique, and action; conceptualizing, classifying, and naming; and developing methodology, paradigms of explanation, and epistemology. Theory is the moment in a larger social process of knowledge formation that transforms data or experience, always in some way moving beyond the given" (Connell, 2014: 520-521).

universe and technology is enormous, as a hobby and, later, as a profession. With networks, girls tend to find less intimidating the apprenticeship of music and technology. Seeing other Women using a sound desk or a mixing console, for example, encourage girls and other Women to follow the same path if they want to, deconstructing the idea that this is no job for females and that there is no place for them in the field. WWT, therefore, aids the destruction of the notion that technology is something exclusively from the male universe.

We also see that WWT behaves the same way regarding social media performance, especially in the Instagram platform. While debating around girls' blogging and feminist online activism, Keller (2012) points out that the internet has been a site for identity construction and feminism engagement because much often is the more accessible window that teenagers have to get to the public sphere. For that reason, the author defends that the Third Wave Feminism has strong ties with online performance and presence, besides aiding the creation of networks that strengthen the ideologies of the movement:

"(...) while the girls all use the word 'community', there remains a diversity of connections that they forge through the online environment, and that these connections create networks that serve different purposes, whether it be close friendships, anonymously sharing of useful information about feminist issues, or a relationship that falls in between. These girl bloggers are articulating an online feminist community that not only consists of a range of networks and connections, but also a diversity of voices, goals, and interests that characterize the third wave" (Keller, 2012, p. 437).

As if it was an unfolding of the girls' appropriation of the internet, the focus of projects like WWT will, invariably, fall to the social network platforms. These are spaces where the project will attain visibility, but it will also concede visibility for other professionals, activists, and Women who work inside and outside the music industry.

► Figure 8.3.4 - Women Walk Together's Instagram feed
► Source: https://www.instagram.com/womenwalktogether/, 2021

WWT's Instagram feed (Figure 8.4.1) is filled with posts that work as an indication for Women's work and Women's history. They often present Women that inspire the movement with the creation of initiatives, or people from the Global South axis; such as the case of the inspiration post about Nomvula Buthelezi (Figure 8.3.2), a member of the SHARP Digital[10] project that works to increase the access to the internet for low-income people in South Africa by affording access points and teaching media literacy.

The participation of South Women on the internet, using its tools, and speaking instead of being talked about, is fundamental if the aim is to make our reality known. Women from the South must share themselves; their experiences, views, and life stories so other people can learn that they are different beings with particular interests and struggles. The idea must be to destroy the notion that every Woman from the Global South passes through the same problems facing the global context (Gajjala, 1999). Oppressions such as racism, classism, homophobia,

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transphobia, among others, will affect these Women in different manners depending on their identities. Projects like WWT give a voice to these non-hegemonized Women, employment for those that work in an industry that is often not very welcome of the female identification.

Nonetheless, a step further is needed. The internet cannot only become a space of visibility but also of exchange and new opportunities. The networks need to be embraced by the music market itself and the idea of not belonging – something that seems to be the justification for creating these groups and networks – needs to be shattered. However, this is a project for the years to come.

▶ Figure 8.3.5 - Post about Nomula Buthelezi
▶ Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/COKs9cEH7L6/, 2021

5. Final incursions

Gajjala defends that the Westernized hegemony presumes the right and wrong uses one does of technology. Usually, this presumption connects with the notion of the Other, or the "Other-ed socio-cultural identities" (Gajjala, 1999, p. 616), as the imperfect one that needs lessons on how to appropriate from technologies. Such fact triggers problems around the South people's self-esteem regarding internet – and its tools – appropriation, which hinders any cyberactivism, including the cyberfeminism that originated from the Global South. Nonetheless, Raia and Women Walk Together are proof that the South's digital activism can be effective and engage as much as the online initiatives that we have seen take place in the North. These Women are using their language and appropriating from the internet, using it as a tool that might resolve the matter around a problem they identify.

These projects also teach us that the use of Western technologies can be beneficial to these constructions of the Other. Considering that this Other is a form of identity, Raia designs a network that will give space for Women to perform as they prefer while giving them the possibility of professional contracts and an increase of work value. WWT presents a different aim for online performance since the professional network is already more or less structured. The initiative promotes work Women do within WWT and creates references with posts telling their stories. In this sense, it is possible to say that both projects may boost Women's self-esteem in music industry work.

That being said, I understand that Raia and WWT are part of a more significant movement. Initiatives like Never Apart (Canada), Music by Women (Germany), *Más Mujeres Creativas* (Spain), and Ladyfest (mainly Latin America) are part of the same movement, which may put in question the idea of a Global South created theory. However, projects like these are also happening in Latin America and Africa, focusing on colored, non-cisgender Women, which seems to be a sign of a shift in global order regarding patriarchal impositions and the individual lives of women themselves. And many of these critical projects are coming from the South.

Like many industries, the music one is still gendered biased. Female workers inside it need reassurance and companionship, which is very hard to find in an all-male environment. These projects can offer networks while creating a sense of representation, considering that other Women see their work, are inspired by it and may overcome the idea that they cannot work in unusual spaces.

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8.4 Odin theatre: third theatre and resistance

Andrea Copeliovitch[1]

✗ Abstract

Odin Teatret is a theatre company based on Denmark since 1964. It was founded by the director Eugenio Barba, who is also the creator of Theatre Anthropology. Along the years the group has developed strategies of survival, both economic and artistic that made it become part of Theatre History. We will present some of these strategies, such as theatrical research, artistic and intellectual meetings, work demonstrations, and publishing practices; discussing how they have influenced the artistic work the company presents and, specially, Latin American theatre pedagogy. We will also talk about what Eugenio Barba calls a Third Theatre (Watson, 1995) and its influence on the developing of Latin American Theatre groups.

Keywords: Odin teatret, third theatre, theatre anthropology.

In 1964, the Italian Eugenio Barba arrived in Norway, back from his experience with Jerzy Grotowski in Poland, where he was an assistant director. Barba was studying theatre at the university in Poland and met Jerzy Grotowski in a bar. Barba was amazed by his ideas and theatrical vision. Grotowski invited him to be his assistant director in the small theatre he worked as an artistic director in Opole, the Theatre of the 13 Rows. Grotowski's way of making theatre that was completely unusual for that time, he was in search of a so called 'sacrifice' on stage, a sacred act, and in order to perform that act, his performers train to achieve a technical precision in their actions, both vocal and physical, the performed according to a partition that they created under Grotowski´s supervision. Since it was precise, the director could edit the partition to create the narrative, the interactions and all the performance´s dynamics. The performers should give away vanity, search for honest self-exposure and silence (silence was obligatory from one hour before any performance). In 1962, the term Laboratory was added to the Theatre of the 13 Rows, meaning that this was a place of research, of experimentation and not only a place that produced performances, creating repertoire.

Barba wanted to create his own company, to be a director, but he was just an unknown immigrant, how could he direct a theatre company? He decided to invite aspiring actors that had failed the conservatory entrance aptitude tests. And thus, Barba started working with the rejected ones. They rehearsed after hours in empty school classrooms and in an empty bomb shelter, experimenting a very physical way of making theatre that he had observed in Grotowski's theatre laboratory.

What is a theatre laboratory?

What do actors search?

In 1905, Konstantin Stanislavski, who was the artistic director of The Moscow Art Theatre reserved a place in his theatre for experimentation, he called it 'étude' and gave its direction to Meyerhold. Stanislavsky was not on a director but a pedagogue, but the étude was a place for experimentation, not for teaching nor rehearsing. After Meyerhold, many Stanislavski's collaborators had their space in those études, such as Leopold Soulerjitski, Mikhaïl Tchekhov, Richard Boleslavski, Evgueni Vakhtangov. (Warnet, 2014)

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Theatrical research and training

Grotowski (1992) said that theatre is an encounter, a human authentic encounter between actor and spectator, between actors and themselves. How do we open and prepare ourselves to this great encounter? Grotowski experimented hard physical training to get to know ourselves, beyond our usual selves, beyond our thoughts and conceptions about ourselves; In that way we search our reactions, our limits, our memory in our bodies. It is not a psychoanalytical kind of knowledge, but a very physical, down to earth kind of knowledge that reflects on the performers´ actions and reactions on stage. Of course, Grotowski´s training had an aesthetical result on stage, the performer behavior and actions were very different from quotidian actions, they were very intense and strange.

When the young Eugenio Barba got in touch with this way of making theatre, it opened to him a new world of possibilities, so working with the actors and actresses that have not been accepted in Oslo´s Conservatoire was not a challenge per se, because the skills he need from this people were very different from those requested by the conservatoire, he needed performers who would be available to work very hard and take a leap into the unknown. Those brave young man and women were the founders of Odin Teatret.

Else Marie Laukvik

Here we open parenthesis for a narrative about one of Odin Teatret´s actresses: Else Marie Laukvik: the last actress to join this original group in Norway; and the last one remaining from this original group (she is still in the group).

Laukvik tells us[2]. that when she joined the company, she knew who Barba was, she had seen him before at the university, in the elevator, but he had not noticed her. He didn't remember her. She asked to join the group. All the other actors started to develop their bodies (for their work was very physical) except her. Barba asked her to do typing jobs, she didn't get any role in the performance they were rehearsing. Since there was no pressure, she could observe and study the play. One of the actresses left, she already knew the role and she was able to replace her. More than fifty years later, a wiser Barba comments on the episode[3]:

"Actors are not like trees, they don't follow the seasons, for some, it might take a week, while for others it might take years…"

After all these years he could say that "Else Marie has taught all the actresses in Odin Teatret.". Here we quote another comment he made during the Cohabitation Artistic Residence of february 2020 at Odin Teatret:

"What I see in an actor are the limits and not the skills."

And he didn´t mean it as a negative comment, but more in the sense that we, human beings, struggle to surpass ourselves. And that struggle is drama, all drama has a force that prevents the course of the action. That struggle is the basis of theatre.

2. From personal notes taken in collective and individual conversations with Barba and Laukivik during the artistic residence Cohabitation 2020, at Odin Teatret, Denmark.

3. Notes from the same residence, 2020.

Practical issues

In 1966, Eugenio Barba and his performers were invited by the mayor of Holstebro, they were offered a minimum wage and a farm. And they went... But they needed to make their living. Performances presentations for such a small population plus one salary was not enough to support them. They promoted festivals and gatherings, they invited Jerzy Grotowski, Barba edited and published a book with his texts and interviews: Towards a poor theatre, that became a hit. Barba also wrote many books and articles about theatre. He created Theatre Anthropology.

Theatre Anthropology is the study of the performer's pre-expressive scenic behaviour which constitutes the basis of different genres, roles and personal or collective traditions. ... The pre-expressive layer constitutes the elementary level of organization in theatre. (Barba, 1994)

Theatre as barter

In 1974, Odin teatret moved to Carpignano, a small village in Italy. There they started training at 9 am, but the local peasants started working before sunrise, so they adapted their schedule to the villagers'. Barba tells that one day, a villager stopped to watch them training, the next day he brought a friend, then a chair, two chairs... that´s how they created work demonstration. But in that case, the population didn´t have money to pay, so they asked for them to sing and dance their traditional songs in return for the work demonstrations and street performances. It became a very important practice at Odin´s: theatre as barter.

Third Theatre

"Production does not only produce merchandise, but also relationships between people. This is also true for theater: it does not only produce performances, cultural products." (Barba, 1979, p. 149)

There is a theatre that most people understand as theatre, that happens in a building, with a text, there is a 'second' theatre that is the *avant guarde* theatre, also based on a text. Third Theater is a kind of theatre made by groups that create their own tradition, their main goal is to exist, resist, not trying to belong to the established theatre. Their own existence is resistance. They might work with ritual, politics, in alternative spaces like schools or prisons. This idea has deeply influenced theatre groups in Latin America, young groups trying to resist economic issues, political issues that included persecutions and censorship, young groups trying to voice generations since the 1960´s. Some of those groups attained longevity, following Odin Teatret´s example, such as Teatro de la Candelaria in Colombia, both more than 50 years old, both deeply connected with the community, having individual values and looking for this human encounter that Grotowski preconized, all of them are real exponents of DYI in theatre.

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Feigned dialogue births, predictable results: A cursory investigation into the 2018 anti-Rap campaign and the theoretical birth, sustainment, and demise of [sub/counter] cultures

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

Although subcultures, countercultures, and 'mainstream' are often thought as incomparable and relatively distinct from each other, it is unwise to consider them as mutually exclusive. While a subculture's aesthetic and ideology do result from the desire for hegemonic emancipation, while counterculture's result from opposition towards hegemony itself, in the presence of mainstream such a solidified binary become difficult to accurately distinguish. Through a brief interrogation of the birth, life, and future of [sub/counter] cultures via three questions, I argue that a coherent dichotomy between what is sub- and what is counter- cannot be easily understood, and instead is only observable through the attempted delineation of their origination and repurposed role in hegemony. Using the genre of Russian Hip-Hop, its development, and the extended 'anti-rap' campaign waged in the last quarter of 2018 as an entry point into the fray, this article seeks to illustrate that all three cultural players are but shades of a singular quest for identity and the creation of community.

Keywords: subcultures, countercultures, Russian hip-hop, anti-Rap campaign

1. Introduction

A "fully functioning society," or a FFS (Heath, 2018) is defined as one that is organized "by shared governance through interdependent power sharing and decision making whereby all individuals and organizations achieve collective agency" However, circulating through it all is an unbroken channel of "strategic communication," (Heath, 2018, p. 1) where ideological tolerance allows space for oppositional viewpoints to thrive. In short, "Community has to be a conceptual place that allows, supports, accounts for, and provides resistance to change, including that supported by social activism, radicalism, and even terrorism" (Heath, 2018, p. 2). However, the idea of sociopolitical 'stability' is fickle, as the word suggests the comprehensibility of the "visible" and a disregard, either willing or unconcious, of the equally valuable 'invisible'. Stability, or legitimacy according to S. M. Lipset, is just as much about persuasion as it is about feigning consensus. As he states, "Legitimacy involves the capacity of the [political] system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society" (Lipset, 1960, p. 78). But this inherently linked with its counterargument, "the constant threat that the group conflicts which are democracy's lifeblood may solidify to the point where they threaten to disintegrate the society." Stability is maintained throughout the spectrum of societies when those in power recognize their faults and those within the populace learn what they are.

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So, a "moderate state of conflict" (Lipset, 1959, p. 92) seems to be a requirement in enacting change and keeping the public's trust with the idea of the possibility, but not the promise, of progress. In this way, while hegemony is about converting the non-believer to believe the predominate belief system, counterhegemony could be said to be about deconverting the believer. in the words of Chantal Mouffe, "To come to accept the position of the adversary is to undergo a radical change in political identity, it has more of a quality of a conversion than of rational persuasion" (Mouffe, 1999, p. 755). That's where genres like punk, rock, metal, and certainly hip-hop come into view, as conversion find its outlet through mediating between destabilization and unification, bringing people together under a many-but-one ethos yet still disobeying social norms just enough as to avoid ubiquitous public endorsement. But these positions are not opposed to each other. Instead, their differentiation here is my attempt to highlight the dialogic nature of equilibrium itself, and the perceived *non grata* but yet unignorably appreciable public status of Hip-Hop in Russia my alibi. In this way, Mouffe and Lipset both support my argument that subcultures, countercultures, and mainstream are all incarnations of the same sociocultural goal. That being to swoon, convince, and ultimately convert the populace to their side. However, what renders each stage distinct from the other is tactics used, their proximity to and usage of political discourses, the exploitation of semiotics (i.e., culture, art, music), and their dedication to the cause of choice.

To help justify my position's validity, I have chosen to investigate three overarching questions regarding the relationship between subcultures, countercultures, and hegemony. Firstly, "How are Sub- and Countercultures born and how do they fit into pre-existent hegemony?", arguing that the force behind their development and the migration from subculture to counterculture stems ultimately from the drive for unmediated self-expression. Secondly, "How are Sub- and Countercultures maintained and/or politicized?", referring to the moment when oppositional self-expression becomes externally political, i.e., seen as a threat or significant nuisance by those in power, after having operated with little to no explicit censure. Finally, "How are Sub- and Countercultures maintained or dissolved?", as both apoliticality and oppositionalism alike are ideologies hard to trigger and even harder to keep alive once external pressure is applied and tolerance begins to diminish. Additionally, I have selected the genre of Russian Hip-Hop, its development, and the 2018 "anti-rap" campaign,[2] as the subject of this article and the catalyst for my discussion due to the genre's nebulous status in Russia, appearing to simultaneously be a flippantly benign, politically advantageous, seditious, and dangerous, an even outright malignant cultural force depending on the vantage point applied. In this way, Hip-Hop in Russia straddles the borders of subculturality, counterculturality, and hegemony without indicating alliances anywhere. Thus, my goal is to show that despite commericalist pressures and the pervasiveness of the capital mindset, Russian Hip-Hop's ambiguous cultural orientation becomes easier to perceive when each of the three most prominent permutations of cultural identity are interrogated and investigated as inherently linked stages.

2. Russian Hip-Hop's development

Where and how rap made it cultural debut in Russia is ambiguous, but once American cassettes started flowing into the country in the late 80s and early 90s, Russian artists promptly responded by platforming Hip-Hop on radio and television, creating novel festivals and competitions, and generally solidifying into a formidable way of life, not just a rambunctious pass-time. Although not covered here, there is ample scholarship to support the fact that rapping was but a part of the newly minted, Russian Hip-Hop identity [break-dance, graffiti, rap], the musical aspect deriving from early 90s culture of electronic and "club youth" [klubnoi molodezhi] (Jin, 2014, p. 183). This is significant because it shows that the rapping side of Russian Hip-Hop was one epitome of a larger, societal transition in late/post-Soviet Russia. Once the 90s began, Hip-Hop had become the youth's romanticized identity in every sense of the word, and the culture's valourization knew no bounds. Bolstered by the introduction of the Compact-Disc [CD] in 1990 and related digital infrastructure projects[3], everything from music-video and rap-battles, to live concerts and well-attended public festivals pushed this barely-there, cult genre into the [post] post-Soviet limelight. 1991 to the early 2000s was a transformational time for Russian Hip-Hop, as profound experimentations with language, aesthetics, and intentionality had brought the East and West irreversibly together. But as Jin (2014) and others point out, once Hip-Hop partnered with

the entertainment and fashion industry, emboldened by increasingly ubiquitous, disseminative methods like the WWW, print media, radio, video, and television, in the mid-to-late 90s, its position in the post-Soviet landscape had been solidified. Not only had solely Russian-speaking rap projects emerged [Bad Balance, Bachelor Party, Legal Busine$$], but a whole, corporatized, decadent ecosystem had been born which had transformed the community-first rapper into a profit-generating asset.

Although late 90s rap was rather American in hermeneutics, the allure of Hip-Hop as lucrative work was intoxicating. This was only expedited in the 2000s and the supremacy of "frictionless capitalism" (Schröter, 2012: 1). With the expansion of digitally accessible platforms, Hip-Hop consumerism only expanded. Sites like Hip-Hop.ru (2000-), rutracker.org and Rap.ru (2004-), battle.hip-hop.ru (2005-) along with social-media platforms like VKontakte (2006-) and trend-following media platforms, led to the realization that "in the 2000s, rap culture in Russia was commercialized" (Frolova, 2015: 38). Proof of this is teen rapper Detsl's sponsorship with Pepsi[4] in 2000, the first partnership of its kind in Russia. Thus, an eclectic aestethic enviroment had begun to grow, consisting of but not limitied to American mimetic [Gangster rap], commercial [R'n'B], and later on intellectual [conscious rap].

The scholastic consensus is that by the late 2000s Russian rap had become political (Kukulin, 2020; Denisova & Herasimenka, 2019). In Frolova's analysis of Russian Hip-Hop, a shift in textual theme occured. Whereas in the early 90s, artists were obsessed with relatability, by the late 90s to late 2000s politics and sociocultural awareness were the genric paragons, as confidence in the post-Soviet government rapidly declined. Issues like the Chechnen War [Basta 2, p. 8], defalcation and corruption [Elipsis: Time of Russia[5]], and unpleasant nationalism [Pencil ft. Lenin: Everyone loves the Motherland[6]] were all but unavoidable. Due to the growing, public concern over Putin's autarchic ambitions, Hip-Hop had become inadvertently politicized and its artists make-shift politicians, "In 2010 rap artists begin to appear as prominent social and political figures, and rap compositions, in turn, are perceived as a full-fledged public political statement" (Frolova, 2015, p. 17). Just as Russki rock had been considered the "soundtrack of Perestroika" (Steinholdt, 2003: iv) so too was rap now the "sound of Neoliberalism" (Feyh, 2012, p. vii). But it was 2009 when "the cultural and social valorization of Russian rap" would begin (Kukulin, 2020), a nine-year period [2009-2018] when Hip-Hop would become saturated post-Soviet, Russian political gravitas. Abreast with Medvedev's appointment following the Dissenter's March[7] campaign, and several terrorist attacks, violent conflicts, and political misgivings later, Hip-Hoppers would us rap to voice their fellow citizens' complaints and concerns. The politically-minded atmosphere of the early 2010s had created conditions advantageous for aesthetic and topological change, Frolova noting rappers beginning to use location and event-specific themes and infuse their lyrics with sociopolitical criticism and ideological critique beginning in the early 2010s, while Kukulin (2020) notes that the acidity of Gangster rap had become the aesthetic standard. However, it was in the mid-2010s when the face of Russian Hip-Hop would take its most recent form, kicking off with Oxxxymiron's 2014, 11-track album Gogorod, which won that year's Aleksandr Piatigorskii Literary Prize and was featured in a high-school classroom[8]. However, much has changed since 2014 and the divisiveness of the Russian sociopolitical landscape has caused Russian rappers to engage with politics and adjacent themes in novel manners. Although such details lie outside this article's scope, observation of Russian rap and the grosser Hip-Hop community's evolution since 2017 shows that the Russian environment is only becoming increasingly more bifurcated, and to denote Russian rap as "political" is neither accurate nor a helpful mindset to hold.

Nevertheless, Russian Hip-Hop's 'valourization' in the mid 2010s led to the realization that rap was indeed an academically worthy artform, evidenced by an increased and incredibly eclectic output of both domestic and international scholarship on Russian Hip-Hop (Ewell, 2013; Pyrova, 2017; Semenova, 2019; Liebig, 2020). Although not yet untethered by Western modalities[9], Russian Hip-Hop had become not only and domestically studiable, but more importantly, nationally embraced and recognized as an art form. Having

4. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5yRHId8ru8Q&ab_channel=WilfridodelPino

5. Available at: https://rap-text.ru/mnogotochie/912-mnogotochie-vremja-rossii-tekst-pesni.html

6. Available at: https://rap-text.ru/karandash/3367-karandash-feat.-lenin-vse-ljubjat.html

7. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dissenters%27_March

8. Available at: https://www.themoscowtimes.com

9. Available at: https://www.calvertjournal.com

emerged from the underground, both mainstream and sister-scene rap artists were enjoying the rewards of commercialism and capitalist expansionism, all the while poking fun at their homeland's contradictory stance on democratic aims and Russian morality. Using parody, stiob [covert satire], and penetrating irony, even the most candy-coated, mainstream Russian Hip-Hoppers like Morgenshtern, Putin-apologist Timati, and all at his Black Star Label are cognizant of Russia's sociopolitical paradoxy. So, while pre-capitalist Hip-Hop communities had intangible, less coherent 'vrub' to hold their subcultural identity together, post-capitalist communities profited from overt semiotics and a crowded ecosystem of [a]politically-saturated music to choose from and identify with. Denisova and Herasimenka note that by 2011, Russian Hip-Hop was becoming a predominately politically-motivated genre, although the assertion is rather narrow, as with the creation of a coherent 'mainstream' in the early 2000s, shaped by the tastes of the privileged, post-Soviet Mazhory[10], to be actively political was harder to sell successfully. Similarly, Feyh's statement that "mainstream Russian hip-hop is apolitical" is likewise incorrect, as the very genre of Hip-Hop is Russia can be considered itself politicized.

I would argue, consonant with its long-winded and charged evolution, that Hip-Hop in Russia had never been politics-free at any point in its life, and instead worked around its negative reputation than against it. In modern Russia, due to her neopatrimonial system (Skigin, 2017) governed by what Gelman calls an 'unidirectional power vertical' (Gelman, 2016), rappers are all but forced to mediate between spheres such as authenticity and commerciality, underground vs. mainstream, political candidness vs. skilful allusions. Kukulin's illuminations on the 'mask' (Kukulin, 2020) is vital in understanding how Russian Hip-Hop and its affinity for storytelling, programmatic narratives, and political allusions illuminates this dichotomy. But there may be a more sinister answer, and that is the realization of the "commercialized underground,"[11] where even the most unique worldview can no longer be considered artistically selfless or prompted by community motivations. Rather, politics have infused itself into the very structure of Russian Hip-Hop, two famous examples illustrating this point from two different angles. The first is Timati's 2015 music-video released for Putin's 63rd birthday entitled, "My Best Friend," a stunt which received unprecedented praise from Putin, earning Timati several visits[12] to the Moscow Kremlin and a public endorsement in late 2018. Putin stating, "he is a wonderful person and a wonderful artist."[13] The other, an alleged bribe[14] of nearly $30,000 by the Kremlin to rapper Gnoiny to spark another rap-battle circa 2016, Oxxxymiron style. If the allegation is true, although legitimacy is notoriously hard to prove with such things, then heftier scepticism surrounding the 'realness' of contemporary Russian Hip-Hop scene is certainly justified. The waters only get murkier when considerating the overt hostility expressed against rap by Russian officials including Putin, where castigation sits uncomfortably with its acceptance.

Thus, the dichotomy Feyh makes between mainstream and underground rap is flawed. The former's ethos is said to be steeped in "vague cynicism directed at politicians in general" while the latter is described by Feyh's interviewee as "not popular with the wider masses, isn't pop, isn't commercial...in terms of quality... it is serious," by Feyh as being 'vernacular'. For this to be true, one would have to explain Timati's popularity as not-vernacular, using his political affiliation as the crux, while the mainstream pop-rapper Morgenshtern's popularity would also be deduced as being nothing more than commercialized noise. So the search for the Russian variant of what Travis Harris (2019, p. 3) calls "real Hip-Hop" continues, aided in-part by the Russian Academy's interdisciplinary embrace of this geographically and ideologically ambiguous genre, and artists like Noize MC[15] and 2H Company[16] and their distinctive approaches towards expanding rap's creative embodiement

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10. Available at: https://www.kp.ru/daily/23248/27817/

11. Available at: https://www.futureproducers.com

12. Available at: https://www.bbc.com

13. Available at: https://www.youtube.com

14. Available at: https://www.calvertjournal.com

15. Available at: http://www.intermedia.ru, In 2018, the rapper Noize MC released the album "Hiphopera: Orpheus & Eurydice," a concept album modeled after the Grecian myth of the couple. It was alluding to the modern music industry, and its significance in the evolution of Russian Hip-Hop cannot be understated, as its chronological placement in 2018 denoted rap's status as high-art.

16. Available at: https://daily.afisha.ru, In 2007, the rap group 2H Company partnered with beatboxer Sergei Galunenko and choreographer Alexey Miroshnichenko to create one of the first rap ballet's entitled "The Ring." There has been no equivilant work created since and the ballet had only two performances during its life time before being shelved, with its existence all but forgotten.

and demonstrating rap's capability of being high-art-adjacenet. The lines between what is underground vs. mainstream, at least in Russian Hip-Hop contexts, cannot be easily ascertained. To exemplify such a stance, it is helpful to briefly describe the final, 2018 quarter of the anti-Rap campaign, capped by several failed governmental initiatives to ostensibly mediate dialogue and heal division between rappers and politicians.

3. 2018 Events

Lasting from October of 2018 until August of 2019, several musicians were barred from performance, one rapper being jailed, all on pretenses of criminal conduct. The harsh treatment was prompted by two terrorist attacks, the first being the Kerch Polytechnic College massacre ["Russia's Columbine"[17] - Oct. 17th] and the other the Arkhangelsk FSB office bombing [Oct. 31st], an outgrowth of Russia's crackdown on "The Network"[18] and other alleged, anti-fascist/anarchists groups. Both bombings had been commited by minors [under 18], putting mounting pressure on Putin's government to explain, and parents to counter, the ostensible radicalization of Russian youth. However, the regulatory antagonism against Hip-Hop had begun via a letter[19] written by Vladimir Petrov, the Deputy of the Legislative Assembly of the Leningrad Region, to then Prosecutor General Yuri Chaika. In it, he states that the youth's "bad taste in music" was to blame for their radicalization, and that, "It is in the environment of rap music that clashes, fights and other illegal actions most often occur." Indicative of Putinian nostalgia for Soviet policy, Petrov noted that certain compositions "openly promote suicide, drug addiction, Satanism, extremism, and even contain calls for treason," and that the social phenomenon of the "rap battle" was by far the darkest blotch on contemporary Russian society. Shortly after, on November 13th of 2018 the cancellations had begun, triggering a protracted attack on Hip-Hop, resulting in 40 [known] concert cancellations[20], and at least one official arrest. While most of the 'attacks' came from family-focused "morality gangs"[21] like Anti-Dealer, led by excommunicated Liberal-Democrat Dimitry Nossov, and other civilian organizations like Common Cause [Obshchyeye Dela] and the What is Good Project [Nauchi khoroshemu], sentiments against the dangerous influence of popular music have long been part of Russia's political culture. Flash to late November, and the problem had become so untenable that several officials had to, on record, step-in to quell the civilian-led witch hunt. In response to the unidirectional pressure, Human Rights Ombudsman Tatyana Moskalkova officially took-on the case stating, "I need specifics: when, where. It would be nice to meet with the artists of the groups in order to understand their position."[22] On December 6th a state-sponsored round-table between rappers and Duma officials, ironically entitled "On free speech in rap music," was organized[23]. Safe to say, the colloque achieved nothing[24], and a transcript[25] of the four speakers displayed typical, authoritarian excoriation[26]. While in late November the idea to provide monetary support[27] for rappers was floated and the promise of increased television air-time[28] was promised, it was from Youth Parliament head Maria Voropaeva's call for the first round-table that the Sisyphusian ball began to roll. Held on December 7-8th, the first day of the 18th Congress of United Russia[29] had been dedicated to

17. Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/crimea-college-attack-shooting-school-vladislav-roslyakov-explosion-dead-russia-a8587981.html

18. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/the-network/

19. Available at: https://www.spb.kp.ru/daily/26899.4/3947534/

20. Available at: https://meduza.io

21. Available at: https://www.thesun.co.uk

22. Available at: https://tass.ru

23. Available at: https://www.rt.com

24. Available at: https://meduza.io/feature/2018/12/06/drugie-repery-govoryat-chto-my-idem-k-vam-na-poklon-a-dlya-nas-eto-zashkvarno

25. Available at: https://zona.media/article/2018/12/06/rap

26. Available at: https://zona.media

27. Available at: https://www.m24.ru

28. Available at: https://www.m24.ru/news/vlast/07122018/57162

29. Available at: https://tass.ru/obshchestvo/5884149

such affairs, followed by several meetings[30] with Putin and various councils[31] which resulted in the creation of the nation-wide Rap competition Limitless Rap[32], and Putin's contradictory observation of Hip-Hop as both "part of the culture," and yet is "the path to the degradation of the nation." [33]It would later be reported[34] The Ministry of Internal Affairs had not ordered any cancellations, but instead were "watching very closely." The Prosecutor General's Office[35] would later go on to issue regional investigations into the cancellations. As Andrei Kolesnikov emphatically states in his article "Rapping for the Kremlin,"[36] Putin's vacillations between denigrating and idolizing Hip-Hop is more destructive than the genre itself, and as rappers Ptakha and Roma Zhigan had noted (as quoted by Kolesnikov) during the first round-table, just like 80s Russian rock, Russian rap is not inherently political, but has been politicized. Ptakha noting, "Law enforcement agencies often find in songs that which is not there, the meaning that the author himself did not lay down," while Roma noted that if officials would "shut their mouths," rap would eventually become cult[37]. This enlightened status forms the backbone of "contemporary underground" integrality by giving participants a sense of exclusivity, setting them apart from but not anathema to the mainstream. When Roma states that rap's popularity is directly related to its vilification, Hip-Hop's valourization becomes clear. But to understand the grosser transition from subculture → counterculture → contemporary underground, three questions are required.

4.1 How are Sub- and Countercultures born?

Early cosmopolitan Stilyagi and their Sovietized brand of infrapolitical fellowship represented three features necessary for [subcultural/counter] cultural inception: Violence [visible], Politics [invisible], and Resistance [hidden] (Gaventa, 2006). From the consummate embrace of power, exhibited by Gaventa's theoretical 'power cube' model, a self-expressionary collective emerges from a synergized worldview which lies dissonantly adjacent but not parallel to homogeneity, therein allowing both to interact but not supercede. The Stilyagi, Russia's first dissidents (Lonin, 2000), had created their community via a consensual response to power, using the intonational violence of the debaucherous gypsy music of America (Mikkonen, 2007) to physically create the world they wanted, poesis if you will. However, when considering the political in musical from a practical standpoint, the waters become murkey as "art does politics simply by doing what it does as art" (Garratt, 2018, p. 31). Garrat continues, "autonomous art is more politically effective than art which cultivates closer relationship with politics," (Garrat, 2018, p. 34). In short, he believes that nothing lies outside the realm of the political. Only after becoming semiotically agreeable does the synergetic biosphere, subculture, emerge. As semiotic agreeability decreases, counterculture emerges. Lydia Goehr's evaluation that music's political secrecy is a purely aesthetics state, unearthed through critical formalism (as cited by Garratt, 2018) provides an entrance to Gaventa's third point, "Resistance." The suggestion that the musician's choice to actively engage with politics from a purely musical position can be seen as parts quintessential resistance politics, but also part what Day calls "non-hegemonic politics" (Day, 2005, p. 187). This view puts musician's back into the semiotic controller's seat and allows them to reign supreme over both architectonic and cosmetic parameters. This type of aesthetic-based, resistance politics epitomizes a broader search for identity among the decadence of the contemporary mainstream, one that radically shifted in Russia following 1991.

Preeminent Journalist/Historian Artemy Trotsky (1988, p. 98) indicated that prior to the mid-1980s, Russki rok was politicized not inherently political, "the ideological harm was being done not by those who were banned, but by those who did the banning". This echoes similar accounts, "it [Russki rok] was above all the authorities who made rock music a political issue in the USSR" (Ramet, 1994, p. 208). To one member of the 80s punk rock-band "Grazhdanstva Oborona, to be sufficiently anarchist" was not necessarily to be political.

30. Available at: https://www.m24.ru/news/vlast/12122018/57912

31. Available at: https://www.business-gazeta.ru

32. Available at: https://www.m24.ru/news/vlast/13122018/58084

33. Available at: https://tass.ru/obschestvo/5883904

34. Available at: https://tass.ru/obschestvo/5884840

35. Available at: https://meduza.io/news/2019/01/25/genprokuratura-poruchila-proverit-zakonnost-otmeny-kontsertov-reperov-v-regionah

36. Available at: https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/78115

37. Available at: https://www.m24.ru/news/vlast/07122018/57162

Being political means, "to fight for power and to try to be in power" (Lyytikäinen, 2014, p. 67). Thus, the birth of a [sub/counter] culture depends on how visible [violent], expressive [political], and relevant [resistant] the group begins as in pre-existent hegemonic order. How they choose to engage with or not engage with politics right from the beginning determines how they will inevitably grow. This teleological ambiguity right from the start obfuscates easy delineation of the reasons behind why [sub/counter] cultures arise, regardless of art form, genre, or style.

4.2 How do Sub- and Countercultures develop and/or politicize?

However, "as soon as something is censored or banned by political authorities it becomes ipso facto politically charged" (Ramet, 1994, p. 3), forcing those within the previous subcultural space to retaliate with heightened animosity and seek out more exaggerated forms of nonconformist self-expression and ideological replacements. This transformation from politically disinterested groups into sociocultural reformers jeopardizes what Beveridge and Koch (2019) call radical anti-politics into fully fledged counterculturalist anarchy. By taking a more abrasive and uncooperative approach to identity construction, subcultural actors within the quickly invading hegemony are forced to rely almost exclusively on their own tusovka [community] for political support. Once this occurs, the subculture no longer becomes a refuge, but rather a retreat. The 80s neformali[38] youth expressed the desire for individualism in a variety of unprecedented manners. What links the 50s Stilyagi, the 60s Beatniki, 70s Sistema, and 80s-90s Hip-Hop together was their commitment to DIY individuality in opposition to the hegemonic alternative. But to answer this question, the desire for aesthetic autonomy sits uncomfortably when factoring in the effects of the commercialism and wider culture industry. Despite late-Soviet rock's underground exchange economy, their DIY infrastructure had awoken the authorities more than the actual music itself. As Terry Bright notes, "The efficiency of this alternative system [magnitizdat, underground concerts, rok samizdat, hand-to-hand trading] was the last straw for the authorities. The underground production and distribution network was an infringement of the State's monopoly of the media." (Bright, 1984, p. 139). The financial factor is vital as well, as no community is kept together without some version of exchangeable goods and services.

Nevertheless, rock's popularity began to weign in the late 1980s [1988-1989][39] amidst changing tastes towards higher-energy atmospheres via disco-dance funk, the legacy and model it set for publicized self-ownership leading to commercial success was emulated and copied in various forms going forward. Further, it is also noted that rock had lost its reason to exist, leading to its eventual demise [or better put, aesthetic reformation]. Whether or not this is true is unimportant, the message is clear. Once a subculture loses its apolitical politicality, it can either regroup and reform, or peeter out completely. That petering out taking the form of complete dissolution, or as Eric Weisbard put it, "gross commodification, audience passivity, and massness" (1994, pp. 15-19). But more consonant with my view is the more optimistic realization that once a subculture becomes ingrained in politicality and cannot separate itself from it, it becomes ipso facto a counterculture. This could very well be the true origins of Russian Hip-Hop, although any such assertion cannot be made. Rusian rap's development and current status reads as a progression from authenticity to commercialism and back again, Feyh signifying this in her five-point cycle theory, "innovation, commodification, dissemination, consumption, and further innovation," (2012, p. vii).

4.3 How are Sub- and Countercultures maintained and/or killed?

In my evaluation, a [sub/counter] culture is killed when there is gross consumerist participation, free-for-all community decentralization, state-derived appropriation, and semiotic abstraction. However, it's inverse breeds harm as well, as disregarding monetary development and financial requirements, exclusifying the tusovka, and intellectualizing the group's working semiotics, any resistance-based artistic community or musical group is doomed to failure, or at least pandemic destabilization. While outliers do exist, seeing the development of Hip-Hop in America provides relative merit to my view. Originally, Russian Hip-Hop began its career as an aesthetic defector to Soviet bleakness. However, just like neoliberalism's obsession with what I call the capitalization of collapse, Russian Hip-Hop inevitably caved to capitalist incursion. What once began as aesthetic-based resistance politics and metaphorical social critique turned into professional

38. Available at: http://www.kompost.ru

39. Available at: https://www.apn.ru

gamesmanship. Of course, this is not ubiquitous but neither is it hard to find. Due to commodification and consumption culture being the unfortunate default today, it is imperative to return to power-relations to answer this final question. One shade is illuminated in a process I call material-based, resistance politics, where the goal of all actions is to create a still-rebellious end product amidst consumerist incursions. Non-hegemonic cultural death results pre-consumerist energy is abandoned. In the early 2000s, after rap had rid itself of the "enforced optimism of official Soviet culture,"[40] capitalism filled the void, promising pre-capitalist community and relatability without the need for follow-through. This can take many forms, but the strongest would be "false consciousness" (Dutkiewicz et *al.,* 2020), signalling the creation of fabricated commonality and its public endorsement.

This cultivation of a false community chronologically matches with the supremic rise of digitalization and novel modes of consumption and networking. This has been written about in eloquent expansiveness by luminaries like Attali and Adorno, but just to recapitualize them. What was born on top the ruins of sub-/counterculture was not just Alternative/Mainstream, but "elite underground and [vs] mass consumption."[41] The human vs. the machine? When speaking about power relations and their artistic manifestations, one must be careful not to generalize, but instead understand how power influenced the creative process. According to Foucault, "power is always already there...one is never outside it," however, "to say that one can never be outside power does not mean that one is trapped and condemned to defeat no matter what" (1977, pp. 141-143). While I do not agree that "resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault, 1978, p. 95), mapping this idea onto the lifespan of [sub/counter] cultures is indeed helpful. When a [sub/counter] culture fails to preserve their non-uniform worldview that birthed empirical (or observable) change in the first place, they risk being overtaken and ultimately destroyed. Hence, while there is resistance, there is no defense of the initial spark of resistance.

5. Conclusion

Hegemony can be thought of as the adoption of individuality and its semiology through either passive coercion or forced appropriation, music being one possible link between these two possibilities. Antonio Gramsci, described this dichotomy as parts "spontaneous consent" and parts "coercive [state] power." The former meaning mass acceptance while the latter more so authoritian mandates and legal manipulation (1999, pp.145-507). Related, Tom Casier suggests that hegemony is a result of the substantiated "dynamics of power" rather than any clearly defined goal of amassing power itself (2021, p. 52). A great example is the genre of Hip-Hop and its historical development in Russia, as its primary directive was not the collection of usable power or cultural capital per se, but rather individualist expressionism within authoritarian proscription, then and now. In this light, a hegemonic society could be understood as being successfully only when "the organization of consent" (Barrett, 2011, p. 149) inspires infrastructure able to support a holistic relationship between owner and owned.

Once enough "underground" Hip-Hoppers began accepting their domestic trajectory, a dialectic of mainstream vs. underground was subsequently established. However, along with the insertion of capital gain into the creative process the phenomenon of "unofficial [self] censorship" (Garrett, p. 51) likewise emerged, leading to the dichotomy between rappers who do vs. do not do politics, and the difficult mediation between how much presented self is too much. Another maliginant outcome of the emergence of the mainstream vs. underground dialectic is the the superficializing of previously weighty symbology . As Get writes, "Formerly rebellious symbols are appropriated by hegemonic groups and transformed into massively consumed products" (Get, 2018, p. 437). In other words, what was sub- was pushed to counter- by a need to reject hegemony more overtly, but then forcefully (or in some cases willfully) co-opted into the mainstream. Following Perestroika and the International Youth Festival of 1985, some of the first proto-"rap" groups would form. However, unlike Russian rock, Russian rap's experimentalism began almost immediately with transformative linguistic tests to determine if Russian was actually suitable for rap's rhythmic nature. Thus, Russian Hip-Hop did not wait to carve itself a place into culture, instead forcibly presenting itself through public endorsement, side-stepping the subcultural step almost entirely. However, it was not yet a counterculture in any traditional sense until the late 2000s, when Hip-Hop was all but forced to respond to

40. Available at: https://www.encyclopedia.com/

41. Available at: http://www.kompost.ru

Russia's political climate and the growing animosity towards Putin.

Rather than solidify any one answer to the three questions posed, I instead attempted to defend my abstracted position that, in fact, the distinction between subcultures, countercultures, and mainstream cannot be easily determined. Rather, as is the case with contemporary Hip-Hop and many other genres inside of Russia, the need for alternative spaces away from biased realpolitik and oppressive, social realities has created the need for [sub/counter] cultures where non-hegemonic communities can create fully-functioning parallel cultures which may be fundamentally political but do not overall threaten the reigning hegemon in any significant manner. However, as Artemy Troitsky, Roma Zhigan, and other luminaries have noted, the societal consternation with these spaces is often externally prompted by those who do not recognize the tusovka's co-opted semiotics or internal ideologies, as was solemnly the case in 2018's fiasco. The question now is whether it is possible to identify what the genre of Hip-Hop culturally is inside of Russia? It certainly has grown out of subcultural distinction, although being too publicized to be a countercultural phenomenon, and yet vilified enough to not truly be mainstream. Perhaps its ambiguous nature is its strength, abiding in all but being none.

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Theme tune 9

Tranglobal artistic conspiracy'. Cultural and creative work and public policies

9.1 Representation and reconstruction of memories on graffiti Writing – Case study about animation as documentary strategy

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✕ Abstract

The graffiti Writing, visual movement from the 1970s Americans, spread globally over the decades. Despite the large amount of visual material documenting it, it remains a cryptic and marginal subculture, little-known by large audiences, and sometimes misunderstood. The following paper presents an applied research project, whose objective is to investigate the contribution of animation to the documentation of this subculture, deciphering its interpretation for a broader audience. Through documentary fieldwork, with interviews, are registered Writers operating in different approaches, surfaces and styles. The fieldwork is developed by contextualizing a geographic area, in the province of Ferrara, in northern Italy. The research aims to define representation strategies and narrative reconstruction to document the disclosure and memories of this subculture in a specific geographical context, through the project for an animated short film. The choice allows the exploration of new concepts by the encounter of two distinct visual arts, the Writing and the animation.

Keywords: graffiti writing, documentary, animation, hybrid, Ferrara.

1. Introduction

This paper presents a theoretical-practical study investigating the possibilities of hybrid animation to explore new visual concepts through its encounter with the aesthetics of graffiti Writing. The research aims to present its results useful to the elaboration of an animated documentary short film defined by a language adequate to the theme to be portrayed.

In fact, the biggest challenge of the project on which this study is based is to represent a visual subculture - with its own specific language - through other visual media (animation), making this theme accessible wider publics.

The theoretical part of this investigation is based on the analysis of the history of Writing – from its emergence in New York and Philadelphia to its arrival to Bologna, regional capital near the contextualized area of study, in order to delineate its characteristics as a marginal and cryptic visual-culture.

Succeeding, the following paper presents a scrutiny to a selection of both fictional and non-fictional films outlined as hybrid animation, intending the purpose of understanding and defining strategies and technical-aesthetic solutions to design the project for an animated documentary short film about Writing.

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In turn, the practical segment, on which this paper is based, develops from interviews with three Writers and from the gathering of visual documentary material. Contextualizing the fieldwork on the province of Ferrara, in northern Italy, the project aims to document, translate and communicate the characteristics and memories of a global, but still little-known and marginal movement.

2. Offset of Writing culture

There is no way to identify exactly the beginning of the Aerosol Art or Writing movement. In fact, there are several hypotheses about the emergence of graffiti as a creative practice. Some claim that the movement appeared in the metropolis of New York, others in Philadelphia. (Ferri, 2016, p. 18)

In 1967, in Philadelphia, the names CORNBREAD and COOL EARL appeared written taking visual possession of the city, these nickname-writings drawn the attention of the local mass media defining the role of the name Writers, with their goal of gaining an "anonymous fame". (Nelli, 2012, p. 15)

In New York the movement began during the end of the 1960s, but it was mainly the name TAKI183 that captured the attention of newspapers and New Yorkers: in fact, in 1971, an article in The New York Times dealt with Writing, presenting it as a phenomenon rooted in the urban fabric (Nelli, 2012, pp. 16-17). Since those years, in New York, especially in the neighborhoods of Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn, the number of names written on public walls has increased exponentially, developing new techniques and aesthetics, influenced by visual mass cultures. (Ferri, 2016, p. 18; Nelli, 2012, p. 28; Faletra, 2015, pp. 23-24)

Shortly, this juvenile suburban movement began to gain recognition on the arts and gallery circuit, in fact, in 1973, there was an exhibition of canvases painted by PHASE2, MICO and other Writers at Razor Gallery in New York. (Chalfant & Cooper, 2015, p. 7; Nelli, 2012, pp. 20–24)

Despite the infiltration of Writing in the urban fabric and in the art ambiences, the phenomenon was poorly documented. Only in the 1980s, with the growing interest of journalists, researchers and photographers, Martha Cooper and Henry Chalfant documented the movement, perceiving it, and the works themselves, as something ephemeral. Chalfant, in the book "Subway Art" (2015), states: "I imagined that graffiti would die in a few years and that I could have an unusual photo archive. I photographed in the spirit of historic preservation." (Chalfant & Cooper, 2015, pp. 6-126).

2.1 The global disclosure of the movement

The growing interest of photographers and researchers created the basis for the global spreading of the phenomenon. The first fragmented and superficial images of painted trains arrived in Europe through music videos, TV series and films set on the outskirts of New York. Films such as John Badham's "Saturday Night Fever" (1977) and Walter Hill's "The Warriors" (1979) reported a reality where Writing's pieces inevitably characterized the city's scenarios. (Caputo, 2012, Cover)

But the European public did not understand the meaning of those paintings on the walls. Only in the first half of the eighties, with the help of the first films on the subject, entitled "Style Wars" (1983) and "Wild Style" (1983), thousands of youngsters outside the United States learned the techniques and dynamics of a movement until unknown. (Ciancabilla, 2015, p. 10)

Photography fulfilled the role of spreading knowledge on a large scale, thanks to a market of fanzines self-produced by the Writers themselves. Through photographers interested in the movement, the first official publications that documented Writing were born: "Subway Art" (1984) by Martha Cooper and Henry Chalfant and "Spray Can Art" (1987) by H. Chalfant and James Prigoff (Ciancabilla, 2015, p. 10) aided the movement to reach the main European cities. (Caputo, 2012, p. 72)

2.2 The Writing's arrival to Bologna

Bologna is reputed to be one of the epicenters of countercultures in Italy. (Caputo, 2012, p. 154) In fact, between the 1970s and 1980s, large student's groups were manifestating the dissatisfactions and anxieties of young people, preparing the city to welcome new thoughts and languages. In 1984, with the exhibition "Arte di Frontiera: New York graffiti", curator Francesca Alinovi brought to Bologna for the first time some

of the greatest exponents of the artistic avant-garde of New York, showing the best of the first generation of American Writers (FUTURA 2000, DONDI , DAZE, LEE, CRASH, A-ONE, among others) (Caputo, 2012, pp. 233–254).

The New York subculture soon found fertile soil in the area between the railroad and the industrial sites that were gradually abandoned; in these spaces the first generation of Writers from Bologna was formed. First among all was DEEMO, which started between 1985 and 1987. MAGMA, MINED, RUSTY, SHAN R, DADO and CIUFFO joined the movement, some of them founding the S.P.A. crew (Caputo, 2012, p. 158).

Bologna and its artistic ferment attracted the American Writers PHASE2, who settled in the city for a few years, unwritten dogmas and theories of the discipline. The artist from New York had his first contact with Bologna in 1984, but it was in the 1990s that his relationship with the city became more intense, following the exhibition-festival "Dal Muro alla Pelle" (1994) (Papa, 2019).

Thus, in the following years, young people from the provincial areas of Bologna (an example is Ferrara and its small outlying towns), through events and festivals, discovered Writing movement and were influenced by its characteristic style developed in that city.

# 3. Hybrid animation and its potentialities

This chapter presents an analysis made to a selection of films, from fictional and non-fictional genres, which explore the encounter of animation with techniques and/or aesthetics belonging to different arts and visual cultures, with the aim of outline the possible strategies to adopt in the practical project exposed in this paper.

Non-fiction cinema and animation developed and defined their characteristics in parallel, integrating themselves and creating new cinematic genres and forms of representation. Furthermore, the hybrid genre of animated documentary, due to the freedom and possibilities that comes from animation, provides the integration of different techniques and aesthetic influences on the final work, contributing to generate to ways to represent the "real" (Lasagni, 2017; Penafria, 1999).

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The word "hybrid", in this context, indicates an element composed of different techniques and/or aesthetics. As a result, animated documentary can be defined itself as a hybrid cinematographic subgenre, as it results from the use of animation techniques in documentary films. But the same 'animation' is widely attributed to the concept of 'hybrid' in the contemporary context. The concept of hybrid animation encompasses numerous variants, but concretely arises from the interconnection and overlapping of different media and influences, both technical and aesthetic, resulting in a single sequence or frame. (Tavares et *al.*, 2010) The hybridization of different aesthetic, technical and media influences in a single product allows new formulas to be reached and, above all, to broaden aesthetic and sociocultural discussions. Through hybrid animation, there is, therefore, the possibility of creating multiple layers of information in audiovisual products that emotionally engage the viewer and simplify the comprehension of a subject (Harris, 2020, p.17).

Conform the concept of hybrid animation, despite the wide cinematographic production and possible works to be considered, in this paper we want to highlight the shorts "Muto" (2008) and "Big Bang Big Boom" (2010) by street artist BLU, the feature films "Loving Vincent" (2017) directed by Dorota Kobiela and Hugh Welchman.

Italian street-artist BLU conceived a hybridization of techniques and aesthetics deriving from street art, painting animation on walls. The short films "Muto" (2008) (see figure 9.1.1) and "Big Bang Big Boom" (2010) are animated with the stop-motion technique by paintings on urban surfaces, where each new frame hides the previous one. (Ciancabilla, 2015, pp. 90–95) The artist managed to give movement to what has always remained fixed on cities' walls, and in a certain way attribute eternity to graffiti, ephemeral by its nature. These short films, in addition to their fictional narratives, bring and represent the concept of ephemerality of urban paintings, but concurrently use its temporality in order to exist.

▶ Figure 9.1.2 – Frame retrieved from the short film Muto4 (2008), directed and animated by BLU, in which it is observable the painted figure for the current frame, and the erased previous ones
▶ Source: Muto (2008)

"Loving Vincent" (2017) represents the first feature film entirely animated through oil painting. The film, that investigates the reasons for the death of painter Vincent van Gogh, was initially shot with actors and then, using the rotoscope technique, more than 65000 frames were painted on around 1000 canvases. (lovingvincent.com) Van Gogh's works were the basis for the visual development of this film, where characters were developed similarly to the subjects portrayed in the artist's paintings. The directors chose to make an oil-painted animated film because they believe that "you can't really tell Vincent's story without his paintings, so we needed to bring his paintings to life." (lovingvincent.com) In this context, the hybrid of animation and Van Gogh's pictorial language aesthetically provide the public with representation of Van Gogh's artwork by adding layers of visual information to the narrative of the film.

4. This short film is available online at: https://youtu.be/uuGaqLT-gO4

▶ Figure 9.1.1– On the left, live-action footage with Eleanor Tomlinson, in the center the portrait of Adeline Ravoux painted by Van Gogh, and on the right the final frame of the film "Loving Vincent" (2017), D. Kobiela and H. Welchman
▶ Source: n/a

The films analyzed in this section represented a fundamental step to delineate the practical part of this study, namely in the definition of technical and aesthetic choices. It was considered that hybrid forms of animation, other media, and/or visual references, which are the subject of the films themselves, provide the viewer with an immersive "experience" in the visual content that is intended to be represented. Furthermore, hybrid animation allows to create multiple layers of information, to simplify a subject for the public, enabling to reach new levels of understanding.

4. MISREADS: Project for an animated short film documenting Writing culture

Based on the stipulated results, we intended to define a project for an animated documentary short film about Writing.

Being a cryptic and niche subculture, it has remained marginal and known by few people, but currently the phenomenon is experiencing a period of great media exposure, especially because of the rapidness and easiest of social networks. But due to this nowadays readiness and broad access to the creation and diffusion of contents globally consumable, exist the possibility to communicate, to less informed audiences, concepts and information that are wrong or lacking in meaning, depth and memory (Musso, 2015).

For this reason, emerged the need to contribute to the documentation of the Writing culture, and to develop a project for a short film with traditional animation technique, which communicates the fundamental characteristics of this movement, by representing – and keeping intact – the memories and style of its protagonists, keeping them intact.

Therefore, this project intends to analyze the individual stories of Writers with different points of view and modus operandi, studying a historical period that goes from the mid-1990s to the present, circumscribed in the geographical area of the province of Ferrara, in Italy. This option permits to reconstruct a broader and more varied scenario, and narrate, through the memories of these protagonists, part of the history of Writing.

By the social record nature of the project presented in this paper, it was considered essential to gather documental material to be used in the film, such as interviews, photographs, graphic diaries, newspaper articles. This material was analyzed, and some elements selected to compose an atlas of useful documents for the technical and aesthetic definition of the project. In animation, the needs of a documentary work imply choices at both technical and aesthetic level, contributing, in the end, to achieve the objective of the film. For these reasons it is important to know in depth the subjects of the story, in order to translate their characteristics concretely in the development of the narrative, characters and scenarios.

4.1 The research

After having identified some of the first artists to adhere to Writing in the geographical area of our research, the study proceeded with the documentation through interviews to these Writers. The chosen artists, who adhere to the project come from small towns in the province of Ferrara and began to paint letters in different years over the last three decades. This is also. Due to the differences between these artists, – one of the main characteristics in Writing, the assertion as a unique individual, with its own style and characteristics – it is possible to represent the subculture relatively broadly despite the geographic frontiers of the research framework.

The sound content of the documentary will be based on the audio reports recorded during the interviews, in order to reserve the visual part of the short film to the function of representing the artists' memories and their artworks, through animation. This option provides the opportunity to explore new concepts through the encounter of Writing aesthetics with traditional animation techniques.

The first contact was established with the Writer MASK (b. 1979). Then, when presenting the proposal to three more Writers, only two agreed to collaborate: SAED (b. 1985) and IRASHI (b. 1994).

A first meeting was important to personally present the project and gain the confidence of the interviewees; since many Writers also paint illegally, it was necessary to explain that the video recordings of the interviews will only serve as a basis for the development of the animation, and that in no case – the live-action videos, the identities or other information that could be legally compromising the artists – will be published. In fact, the images recorded during the interviews will only serve as an analysis material to animate the facial and gestural expressions of the characters in the final short film. The interviews took place individually in closed spaces chosen by the artists, so that they felt comfortable and not constrained. Only one restriction was 'imposed' on the artists in the designation of the places for the interviews, for technical reasons, which were closed spaces and isolated from the outside sound. The recordings turned out to be great to be used as study material for script definition, storyboarding and character creation. Leaving the designation of locations to the Writers' preference turned out to be an advantageous option for the project, as it managed to enter the personal spaces of each artist; places that for various reasons reveal the personality of the interviewees. The environments designated for the interviews were namely: MASK's dwelling/study, SAED spray paint warehouse and IRASHI's atelier.
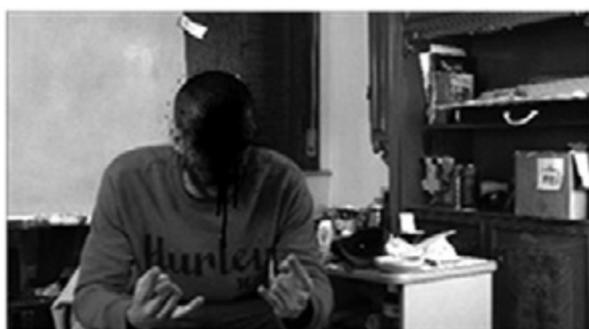
▸ Figure 9.1.3 – On the left, two frames retrieved from the interviews to IRASHI and SAED, and on the right an image toked during the interview to MASK
▸ Source: Mattia Ronconi

Furthermore, it was necessary to ask for the collaboration of the artists over the following months, in order to continue the gathering and selection of more visual documenting material inherent their works and memories. The information collected served as the basis for the later phases of characters and backgrounds design.

4.2 The analysis to the gathered material

After recording the interviews, it was important to carry out an accurate analysis of the contents to continue with the organization of the obtained information. Using video editing software to separate each part and create a preliminary index of the discussed topics, the memories were subdivided into macro-areas such as: how each artist came to know the phenomenon, how the movement has changed over the years, the motivation that led they to continue to write in the streets, what the outsiders think, among others. This decision helped to organize a list subdivided by artist, subject of the report, relevant points and duration. This resulted in schematizations and tables that separate the interviewees' memories, helping the storyline and script outlining phase, bases for developing the short film. Despite the interviewees' memories being very rich and interesting, for reasons of pertinence and time of the short film it was necessary to omit many testimonies.

In turn, the character design required a stylistic-aesthetic analysis that started from a selection of works from each artist, with the objective of identifying the methods of composition of the letters and defining the existence of recurrent geometries that characterize the letter-style proper to each Writer. This analysis, integrated with the study of the personalities of the interviewees, helped in the process of character design. In fact, in animation the character's appearance depends on its psychological and physical characteristics, which translate into geometric shapes, anatomical proportions, and chromatic palettes. Knowing the interviewees' stories was essential for defining the forms and metaphors associated with the characters. The choice to not illustrate our protagonists with naturalist drawings depended on the need to keep the Writers anonymous and, simultaneously, represent the artwork itself. Therefore, body shapes and proportions affect the way in which the viewer perceives the character. In fact, the psychology of forms is commonly used in animation and illustration in the creation of characters, and scenarios. This allows to visually communicate the personality of the character by giving it base shapes: square, circle and triangle. But it is through the combination of these three base forms that there is the possibility of communicating more realistic and appealing characters (Matessi, 2017; Stanchfield, 2013).

The analysis of the interviewees' aspects was developed in parallel with the study of the artwork itself, for this reason, schemes outlining observations about the technical and stylistic choices made by the adherents in their graffiti pieces.

▸ Figure 9.1.4– Graffiti pieces comparison
▸ Source: Mattia Ronconi

Organizing schematic boards that delineate for each Writer the respective psycho-physical characteristics, contributed to take choices during the characters design phase, translating the personalities' aspects into forms, acting, visual metaphors and chromatic palettes.

The observations and choices taken with base on the analysis of the interviewees' personalities and physiognomies were compared and successively hybridized with the results of the study made to the letter-styles of each artist.

This choice derives from the Writing culture's concept whereby the development of a personal and unique Style is one of the fundamentals of the movement, and it can be said that it is one of the purposes of this practice, which caused a constant technical-aesthetic evolution over 50 years. In fact, according to the Writer Alessandro Ferri, also known as DADO, signs on walls are communications of individuality, Writers describe themselves through a visual language made up of shapes, compositions and chromatic palettes. Ferri (2016, pp. 13-14) states that "Style is the result of personal experiences filtered through a pictorial technique, and represents the Writers himself, his character and his own training."

Thus, analyzing a selection of photos of the works of each artist, the presence of recurrent base forms and logics of composition of the letter was observed, in order to differentiate the artistic work of each Writer. Noting that respondents have unique Styles, defined by specific color palettes and distinctive graphic elements.

For this reason, the exploration of aesthetics and techniques to visually define the characters of this project was based on the visual language of Writing, and more specifically, on the letter-styles of each interviewee. Therefore, the analysis and understanding of the schematic construction and recurring characteristics in the letters, aimed to define the "minimum common denominator" of the artistic production of each respondent, and to identify the existence of a relationship between the form, the letter-style and the author himself.

After having selected, for each interviewee, a range of Writing pieces produced between 2018 and 2020, a comparative analysis of each piece was made, deconstructing the letters and mapping the recurring graphic elements and forms. The results of this study were recorded on graphic tables in which the base forms used in the letter structures, the construction schemes, and the recurrent elements are represented.

From these analyses, it was observed how each interviewee paints graffiti with their own unique and differentiating Style, which is based on recurrent forms and structures that characterize their works. Between April and September 2020, the Writers were accompanied, on several occasions, during their painting processes, enabling field studies, helping to understand the dynamics of composition of the letters and pieces. The methods of each artist were recorded with the aid of a compact camera.

▶ Figure 9.1.5 – Board that outlines part of the analysis made to the letter-styles of each Writer participating to the project for MISREADS
▶ Source: Mattia Ronconi

Comparing these analyzes with the study based on the psychology of forms applied to the development of characters, it was verified the existence of analogies between the elements and compositions used by each Writers, and the forms and poses attributed to the protagonists of this project.

Because of this, the visual definition of the characters was carried out, integrating the elements that characterize the Writing Style of each interviewee to the design and considering the rules based on the psychology of forms.

In this phase, despite being experimental, it was important to attend to the observations made during the analysis of the interviewees based on the psychology of forms, in order to define functional characters for the purpose of the project. The integration of these elements in the development of the characters allowed to represent both the artists and their works. By hybridizing the aesthetic languages of Writing with design techniques for animation, the interviewees were 'translated' into beings composed of abstract forms, the same forms used in the composition of each artist's graffiti letters. Through this visual option, the identity of the Writers could be kept anonymous, and they were presented through graphic 'masks'. This concept of representation of the individual(ity) through a graphic and visual communication/language, parallel to the need to maintain its anonymity, links to the Writing culture itself, in which artists want to be recognized (getting up) within the movement through the Style and/or tag itself but masking its own identity and hiding the practice from a society with different rules, which does not accept the phenomenon.

4.3 The definition of techniques and aesthetics

Since the project presented in this section of the paper is for a non-fictional narrative, its definition depended on the documents previously collected and selected: the audios of the interviews, documental material to support the narrative (archive photographs, sketches, newspaper articles, etc.). The stage of defining the script refers to the attribution of meanings to the previously organized narrative, giving visual existence to memories reported through actions or metaphors.

The interpretation and reconstruction of memories through animation techniques allows to add layers of information to the audio of the interviews, and to enhance the visual and rhythmic appeal that the short film needs in relation to appeal to the audience. In this way, the characters' reports alternate between animated reconstructions of the interview and representation of memories. In fact, animation techniques allow to visually transpose and illustrate intangible elements of the "real", such as dreams, sensations and memories. (Honess Roe, 2013, p. 109)

Through the study made about the history and characteristics of Writing culture, it can be said that the artist PHASE2 was one of the pioneers of the movement, defining its foundations and developing new Styles, that were the bases for the future developments of new ones. In a section of the book All city writers (2009), the founder of the IGTimes fanzine, David Schmidlapp, writes that PHASE2 was an excellent 'collagist' and his works are well known within the movement", and his collage works were included in the fanzine itself (IGTimes). (Caputo, 2009, pp. 74–75) Perhaps, collage came to be widely used among Writers and the Hip-Hop movement: in the making of pamphlets to publicize the events, and even in the layout of many sketch-diaries. Notebooks, called blackbook inside of the movement, have been used since the birth of Writing to collect sketches, color studies, photos, and other documents relevant to the artist. In view of the objective of representing the memories of three artists, together with their works, illustrating a visual subculture, the aesthetic definition of the project depends on the use of numerous languages and techniques inherent to Writing culture, such as spray paint, painted walls textures, collage and representative solutions inspired by the style of blackbook. The use of a 'blackbook-style' works as an infographic solution in case the need to insert dates, real photographs, or other relevant information during a report.

The short film, therefore, will have two representative spaces: ones are the spaces in which the interviews take place, here, the studio of each character will be represented, in order to communicate, through the props in the scene, the personality and work of each artist; other scenarios coincide with the memory and the intangible sphere of the "real": sensations, ideas, memories. For this reason, it was chosen to animate the actions and metaphors inherent to the memories, along the pages of a blackbook, as if they were recalled by going through a diary.

Regarding the characters design, outlining the elements, shapes, attitudes, and characteristics to be used, the model-sheets has been defined. This step went through several changes until reaching the desired result. Throughout the process, the importance of defining the characters' turn-arounds were realized, the following image illustrates how to represent the characters in various views, such as: front, three-quarters, side, and rear.

▶ Figure 9.1.6– Concept art for the use of the blackbook with drawings and photos to represent memories
▶ Figure 9.1.7 – Image retrieved from the storyboard, IRASHI speaks during the interview inside of his studio
▶ Source: Mattia Ronconi

During this phase, the characters' poses and attitudes has been hold in consideration as well, understanding how the integration of 2D shapes from Writing would complicate the purpose of maintaining a coherence of the character's shape throughout its movements. In fact, by changing from a key-pose to another, it is been observed the possibility in losing coherence between forms referring to a specific Writing letter-style. For this reason, it was decided to apply functional, and reasoned, adjustments to some parts of the figure – such as arms, legs and hands – depending on the pose and the dynamism of the intended acting, integrating different extrapolated-forms from the analysis made to the interviewees' Writing letterforms. By doing so, it is necessary to maintain coherence when drawing the character in various poses, such as the proportions of the body and face, and the elements and shapes to be used for their representation. The importance of defining character's poses and attitudes, considering their personalities, is essential to give them a true appearance, as the entire figure can communicate a sensation, and reveal the meaning of the words or feelings represented in the narrative through action (Thomas & Jhonston, 1995).

▶ Figure 9.1.8 – Model-sheet for the corporal and facial expressions of MASK
▶ Source: Mattia Ronconi
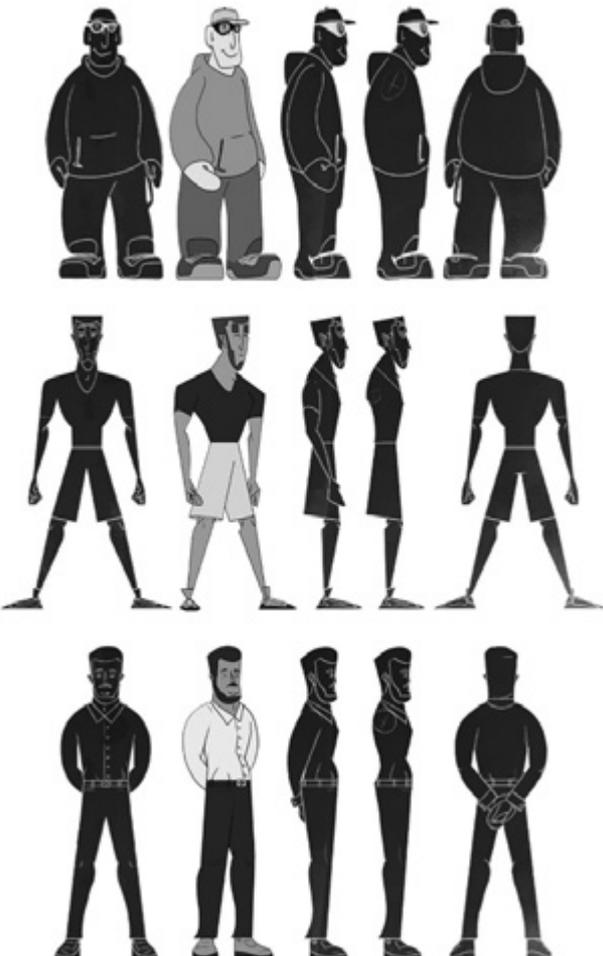
▶ Figure 9.1.8 – Turnarounds of the characters (from top to bottom) MASK, IRASHI and SAED
▶ Source: Mattia Ronconi

Attention was also paid to the definition of facial expressions, it was noted the importance of having model-sheets to animate the expressions of the face, which play a fundamental role in communicating the sensations of the character when recalling their memories. For the definition of facial expressions,

the real ones of the Writers during the interview recordings were observed. Therefore, considering the interviewees' characters, facial expressions were elaborated, applying shapes taken from their Writing letter-styles to mouth, nose, eyes, and ears. The recurse to graphic and simple expressions design, increasing a fast and easy emotion reading by the spectator, preventing misunderstandings in the representation and communication of the intended expression.

5. Last observations

In closure, the hybrid cinematographic genre of animated documentary, permits a creative approach to the "real", according to Grierson's definition of documentary as "creative treatment of actuality". (Lasagni, 2017, p.71) Animation provides new understandings of reality, helping to create easiest ways to read – and create knowledge over – intricated, little-known, and/or cryptic subjects. Based on the analysis carried out, there is a need for the documentary's narrative to be based on real facts accompanied by evidence that the same viewer perceives as 'truths', especially by using animation techniques, perceived commonly as fictional.

Furthermore, forms of animation that hybridize unusual aesthetics and/or techniques, when these are the main theme of the film itself, enables to create a product with multiple informational layers, capable of simplifying the theme to be addressed and translating it to wider audiences.

MISREADS, the project to be developed presented in this paper, is based on studies carried out on a selection of hybrid animation products and aims to find new technical-aesthetic solutions for the representation of memories from the Writing subculture, integrating the aesthetics proper to movement in character definition. Even the use of traditional animation, due to its plasticity, allows for greater expressiveness in the trace and exaggeration of forms, providing the use of metamorphosis and mutations, to simulate the fleeting and malleability of memory. The freedom of expression that characterizes one of the assets of animation, allows to hybridize languages and aesthetics of other artistic realities. In this sense, it was decided to explore the meeting of the technique of traditional animation with the aesthetics of Writing.

The artwork of the interviewees will be represented, in MISREADS, including, hybridizing, in the character design the letter-styles that characterize the graffiti pieces of each one. The idea to refer to this representative solution follows the concept being why by looking at a graffiti piece it is possible to recognize who painted it, because the piece reflects the character and personality of the Writer. (Ferri, 2016, pp. 13–18)

Recurring to two different representative spaces – the art-studios of each Writer to recreate the interviews, and the blackbook (diary) in which are re-interpreted the memories – helps the viewer to distinguish to timelines and narratives, separating the character speaking during the interview from the representation of the memory being reported.

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The multidisciplinary role of cultural management. A look for communication as management tool and key-activity

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✕ ~~Abstract~~

This document aims to develop a perspective to cultural manager concerns focusing in demonstrating the importance of communication as fundamental tool to capture and retain local public. It is a hybrid study - conceptual and empirical - and exploratory, based on literature review and illustrated with descriptive analysis from data collected by 573 questionnaires regarding a specific event (Miró exhibition in Palácio Nacional da Ajuda). This research followed a quantitative methodology and an interpretative paradigm. Three main conclusions were achieved: (1) The awareness need by the cultural management for an adoption of multidisciplinary posture, lined up by the multidimensional nature of cultural equipment and the organizational environment, in order to match public expectations; (2) The need of understanding the communication as tool and key-activity to enhance culture value in both organizational environments: internal and external; (3) The third, is the perception of mass-media advantage over digitals, for public reach.

Keywords: cultural equipment management, multidisciplinary, multidimensionality, communication.

1. Introduction and methodology

Quick changes in artistic-cultural contemporary market motivated by development of informative technological facilities, demand ampliation of multidisciplinary knowledge and tools of the cultural manager. The continuum formation, the development of a dilated vision and the critical capacity walk side by side with this professional category.

Cultural manager divides his attention to multiple areas which compose cultural equipment and cultural spaces like artistic, communicational, territorial, social, economic, environmental, legal, administrative, educational ranges and, yet are demanded to have knowledge about specific organizational techniques for this profession. Making it clear, these professionals worry in subjugating the necessary tools to operationalize certain cultural goals, so that the organization can offer to general people what they need.

In order to accomplish the objective, the main research questions are: (i) which are the functions and concerns of a cultural manager? (ii) Should the communication have a crucial role to play in all of them?

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This paper follows an event logic and is divided in chapters as follows:

a. What is the meaning of cultural equipment and its management;

b. The relation between cultural equipment and the creation of cultural networks on territory;

c. The role of communication on management – adding value;

d. Marketing communication of cultural equipment;

e. The communication as institutional contemporary function;

f. The power of communication: real event analysis;

g. Theoretical and practical contributes.

The methodology follows a qualitative logic supported by literature review, with the study case sustained by quantitative data obtained by self-administered questionnaires to public.

As main achievements, this article:

a. Provides inputs for an interterritorial plan creation;

b. Contributes for the discussion about ideologic construction of professional categories, in strands of thought building about its functions and concerns;

c. Increases the understanding of communication as key-activity;

d. Highlights the power of media in cultural events;

e. Contributes to expose the need for a multidisciplinary training for cultural managers.

The value of this research is the discussion reinforcement for a new vision about the action scope of cultural managers, supported in the relation between cultural equipment dimensions and multidisciplinary attitude.

2. What is the meaning of cultural equipment and its management?

According to Teixeira Coelho (1997, p. 164):

> (...) for cultural equipment it is understood either as edifications designed to cultural practices (theatres, cinemas, libraries, culture centres, film libraries, museums) either as cultural producers groups sheltered or not, physically, in an edifice or institution (...) In a closed dimension, cultural equipment are all objects which turns a cultural space operational (...).

Cultural institutions act as:

(...) spaces responsible for depositing goods, collections and objects, and for the reflection and production of knowledge. Its mission is to transform this heritage and the space it occupies into circuits of information, pleasure, and skills development, through forms of communication specifically designed for this purpose and strategic plans. Its management approach is responsible for bringing the public closer (through the capacity of its technical and human resources), which motivates the study of publics to diagnose their contexts and adapt their methods. (Carvalho, 2019, n/p)

One of the biggest cultural promoters in a country is the circle of cultural institutions. They are museums, cultural centres, galleries and other institutions, public or private, whose purpose is to organize activities related to culture: exhibitions, concerts, debates, publications, research, shows in general. (Reis, 2003, p. 12)

The management coordinates and guarantees the fulfilment of activities and work processes, adopting the necessary technology for the exercises inherent to them for the benefit of the associations' success. Managers are required to be able to contain the range of skills and tools that contribute to provision, organization, leadership, and control (López, 2003). Thus, this discipline must be instrumentalized to operationalize certain objectives related to the cultural field, excluding the ideology that cultural institutions do not aim at sustainability - the manager is also concerned and busy with administrative and accounting issues (Perkins, 2010).

Multidisciplinary should be understood as a skill required of cultural managers, since it comprises all matters and functions inherent to the position, while also adding the skills and knowledge necessary to plan, organize, lead and control aspects and activities that are linked to the cultural field (Schargorodsky, 2003).

The manager's responsibility for certain activities involves him has a part of a cultural process or action - it aims to bring together methodologies and techniques that achieve «... the best performance with the lowest cost and greater relevance for society» (Boas, 2005, p. 103).

The manager has the responsibility that the activities are carried out efficiently (concern with managing resources and productivity) and effectively (managing and achieving objectives). Boddy (2011) cites Mintzberg, who was responsible for defining a set of ten manager roles that are divided into three categories: informational, interpersonal, and decisional. The first corresponds to the search, processing and dissemination of essential information for the organization to function; the second seeks to establish relationships, advise and influence processes with the team – it also works as a link between both categories; the third seeks to find opportunities, new projects and identifies areas of development, resolves crises, generates resources, directs the budget and represents the organization during negotiations, always defending its interests.

These culturally related professionals should prioritize the correspondence to the public duty of these institutions to acquire, preserve and enhance their collections and to protect and safeguard the heritage: "The notion of management is inherent to this public duty and implications for ensuring the legitimacy of ownership of these collections, their permanence, documents, accessibility and responsibility in cases of disposal, when permitted." (ICOM, 2009, p. 7).

As Barbalho (2005) points out, the political process of associations must correspond to the support and execution of objectives so that programming lines are created to fulfil organizational expectations, not neglecting that cultural institutions aim to create and share symbols that correspond to actions that meet the cultural needs of the environment and communities.

Santos and Davel (2017) point out the problem in dealing with the various environments that cultural managers aim to address, including the dimensional duality of equipment: the building itself and the artistic and/or cultural dimension (sheltered by a series of specific disciplines that guarantee good practices for meeting expectations - museology, museography, preventive conservation, etc.). Professionals linked to culture and art must gather knowledge of the practices inherent in the duty of preservation without losing the vanguard vision for monitoring and innovation according to organizational needs.

However, problems that may arise must be necessary, compensated for and reassessed from the various dimensions of organizational activity, all perspectives must be dissected, and no model offers a complete or ideal solution - they must be adapted to the organization and sector: inclusive to the mission, vision and objectives, to the dynamics and needs, to the bodies and workers... As Schargorodsky (2003) questions, will it be possible to solve organizational problems in the cultural field from generalist theories of administration, or will it be necessary new theoretical developments adapted to the sector?

Cunha (2007) points to a set of basic points corresponding to the cultural manager's range of action:

 a. Knowledge of the territory where it operates so that it is possible to identify singularities, factors and key actors to bring together contexts of elements and organization priorities;

 b. Knowledge of artistic and cultural factors, trends and innovations to direct cultural actions;

 c. Monitoring of cultural policies at the various levels of action;

 d. Knowledge and dominance of a set of disciplines and tools related to the various functions it performs.

3. The relation between cultural equipment and the creation of cultural networks on territory

Promoting dialogue between associations based in a certain territory and bordering areas is essential so that cultural spaces do not close on themselves. More and more, cultural equipment and agents have responsibilities that transcend the simple good functioning of institutions. They work to develop mechanisms that involve the creation and evolution of interpersonal relationships in a network. In addition to being extremely relevant, understanding the bridge between the facilities and the surrounding community so that the artistic, cultural, social, and economic roles of these facilities are in harmony, a benefit to dynamize and enhance the territory. It is characterized as a continuous process of sociocultural actions in a territorial community.

Developing cultural projects and/or actions that link equipment, a community and surrounding associations, translates into an active role in the creation and renewal of cultural and artistic identities and potentials, contributing eventually to the knowledge and recognition of equipment and territory. It is a cycle of mutual benefits that is built through relationships that develop the recreation of processes and values or ways of living in the community, under the participatory aspects, improving communication and life.

Understanding these factors is essential for good management performance, in which there is a tendency to govern work in a mainly organizational way, neglecting these dimensions involved and, consequently, the social aspect (Santos & Davel, 2017). The promotion of awareness-raising commitments and active participation of the individuals contributes for their personal, social, and cultural formation (Martins, 1995).

There is an increasing need for management to meet expectations of various kinds that enhance and contribute to the development of the macro environment in which they operate. By developing the strategy of cooperation between organizations that encourage the reduction of internal and external organizational barriers, a strategic management is promoted that becomes open between associations, forcing them to work as a team to obtain mutual benefit through the elevation of all the incorporating aspects of the area, corresponding to the sector's responsibilities. This inter-territorial cooperation requires fluid external communication, so that the institution does not close on itself or on a very restricted public, enabling easy access to culture and aiming at cultural actions for the constant reinvention of the universe of culture.

This collaboration triggers the need for a network, which may evolve into the creation of cultural networks between territories, going beyond the initial mere temporal union between actors who, by necessity, have applied practices in a network (Casacuberta & Mestres, 2006).

The manager of these facilities has the duty to monitor changes and trends concerning the sector, adapting to the territory and people, adopting the necessary tools to add value to the organizational work, activities, and cultural actions they develop.

The knowledge management and organizational strategy that focuses on workers, information and communication technologies is a model that requires an integrated organizational learning from various areas and aspects in which the institution operates (Cardoso, 2007), contributing to the production of shared data internally that speed up problem solving and decision-making processes. Adopting an organizational posture where social responsibility prevails leads to ethical recognition in which the well-being of employees is assumed, as well as promoting the development of the community in which it operates (Reis, 2003). These data shared in an internal environment allow them to be used in an external context to develop a healthy competition stimulated between associations, sectors or territories (Werthein, 2003).

Maximizing the local economy demonstrates the impact that cultural facilities have on the territory, as it allows

the production and dissemination of cultural activities that invoke the public, the professionals involved and potential figures of interest (Santos & Davel, 2017).

As a result of these events, other economic segments can be activated for the development of communities and land, as it triggers reactions and actions resulting from the movement of new people in the area. Need and market are created for a specific audience that the equipment invoked.

This niche of opportunities creates a chain of network relationships that can be stimulated by local entities and neighbouring areas:

> **Culture is today one of the fastest growing sectors in post-industrial economies. Knowing how it works, in addition to expanding its performance as a factor of entry into the economy, will allow us to associate the improvement of living conditions as part of the same strategy, favouring endogenous creation, better organization of the production process and access to goods cultural.**
>
> **(Werthein, 2003, p. 15)**

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In the detriment of this local economic activation, all the factors involved, whether social, political, educational, or even environmental, may reappear as opportunities for cultural and territorial growth.

In this chapter, it was intended to demonstrate succinctly that cultural management governs the way work is developed within an organization and that by stimulating teamwork and networking between institutions, they benefit each other, enhance the territory and serve up to the community. This system could lead to the opening of new mechanisms in other sectors also in network.

4. The role of communication on management – add value

Communication is the exchange of information through written or spoken means, symbols or actions that take place in common understanding. However, Teresa Ruão (2016) explains the evolution of the communicational perspective in associations, understanding that the term has evolved more applied, for example, to business or marketing communication. She explains that it continues in the sense that the association no longer is the only holder of information, because it flows, generating a role of creating organizational systems. This theorizing trend thinks of communication as the nature of associations gave rise to the term CCO (communicative constitution of associations). There is an evolution in the way it is understood, abandoning an ideology that communication takes place within organizations, to think about their institution through and under communication.

Therefore, communication should be recognized as a key management activity, since it is essential for the achievement of the goals set both for the internal and external environment. It is a value-generating discipline, whether from technological structures for the efficient organization of information, or from basic human communication, as they work to build useful knowledge.

It is through communication processes that associations add value through innovation, quality, distribution, and cost (Boddy, 2011).

Communication processes, as well as the channels for the passage of information, while functioning as instruments for the structuring of networks that lead to common understanding, these aspects are constant and re-evaluated by the receiver who produces feedback combined with the constant improvement of the communication system, as he points out Perkins (2008), communication and dissemination of cultural programs should be seen as an indispensable tool for promoting the bond between cultural producers and consumers.


Figure 1- The organizational communication
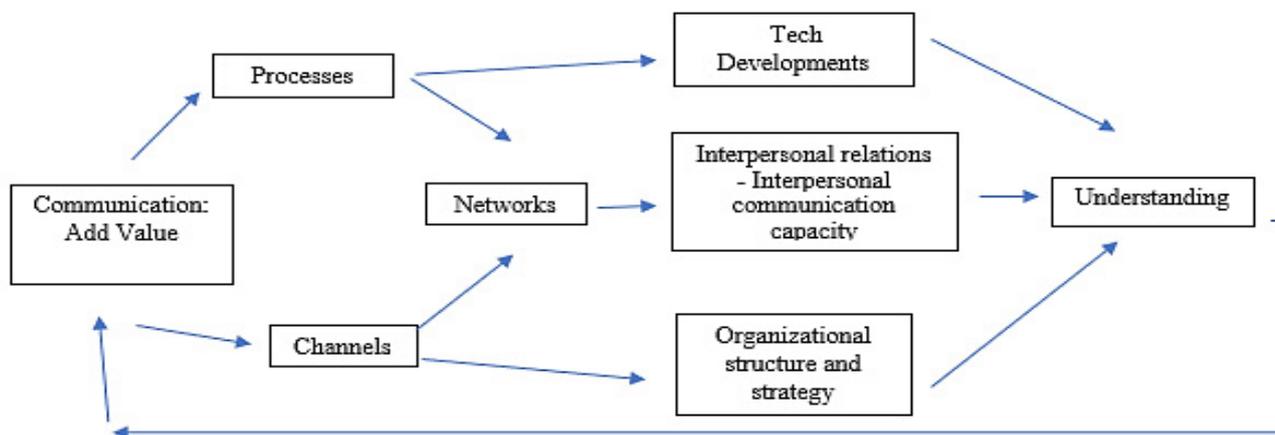
Source: Boddy, 2011, p. 485

- Figure 9.2.1 – The organizational communication
- Source: (Body, 2011, p. 485)

5. Marketing communication of cultural equipment's

Altered the change in the panorama after World War II, marketing is restructured to deal with excess production, assuming a new concept that is based on satisfying consumer needs and achieving organizational goals. These changes allowed a decisive positioning in associations and led to the expansion of functions inherent to structures, implying an understanding of the market and the behaviour of the public (Sobreira, 2010).

Aiming at this new orientation, marketing bets on building networks and partnerships, thinking globally and acting locally, developing its communication focusing on experiences and events that retain the public (Sobreira, 2010), including exploring the cultural environment through cooperation between cultural agents and entrepreneurs, which forces this discipline to assume a less economic and more communicational role.

This relationship also arises from global changes in the field of culture and its market, associations and financing, so that, at the same time, support is carried out by entrepreneurs, as they have come to understand the complementarity that a culture offers to their communication strategy and the way they act in society (Reis, 2003). Cultural marketing instrumentalizes culture to convey certain messages, instil practices and ideologies, developing a relationship between institutions and their audiences.

The relationship between markets and culture provided the growth of marketing exploration as a work tool for cultural agents, in which the objectives and interests of organizations and companies are sought to be reconciled with those of their public.

However, there must be awareness that entrepreneurs do not assume culture as a key activity of the company, since it only acquires and provides information, whereas cultural institutions, equipment and agents have it at their core of action.

Boas (2005) points out that it will be constructive to think of a cultural market based on cooperation and partnership work so that marketing emerges as a discipline that brings together achieving resources and valuing creativity. This installation of resources arises through the support and sponsorship of entities, including companies. According to Reis (2003), sponsorship can be considered as part of the cultural

marketing process, but it can also be considered in a more specific way. Companies that collaborate in this sense have not always conducted themselves based on cultural commitment, they simply intend to create circumstances with the public and the media (Reis, 2003).

Figure 2 – Cultural Marketing Process
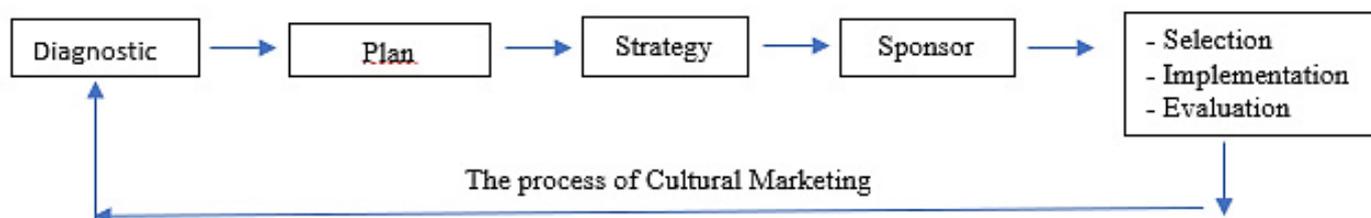
Source: Reis, 2003, p. 24

▸ Figure 9.2.2– Cultural Marketing Process
▸ Source: (Reis, 2003, p. 24)

As Toledo, Prado and Petraglia (2007) demonstrate, marketing plays an outstanding role in the formulation and implementation of strategies since this work starts from and towards constantly changing environments – the market and the competition. It is up to this discipline to position itself in these environments, efficiently communicating the information it gathers through the media.

Figure 3 – Cultural consumer behaviour
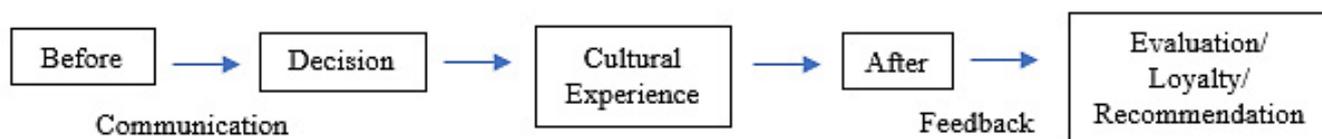
Source: Tavares, 2019, p. 21

▸ Figure 9.2.3 – Cultural consumer behaviour
▸ Source: (Tavares, 2019, p. 21)

6. The communication as institutional contemporary function

With the evolution of traditional and mass digital media, communication acquires an undeniable power in the life of the population, thus it should be considered a phenomenon and a basic social process, since contemporary society is built around communication networks (Kunsch, 2018).

The social and cultural aspect tends to reinvent new interactive processes, given the current communicational reach provided by the rapid evolution of information and communication technologies. Institutions, regulatory and legislative entities increasingly understand the importance of adopting measures and recommendations that enhance cultural facilities.

In the recommendation on the protection and promotion of museums and collections, their diversity and their role in society, UNESCO[4] establishes a set of fundamental functions of museums – including some paragraphs dedicated to communication:

✱ 10. Communication is another fundamental function of museums. Member States should encourage museums to actively interpret and disseminate knowledge about collections, monuments, and sites within their specific areas of expertise and an organized organization, as

4. Available at: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247152

appropriate. Museums should also be encouraged to use all media to advertise an active role in society, for example, organizing public events, participating in relevant activities and other interactions with the public, both in digital formats.

✱ 11. Communication policies must consider integration, access, and social inclusion, and must be conducted in collaboration with the public, including groups that do not normally visit museums. Museum actions will also be strengthened by public and community actions in favour of museums.

And, regarding communication and information technologies:

✱ 19. The changes brought about by the rise of information and communication technologies (ICTs) provide opportunities for museums in terms of preservation, study, creation and transmission of heritage and its knowledge. Member States should support museums to share and disseminate knowledge and ensure that museums have the means to access these technologies when needed to improve their core functions. (ICOM, 2015, p. 4)

The constant evolution of technological means that their adoption in different environments forces associations to renew their organizational perspective, as well as how they produce and disseminate knowledge. Mandatory management is directed towards the creation of value in communication networks, whether in an internal or external environment, as technology generates relationships that transgress barriers and reach all social structures. Social and cultural dynamics change accordingly to technology, at various levels of human tendency in relation to symbols and identities, and consequently communication starts to be oriented in a multilateral way.

When referring to contexts, relational aspects, etc., we seek to emphasize that organizational communication has to be thought of from the perspective of the dynamics of contemporary history. Therefore, it is necessary to read the situational realities, observing them, interpreting them, trying to understand them as cognitive structures that each person has and among which they will certainly select what really interests them, creating their own meanings and reacting according to conditioning circumstances or not. In this way, one can immediately perceive the complexity of dealing with communication and its interface with culture in the daily lives of associations. (Kunsh, 2018, p. 22).

The management of this multilateral transmission of information in an organizational context is a difficulty and challenge for managers. Communication processes are more interactive and occur in several directions, channels are diversified, and feedbacks lead to new processes. However, it is important to look at this issue not only from a strategic point of view to achieve goals, but also from a human point of view, namely workers and operating bodies. Communication can serve this ambiguity of perspectives and possibly none can offer an exact model to operationalize these issues. However, it should be the subject of reflection in order to find, if possible, a pleasant balance between the two.

7. The power of communication: real event analysis

Previously, specific research to obtain background and understanding of marketing strategy for a cultural event, was performed, also reinforcing as an important research topic the importance and strength of the various communication channels at the service of the cultural sector.

This research studies the marketing strategy employed in the exhibition in Lisbon, at the Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, of Joan Miró's works acquired by the Portuguese State. Information about this exhibition was advertised through various media and internet channels/social networks.

To analyse and request primary data from the Portuguese public of Joan Miró's temporary exhibition "Materiality and Metamorphosis" in Lisbon, self-administered surveys were carried out, delivered to public, during 8 days of December 2017 (days 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17). The construction, receipt and processing of the data was carried out by authors in accordance with Law No. 67 / 98 (about personal data protection). The application time was from 10am to 6pm. 600 inquiries were collected, with 573 valid. The information collection rate and questionnaire indicators are displayed on Table 1 and Table 2.

Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Day 8	Day 9	Day 10	Day 16	Day 17	Total
74	72	87	63	89	70	47	71	573
13%	13%	15%	11%	16%	12%	8%	12%	100%

▸ Table 1 – Questionnaires swing by days
▸ Source: Visitants quizz of Joan Miró art exposition in Palácio Nacional da Ajuda. Authorial

	Delievered questionnaires	Collected questionnaires	Responses rate	Not valid	Invalid	Validation rate
Total	610	600	98%	27	573	95,5%

▸ Table 2 – Questionnaires apllication indicators
▸ Source: Visitants quizz of Joan Miró art exposition in Palácio Nacional da Ajuda. Authorial

It was found that the media that made the public aware of the exhibition were mainly television and radio with 30.5%, newspapers with 20%, followed by recommendations from friends and family with 16% (Table 3). Through this data collection and the analysis that built Table 2, it was understood that the online media had a great impact on the public, but also the "spread the word" and recommendations do not go unnoticed with approximately 20% of the value total responses.

Facebook	Instagram	Twiter	Youtube	Blogs	Ajuda National Palace Page	DGPC5 Page	Serralves Page	Out-doors	Journals	TV/ Radio	Rec. Frien./ fam6.	Dont know dont answer	Total
105	7	1	5	11	33	13	22	83	178	275	143	26	902
12%	0,8%	0,1%	0,6%	1%	3,6%	1,4%	2%	9%	20%	30,5%	16%	3%	100%

▸ Table 3 – Art exposition knowledge "Materiality and Metamorphose" through communication channels
▸ Source: Visitants quizz of Joan Miró art exposition in Palácio Nacional da Ajuda. Authorial

As mentioned by Kotler and Keller (2012), the mass media are stimulating vehicles that aim to implement certain ideologies or enhance certain attitudes or behaviours. As in general rule, information transmitted by television, radio or newspapers reaches influencers or opinion makers who make it flow to the population less connected to the media. As the authors explain, this two-stage journey involves manipulating the original information against the opinions and ideologies of the first recipients, which will later influence the recipients belonging to their group. According to this informational succession chain, this study shows the need for mass communication to reach these influencers as a target audience, understanding that they will therefore lead the information to the general population.

The imposition of these mass media is more than evident in the case example, showing half of the total % of responses. However, the personal recommendation that usually proves to be more effective, is also exalted compared to the other options.

Conclusions

As a result of globalization and the evolution of the associations' environments, the management of cultural organizations must correspond to the expectations of the community and contribute to the evolution of the territory in which it operates (Santos & Davel, 2017). The entire macro environment must be analysed and reflected as fundamental variable of action. The responsibility of these actions goes beyond internal aspects to contemplate the need for interpersonal relationships in external environments (Werthein, 2003).

This manager's task only can be developed if the manager has acquired knowledge and work tools in

5. General direction of cultural heritage.

6. Recommendation of friends and/or family.

the different areas in which an organization operates. This multidisciplinary posture must be enhanced and developed in the social environment, so that the manager becomes more flexible to organizational environments, adapts to the environment in which the organization operates, becomes knowledgeable and easily handles the necessary aspects to achieve compliance with the expectations of the sector (Cunha, 2007). Investing in community intervention measures creatively, organizing the communication channels and interpersonal relationships leading to the development of cultural realities assumed by the management that focuses on future cultural and community perspectives.

Allowing itself to work side by side with other organizations based in the territory and bordering areas will open doors to inter-territorial cooperation for growth and development in different areas, from social, cultural, educational, economic, etc. stimulate healthy competition between associations (Casacuberta & Mestres, 2006).

Embracing communication as a key activity creates opportunities to work and strengthen these relationships, acting in both internal and external environments, as this generates value (Boddy, 2011). Understanding it as a management activity for attracting and retaining the public is fundamental nowadays, including adopting all possible tools, both traditional and digital, and adapting them according to the specificities of each segment (Kunsch, 2018).

Increasingly, there is an intensive use of social networks or platforms to propagate useful information and capture the public. However, it must be understood that we live in a time of saturation of the flow of images and information, making it difficult targeting the selected public. On the other hand, this challenge must lead to a strategic communication process, being planned accordingly to the target and its needs, transmitted with a clear and objective message, and using assertive channels for this purpose. It will be useful to take the time to conduct a feedback survey with the target audience, paying attention to people and allowing them to be part of the improvement of the communication system.

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9.3 Developing personas and proto personas to enhance the art museum visitor experience

Filipa Gama da Luz[1], **Pedro António Ferreira**[2] & **José Soares Neves**[3]

✕ Abstract

This paper aims to study and think about the use of personas and proto personas on the art museum visitors' experience. Its object of study is the educational services of art museums focusing on children and young people up to the age of 18. This is a hybrid - conceptual and empirical – and exploratory study. Conducted through a qualitative methodology, constructivist paradigm and design approach. It relies on critical and creative thinking, as well on data collection. Using a total of 36 interviews to teachers/educators and legal tutors, divided into two distinct phases, and three pre-test interviews. It expands the investigation of application of the construction of personas and proto personas in the management of educational services in art museums. The value of this study lies in exploration of the construction of personas and in a learning context Do - Feel - Learn instead of the traditional "Learn - Feel - Do".

Keywords: personas, proto personas, art museum, visitor experience, visitor journey.

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1. Introduction and Methodology

This paper aims to study and explore the use of personas and proto personas on the art museum visitors' experience. Its object of study is the educational services of art museums focusing on children and young people up to the age of 18[4].

This paper is focused on the analysis of data collected through interviews with teachers/educators and legal tutors and their ideas and conceptions of the importance of the arts to their children.

These interviews were conducted on a pre Covid-19 scenario. Its main purpose is to understand the importance that teachers and legal tutors give to educational services based on their experience at the art museum site.

Using a total of 36 interviews to teachers or educators and legal tutors, divided into two distinct phases, and a total of three pre-test interviews. Based on this interview's analysis, proto personas were developed with the purpose of creating a participatory museum experience approach. For this one intends that the presented proto personas are as well representative for art museums educational services.

This is a hybrid - conceptual and empirical – and exploratory study. It was conducted through a qualitative

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methodology, constructivist paradigm and design approach, following literature review. It relies on critical and creative thinking, as well as on data collection.

Adding insights to the research on the application of personas methodology to the art museum scene, particularly to the educational services. Reflecting on how the use of personas and proto personas might be applied to enhance art museum visitors' experience.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Personas

Personas make the connection between the requirements and needs of the final users and the offered service/product. Personas should identify their behaviors, attitudes, needs and goals (Harley, 2015).

Its creation can be based on quantitative and / or qualitative methods. Data can be collected using several qualitative and quantitative methods, such as interviews, questionnaires, focus groups, diary studies, and real life observation (Cooper, 2007).

This method allows efficient adaptation of designing strategies (Siang, 2021) by creating empathy with the potential user / customer.

Even though personas are based on real data collected, they are archetypes / models that represent a wide group of potential users / customers and are not the description of real people (Siang, 2021; Cooper, 2007).

Defining personas commits the team to being linked to a common idea of who their users / clients are, increasing their focus.

According to Gothelf (2012) traditional personas require intensive research and methodology, meaning they are expensive and time consuming to produce, therefore smaller organizations might not be able to fully develop them.

2.2 Proto personas

Gothelf (2012) suggests the creation of proto personas to avoid time and budget constraints: a cost-effective alternative to conduct this strategy.

Proto personas are created through brainstorming about the products / services where team members join their beliefs, assumptions and knowledge about the organization and its users / customers (Laubheimer, 2020) By using this technique, it is possible to start designing a strategic plan and decide which strategy to address (Gothelf, 2012).

It is important to validate their accuracy, meaning this is an iterative process: the proto personas should be redefined and redesigned through the process. This is a way to generate the focus of the organization back to the customer (Gothelf, 2012).

2.3 Museum Visitors

Despite living in the 21st century, Falk believes that most museums are still operating in the 20th century industrial business model with the one size fits all approach (Duplessis, 2011 in Falk, 2009).

Understanding who and why visits the museum is an increasing necessity. Several visitor studies have been conducted over time to better understand museum visitors. Mostly they focus on quantitative variables, such as demographic variables - age, race, gender, education, occupation, etc. or each day / hour the visitor goes to a museum (Falk, 2009). Falk declares that these are insufficient data to predict a person's will to visit a museum or not, as they have no relation to this decision process.

For this, the author suggests a new model of museum visitor experience, defining seven different categories for museum visitors: Explorers, Facilitators, Experience Seekers, Professionals / Hobbyists, Rechargers, Respectful Pilgrims and Affinity Seekers. Each one of these personas visits the museum with distinct objectives and motivations.

Thus, personas represent an important resource to the museum defining their ideal experience and approaches. Museum personas represent an iterative process as they are constantly evolving as time passes by, just like real people. By understanding its visitors, museums can better prepare their marketing and communication tools (Abrams, 2019).

However, one can understand the importance of gathering both demographic and qualitative data in order to develop more relevant and extensive results, as core demographics represent a relevant role in the customer's experience (Conrick, 2020), as they shape the visits outcome (Marques, 2018).

2.4 Visitor's journey and experience in the Museum

Customer experience is defined by the perception that the customer has from a determined brand / entity. This is an extremely fragile perception; therefore, it can change within every interaction (Morgan, 2017). Museum customers are referred to as their visitors and, for this it is relevant to perceive their interaction with the institution.

The visitor's experience is an ongoing study, proven to be an extensive and complex theme, being a recent subject for the museum lexicon (Marques, 2018). However, a parallel can be established with user experience studies related to computer human interaction.

The visitor's experience is an ongoing process, and the subject has proven to be as intricate and complex as the variety that exists among individuals.

Visitor journey represents a visualization of the process that a visitor goes through in order to fulfill an objective. It creates a narrative that allows to analyze in a more detailed way a customer interaction with a service / product (Gibbons, 2018).

Therefore, for each visitor a journey map should be defined.

The museum visitor is becoming more and more a part of the institution as the visitor is invited to create value within the museum. According to Nina Simon (2010) the educational services promote activities in which the visitor is growing its participative role, creating value in cooperation with the institutions. The educational role is growing and becoming more relevant in the museums, these institutions are gradually opening themselves to the public (Figurelli, 2015).

As referred to by Simon (2010) instead of delivering the same content to all visitors, a participatory institution should share in a diverse and personalized way the content they produce with their visitors.

3. Interview Analysis

Following a qualitative methodology, a total of 36 interviews to teachers and legal tutors were conducted. These interviews were divided into two different phases.

In this paper, firstly we'll introduce teachers' data collected, followed by legal tutors' ones.

The interviews collected data about teachers and legal tutors' views on art museums and their educational activities.

3.1. Teachers Interview Analysis

During the first phase of interviews the focus was to better understand teachers' current habits and needs.

Results concluded teachers valued the artistic expressions, stating that their students feel motivated when creative activities are required. Teachers mentioned the need to both visit museum spaces and to receive itinerant projects within the schoolroom, as referred by a Private Education Teacher in the first Phase of Interviews "I am in favor of schools going to creators' workplaces and working together with the professionals - than the other way around.".

Time management was referenced as one of the most important points not to target artistic expressions in the classroom, as the government requires disciplines such as mathematics and Portuguese to be the ones who have the most time dedicated to them.

One of the interviewed teachers mentioned that artistic expressions can be used to deliver other types of areas, making them more dynamic and enthusiastic to students. A Public Education Teacher mentioned in the first Phase of Interviews that "People forgot that the arts help the development of Portuguese and mathematics!". This could be a way to bypass the lack of time referred previously - tackling more than one subject at a time.

When questioned about the didactic materials provided by museums, teachers indicated they end up not being used in the classroom because usually they do not fulfill their needs. As they consider that the materials provided are mainly worksheets for the students to fill in. They suggested the creation of more engaging materials for the students. Perhaps teachers could work together with museum institutions on the development of this kind of materials. As previously mentioned, lack of time also affects after study visits, due to the curricular goals, they cannot do in-depth work.

Much of the teaching material that is given today by museums are small forms for students to fill. I think it would be more interesting if there was something more interactive... Where students could participate and work more on what they saw. [Public Education Teacher - 1st Cycle, First Phase of Interviews]

The interaction and active participation of students in the context of the visual arts is stated by the teachers as a motivating point for their students, valuing a multi sensorial experience. By stimulating different senses, students can become more engaged.

Teachers value both the interaction with materials and the ability to participate actively as well as to learn to contemplate the artworks.

When questioned if the ability to touch the artworks would motivate their students, teachers reacted in a positive way. A negative point would be the possibility of damaging the artworks, however teachers mentioned that if children understood its value and, if mediators would explain to them how to proceed, they would respect the artwork.

3.2. Legal Tutors Interviews Analysis

Some legal tutors mentioned that they don't visit art museums or use the educational services due to lack of financial ability, time or lack of interest from their children. Timetables defined by educational services are also mentioned as a reason not to attend their activities.

Even though the drop off activities option is valued by legal tutors, some showed interest in participating in the museum activities together with their children.

I was receptive to doing both. Of course, it was good to let them do these activities and visit alone, with more calm, because unfortunately with them by my side sometimes I can't see the exhibit as well. But I also find it funny to do the activities as a family. So, I'm looking at both scenarios. I'm afraid I don't see many things like that happen... [Legal Tutor of three kids, First Phase of Interviews.]

Interactions and participatory activities in the museum space were indicated as relevant to legal tutors. By

perceiving how artworks are created children can understand and connect more directly with the pieces and its creators. The ability to perceive how the artworks are done is considered a major value to legal tutors. The importance of getting to know the artist's career is considered as an asset as well.

Visits to *Museu do Dinheiro* and the temporary exhibit "Delirium Ambulatorium" at *Museu Berardo* (both located in the city of Lisbon) were mentioned as they represented participatory visits in which their children still remember and felt enthusiastic about. This information collides with Simon's opinion (2010), who defends that cultural institutions can better connect with their audience if they invite them to become an active participant. Besides that, the author also defends that by inviting visitors to participate, the institution can offer transformative experiences without high costs from the production side (Simon, 2010).

4. Proto personas development

Being aware that designing personas would require a more in-depth research, proto personas were created. This process joined the main frustrations, motivations and goals identified within interviews, research and brainstorming, as presented on tables 1 and 2.

Teachers	
Main Frustrations	Lack of Time
	Extensive school program to complete
Main Motivations	Providing students with meaningful experiences
	Acknowledgement of the importance of visual arts
Main Goals	Completing school program
	Providing students with meaningful experiences
	Field trips

▸ Table 1: Teachers

Legal Tutors	
Main Frustrations	Lack of Time
	Afraid of dirtying the house
Main Motivations	Spending quality time with their children
	Their children enjoy new experiences
Main Goals	Spending time with their children
	Providing their children with meaningful experiences
	Finding activities address to different aged children

▸ Table 2: Legal Tutors
▸ Source: the authors.

Thus, three proto personas were designed:

- ✖ One Child;
- ✖ One Legal Tutor;
- ✖ One Teacher.

4.1. Proto persona: Child

João Santos is 11 years old, currently in the fifth grade and lives in Lisbon with his parents. He enjoys having new experiences and loves to draw and play with clay, as well as having fun. João wants to do activities outside his household and to have access to different experiences. He feels that at home his parents don't let him play with different materials as they say he will leave the house dirty. João's main goals are to have the ability to do activities outside his house and spending more time with his parents.

* **Name:** João Santos

* **Age:** 11 years old

* **Location:** Lisbon, Portugal

* **Occupation:** Fifth grade student

* Motivations

* Enjoys new experiences

* Having fun

* Loves drawing and playing with clay

* Frustrations / Pain Points

* At school feels that they tackle a lot of mathematics and he cannot experience the visual arts as he would like

* At home his parents don't let him play with different materials as they say he will leave the house dirty

* He feels he spends a lot of time at school.

* Goals

* Do activities outside his house

* Having access to different experiences

* Spending more time with his parents

4.2. Proto Persona: Teacher

Ana is a 37 years old primary school teacher in Faro, South of Portugal. Ana acknowledges the importance of the visual arts and wants to provide meaningful experiences and new vocabulary to her students. However, for her the extensive school program to complete and unmotivated students, allied with the lack of time and problems with the school infrastructure that don't provide the required needs to develop new activities, make her feel frustrated. Nevertheless she is committed to completing the school program and taking her students to field trips.

* **Name:** Ana Silva

* **Age:** 37 years old

* **Location:** Faro, Portugal

* **Occupation:** Primary school teacher - public school

* Motivations

* Providing students with meaningful experiences

* Acknowledgement of the importance of visual arts

* Providing students with new vocabulary

* Frustrations / Pain Points

* Lack of time

- ✖ Extensive sch ool program to complete
- ✖ Unmotivated students
- ✖ School infrastructure doesn't provide the required needs to develop new activities
- ✖ Goals
- ✖ Completing school program
- ✖ Doing field trips

4.3. Proto Persona: Legal Tutor

For Joana Santos, a 40 years old writer that lives in Lisbon, Portugal and has artistic sensibility. She's a mother of two and loves spending time with them and providing them with new exciting experiences, as she knows this is something that makes them feel happy. However, Joana feels frustrated as she doesn't like it when the house gets dirty but wants to give Luís and Sara the ability to explore new materials. Joana's goals are to spend more time with her children, providing them meaningful experiences as well to stimulate their creativity.

- ✖ **Name:** Joana Santos
- ✖ **Age:** 40 years old
- ✖ **Location:** Lisbon, Portugal
- ✖ **Occupation:** Writer
- ✖ **Children:** Luís Santos, five years old and Sara Santos, 11 years old
- ✖ Motivations
- ✖ Spending quality time with her children

- ✖ Their children enjoy new experiences
- ✖ Has artistic sensibility
- ✖ Frustrations / Pain Points
- ✖ Lack of time
- ✖ Doesn't like to get the house dirty but wants to give to Luís and Sara the ability to explore materials
- ✖ Goals
- ✖ Spending time with her children
- ✖ Having meaningful experiences
- ✖ Stimulate her children creativity

4. Conclusions

This paper allowed us to draw five conclusions.

First, building personas enables the art museum to understand its audience. Visitor's needs and objectives can be assessed in a more direct and efficient way by adapting designing strategies.

Second, this paper indicates that personas represent a starting point for redesigning: the museum space, the visitor's journey and experience. Museums can rethink the visitor journey for each persona, knowing that several journeys can be designed to better access their needs and expectations.

Third, personas allow to simulate a visitor model with differentiating profiles. Since the data collected is not referred to any museum in particular, the presented proto personas can be used as a starting point for any Portuguese art museum to build their own personas. For each one of the designed proto personas a visitor journey can be drawn following a specific museum offer. Thus, different journeys can now be designed and

redesigned, following an iterative process, for different art museum educational services.

Fourth, proto personas are created through brainstorming about the visitors, allowing them to generate tools to start the early planning with a lower budget. Significant costs may be reduced and changes to management practices applied, enabling more museums to apply them and start redefining their focus and actions.

Fifth, the findings reflected upon this paper contribute to practice by providing insights for the construction of a space for creative expression and non-formal education based on the visual arts aimed at children and young people up to the age of 18.

Based on the interviews analysis' we suggest the application of participatory methods within art museums. This study contributes to theory by reflecting on teachers and legal tutors' vision on art museums educational services. We understood that both teachers and legal tutors' feel that they aren't capable of dedicating as much time as they would like to work on the visual arts and museum visits.

This paper expands the investigation of application of the construction of personas and proto personas in the management of educational services in art museums.

It is possible to extract ideas to apply on art educational services – either on the school or museum site. Besides providing meaningful information based on collected material, it also suggests a learning context "Do - Feel - Learn" instead of the traditional sequence "Learn - Feel - Do".

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9.4 The Meeting between Warhol and Pasolini at the 1975 "Ladies and Gentlemen" Exhibition

Emanuele Stochino[1]

✕ Abstract

This abstract sets out to underline the importance of the 1975 *Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen* exhibition held at the Palazzzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara, Italy and the writings of Pier Paolo Pasolini concerning the exhibition theme: transvestitism. Warhol was invited by Luciano Anselmino, the Italian gallery owner, to create a series of portraits of lesser-known people rather than of *Factory* stars. This *Ladies and Gentlemen* series was highly successful and put a hitherto neglected theme under the spotlight. Although the first exhibition provoked scandal, with some variants, it has seen many re-editions since its theme is ever more common in Western society. In his writings regarding the 1975 exhibition, Pasolini portrayed an American society of equivalence; a society characterized by mass consumerism. He depicted a society in which everybody consumed the same things, attended the same cultural events and frequented the same areas; no-one was distinctive, everyone was equivalent. Pasolini interpreted the ten portraits as *isocephalic* figures, replicated until their identity was cancelled. No portrait bore the name of its subject and each subject merged with the next to create one single individual: an *Arche*type. In his writings, Pasolini foresaw a mass society founded upon hedonism which would annul every typology of cultural and sexual difference based on the belief that the only accepted difference between individuals is linked to the amount one consumes. This leads to the assumption that: "political choices of conscience no longer correspond to existential choices" (Pasolini, 2019: 73).

Keywords: *Ladies and Gentlemen" Exhibition, mass consumerism, Pier Paolo Pasolini, transvestitism.*

1. Introduction

To understand Pasolini's writing on Warhol's *Ladies and Gentlemen* series it is necessary both to contextualize the birth of Warhol's series and to describe the knowledge that Pasolini had acquired during his two trips to New York in 1966 and 1969.

The article will be structured in three parts:

✕ The genesis of the *Ladies and Gentlemen* series: to understand how and why Luciano Anselmino, director of the Turin Faun Gallery, convinced Warhol to produce the series. The reference sources will be the writings of: Bob Coacello, Janus and Maria Luisa Pacelli.

✕ Pasolini's trips to New York: to analyze his first-hand knowledge of American society. The

reference sources will be the interviews: "A Marxist in New York" (1966) by Oriana Fallaci, "he interview by Giuseppe Cardillo, 1969, Pasolini's personal notes and the writings of Enzo Siciliano.

✖ Pasolini's writing on the Warhol series. Pasolini's vision of Warhol's works will be analyzed from both an artistic and social point of view. The reference source will be Pasolini's own notes as well as the manuscript of the presentation of the *Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen* exhibition, which was held at the Anselmino Gallery in Via Manzoni, Milan, in 1976.

2. The Genesis of the Ladies and Gentlemen Portrait Series

The idea for the *Ladies and Gentlemen* series came from the renowned art dealer Luciano Anselmino. The sources which will be cited below include extracts from Maria Luisa Pacelli's interview with Franco Farina and some passages from the book "Holy Terror. Andy Warhol Close Up" by Bob Coacello who was Warhol's assistant. These sources reveal some discrepancies concerning the way in which Anselmino's idea was communicated to Warhol.

In the interview carried out by Maria Luisa Pacelli (MPL) with Franco Farina (FF) the former director of the Civic Gallery of Modern Art at Palazzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara, one reads:

MPL

When I asked Janus who had the idea to create a series on transvestites and how it came about, he told me that one day Anselmino had come into the gallery [NA il Fauno], excited, and had told him about an idea that had come to him that night. Then, after a brief conversation between the two, Anselmino called Warhol on the phone and told him about his idea with infectious enthusiasm.

FF

The fact that Anselmino found a buyer [Carlo Monzino] for all the paintings before they were even completed certainly carried some weight, and soon after, he also found an exhibition venue in a public space, in Ferrara."

(Pacelli, 2015: 43-44)

Bob Coacello in "Holy Terror. Andy Warhol Close Up" stated that in August 1974 he and Warhol, who were returning from Switzerland, drove to Turin to sign one hundred portraits by Man Ray, commissioned by Luciano Anselmino, owner of the Fauno Gallery.

In the chapter "Ladies and Gentlemen, Etc." Coacello wrote: "I [Coacello] was driven [...] to Turin, to see a protègè of Iolas[2], Luciano Anselmino whom we called Anselmino da Torino, because he looked more like a hairdresser than an art dealer."

In the morning, after having signed the Man Ray portraits, Warhol saw Anselmino. The latter proposed him a large, commissioned work, including both screen prints and paintings, for an amount of $ 900,000[3], a third of which was to be paid in advance. Anselmino insisted that the theme of the works was to be *transvestitism*.

At first, Warhol declined. However, after a few hours, an ever-adamant Anselmino, reproposed the idea to Warhol with one modification:

> *"They shouldn't be beautiful transvestites who could pass for women, but funny-looking ones, with heavy beards, who were obviously men trying to pass as women." (Coacello, 2014, p. 297)

Eventually, Warhol accepted the commission and himself suggested where the right people to sit for the portraits could be found: the Gilded Grape in New York[4].

Once back in New York, together with Robert Curtone, Coacello went to:

> *"The Gilded Grape, a seedy drag bar in the Hell's Kitchen section of New York. For $ 50 each, these performers agreed to come back to the studio to pose for an anonymous friend (Warhol). These Polaroids served as the source images for the prints and paintings [N/A for the exhibition Ladies and Gentlemen]." (Coacello, 2014, p. 221)

Fourteen people were chosen as models and five hundred Polaroids were taken. In the end, ten subjects were selected for the ten screen prints intended for the exhibition. The sitters' names were not mentioned in the serigraphs. Warhol decided that the models should remain "impersonal" and "anonymous" (Craig, 2021).

In the *Ladies and Gentlemen* series, Warhol used Polaroid images taken by himself to create his prints and his paintings for the first time. Hitherto, Warhol had generally called upon other photographers to do this.

The new technique consisted of photographing the subjects in the studio with the Polaroid, silk-screen transfer on canvas of the Polaroids, pictorial intervention with paints based on synthetic polymers. (Del Puppo, 2019).

3. Pasolini's Two Trips to New York

In October 1963, Pasolini embarked on his first journey to New York (Siciliano, 1989). He undertook this trip to present his film *Accattone* at the New York Film Festival.

Presented at the festival, this film represented Pasolini's Gramscian idea of society. The latter was intended as a dialectical contrast between two cultures, the *bourgeois* and the *proletarian*. Pasolini's commitment, as a militant Marxist intellectual, was to spread a culture which was neither bourgeois nor hegemonic. Therefore, Pasolini's Marxist counterculture aimed to provide the proletarian masses with the tools to connect their aspirations and needs in a way which was organic. Through the full realization of its class consciousness, the proletariat would later have the motivation and the instruments sufficient for the renewal of society (Gramsci, 1975).

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2. In 1944, Alexander Iolas had Warhol hold his first personal exhibition at the Hugo Gallery in New York and in 1987, he organized his last exhibition in Milan. Warhol's career took off thanks to Iolas' acquaintances. Warhol and Anselmino were both friends of Iolas who knew many artists both those who were well-established and those who were up-and-coming. At his gallery, Iolas promoted both exhibition organization and the sale of works by various artists amongst whom: Max Ernest, Magrit and Victor Brauner. For further information regarding Alexander Iolas see veda Fremont V. et al. (1999), Alexander the Great the Iolas Gallery,1955-1987,Paul Kasmin Gallery Press.

3. For Warhol, this was the most lucrative commission which he had hitherto received. (Coacello, 2014)

4. The club was located at the corner of Eight Avenue and 45th Street East.

"Creating a new culture does not only mean making "original" discoveries individually, it also and especially means critically disseminating already discovered truths. or "socializing" them […] and therefore making them become the basis of vital actions, an element of coordination and of an intellectual and moral order". (Gramsci, 1975, p. 1377)

While in New York, Pasolini was interviewed by Oriana Fallaci who entitled her interview "A Marxist in New York"[5].

Pasolini told Fallaci that he saw New York as:

"A firework of races assimilated and made similar by the establishment itself […]. I admire the American revolutionary world, of course my heart is for the poor black man and the poor Calabrian, and at the same time I respect the American establishment […]. I must go back and further things. " (Pasolini, 1999a, p. 1602).

Besides institutional meetings, Pasolini met the exponents of the Afro-American minority. He met representatives of the SNNC (Student Nonviolent Committee Coordinate) who presented him with a non-Marxist vision, to dialectically oppose the establishment

"Communist collectivization does not necessarily (historically) lead the worker to complete participation in power, that is, to the participation of his own destiny […]. The opposite is true, that is, the creation of an "anti-community" in which the worker comes from the exasperated democratic consciousness of the duty and right of complete participation in power. [the creation of anti-community], can consequently lead to the collectivization of goods. For Jimmy Garrett the Communists were "empty men" as they have the same stale ideas and the same bureaucracy " (Pasolini, 1991, p. 149)

Pasolini was highly impressed by this non-Marxist democratic revolutionary vision based on the anti-community to create community. Pasolini defined the SNNC's approach as being almost "mystical".

As the then President J.F. Kennedy, Pasolini saw in the civil rights struggle the epiphany of American social union. Kennedy trusted that the principal way for union of the American people would only materialize should every American win recognition for their fundamental human rights from their co-nationals. (See Kennedy's Address on Civil Rights of 11 June, 1963).

In 1969, Pasolini made his second trip to New York for the presentation of his film *Porcile*. On this occasion he gave an interview to Giuseppe Cardillo, director of the Italian Cultural Institute.

Towards the end of the interview Pasolini highlighted "the recent anthropological change of Italian society" (Pasolini, 2005, p. 62).

Owing to this swift social transformation, Pasolini underlined that the audience he had idealized during the first few years of the 1960's no longer existed and so, wishing to go beyond Gramsci's *National-Popular*, he set out to produce works for an elite in contraposition to *the masses* who he looked upon as being "anti-democratic, alienated and alienating" by definition (La Porta, 2012).

To defend his works from standardization, Pasolini told Cardillo:

"In a world where ideally my public has changed, in a world where there is no longer the working class to which I am addressing […] and that the transformation of the idea of bourgeoisie and people is spreading in the most unexpected ways [...] objectively, my works will become more difficult and therefore I will turn to an elite." (Pasolini, 2005, p. 63)

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5. Published in *L'Europeo*, 13th October, 1966.

4. The Two Italian Exhibitions Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen

The *Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen* exhibition took place twice in Italy, the exhibitions being just a few months apart. The first was held in Ferrata and the second in Milan.

In 1974, Anselmino contacted Carlo Farina, the then director of the Civic Gallery of Modern Art at the Palazzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara, to propose his exhibiting the new series *Ladies and Gentlemen* by Andy Warhol as a world premiere. Farina accepted the offer and made the Civic Gallery of Modern Art available as a venue.

For the organization of the exhibition Farina himself maintained regular correspondence with Warhol. The exhibition catalogue had already been commissioned by Anselmino from the Marzotta Foundation. The designated curator of the Ferrara catalogue was the art critic Janus (Scardino, 2008). The exhibition ran between October and December 1975, and given the great success it enjoyed, was extended by twenty days.

In 1975, Anselmino asked Pasolini to write an introduction to his catalogue of the *Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen* exhibition, which was to be held at the Anselmino Gallery in January, 1976. The exhibition featured 250 screen prints size 65 cm by 95 cm (Del Puppo, 2019).

Towards the end of September 1975, Anselmino provided Pasolini with some photographic copies of the portraits to be exhibited and a cover letter in which he described the new technique which Warhol had used to create his works. The technique was based on the use of Polaroid photographs and acrylic colours.

Pasolini noticed that the photographs of the paintings did not bear the sitters' names and contacted Anselmino to obtain them. Pasolini's request was the first sign of an approach towards the subjects portrayed different from that of Warhol. That is, it was Warhol's belief that sitters "should remain impersonal and anonymous"; stripped of their individuality. Regarding this, Pasolini stated: "The impression is of being in front of a Ravenna fresco representing isocephalic figures all [...] frontal. Iterated to the point of losing their identity and being recognizable, like twins by the color of their dress." (Pasolini, 1999a, p. 2711)

452 In 1966, Pasolini looked upon New York as "a firework of races assimilated and made analogous by the establishment itself", a belief which remained with him into the 1970's.

In his introduction, Pasolini gave weight to the disparity in perception of messages coming from the United States to Europe and vice versa.

Pasolini said: "A message from America to Europe implied unity, homogeneity, compactness: it comes from an entropy". (Pasolini, 1999 a, p. 2711)

On the contrary, a message from Europe to America implies: "All those divisions, splits, oppositions of reality." (Pasolini, 1999 a, p. 2711)

Pasolini sees a metaphysical representation of the average American or an ontological expression.

> *"The Model is stronger than the countless people who can pass through 42nd Street at seven o'clock on a summer evening." (Pasolini, 1999 a, p. 2711)

With reference to transvestites, the model becomes more and more stringent. The model will allow the transvestite to move undisturbed or even proudly exhibiting his "diversity" while remaining in his ghetto (Pasolini, 1999b, p. 2713). It should be remembered that Warhol's idea was to portray transvestites who were not beautiful, that is, to create a grotesque representation of the already restricted model of the transvestite.

The paintings of the series *Ladies and Gentlemen* represent the Gilded Grape transvestites revealing neither emotion nor personality.

Pasolini said:

> *"Warhol's message for a European intellectual is a sclerotic unity of the universe, in which the only freedom is that of the artist, who essentially plays with it in contempt." (Pasolini, 1999a, p. 2714)

5. Conclusion

The *Ladies and Gentlemen* series arose from an idea of Luciano Anselmino who, due to the funding of the art collector Carlo Monziono, was able to offer Warhol a considerable for a series of works based upon transvestitism.

In the first paragraph, "The Genesis of the Ladies and Gentlemen Portrait Series", two discrepancies emerge: the way in which Anselmino communicated the idea for the series on transvestites to Warhol, by telephone and face-to-face, and the way in which Warhol reacted to creating a series with such a controversial theme.

The paragraph, "The Two Italian Exhibitions Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen", highlights the singularity of the decision to repeat the exhibition under the identical title *Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen,* so soon after the first. The venue for the first exhibition was the Palazzo dei Diamanti and the second was held at Anselmino's gallery in Milan.

The final two chapters concern the contextual and ideological elements which allowed Pasolini to write the introduction to Anselmino's catalogue for the *Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentlemen* exhibition. With it being his last work, Pasolini's writing has strong emotional value in the Italian cultural world. On the night between 1st and 2nd December 1975 Pasolini was brutally killed at the seaplane base in Ostia, Italy.

In the introduction to the *Ladies and Gen*tlemen series, Pasolini remarked how, in the New World, the model of the individual is stronger than the single person. This means that the individual has lost his or her distinctive peculiarity. Pasolini speaks of an ontological model of the average American. This ontological vision leads to the consequent sclerotization, today one would say *prejudice*, in social relations. Warhol's transvestite portraits express this concept of the seriality of society members. That is, by depriving the subject of his individuality, it follows that individuals are what they produce and consume. As Warhol's portraits are isocephalic and all appear at the same "height", differing in no way whatsoever, Pasolini uses the metaphor of the Byzantine fresco to express the metaphysical representation of the average American.

In the introduction to the catalogue, Pasolini muses on how Warhol conceived history:

> *"For Warhol, can history be divided? […] specifically in the ideological terrain [of Man] of [Human] consciences" (Pasolini, 1999a, p. 2710)*

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The cultural difference between Pasolini, a European Marxist and Warhol, an American, is marked. Warhol represents the ontological model of the American who has no class consciousness but one which is individualistic. This does not imply a judgment of value, but one of a cultural nature.

For instance, during an interview with the journalist Rasy, Warhol stated that he had used transvestites as subjects: "Because I believe in comedy and I wanted to do something funny" (Warhol, 1975). For Warhol, the theme of the *Andy Warhol Ladies and Gentleman* exhibition had no political connotation; it was simply an amusing way of creating art and making money.

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Theme tune 10

Decoloniali- zed art worls. Global societal challenges and artistic urgencies

10.1 Subcultural challenges and challenging subculture: on interpretation and meaning-making outside of the West/Global North

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✕ Abstract

While debates within Western/Northern academic circles over the value of the subculture concept are relatively salient, there continues to be a relative lack of international voices on the role that 'subculture' may play in conceptualizing the everyday lives and realities of various cultural phenomena around the world. This paper introduces a themed session that brings together a set of papers that identifies and challenges existing biases in subcultural theories from positions outside the West/Global North. It first discusses the variety of ways in which contemporary scholarship utilizes the subculture concepts. It then raises the challenge of using a Western/Northern concept for research on what are clearly global, or at least non-Western, topics. Finally, it briefly introduces the work of the other three panelists, situating them within an interpretivist framework. The subsequent papers in this KISMIF session then raise discussions based on their own research on underground music scenes in Portugal, Korea, and China.

Keywords: Asia, interpretivism, subcultural studies, subcultures.

1. Introduction

The title of this paper, "Subcultural challenges and challenging subculture," is intended to draw attention to two interrelated but distinct dimensions of contemporary subcultural research, both of which are rooted in the recognition that there are indeed challenges related to subculture studies today. The point of this paper and the others that make up this KISMIF panel session is to confront some of these challenges by digging into and assessing the *meaning* of subculture as it is used by scholars in their research. In particular, the panel papers collectively question some of the assumptions that are often implicitly embedded in subcultural theory and the subculture concept due to their emergence within the English-speaking West or the Global North.1 While the other papers in this panel will look in some detail at empirical examples in which "subculture" is used within non-Western/non-Northern contexts, this paper will set the stage by saying a bit about subculture as a social-science concept and promoting some analytical reflection on its use as an interpretive frame or tool.

2. Subcultural Challenges

"Subcultural challenges" addresses how subcultural theories and methods have been called into question in a variety of ways since their emergence in the early 20th century. For the sake of brevity, I will focus here only on challenges within the last twenty-or-so years, which have come from a variety of sources, including

sociology (Bennett, 1999), youth studies (Miles, 2000), music studies (Hesmondhalgh, 2005) and elsewhere. These critiques invariably refer to one version of subcultural theory, put forth by scholars working at the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies [CCCS] in the 1970s. *Resistance through Rituals* (Hall & Jefferson, 1976) and/or *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (Hebdige, 1979) are typically cited as exemplars alongside a now well-rehearsed set of criticisms. These challenges, which I label as *external challenges* because they consider subculture to be an inadequate concept, are further couched within larger discussions related specifically to youth, music, and/or style—topics assumed to be central to subcultural scholarship.

A key external challenge, mounted via post-subcultural theory, rejected the materialist and structuralist assumptions of CCCS subcultural theory and instead proposed alternate concepts built upon notions of cultural fragmentation, identity pastiche, and consumer lifestyles (see contributions in Bennett, 2004; Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003). Post-subcultural theories' underlying assumptions were, in their own turn, also criticized by scholars who saw the pendulum as having swung too far from structural neo-Marxism to equally extreme versions of postmodernism (Blackman, 2005; Shildrick & MacDonald, 2006) that marginalized or ignored various issues including shared meaning-making, collective identity and action, power and inequality in favor of subjectivity, consumerism and style surfing. Since then, post-subcultural theory has given way to a more balanced perspective in which subculture continues to hold analytic utility (Bennett, 2011; Blackman & Kempson, 2016; Gelder, 2007; Williams, 2011). But on what grounds? To answer that question, we need to look at how the subculture concept is being used by scholars today.

To get a sense of contemporary subcultural scholarship, I analyzed how the concept has been used in recent empirical studies. Limiting my search to the last three years (2018-mid 2021), I scanned the first three pages of results on Google Scholar for peer-reviewed publications utilizing the term *subculture* in the title. There were many relevant studies, from which I pulled the following nice examples for scrutiny.

- ✖ "Rap, Islam and Jihadi Cool: The attractions of the Western jihadi subculture" (Jensen et *al.*, 2021)

- ✖ Class S: appropriation of 'lesbian' subculture in modern Japanese literature and New Wave cinema (Shamoon, 2021)

- ✖ "On the use of jargon and word embeddings to explore subculture within the Reddit's manosphere" (Farrell, Araque, Fernandez et *al.*, 2020)

- ✖ "Sang subculture in post-reform China" (Tan & Cheng, 2020)

- ✖ "An Exploration of the Involuntary Celibate (Incel) Subculture Online" (O'Malley et *al.*, 2020)

- ✖ "To love beer above all things": An analysis of Brazilian craft beer subculture of consumption (Koch & Sauerbronn, 2019)

- ✖ "Grime: Criminal subculture or public counterculture? A critical investigation into the criminalization of Black musical subcultures in the UK" (Fatsis, 2019)

- ✖ "Global online subculture surrounding school shootings" (Raitanen & Oksanen, 2018)

- ✖ "Understanding death, suicide and self-injury among adherents of the emo youth subculture: A qualitative study" (Trnka et *al.*, 2018)

I did not read the papers before selecting them; only the titles and enough of each abstract to ascertain whether they represented social-science or humanities research (rather than biological research for example, wherein subculture has a completely different conceptualization).

While all the studies use the term subculture in their titles, they differ notably in their engagement with the concept. In one direction are four studies that explicitly link subcultures to deviance, violence, and/or criminality. Farrell et *al.* (2020) study males from a diverse set of backgrounds and with a diverse set of reasons who interact through social media in ways that promote violence against women. They do not provide a definition of subculture. Instead, they write that subcultures "often promote hate and have sometimes been linked with hate crimes, radicalization, extremism and terror attacks" and work on the premise that subculture's function "to respond to hegemonic culture" (Farrell et *al.*, 2020, p. 222). Similarly, O'Malley et *al.* (2020) do not define subculture, but set up the argument that "the belief systems of extremist groups are similar to deviant subcultures in that they form as a reaction to or rejection of societal norms" (O'Malley et *al.*, 2020, p. 2) and that males who "experience significant personal distress" in mainstream relationships gravitate toward subcultures in "attempts to find meaning in their alienation" (O'Malley et *al.*, 2020, p. 3).

Trnka et *al.*'s (2018) research frames subcultures as being contrary or unacceptable to mainstream culture, for example through linking emo subculture to "death, dying, suicide, and the mutilation of body parts" (Trnka et *al.*, 2008, p. 337). Finally, Raitanen and Oksanen's (2018) study of online school shooter communities argues that "subcultures have shared values and cultural practices, that their members use symbols and signs to identify with one another, and that they do so to subvert the norms of dominant or mainstreams society to at least some extent" (Raitanen & Oksanen, 2018, p. 197). So despite a lack of clear definitions, the authors sensitize reader readers to the idea(s) that subcultures are characterized as radical, extreme or deviant and that their existence or position is reactionary to some larger culture.

Each study investigates how participants make sense of the world, though the subcultures are typically framed as problematic insomuch as they enable, or legitimate symbols and meanings implicitly defined by the mainstream as illegitimate. Trnka et *al.* (2018) focus on data that portray their participants as troubled individuals and utilize a variety of valanced terms and concepts such as "suicidogenic" and "peer contagion" that paint a distinctly negative and homogeneous image of individuals and collective experiences labeled as subcultural. The other studies however do not frame subculture in homogenous terms. In fact, in highlighting the diversity of subpopulations that inhabit various online communities, Farrell et *al.* (2020), O'Malley et *al.* (2020) and Raitanen and Oksanen's (2018) each seem to work against traditional subcultural frameworks by lumping subpopulations with diverse interests and experiences together. Farrell et al.'s research suggests a shared culture, but for the others there is not much to suggest that community members share values, practices, or even the meaning of subcultural symbols (e.g., Raitanen & Oksanen, 2018, pp. 203-204). What is clear is that these studies rely predominantly on etic definitions of subcultures—i.e., it is the researchers who decide to categorize phenomena as subcultural and not necessarily individuals within the communities or groups being studied. These four studies also frame subcultures in terms of social problems: either the subculture is a problem that needs to be understood and then overcome by mainstream society, or the subculture is recognized as serving a problem-solving function for those who participate in it, even if it is still undesirable to mainstream society. Their focus on collective (rather than individualistic) deviance and problem-solving is foundational to subcultural theory as developed within American sociology and criminology in the early 20th century

(Barmaki 2016, Cohen 1955), long before the CCCS's theories of class and style. Notably, three of the four focus primarily on Western white males and the problems they pose in their own societies.

To the contrary, the other studies I selected deal with other groups and cultures, and in different ways. Like the studies already mentioned, Jensen et *al.* (2021) deal with a phenomenon that is at face value highly problematic in the West—Islamic jihad. However, they rely on a CCCS rather than criminological version of subcultural theory as they analyze music via notions of stylistic and ideological dissent, highlighting "the collective agency involved in subcultural stylistic creativity" (Jensen, 2021, p. 3) instead of portraying jihadi rappers as social problems. Likewise, Fatsis (2019) refers to Grime subculture as "rebel music" and a DIY ethos that articulates "the incompatibility of 'Black culture' with mainstream norms and values." Unlike the studies mentioned above, these focus on the intersections between Western subcultural theories and non-Western phenomena. Fatsis describes Grime's emergence from Black immigrant music genres, while Jensen and colleagues describe the processes through which hip-hop music bridges "Western street culture and jihadi culture...making jihadism or jihadist articulations of dissent attractive or fascinating for (some) Western youths" (Fatsis, 2019, p. 10).

Continuing away from the West/North, Tan and Cheng (2020) import Western conceptualizations of subculture into an Asian context. They study the Chinese government's top-down discourse promoting positive attitudes and actions among the citizenry to frame the "*sang*" youth subculture. Sang (丧) is a Chinese word that communicates "defeatism, disenchantment and disconsolation" (Tan and Cheng, 2020, pp. 86-87-89) and is symbolic of some young people's belief that they need "an antidote to unrealistic positivity" promoted in Chinese society; a positivity that ignores many of the problems young people face in the country today (Lu, 2021). Sang subculture is not something you can see on the streets or at the club. It is instead a style of social media text represented through internet memes, which nevertheless resonates with the idea of subculture as collective ideological resistance to "the 'endless pressure' of living in stultifying urban environments that are shaped by a lack of opportunities and negative experiences" (Fatsis, 2019, p. 451).

The final two articles continue a consideration of subculture outside of the West/North. Koch and Sauerbronn (2019) "explore craft beer consumption in Brazil using a sociocultural approach that recognizes that products or consumption activities may serve as

a basis for interaction and social cohesion" (Sauerbronn, 2019: 2). Following Schouten and McAlexander (1995), they promote subculture as "an analytic category that can lead to a better understanding of consumers and the manner in which they organize their lives and identities" (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995) This draws attention to the active field of subculture studies in business and marketing, which seems to align in some noticeable ways with both CCCS subcultural theory and post-subcultures studies, particularly in their shared focus on consumption and style as identity-markers. Finally, Shamoon's (2021) study of "shōjo bunka" (少女文化 or "girls' culture") also deals with the relationship between subcultures and cultural commodities. A sexual culture that developed in the early 20th century among teenage Japanese girls attending single-sex secondary schools, shōjo bunka supported sexual intimacy among girls during the years in which there were mostly cloistered from boys and thus from pre-marital heterosexual relations. While not an example of a sexual subculture, Shamoon writes, the subsequent commodification and "exploitative representation" (Shamoon, 2021, p. 27) of shōjo bunka practices in mainstream literature and film throughout the mid-20th century unintentionally facilitated the later growth of fan cultures and then gay subcultures within Japan. This study, like the one on craft beer, highlights the continued growth of the subculture concept in relation to consumer practices, while maintaining some analytical interest in consumption, style and identity.

What stood out to me among these nine studies were the broad range of empirical topics on the one hand, and the common concepts and analytic concerns on the other. In a review of two research collections published in the 2010s, I noted that subcultural studies were increasingly focused on identity, history, marginality, and social media (Williams, 2019). In this sample, we can see that much of the data come from the internet and social media sources. Identity and collective problem-solving among groups defined as marginal/peripheral to the mainstream are also visible, but those themes seem subsumed under larger analytic categories, from criminality and violence on one end of the spectrum to leisure and consumer practices on the other end. Except for the article on craft beer, all the studies utilize "subculture" in connection to some sort of social problem. Some frame the subculture as a problem for society, while others frame subculture as a collective problem-solving mechanism. Many of those problems are framed in ideological terms, with a clear demarcation between subcultural phenomena and a so-called "mainstream" or "dominant" culture. At the same time, however, some studies seem to create boundaries and lump groups or categories of people together in ways that are not well supported by the data. Music and style are relevant only to a minority of cases, despite being themes that many scholars presume to be central to subcultural theory.

In sum, the variety of topics and analytic frames suggests that subculture continues to be used across a variety of social-science and humanities-oriented research on distinct, non-normative and/or marginal cultural phenomena. Not only is there continued use of "Chicago" and "Birmingham" versions of subcultural theory, but these theories are being developed and modified to study more international topics. The challenges that subcultural studies have faced, both from the hegemony of the CCCS model and from outside, continue to be met and to varying degrees overcome.

3. Challenging Subculture

The variety of way in which subculture is frame in the studies above suggests that there is a need among scholars to be conscious of how we conceptualize subculture in theory and research. Is it helpful to invoke the term without defining it or delineating it from other concepts, for example? Does or should subculture refer to violence, consumption, shared values, personal identity, problem-solving, style, or some combination or above, or yet other terms? "Challenging subculture" refers to these *internal challenges*, namely, the responsibilities of subcultural scholars to be clear and reflexive in their research practices as they utilize or develop the concept in analytical useful ways. As suggested by the quick review above of some recent studies, early American sociological concerns about marginality and social control have led to a rich tradition in which subculture is used to study deviance, criminality, and extremism. This model has been exported to research around the world (e.g., Hazlehurst & Hazlehurst 2018). Likewise, the British cultural studies tradition has had an immense impact on contemporary studies of youths, styles, and music alike. The question then becomes whether or how subculture is useful for analyzing phenomena that may not easily fit into past conceptualizations.

The conceptual relevance of subculture within the Western projects of modernity and postmodernity is in no small way part of the mythology of contemporary subcultural studies (Williams 2020). As something that was originally imagined and developed among scholars working in English-speaking, first-world countries

(Cohen, 1999[1972]; Gordon, 1947), the subculture concept was developed to fit with specific sets of theoretical predilections and empirical preoccupations (e.g., Clarke *et al.* 1976; Ferrell, 1999). The dominance of earlier theoretical frameworks can sometimes be seen in contemporary studies, for example when a scholar positions youth cultural scenes in former Soviet republics as "peripheral" to an assumed British center of global youth/music culture (e.g., Allaste, 2015). On the other hand, the concept is being extended or reworked to consider different phenomena from what was typically considered subcultural in the 20th Century (e.g., Christopher *et al.*, 2018; Dulin & Dulin, 2020; King & Smith, 2018; Tabrani, 2019; Woo, 2015). For subculture to continue to be used fruitfully by scholars, it may be best to clarify how it functions as a concept before worrying about the contents of the concept itself.

The value of subculture seems clearest when understand it as a *sensitizing* concept. As Blumer (1969:143) argued,

Theory is of value in empirical science only to the extent to which it connects fruitfully with the empirical world. Concepts are the means, and the only means of establishing such connection, for it is the concept that points to the empirical instances about which a theoretical proposal is made.

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In this regard, "subculture" is not something that should have fixed or rigid boundaries, nor should it exist primarily as a formalized, abstract theory that is only applied to the natural world in a deductive fashion. Instead, the concept may be grounded in empirical data and checked/modified/developed in terms of the behaviors and/or experiences of those to whom the concept is applied. The concept then would *sensitize* scholars to specific (and varied) types of social and cultural phenomena and processes. A sensitizing concept, "which gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances," differs from what Blumer called definitive concepts, which "refer precisely to what is common to a class of objects, by the aid of a clear definition in terms of attributes and fixed benchmarks" (Blumer, 1969, pp. 147-148).2 In his study of nerds, geeks, gamers and fans as subcultural phenomena, Woo (2015) argues that subculture is a valuable concept not because of any formal theory or operationalized definition, but because "it has face validity [and is] phenomenologically real for members" of self-identifying subcultural groups. I would extend this point to bring the researcher into the interpretive frame as well: subcultural theories function to the extent that researchers use them to sensitize themselves to cultural phenomena that are either experienced as subcultural by research participants, or that otherwise help them frame empirical findings within a larger field of subcultural scholarship. These are reiterative approaches in which "subculture" may be applied but is always contextualized, often modified, or even bracketed by researchers (e.g., Williams & Kamaludeen, 2017) to improve collective understandings of relevant phenomena in everyday life.

The three other KISMIF papers included in this panel session, building upon the same interpretivist premises, further draw our attention to how subculture is used to study group meanings and practices outside the West/ North. While a variety of uses no doubt occur, for the sake of brevity I highlight only two possibilities here, namely when subculture is exported as a Western concept to non-Western/non-Northern locations on the one hand versus when it is reconfigured as a more indigenous or "Southern" (Connell, 2007) concept on the other.

The former seems to be somewhat common, especially among scholars who receive their doctoral training at universities in English-speaking, Western countries. Subcultural theory is learned in terms of its Western histories and traditions and then applied as an interpretive frame in a variety of local contexts (e.g., Bestley et al., 2021; Hazlehurst & Hazlehurst, 2018). Studies of heavy metal and punk culture in South and Southeast

Asia for example (Hannerz, 2016; Liew & Fu, 2006; Quader 2016), tend to have implicit concerns with concepts developed by Western scholars in analyses of Western cultures, such as hegemony, resistance, cultural capital and authenticity. On the one hand this is not surprising, given that the subcultures being studied are exported from the West. Further, in each of the studies just mentioned the authors do recognize and engage the significance of Western subcultures' unique glocal instantiations. On the other hand, subcultural concepts remain largely intact and explanatory. Focusing on the CCCS's collective theoretical predilection for seeing resistance, El Zein (2016, p. 91) argues that "the activities that readers of this literature are encouraged to notice are (exclusively) the ones that can be seen to indicate resistance." His point more generally is about the extent to which one's analysis of empirical data is influenced by the hegemony of Western theories.

El Zein's paper is part of a larger move among non-Western scholars to openly question the extent of Western biases upon which subcultural theories may rest. In their introduction to a volume on Arab subcultures, Sabry and Ftouni's (2016, p. 2) ask some important questions, including whether we can "uncouple the term 'subculture' from the specificity of its etymological roots and its appropriations [sic] in research in the UK and the US, or [whether] 'subculture' is a universal category that discloses itself in similar ways, regardless of the differences in historical moments or cultural geographies." They go on to suggest that, despite its lexical roots in the English language, it would be a mistake to essentialize the concept in terms of a single "set of concepts and modes of inquiry emergent from within Euro-US academe" because this would overlook "the revisions, transitions and translations that subcultural studies underwent" (Ftouni, 2016, p. 5). The three other papers in this KISMIF session delve further into this issue.

Just as Sabry and Ftouni lump Europe and America together as a hegemonic knowledge-producing space, Paula Guerra's paper, *No More Heroes: From Post-Subcultures to a Critical Return to the Notion of Subculture in the Global South*, also offers "a critical application of the concept of subculture outside its Anglo-American comfort space." According to Guerra, she began her concerted effort to study youth cultures in Portugal—a southern European country with a very different national history than that of the UK or US—by asking the question: what comes after Hebdige? While seeking to integrate sociological and cultural studies perspectives on subculture and related concepts, Guerra follows the CCCS's lead by focusing analytically on resistance as a form of subcultural politics, but does so "on a Southern scale," thereby seeking to map out "similarities and differences" as well as "distances and affinities" between Portugal and its Western/Northern counterparts, where resistant subcultures were first theorized. Despite the mythological status that British subcultural theory may hold here, Guerra nevertheless seeks to make distinct sense of the emergence and experience of subcultural resistance from a Portuguese perspective since the 1980s.

Jumping from Southern Europe to East Asia, Hyunjoon Shin's paper, *A Travel to the Point of No Return? The (Re) signification of 'Sub' in late-20th Century South Korea (and East Asia)*, keeps attention on the significance of the subculture concept outside the West/North, but shifts focus from concerns with subcultural experience to a broader, structural consideration of language. Shamoon (2021, p. 29) notes that "while the English loanword 'subculture' (サブカルチャー, sabukaruchaa) [...is] frequently used in Japanese today, the meaning...is slightly different than in an Anglophone academic context." Shin takes this idea further, noting first that languages built upon pictographic, ideographic, or other non-Roman scripts make precise translations difficult. Second, he explores the cultural interpretations that accompany linguistic translations, highlighting how Asian cultures have quite different notions of "sub-" and it's correlates such as social class, power, marginality, deviance, resistance, and so on when compared to English meanings.

Finally, Jian Xiao's paper, *Reflecting on Subcultural Theories in the Interpretation of Chinese Punk Research*, reflects on some of the conceptual limitations of "resistance" and "authenticity" as Western concepts when conducting subcultural research in China. Xiao points out how resistance developed as a quite different concept in communist China, making it difficult to utilize as a subcultural concept (in CCCS terms), not least because the punk musicians she studied were often confused when she used the term due to its sensitive nature vis-à-vis Chinese authorities and censorship practices. Similarly, "the application of authenticity...can be more problematic since the punk phenomenon is imported to China from the West." On the one hand, Chinese punk may not be authentic in Hebdige's (1979) use of the term since it came after the international commodification of punk music and styles. Yet on the other hand Chinese punks authenticate themselves and their actions through relevant Chinese philosophies such as Zhuangzi or Laozi in "doing nothing" (无为而治) as much as they do through sartorial strategies.

4. Conclusion

The world is a very different place than it was when either the Chicago or Birmingham Schools were theorizing subcultures. The differences have been fueled by globalization, characterized by Appadurai (1990) as the increasingly fast and complex flows of people, technology, money, information and ideas. These processes may have disrupted traditional forms of community, shared meaning and collective practice—concepts upon which classic subcultural theories were built—yet those phenomena do continue to exist. In many cases they are enabled by globalization and in other cases they form as collective responses to it. Subcultural theory was developed within the West/Global North, yet it is more and more common to see it applied to phenomena in other parts of the world. The four papers in this KISMIF session demonstrate not only that subcultural scholarship may be fruitfully conducted around the world, but that such scholarship continues to develop a robust appreciation for the interactions between theory and context.

Endnotes

Like with "subculture," I don't intend to use these terms in any essential or objective sense. They do not refer to real boundaries between parts of the world, but rather are representations of some of the significant divisions that have been constructed through lay and academic theories of social and cultural difference.

The CCCS's theory of subculture, while I think sensitizing in its original intent, has often been (re)framed by critics as relatively definitive in nature, not least because of the insistence on class, style and ideology as "necessary" explanatory components.

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10.2 Reframing colonial narratives: Notes about Post-photography

Ângela Ferreira[1]

✕ ~~Abstract~~

What can an artist do on the edge of the abyss? And how can the image make reflections vibrate, embracing the wealth and diversity of life forms? This article starts from my archive, in which I immersed in a year of introspection, to extract politic and poetic forms from the cartographic conjuncture that led me to inhabit, two lands intrinsically connected by the expansionism of modern history: Portugal and Brazil. The article presents a hybrid and existential reflection on the potential of images that point to paths, or "resolutive" images, a term used by the farmer and quilombola leader Antônio Bispo do Rosário. Exploring the reversing process in which audiovisual cultural products are usually extraverted from the West to the Rest (Hall, 1992), this article aims to probe vernacular narratives as privileged sites of inquiry for the study of post-colonial issues which remain as points of tension between Portugal and its former colonies. Using an aesthetic approach supported by historical, political and social investigations of post-photography, this article will promote equivalence between this archive and contemporary issues of decolonization and consciousness in a globalized world.

Keywords: pos-photography, hybrid photography, archive and decolonization

1. Introduction

This essay is mobilized by the encounter with my photographic archive and the ways to revisit it, which allowed me to think, in a distinct and complementary way, about the existing relationships between the collection, the archive, as indigenous narratives, colonization and Photography (understood as technique and technology). The main objective is, from its interdisciplinary dialogue with languages such as cinema, painting and comics, to reflect on the archive about the possibilities of opening a space for reflection on the decolonization of photographs. This text reveals the path and creative process inherent in the creation of the project "Transa, Ballads of the last sun" which condenses a visual series in exhibition and photobook format, about contemporary visual practices that problematize as hybrid forms of Photography with different languages[2].

During my PHD research of in Visual Communication, I spent the last decade living between my homeland, Portugal and Brazil, entering the giant of the tropics in an increasingly centripetal movement – from academia to the North-eastern hinterland and from photography to the lights and shadows of the Amazonia jungle. While interacting with several cultural, social and economic realities, ultimately the guiding principle between the polyphony of roles, actions and stimuli that she took on along the way became her perceptual body, assisted by the photographic device. More than ten years of transatlantic experiences built a visual body

of work which is at times documentary, at times anthropological, and increasingly driven by an affective, sensible and poetic gaze. The ethnographic distance began to give way to miscegenation (cultural, artistic, identity) and, today, faced with the stagnation of the capitalist voracity caused by the globalized pandemic, I decided to study my collection to draw links between my photographic archive and contemporary issues about decolonization and awareness in a globalized world.

In the vastness of the Amazonia Forest, "Transa, Ballads of the last sun" invites us to an aesthetic and existential dance through the hybridity of photography and surprises us with indigenous myths and tales, in a personification of the creative and fertilizing grace of nature. In this crossing, in the encounter with the original communities thrown to the edges of the world, reflections vibrate on the concept of the Man who lives detached from the Earth, which suppresses diversity, which denies the plurality of life forms. The ones that still cling to this Earth are those that were forgotten by the edges of the planet, the ancestral and original peoples who live in a sovereign and full encounter with nature.

▸ Figure 10.2.1 - Igarapé, Amazonia, 2019
▸ Source: author's archive

On this project I tried to stir up the waters of an "Earth in Trance[3]" and dare to create a transgressive imaginary over the place of the artist, who lives permanently on the edge of the abyss. This risk threshold establishes the place par excellence of art, as it indicates danger, the breach that sets the intrusion of misfortune into perfect beauty. And how is it possible to see beauty, when everything burns, and human beings insist on proving their blindness over what is essential? In this dimension, the artist, with his distinctive way of seeing, may the shake the apparatus, trying to invent "possible worlds" and renew a meaning for existence.

In *Transa* I tried to bring to the field of art the political gesture of propagating allegories that hover in limbo, not only between the documentary and the fictional, but between times, between histories and geographies, between pasts and futures, between Portugal and Brazil. Here I develop an artistic practice committed to the present of indigenous communities, in accordance with the precepts of Hélio Oiticica (Brazil, 1937-1980) who, in 1967, was one of the voices in defense of the critical and intervening role of the artists and questioned the

3. "Land in Trance" borrows it's the title from the film script- ed and directed by Glauber Rocha, released in the late 1960s in Brazil.

definitions of the beauty, the contemplative and the materiality of art itself, proposing an ethical-political imperative for artistic action.

At the same time, in recent years, there has been greater access and growing interest in the archives produced by the colonizing European countries and, when they have been preserved, in the archives of the countries that became independent. This interest is due, in some cases, to the end of legal barriers that prevented access to or dissemination of the archives, and because, after several decades of decolonization processes, which caused trauma and misunderstanding among the actors of the various factions, a new generation of academics and non-academics, namely artists, seeks to better understand these stories. Thus, in literature, journalism, cinema, anthropology, the history of science, photography, and the arts, among theorists, as among artists and other protagonists of the world of culture, the critical work on these documents of the 20th century contemporary history, whose effects are beginning to be felt.

This essay does not intend to carry out this survey, but to include personal reflections on the transversality of the work, with reference to some works by contemporary artists who work on colonial memory and the processes of decolonization in post-colonial times. For its elaboration I based myself on the concept of "resolutive" images, or images that point out paths, a term brought up by farmer and quilombola leader Antônio Bispo do Rosário (2018) and on the poetic or compositional thought of Brazilian philosopher Denise Ferreira da Silva (2016):

[...] When dealing with the similar, one inevitably looks for symmetry, that is, correspondences. By expecting symmetry - or looking for similarities - it is possible to imagine (recompose) the context under observation as a fractal figure. That is, instead of looking for causal (linear) connections, compositional thinking seeks to identify a pattern that repeats itself at different scales."

(Silva, 2016, pp. 408-409).

The archive as a place to keep the past can be understood as a modality of access to collections, not of the past, but of the common, of what constitutes us as subjects in the present and in the future. Images from the past constitute us today. The fold in chronological time, performed by Paulino in ¿História Natural? (2018) is the result of an iconoclastic and resolute gesture, which decolonizes collections, archives, photographs, what we know and how we know the past. This gesture reveals to us that it is possible to decolonize the colonial images that inhabit the archives and that decolonizing them is an ethical-political attribution of the present in the name of an individual and collective symbolic-political emancipation.

2. About the Creative Process of "Transa" and its hybridism

▶ Figure 10.2.2 - Views of the Artistic Book
▶ Nynhã Aba, 2016

In 2016, as part of my research, I presented the artist's book "*Nynhã Aba*" (Indian Heart), from which I articulated an "aesthetics of affection". Every detail of the book conveyed a love relationship that I developed with the images.

Following the artistic and "alchemical" process of each element as its own story – instant photographs, some colored by me, others intervened by indigenous children, drawings, photographs from historical archives – I searched an interactive book for the emanation of care, of the time, and the desire to retain the link between those who look at the image that returns the same look, in an attempt to generate the same connection, or the same affirmation of its otherness. The aesthetics of affection produced mirror images. In *Transa,* I opened the process to experimentation to create a hybrid and multidisciplinary work that uses photography, literature, comics, painting and cinema, incorporating various artisanal, digital, analog and sculptural resources, building an inspired path by the aesthetics of affection, but also, possibly, the opposite of the previous work.
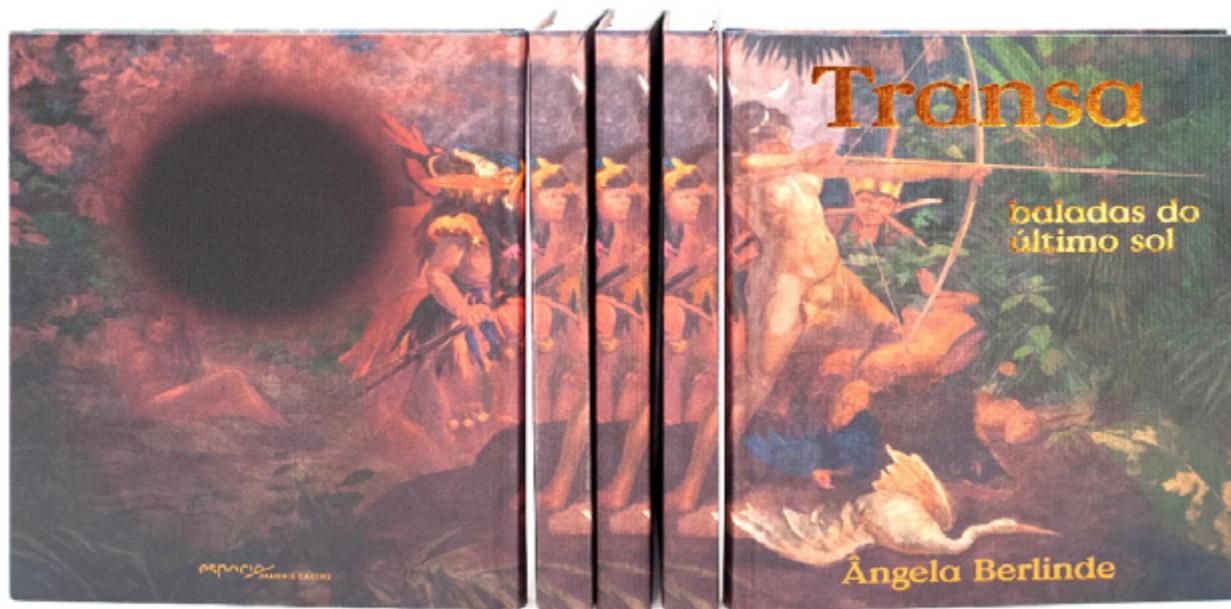
Here, the look is retrospective and experimental and part of a dive of a photographic archive and a body of transatlantic experiences with more than ten years of sedimentation. This implies a dual perceptual movement from the inside out, and from the outside to the inside. In *Transa,* therefore, the narrative construction opens the way for a polyphonic creation that goes beyond and combines the technical and linguistic specificities of each artistic sphere.

The linear and chronological continuity is broken, and autonomous and combinable narratives emerge as fragmented subtexts like islands in an archipelago of questions, sighs and meanings. In this hybrid, mobile cartography, the dominant ecosystem is the space 'between': between-times, between-techniques, between-ethnicities, between-species, between-languages, between-formats, between screams and whispers, reality and fiction, sadness and exaltation. Here I deepened my research on the hybrid forms of photography, developing formal and conceptual strategies to interconnect between spaces and build an inventory of uses and meanings.

A crucial element is the invocation of the figure of Iracema, the "virgin with the lips of honey" in the novel by José de Alencar, a Tabajara indigenous woman who represents the purity, trust and surrender of virgin land. comic book by the famous Lenda do Ceará, in the exhibition the presence of Iracema is felt in an unforgettable way through a subtle and insightful gesture: a crystallized tear denotes the sadness of abandonment in her eyes, detail of a dark image, of black background, appropriated from a frame from the film by Carlos Coimbra (Iracema, 1975).

Transa seeks to trace both the desire and drive of the indigenous figure of Iracema, the "virgin with honey lips" of the Brazilian novel, written by José de Alencar, in 1865. In "Iracema", Alencar brings a poetic explanation for the origins of his homeland, hence the subtitle of the work - Legend of Ceará. Iracema, became a symbol of Ceará and her son, Moacir, born out of her love with the Portuguese colonist Martim, represents the fruit of the union between the two races. History is a representation of what happened to America at the time of the European colonisation and which, in the scheme foreseen by history, leads to Iracema's sacrifice, as a harbinger of its extermination.

The myth of Iracema, emerges as a theme for reflection on contemporary existence, threatened by the limbo and brutality of the colonial processes that are now reversing themselves. The Earth, in this suspended time, seems to echo a deaf cry which brings together all the "civilizing forces together - the repressive and the subaltern, those in majority history and the minorities, the woman, the black, the indigenous, the settler.

In this *Transa* I appeal to a resignification of the present time, in a poetic and introspective attempt to capture (and retain) the irreversible course of time and all the brutal events that still remain in history, in a dizzying world of disputes, creation and destruction of landscapes, of erasure of existences in a race to the abyss of entropy.

In a passage between the aesthetic and the political, experience and the hybridism of languages are the motto and impulse for the different ways of seeing, hearing and feeling the world. In fact, photography exists by trying to establish a relationship of mirroring, to stir up the ghost of a presence. And this mixture of confession and hybridity shows a physicality as aggressive as it is melancholic.

In the assembly of these images - as in the between lines of a text - a fragmentary fiction pulses. Elements based on real facts, the deep attraction for the Amazonia Forest, invites us to enter into stories of drama, conquests and revelations, in a kind of romance that hovers in a limbo, not only between the documentary and the fictional, but between times, between stories and geographies, between the past and the future, between Portugal and Brazil, between despair and faith, love and hate, guilt and vengeance, screams and whispers. By stumbling on the flaws of photography and attacking the speculative game of appearances I seek to transgress codes, free our perception for an adventure which dares to a more complex and delirious apprehension of the world.

The images contained in boxes that in turn contain *urucum* powder, among other native pigments, establish a game with the possibilities of the perception of the eye, and of the imagination. Moving the boxes sideways, we cover one more side of the image and unearth another, and vice versa. The story is alive and in constant construction. Thus, in this work, the elements that are currently fighting the threat of their own extinction were transformed into X-rays, radiographs of souls that will whisper in our ears, flying over the burnt and flat lands of the Amazonia, empty of its dense tropical flora and fauna, if things continue to move in the direction they are going.

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Claudia Andujar has been fighting for more than five decades for the protection of the Indigenous and the healthy ecosystem, native to the Amazonia, Brazil, and the world. The infrared fuchsia of his unforgettable 1976 masterpiece, the longhouse on the *Catrimani* River, surrounded by a jungle as protective as it is vulnerable, comes to mind in these images, which, here, are marked by the same aesthetic gesture.

► Figure 10.2.6 - Crystal boxes, author's collection, 2020
► Source: author's archive

There are gestures – because these intervention strategies on the photographic image are gestures of identification, estrangement and classification – that bring to consciousness the thought about the magic and dream-likeness of Glauber Rocha's second and last manifesto. Faced with the impotence and perplexity with the political direction of Brazil after the gulp of 1964, the horror of the military dictatorships, the political and conscience trance, the total loss of freedom, Glauber turns to a new question, the same one that guides the restlessness in *Transa – Ballads of the Last Sun:* it doesn't make sense to fight in the field of oppressive reason, but in the territories of unreason, the absurd and the myth. But instead of transgressive violence, to cross the numbness of meaning and sensitivity, here I appeal to the gestures of the aesthetics of affection and insert a crystal tear in Iracema's eye, filling with light everything that seems to be being thrown to the dark edges of abandonment and oblivion.

History will continue to insist: Iracema's tear challenges us with pain and love and leaves us speechless: we will not be able to forget it. And so be it. This is a gesture that once again opens the image to multiplicity, by exposing colonial violence covered up and naturalized by historical narratives.

This exercise in the production of a new visuality that I realized with a single photographic image has been a constant practice in contemporary artistic productions. Artists have made use of colonial photographs as elements for the composition of new images, which are in themselves 'resolutive'. Antônio Bispo dos santos (2018, p. 114) calls resolutive images those used as defense in moments of attack. These are not images aimed at subjugation, the possession of a body or territory. They do not fulfill the imperial desire to make 'my property' what belongs to others. Rather, they are images used as weapons of defense against the imperial attacks of yesterday and today. Images, says Bispo (118), are instruments of power and resolutive images are those that put pressure on colonial images, which participate in the struggle for individual and collective decolonization and symbolic-political emancipation.

► Figure 10.2.7 - Views of the crystal box, intervened with the placement of crystals, in place of the tear of Iracema, author's collection, 2020
► Source: author's archive

3. Some notes about the photobook and possible conclusions

In a transit between the aesthetic and the political, experimentation and the hybridity of languages are the motto and impulse for the construction of the photobook that sought to hear the silenced screams of history and enter chaos – the latter a more difficult exercise, because chaos lives in our core. This chaos, which, according to the testimony of Ailton Krenak, indigenous leader and Brazilian activist, "we must learn to transform into dance" appears as an instrument of reflection and awareness by opening up to the possibilities of reviewing the discourses of decolonization. Opening the file is, therefore, entering chaos. The history of colonization and the echoes of its effects in the present, summoned by the figure of Iracema, an indigenous woman who in José de Alencar's novel represents the purity, trust and delivery of virgin land – now appear in the form of redemption in the hybrid mirror here proposed.

► Figure 10.2.8 - Views of the interior of the book and inclusion of the comic book Iracema em Transa, ballads of the last sun (2020)
► Source: author's archive

The media intoxicate each other, and the most interesting thing about this intoxication is not the mere technological transfusion, but the conceptual one, in the light of the "Pandora's Chamber" (Fontcuberta, 2010). In the montage of these images – as between the lines of a text – a fragmentary fiction pulses. Elements based on real facts, the deep attraction for the Amazonia Forest, are an invitation to enter stories of drama, conquests and revelations, in a kind of romance that hovers in limbo, not only between the documentary and the fictional, but between times, between histories and geographies, between past and future, between Portugal and Brazil, between despair and faith, love and hate, guilt and revenge, screams and whispers.

► Figures 10.2.9 – Views of the comic book *Iracema* included in the book *Transa, ballads of the last sun*, 2020
► Source: author's archive

▶ Figure 10.2.10 - Views of the comic book *Iracema* included in the book *Transa, ballads of the last sun*, 2020
▶ Source: author's archive

Realizing this mixture between real and fiction intrinsic to photography, based on the visual production of several artists, Fontcuberta (1977) proposes the concept of contravision, taken up 20 years later in his book "The Kiss of Judas: photography and truth". For the author, the contradiction "breaks the internal logic of the structure of verbal language", which in photography would be given by contravision, since: "artistic activity, that is, creative expression has two aspects. On the one hand, it contributes to the development of a certain plasticity, providing new linguistic solutions. On the other hand, it must transcend the social, that is, it must respond to the socio-political demands of the environment in which the artist develops". (Fontcuberta, 1997, p. 28).

By stumbling over photography's flaws and attacking the specular game of appearances, "Transa, Baladas do last sun" seeks to transgress codes, freeing our perception for an adventure that dares a more complex and delirious apprehension of the world. Far from being a lament, it supports the need to deconstruct historical narratives, invert the romanticized vision of indigenous nations, stimulating thinking and imagining the more global meaning of the experience, beyond the labels of progress and civilizational advances. The artistic intersection seems to draw a possible hope by allowing the crossing of personal memories, with post-memories and memories of the memories of others, social representations that resist in time. And here, Photography, as an instrument of expression and imagination, can bring new attention or elevate transnational and transcultural identities, deconstructing myths from colonial narratives.

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10.3 Rapping in the Greek-Cypriot dialect: readings beyond the words

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✕ Abstract

This paper aims to discuss Greek-Cypriot dialect hip-hop from a three-fold framework of dissent, by using the pillars of language, market, and society. Acknowledging the ways in which the development of DIY cultures and the possibilities brought by technology and social media has allowed Greek-Cypriot hip-hop artists to keep "keepin' it real" by rapping in their own daily vernacular, it discusses how this vernacular is bound by language ideologies; "guarantees" a miniscule market for the Greek-Cypriot rappers; and raises issues pertinent to authenticity and implicit (and, sometimes, explicit) rebellion. In contrast with other local music styles that feature lyrics in Greek or English and often aim at larger audiences outside Cyprus, Greek-Cypriot dialect hip-hop takes an inward turn, that defies both a wider local, as well as a global, market.

Keywords: hip-hop, local music, Greek-Cypriot dialect, dissent.

1. Introduction

Cyprus is a small island. For that, there is no doubt. In fact, it is a small island with a contested national history that is reflected in its linguistic situation. It is also reflected in its media structure, its school system, its everyday politics and, of course, in one way or another, in its daily soundtrack. That soundtrack is a collage of sounds and styles, mainstream and underground, locally and internationally produced. Amidst this polyphonic environment, Greek-Cypriot dialect (henceforth GCD) hip-hop holds a place that invites for further consideration, due to reasons explored in what follows. In this presentation, we will discuss its place in the Greek-Cypriot scape, and its inherent relationship to dissent, by touching on a three-fold nexus that involves language ideologies, the music market, and the local society at large – a triangle that serves as the contextual backbone of this paper.

The beginning of Greek-Cypriot dialect hip-hop can be traced back to the first half of the 1990s, with Vaomenoi Esso (literally, Locked at Home), followed by artists like Hajimike (more musically inclined towards reggae), and by groups like HCH. Quite a few more names can be listed here regarding the initial phases of GCD hip-hop, although the available discography is not representative of the actual activity (for a more detailed account, see Stylianou, 2010; information can also be found in a HCH interview, 2006). Although initially developing at almost clandestine conditions due to the local audience not being adequately familiar with hip-hop, let alone with a hip-hop "made in Cyprus", the scene kept growing and is still growing to the day. This can be attributed to the DIY ethos that surrounds the style, the increasing accessibility of technology and, ultimately, from the mid-00s onwards, to the power of social media that opened possibilities for interaction and dissemination – both among artists, between artists and followers, as well as between followers of the style. It is important to acknowledge the role played by alternative ways of production and dissemination in allowing local hip-hop artists to keep "keepin' it real" by rapping in their daily vernacular, and reaching an

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audience, too. Currently, a Facebook page named HIP HOP Cyprus counts 2400 members (Hip Hop Cyprus). More recently, a parallel Facebook group was created, that is dedicated to rap and hip hop and has a more politically oriented character. In the group description we read:

> *This group is created in an Antifascist spirit and the Admins are responsible to keep this character. Our goal is, in these hard and confused times, to preserve the timeless socio-political values of Hip Hop that were laid down during its birth and during its evolution. Peace, Love and Unity. Simple words, but with such deep meanings, that we seem to forget in the new 20's … Our goal is to develop an organic education and relationship around this kind of music we love and we represent …* (Ραππόσπιτο - Rap Evi - Rap Home).

Looking more closely on the way the representatives of the genre make use of social media and alternative spaces of communication, promotion and dissemination is significant because, despite its seeming longevity in the island, GCD hip-hop is a music scene that remains underground. One of the main arguments made in this paper is that this underground position is unlikely to change (at least in the foreseeable future) due to linguistic, market, and societal standards that exist in the Republic of Cyprus (henceforth RoC), that render its "mainstream-ization" process impossible. The fact that GCD hip-hop has a "by definition" underground status corroborates to its consideration as a music style with inherently resistant qualities, even though its "contained" resistance is not always actively expressed. Indeed, not all GCD hip-hop songs deal with issues pertaining to politics or social critique, but by their mere existence, they do *enact* resistance in terms of the three pillars discussed here. We shall now turn to a more detailed consideration of the reasons why this is the case, starting with the issue of language use.

2. Frameworks of resistance

2.1 Challenging the language ideologies

In its history that spans many centuries, Cyprus has been under a long string of colonizers including Phoenicians, Egyptians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Frankish, Venetians, Ottoman, and British. Not long after 1960, when the island was proclaimed an independent country for the first time in long centuries, Cyprus experienced a Greek military coup against President Makarios III that led to events that culminated to its geographical division by the Turkish Invasion. The invasion "finalized" the geographical separation of the island's two major populations, the Greek speaking (78%) and the Turkish speaking (18%) Cypriots (Tsiplakou, 2006), that had already begun in the 1960s due to inter-ethnic strife.

The interconnection of language with the historical and political situation of the island, along with the language ideologies that surround it, has been discussed widely from various perspectives (Papadakis, 2003, 2003b; Tsiplakou, 2006; Pavlou, 2006; Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009; Georgiou, 2010, 2011; Hadjioannou et *al.*, 2011 etc.). It is a relationship complex, not only due to the population separation, but also due to the relationship of each major population with the other, as well as the affinity of each to a 'mother land', namely Greece and Turkey. To lay the foundational framework for the discussion here, it is important to note that, by constitution, the official languages of the island are Greek and Turkish. However, after the ensued geographical separation, Turkish has only been rarely present in RoC.

Furthermore, it is significant to emphasize that, whereas the official language used in formal outlets, written communication, and the education system is Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG), the language of everyday life is almost exclusively GCD. The main paradox that arises is that, while GCD is the language used in the everyday life of the people, it is considered inappropriate for dealing with serious matters, fact that often leads to identity crises and embarrassment of one's everyday linguistic medium. For this reason, children in RoC learn from an early age to code-switch according to the social context they are found in, that makes one idiom more appropriate than the other (Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009).

Placing this tension within the cultural context, Stylianou states that "[…] the fact that its [Cyprus'] people oscillate between identification with the dialect and feeling embarrassed about it has had a stultifying effect not only on the arts in Cyprus but also on popular culture and indeed on Cypriot identity itself" (2010, p. 207). Being a heavily word reliant art form, and, not least one that is associated with truth and the representation of the local experience, rapping presents itself as a most appropriate vehicle to explore this situation. Its

presence in GCD hip-hop, where the everyday vernacular of the people is combined with an international musical idiom, raises social and political issues, even without uttering them. As Hajimichael puts it,

> *for those who see beyond the cliché of just wanting to sound like a "peasant" in order to gain some laughs, their [the GCD rappers'] choice is deliberately political and can be seen as a form of resistance to a formal language establishment (school, colleges, universities, media) which is dominant and oppressive to Cypriot identity and expression (2014, p. 51)

Extending on that, one can see GCD hip-hop as a creative outlet that, through making use of the everyday vernacular in the public domain, challenges the evaluation judgements and ideologies attached to the linguistic variation itself.

In his chapter, Stylianou (2010) explores the different linguistic approaches of local hip-hop representatives in terms of lyric-writing, and makes specific mention on their different points of view as to what language they choose to use for speaking their truth. Most of the rappers interviewed, whether using GCD, SMG or English in their songs, refer to their preferred language in ideological and market potential terms, reflecting on the general linguistic situation in Cyprus. That this tension unfolds around hip-hop is most appropriate. Writes, Stylianou (2010):

> *Hip hop presents a rare instance where Cypriot artists are forced to confront Cyprus's language situation head on in a way that many other arts or genres of music do not require. Hip hop demands honest and uncontrived expression and this is, I think, where the conflict lies in Cypriot rap. (2010, p. 207)

The situation is, of course, more complex than the space and time allow to explore here. Nonetheless, the main argument of this paper, that the usage of GCD lyrics in hip-hop songs created in Cyprus is an act of resistance (even if not necessarily a conscious one), can further be strengthened by the position of this music style in the music market, itself a product and a mediator of the ideologies extant in the island, linguistic and more.

2.2 Defying the market

The music sphere of RoC is flooded with songs in Greek and English. This is true not only in terms of the music that is promoted and broadcasted by the official media, but also of the music that is created by the local musicians themselves. Although a closer look at the musical output of the country shows an increased use of GCD in genres of popular music such as hip hop, metal, and world music, most local music production features lyrics in SMG and, when it comes to underground currents, in English. This can be attributed to the association of GCD with lack of refinement and sense of inferiority, as well as its earlier connections with parody and comedy, that make it harder for cultural outputs in the dialect to be taken seriously (for more detailed discussions see Georgiou, 2010 and Hadjioannou et al., 2011). Such tendencies not only contribute to rendering GCD an implausible linguistic element for lyric writing, but also to making its usage in songs an element that musicians and audiences alike are not accustomed to. In this framework, one can see how GCD hip-hop's minimum market potential becomes one of the factors that make it a music style that is "by default" defiant. A closer look at the landscape of RoC music market and industry will help us shed more light on this side of the argument.

It is widely accepted that RoC lacks a local music industry (Skoutella, 2011) and that "the closest thing to a record label, All Records, was more accurately a distribution company that dabbled in home-grown releases from time to time," (Stylianou, 2010, p. 203). At the same time, the Greek-Cypriot media have, to their largest extent, been historically dependent on their Greek equivalent (Skoutella, 2011). These dynamics have led to a perennial "migration" of Greek-Cypriot artists to Greece in search of a career that would be "pan-hellenic", a trend of which the start Hajimichael places chronologically in the 1970s and which is evident to the day (Hajimichael, 2016). In the face of that, it can be understood that the resurgence of an underground prolificness in terms of local music production (regardless of language) bypasses what has been seen as the expected route for "making it in the music industry" and predisposes the possibility for the creation of what can be considered a local popular music heritage (for a discussion of the notion, see Brandellero & Jansen, 2014). The underground local creations cover many and diverse music genres, use mainly SMG and English in their lyrics, and are promoted to wider audiences through various online platforms and social

media. Nevertheless, GCD hip-hop continues to exhibit a lack of market potential, even with the possibilities provided by the current dissemination channels.

A closer look at the situation might be illuminating. The population of the area of Cyprus that is controlled by RoC and which largely represents the Greek-speaking segment, was estimated at the end of 2019 as 888,000 (Cyprus Statistics). Furthermore, due to a significant number of expats, Greek-Cypriot speaking communities also exist abroad in countries like England, Africa, Australia, etc. In fact, it has been suggested that the number of Greek-speaking Cypriots who live abroad is equal to the ones who live in the island itself (Britanica). To understand the limited market potential scope of GCD rappers (although a matter that could benefit from some substantive quantitative and qualitative investigation) one has to consider that, of the less than two million Greek-Cypriot speakers of every age, background, and musical taste that live around the world, the ones inclined to hip-hop in general are unlikely to be a majority, and of those, it is more likely that only a few would be open to hip-hop in Greek-Cypriot dialect, due to the reasons discussed above.

Nonetheless, the scene of GCD hip-hop appears to be alive, robust, and actively growing to the day. If one considers how unlikely it is for the representatives of the genre to be making a living from their art (or, from their rap), one can claim that the fact alone that they are putting in the effort and taking up the expenses of equipment and production despite having almost no outlets for their work, is a sign of defiance – a sneer at the ideas of profit and commercialization that define the system as we know it, and to which the society of RoC is anything but immune.

This is another indication of how "keeping it real" in this way is an enactment of resistance, even in its least politically vocal form. To put it crudely, it seems that GCD popular music in general "does not sell" (at least yet) and neither does GCD hip-hop. The fact that the mainstream channels that promote and broadcast music in RoC, due to various reasons that space does not allow us to expound on here, do not seem eager to feature it at all, does not help in its popularization, leaving it reliant on the underground channels itself has created. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that after almost 30 years of existence in the country, GCD hip-hop still sounds "foreign" to local ears.

2.3 Provoking the society

To say that hip hop in GCD sounds "foreign" to local ears presents a certain kind of ironic paradox, considering that the dialect is the language used in the everyday communication of the Greek-speaking Cypriots. Nonetheless, it is a true statement, due to the position that GCD had and still has in the official public sphere, including the official music sphere.

This is what creates the ground for discussion of this music style from the perspective taken here. Language and society are closely intertwined, and how a linguistic idiom is conceived in certain contexts assigns its usage in these contexts a significance that might had not been the immediate purpose of the user. Similarly, with language, institutions (including economy, media, and the cultural industries) are significant elements of a society. It can be therefore suggested that any creative product that challenges these elements, is by extension challenging the societal norms at large, albeit not necessarily in a volitional or explicit way. What we are rather looking at here is a social provocation that does not come as an active form of resistance (although some of it does), but as a creative exploration of different aspects of membership in the society; as a re-negotiation of GCD rappers' relationship with the language and the materialistic ideals that characterize the modern Western societies, including Cyprus.

The persistence of GCD hip-hop practitioners to use the dialect in their lyrics can be seen more as a statement concerning the legitimacy of the dialect and less as a rejection of SMG as the language of the official public sphere. After all, there are cases of artists that are switching between the two idioms, whereas various collaborations between rappers that use different language for their lyrics is not uncommon.

Hip-hop as a genre has been associated with the representation of local experience, a significant characteristic for its "keepin' it real" ethos. It is also connected to "the articulation of a collective local identity rendered in local language" (Jin, 2014, p. 281). Due to the immediacy of using the everyday vernacular, GCD hip-hop presents and expresses the particularities of the Greek-Cypriot experience, and it does so by creating an alternative public sphere based on the everyday language of communication of the people, combined with the affective medium of music. As Pennycook writes, "The language choices hip-hop artists make are similarly about viewing themselves as social agents who force the public to be more inclusive about what

constitutes legitimate perspectives on language" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 113). In any linguistic communication, it is not only the semantic meaning of the words that is taken into account, but the linguistic idiom in which it is expressed. How the linguistic formation itself is perceived, entails evaluation judgments and ideologies, and adds another layer of interpretation.

Ultimately, since hip-hop is the music genre that is mostly connected with the notion of truthful expression, it is only reasonable that rappers would be more confident in "speaking their truth" in the linguistic idiom that accompanies their everyday life. That, in the case of GCD hip-hop, this choice also constitutes an "inward turn", which defies a wider local, as well as global, market, is also important, since both these parameters raise issues pertinent to authenticity and truthfulness, in terms of the music genre in general, as well as in terms of the artists' experience.

With its "keepin' it real" ideology, and its association with truthfulness and local experience, GCD hip-hop reflects a *particularity* of Greek-Cypriot experience that has not as of yet been given the "mic". Absent but for rare occasions from the "official" popular music sphere of the island, GCD hip-hop presents itself as a "slap on the face" of what have perennially been considered the appropriate languages for popular music-making in RoC – that is, SMG and English. That this fact constitutes the genre anti-commercial by nature is also a slap on the face of the consumeristic and profit-driven society that RoC is.

To put it in a different way, by communicating their thoughts in the everyday vernacular of the people, GCD hip-hoppers are displaying resistance to the norms of songwriting, to the norms of appropriate language for the public sphere, and to the norms that want popular music to be a commercial product.

3. Discussion

As it has been discussed in the beginning, the language situation in Cyprus, and by extension, the language ideologies extant in the island, is closely linked to the political situation, the historical narratives, the relationship between the two major communities of the island, and a continuous will on the part of Greek Cypriots to remain closely attached to Greece (Ioannidou & Sophocleous 2010, Hadjioannou et *al.* 2011). The near omnipresence of SMG in formal communication at all levels, including education, press and media, government courts etc., creates spaces from where GCD is, but in few instances, excluded. And it is the obvious "absence" of GCD in these areas that makes the disruption caused by its presence even more visible. This has been proven recently with the protests of "Ως Δαμέ" (literally "up to here" in Greek-Cypriot dialect), who chose to use the dialect as their main linguistic idiom, both for their name, as well as for the expression of the majority of their positions. Interestingly enough, one of the most vocal responses the protest group received had to do with the name itself, due to its "incorrect" spelling. Ironically, with the GCD not having been codified and not being taught at schools, one could say that the accusations of misspelling had been unjust. Nonetheless, this has been another instance in which GCD has been brought to the public sphere, opening dialogues for re-consideration of its position in the country ("Ως δαμέ", 2021). That during the protests of "Ως δαμέ", performances of GCD hip-hop had taken place, and more specifically from one of the most popular local rappers, JUΛIO, who is politically outspoken in his songs and his lifestyle, is no coincidence.[2] That important part of what he raps about has to do with the profit-driven politics of the ones "in charge", and how this affects the people of Cyprus, is no coincidence either. He says:

> *"Golden-green washing machine*
> *for that passport*
> *some suffer*
> *some have made their stakes golden*
> *and claim they became poorer"*[3]

Rather, it is a fact that brings together everything that has been discussed above, albeit doing it in the most

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2. One can watch JUΛIO performing his song "Το θηρίον" ("The Beast") outside the presidential residence on 27 March 2021 on Ως δαμέ Facebook page (posted on April 4, 2021). Retrieved from https://fb.watch/v/1zw9iQHg7/

3. Original in GCD: "Χρυσοπράσινο πλυντήριο/για τζείν' το διαβατήριο/άλλοι περνούν μαρτύριο/άλλοι εχρυσώσαν τα παλλούτζια τους/τζαι λεν μας φτωσιυνίσκουν."

obvious and straightforward way: using GCD in combination with a hip-hop beat, speaking of the Greek-Cypriot experience, expressing dissent towards the profit-making drive of politicians, and doing it through a genre that is in itself anti-commercial by default.

The purpose of this paper was neither to over-romanticize the use of GCD in hip-hop, and nor to treat it as a music style that is to be seen as an active resistance, although many representatives of the genre are writing politically infused songs. The perspective used here is rather treating GCD hip-hop as a music style that has grown organically from the blending of an international musical idiom with the local experience and the genuine expression of that local experience through the mother tongue. That this blending is going against the norms of what is expected or what is considered acceptable, while also being anti-commercial; provide it with certain elements of defiance. And this, in this case, make GCD hip-hop "resistant by default", even when resistance is not intended.

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10.4 Addressing "Global Challenges" through Remotivation? Cover Versions in the Repertoire of Mano Negra

André Rottgeri[1]

✕ Abstract

Subject matter of this paper is the music of the French band Mano Negra (ca.1987–1994). The group was famous for mixing different cultural elements in language, music, and artwork as well as their punk rock attitude. Mano Negra addressed "Global Challenges" within their repertoire frequently (e.g., topics like migration or pollution). Yet, they also recorded Cover Versions and sometimes these versions added a new meaning to an original song. This phenomenon can be described by the linguistic term remotivation. The analysis here is based on the author's previous research on Mano Negra – yet it focuses on a different collection of songs – as well as the linguistic methodology of remotivation established by Rüdiger Harnisch (German Linguistics, University of Passau).

Keywords: global challenges, mano negra, remotivation

1. Introduction

Taking the motto of the KISMIF conference series (*Keep it simple make it fast*) by heart, the article follows the structure described in this "Essay Map". After a short *Introduction* (1.), the paper starts with a look at the *Definitions* (2.) that are relevant to the understanding of the text. Here, the focus is on "*Global Challenges*" (2.1.) and *Remotivation & Remotivated Songs* (2.2.). In Addition, new terminology (2.2.1. *Performative Remotivation* and 2.2.2. *Reformative Remotivation*) is introduced. The following paragraph is dedicated to the biography of Mano Negra (3. *Mano Negra – Biography*). Then, the connection between Mano Negra and the term "Global Challenges" is made (4. *Mano Negra & "Global Challenges"*). This is followed by a short *Pre-Analysis* (5.), which concentrates on the breakdown of the band's four studio albums (*Patchanka*, *Puta's Fever*, *King of Bongo* and *Casa Babylon*). Next, the focus is on the detection of all Cover Versions within the Mano Negra studio repertoire. Based on the Pre-Analysis, the paragraph 6. *Results of Pre-Analysis & Research Questions* introduces four specific research questions, which lead to an in-depth analysis of the songs previously discovered (7. *Song Analysis*). Finally, *Results* (8.) and *Final Remarks* (9.) are presented within the last two paragraphs of the paper.

2. Definitions

Global Challenges

The expression "Global Challenges" was central to the KISMIF 2021 conference and various understandings of the term were already mentioned in the Call for Papers.[2] Topics included: migration, populism, the upsurge of nationalism, racism and environmental changes. In the context of the paper, this very broad approach and definition of "Global Challenges" will be maintained. It underlines that the expression "Addressing Global Challenges" stands at the centre of the text and represents the overall connection to the 2021 edition of KISMIF.[3]

Remotivation & Remotivated Songs

In contrast to the previous term, remotivation can be defined more precisely, as this linguistic terminus is generally understood as: Utterances, which become charged or loaded with an additional meaning.[4] The definition and application of the term in the context of this paper is primarily based on the work of Rüdiger Harnisch[5] and transferred here to the analysis of lyrics and music within the context of Popular Music Studies.[6] Yet, a closer look at the phenomenon of "Remotivated Songs" is necessary in order to understand how songs become loaded with additional meaning. To be more precise, new terminology is introduced next. According to these definitions, songs can become remotivated in two different ways.

Performative Remotivation

In this case, the remotivation of a song is caused by its performance. An example is the performance of the song *Helter Skelter* by the Irish band U2 on the album *Rattle and Hum*. Here, the singer announces the live-recorded first track of the album: *This is a song Charles Manson stole from the Beatles. We are stealing it back*[7] These words show Bono's attempt to bring the song back to its original meaning by performing it during U2 live shows. Here, one could even speak of "Reversed Remotivation" ("Rückmotivation" in German).[8] It is important to point out that the songs in this category (lyrics and music) remain almost unchanged and the remotivation is mainly caused by context and setting.

Reformative Remotivation

In contrast, this kind of remotivation is caused by changes within lyrics and music of a song. As the text will show, the focus of this paper is primarily on Reformative Remotivation.

3. Mano Negra – Biography

As the subtitle of the paper (*Cover Versions in the Repertoire of Mano Negra*) shows, subject matter of this research is the music of the French band Mano Negra (ca. 1987–1994). Consequently, a short biography of the group is presented next in order to facilitate the understanding of the text. The French musician Manu Chao – former singer, leader and main songwriter of Mano Negra – became popular to bigger audiences in 1998 through his single *Bongo Bong*, which sold about three million copies worldwide. Yet, Manu Chao did not compose this "Hit Single" for his album *Clandestino* from scratch. On the contrary, the song was based on the tune *King of Bongo* and already released by Manu Chao's former group (Mano Negra) in 1991 on the band's third studio album (*King of Bongo*).[9] Although Mano Negra had gained "cult status" in many countries around the

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2. KISMIF 2021, Call for Papers: https://www.kismifconference.com/call-conference/ (15.11.2021).

3. Due to the Covid-19 restrictions, this paper could not be presented in Porto. Yet, it was uploaded to the website.

4. Available at: https://www.phil.uni-passau.de/en/german-language/research/dfg-project-ttr/ (15.11.2021).

5. Harnisch, Rüdiger (Hrsg.): *Prozesse sprachlicher Verstärkung.*

6. Following the methodology introduced in: Rottgeri, André: *Mano Negra.*

7. U2 – *Helter Skelter* (*Rattle and Hum*, Island 1988).

8. More information can be found in Rottgeri, André: *Remotivated Songs – Revisited!*

9. According to the new terminology that is introduced later in this text, the song *Bongo Bong* could be classified as a Cover Version within the second category ("Own") of the "Too Typology".

world (e.g., in France, Spain and Latin-American), commercially the band was never as successful as Manu Chao during his solo career. Mano Negra was founded in Sèvres (near Paris) by Manuel Chao ("Manu") his brother Antonio Chao ("Tonio") and their cousin Santiago Casariego ("Santi") in the second half of the 1980s. Overall, Mano Negra released four studio albums: *Patchanka* (1988), *Puta's Fever* (1989), *King of Bongo* (1991) and *Casa Babylon* (1994) during their career. The music itself can be considered as being primarily Rock but was never limited to that genre. This hypothesis is backed up by the categorisations of the French researcher Barbara Lebrun. In her monograph *Protest Music in France*[10] she classified the music of Mano Negra and Manu Chao as *Rock Alternatif* and *Rock Métis*, which also shows this strong connection to the Rock-Genre. Yet, the band's repertoire also contains a broad variation of other styles (e.g., Flamenco, Rap, Chanson, Latin, Ska, Reggae etc.), which are frequently mixed with each other. After a short, but very moving career the band finally disbanded in 1994 and unfortunately never reunited. Mano Negra's extraordinary mix of different languages, music and artwork has been partly analysed in the author's thesis, which was published online in German language (2015).[11] Yet, this publication could only focus on the intercultural mix of language, music and artwork on the band's debut album *Patchanka*. Yet, an additional paper – in French language – was published in the "Varia" Edition of *Volume! – La revue des musiques populaires*.[12] This article deals with the band's use of different languages within all song titles of their studio albums. Unfortunately, a complete analysis of the Mano Negra repertoire for English speaking audiences is still missing.[13] To slowly close this gap, the text will now focus on the analysis of Mano Negra Cover Versions on the albums mentioned above.

4. Mano Negra & "Global Challenges"

Generally speaking, one can easily prove that Mano Negra address „Global Challenges within their repertoire. Good examples are songs like *King of Bongo*[14] (addressed topic: Migration), *El Alakran*[15] (addressed topic: Pollution)[16], *This is My World*[17] (addressed topic: War), *Señor Matanza* (addressed topic: Organized Crime) and others. Yet, this paper will focus on the Cover Versions within the Mano Negra studio repertoire. Consequently, the detection of all Mano Negra songs that address "Global Challenges" is not necessary at this point. Yet, such a profound analysis could be interesting for a separate paper.

5. Pre-Analysis

For now, the corpus of analysis consists of all Mano Negra Cover Versions that were published between 1988 and 1994. Therefore, within this paragraph we have to analyse all studio albums in a short Pre-Analysis that will be done chronologically album by album.

Patchanka **(1988)**

On Mano Negra's first studio album (*Patchanka*), a reinterpretation of the traditional Anglo-American song *Rock Island Line* (Track 5) can be found, and this appears to be the only Cover Version on the record.

Puta's Fever **(1989)**

An analysis of the second studio album shows that the songs *Sidi H' Bibi* (Track 5) and *Patchuko Hop* (Track

10. Le Brun, Barbara: *Protest Music in France*.

11. Rottgeri, André: *Mano Negra*.

12. Rottgeri, André: *Punk Rock Français* et *Multilinguisme*.

13. A translation of the German thesis into English is in preparation.

14. Mano Negra – *King of Bongo* (Track 2).

15. Mano Negra – *Casa Babylon* (Track 9).

16. Mano Negra – *Casa Babylon* (Track 16).

17. Mano Negra – *Casa Babylon* (Track 4).

18) can be identified as the Cover Versions on this volume.

King of Bongo **(1991)**

The third studio record contains only one Cover Version. The song *Paris La Nuit* (Track 14) is a new version of the song *Ronde De Nuit* (Track 2) by Mano Negra, which was first published on the band's debut album (*Patchanka*) in 1988.

Casa Babylon **(1994)**

Finally, Mano Negra's last studio album also contains one Cover Version. The song is called *The Monkey* (Track 3) and was originally recorded by the Jazz musician Dave Bartholomew in 1957.

6. Results of Pre-Analysis & Research Questions

As the Pre-Analysis has shown, there is – at least – one Cover Version on every Mano Negra studio album. An exception is the second record (*Puta's Fever*), which contains two Cover Versions. The following table (Table 1) displays the results of the Pre-Analysis – once again – in a short overview.

Album	Cover Versions
1. *Patchanka*	*Rock Island Line* (Track 5)
2. *Puta's Fever*	*Sidi H'Bibi* (Track 5) / *Patchuko Hop* (Track 18)
3. *King of Bongo*	*Paris La Nuit* (Track 14)
4. *Casa Babylon*	*The Monkey* (Track 3)

▸ Table 1 - Results of Pre-Analysis
▸ Source: the author.

Based on this Pre-Analysis the text now concentrates on the following research questions:

1. Research Question:

Do these Cover Versions become remotivated by the reinterpretation of Mano Negra?[18]

2. Second Research Question:

If so, what is the additional meaning?

3. Research Question:

Is the additional meaning addressing „Global Challenges"?

4. Research Question:

If so, what are these „Global Challenges"?

. . . .
18. In other words: *Do these songs become loaded with an additional meaning?*

7. Song Analysis

This section is dedicated to an in-depth analysis of the songs detected in the Pre-Analysis.

Patchanka – *Rock Island Line*

The traditional Anglo-American song *Rock Island Line* is known because of its many previous interpretations by famous musicians like Leadbelly, Lonnie Donegan or Johnny Cash. Consequently, Mano Negra is following a long tradition with this Cover Version. Yet, a comparison of the lyrics shows some minor differences between the version recorded by Mano Negra and previous versions. For example, in Mano Negra's interpretation the "Toll Gate Man" seems to be a criminal official. Yet, in other interpretations this character is portrayed as a naïve personality, who gets fooled by the driver (smuggler) of an arriving train. Consequently, one can state that the original story is a bit upside down in the Mano Negra version. Furthermore, the interpretation by Mano Negra touches on various genres of music like: Country, Rockabilly, Punk and Pop.[19]

Puta's Fever – *Sidi H'Bibi*

Sidi H'Bibi – a traditional love song from North Africa – is probably the most "exotic" song in the Mano Negra repertoire. This piece of music migrated with the families of some band members (The Ex-Casse Pieds: Joe Dahan, Philippe Teboul)[20] from Tunisia to France and was included into the Mano Negra Repertoire.[21] One can easily hear that Mano Negra's Cover Version is loaded with additional meaning. Primarily on the music level, because the oriental melodies of the song are now interpreted with western Rock & Pop instruments (electric guitars, bass, keyboards and drums etc.). Therefore, the reinterpretation of this song is a "Hybrid Hymn" that celebrates the fusion of Eastern & Western music. In addition, it is important to point out that the song was – on record and during live performances – always sung by Mano Negra's percussionist Philippe Teboul and not Manu Chao. This tradition was continued when Philippe Teboul joined Mano Chao's later band (Radio Bemba Sound System) as a drummer – also singing *Sidi H'Bibi* during live shows.

Puta's Fever – *Patchuko Hop*

Patchuko Hop (Track 18) is a Cover Version by Mano Negra, which can be easily overlooked.[22] Yet, on the inside of page two (CD booklet of the album *Puta's Fever*), it clearly says that "Joe King Carasco" was the author of this song. In addition, Joe King Carrasco – the self-titled „*King of Tex-Mex Rock' N Roll*" – also mentioned this Cover Version some years ago on his homepage.

> *"Joe's music is enhanced with an even greater Latin influence after living and studying in Nicaragua in the mid 1980's. His songs dealt with the unjust political situation of that period in Central America, and the resulting albums were; "Bordertown", "Bandido Rock" (off of which the song "Pachucco Hop" was recorded by the French group Mano Negra…)".[23]*

The difficulty of detecting this Cover Version is due to the spelling of the song title, which Joe King Carrasco issued on *Bandido Rock* (1987) as *Pachucco Hop*. Yet, Mano Negra named their version *Patchuko Hop*. This orthographic adaptation points into the direction of the neologism Patchanka, which is central to Mano Negra's repertoire (e.g. album title, song title etc.). Yet, the spelling used by Mano Negra is also similar to the title of an instrumental piece by a saxophone player from Texas named Chuck Higgins. Therefore, one could easily believe that Mano Negra created a Cover Version of the Chuck Higgins song.

19. A full analysis of the song *Rock Island Line* can be found in: Rottgeri, André: *Mano Negra*. (pp.140-145).

20. More on the band Les Casse Pieds in: Rottgeri, André: *Die Métro und das Kleingeld*.

21. Joe Dahan tells the background story of this Cover Version in the documentary: Mano Negra – *Pura Vida*.

22. In fact, this song was not yet included in the online presentation of the KISMIF 2021 conference.

23. http://www.joeking.com/biography.html (13.03. 2011).

"As far back as 1953, for example, Texas-born African American sax player Chuck Higgins wrote the song „Pachuko Hop" (referring to the zoot-suited Mexican American youths known as „pachucos"), which became enormously popular among Mexican American youths in Los Angeles." [24]

In addition, the name "Carrasco" is spelled "Carasco" on Mano Negra's album, which made it more difficult to find the original version. Yet, Mano Negra's version is definitely based on the Joe King Carrasco song, although the title almost matches with the Chuck Higgins version. Interestingly, it is the only song on the album that has no representation of lyrics in the CD-booklet. The song indirectly addresses US-Mexican border life by mixing different languages (English and Spanish) and the music of different genres (Rock & Latin). Finally, the Mano Negra Cover Version can be described as a hybrid Tex-Mex song, reinterpreted by a band from France that orthographically connects to the spelling of Mano Negra's key term Patchanka.

King of Bongo – *Paris La Nuit*

Although this chanson is based on Mano Negra's song *Ronde De Nuit*[25], which already had been published on the band's first album *Patchanka* (Track 2), the interpretation clearly differs from the original. While *Ronde De Nuit* is a fast Rock-Pop song with 121 bpm and an rebellious undertone (Protest song with punk rock attitude), *Paris La Nuit* is a slow Musette with only 104 bpm in ¾, which could be classified in general as "Chanson Française". Yet, a fundamental difference lies within the instrumentation. *Paris La Nuit* was not recorded with Mano Negra's classic rock-pop instrumentation (Drums, Bass, Guitars, Keyboard etc.), but is only interpreted by vocals with the help of an accordion. Manu Chao is cited as the author, but Jo Dahan sings this last song on the album *King of Bongo* (Track 14). The title is a popular expression connected to the nightlife of Paris. Furthermore, the song pays homage to the French actress "Arletty", whose name is also mentioned at the end. Different is also the setting within a popular French party situation. The song finishes the album by putting an exclamation mark behind the French roots of Mano Negra. Background voices and the general sonic atmosphere of the party ease the aggressive undertone of the original. Overall, the song has evolved from a punkish protest song into a classic French chanson, which celebrates peaceful human interaction in spite of its – still critical – lyrics.

Casa Babylon – *The Monkey*

Dave Bartholomew, an US-American musician, who had also worked as a producer for Fats Domino, is the author of this song in English language. Yet, Mano Negra's version starts with a sample in Japanese, stating that the "Soundmarket Station" is filled with Mano Negra Fans.[26] The song tells the story of three monkeys that neglect the thesis that humans developed from apes. To prove this fact, they elaborate on bad human behaviour like unfaithfulness ("No monkey has ever deserted his brother / His baby and ruined her life"). Furthermore, greed, the constant search for pleasure and lust for murder are also mentioned as examples. This leads to their conclusion: "Yes, man descended from the worthless bum/ But, brothers, from us he did not come". The song is a humorous fable on Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and Mano Negra's version

24. Pacini Hernández, 2009, p. 38.

25. A full analysis of the song can be found in Rottgeri, André: *Mano Negra* pp. 125.

26. "サウンド・マーケットのスタジオーは、すっかりマノ・ネグラとそのファン達に占領されてしまいました。"

is strongly influenced by Hip Hop elements (Rap / Rhythm). Later on, a distorted Guitar is also adding a Rock flavour to the song. It carries the song to the Outro, where the rapper Fidel Nadal is chanting in Jamaican Patois. Overall, the English lyrics are strongly connected to the original version. Yet, one can state that Mano Negra's interpretation has turned the song into a globalised Hip Hop version, which addresses many problems caused by humans that are expressed through the words of the monkeys.

8. Results

Generally, one can state that Cover Versions only play a minor part in the studio repertoire of Mano Negra. Out of 62 songs on all four Studio Albums (14 songs on *Patchanka*, 18 songs on *Puta's Fever*, 14 songs on *King of Bongo* and 16 songs on *Casa Babylon*) only five songs can be classified as Cover Versions. Two of these Cover Versions (*Rock Island Line* and *Sidi H' Bibi*) can be categorised as "Traditionals" (Traditional = 2 Songs) with a more or less unclear history but performed many times by previous artists. One song can be classified as a "New Interpretation" (Own = 1 Song) of an already existing Mano Negra song (*Ronde de Nuit* became *Paris La Nuit*) and finally two songs (*Patchuko Hop* and *The Monkey*) could be traced back to their original authors (Joe King Carrasco and Dave Bartholomew) and therefore can be classified as "Classic Cover Versions" (Other = 2 Songs) in the traditional understanding of the term.

This shows that a very broad understanding of the term Cover Version was applied here. In retrospect, the results lead to the following categorisation of "Song Re-interpretations" (Cover Versions), which allows to establish a typology for further research. Consequently, the three first letters of the above-mentioned abbreviations (Traditional, Own, Other) form the "Too Typology". It allows easy memorization as the combination of the letters "T O O" compose the English word "too", which easily connects to the topic, because Cover Versions can be classified as songs that are performed by other artists, too. The application of this typology on the results of the analysis is presented below in Table 2.

Type of Re-Interpretation ("Too Typology")	Defined by Authorship
1. Re-Interpretations of Traditional (Songs)	Authorship by an unknown Artist
2. Re-Interpretations of Own (Songs)	Authorship by the same Artist
3. Re-Interpretations of Other (Songs)	Authorship by another Artist

▶ Table 2: The "Too Typology" of Song Re-Interpretations (Cover Versions)
▶ Source: the author.

In addition to this extended interpretation of the analysis, the text will now take a further look at the research questions mentioned before and answer them step by step within the next two paragraphs.

1. Research Question:

Do these Cover Versions become remotivated by the reinterpretation of Mano Negra?[27]

2. Second Research Question:

If so, what is the additional meaning?

To answer these questions, one should look first at the meaning of the original songs, considering language and music. To define meaning on the language level the addressed topic of a song was considered here. To detect meaning on the music level, the connection to a certain genre is taken into account. Finally, the analytical outcome is presented in Table 3 and Table 4, which allow the comparison between the originals and the new versions by Mano Negra.

27. In other words: *Do these songs become loaded with an additional meaning?*

Song	Original: Language (Topic)	Original: Music (Genre)
1. *Rock Island Line*	Marketing Song	Country
2. *Sidi H' Bibi*	Love Song	North African Folk Music
3. *Pachucco Hop*	Party Song	Rock & Latin
4. *Ronde De Nuit*	Protest Song	Rock & Pop
5. *The Monkey*	Protest Song	Jazz

▸ Table 3 - Original Songs
▸ Source: the author.

Song	Remotivation Language (Topic)	Remotivation Music (Genre)
1. *Rock Island Line*	Marketing Song	Country & Various Subgenres of Rock
2. *Sidi H' Bibi*	Love Song	North African Folk Music & Rock, Pop
3. *Patchuko Hop*	Party Song	Rock & Latin
4. *Paris La Nuit*	Protest Song & Party Song	Chanson / Musette
5. *The Monkey*	Protest Song	Hip Hop, Rock

▸ Table 4 - Cover Versions by Mano Negra
▸ Source: the author.

The comparison between both tables shows that – although there are sometimes small variations within the Cover Versions of Mano Negra – on the language level almost no additional meaning was added to the songs. The only exception is *Paris La Nuit*, where random background voices underline the festive character of the situation (e.g., Joe Dahan asking the others, which wine they want to drink). Yet, the Cover Versions of Mano Negra add a different meaning to almost all songs on the music level.

Overall, *Rock Island Line* is promoting the name of the mentioned train company in the chorus over and over again and therefore the marketing aspect is dominant. The lyrics only underwent little changes in the Mano Negra version. Musically speaking, this traditional song evolves into a summary of many rock genres that developed out of country music. Mano Negra's version can be classified as remotivated, because of this broad stylistic interpretation in music. *Sidi H'Bibi* stays a traditional Love Song on the language level. Yet, the Cover Version of Mano Negra adds an additional meaning to the song on the music level, which highlights its importance as a mix of eastern and western music cultures. Overall, the song can be classified as remotivated, because of the many changes appearing on the music level. *Patchuko Hop* remains a festive song with no additional meaning on the language level. Also, there is also no remotivation on the music level and therefore the song remains classified as not remotivated. As mentioned already above, *Paris La Nuit* is the only song, which gains a new meaning on the language level, because of the many background voices. Musically, the song is transformed into a slow Musette, which allows the categorisation as Chanson Française and therefore the song is generally remotivated. *The Monkey* does not change its meaning on the language level and remains a Protest song. Yet, on the music level the song is connected to some new genres (e.g., Hip Hop, Rock), which makes its moral message more susceptible to younger generations. The music generally adds a strong remotivation to the song.

Summarizing, one can state that four out of five Mano Negra Cover Versions became remotivated by these new reinterpretations. Sometimes the remotivation is due to changes within the lyrics ("Remotivation by

Language") and sometimes a song becomes charged with an additional meaning, because of changes within the music ("Remotivation by Music"). The following table (Table 5) summarizes these results once again.

Song	Remotivated Cover Versions
1. *Rock Island Line*	Remotivated by Music
2. *Sidi H' Bibi*	Remotivated by Music
3. *Patchuko Hop*	Not Remotivated
4. *Paris La Nuit*	Remotivated by Language & Music
5. *The Monkey*	Remotivated by Music

▸ Table 5: Mano Negra – Remotivated Cover Versions
▸ Source: the author.

3. Research Question:

Is the additional meaning addressing "Global Challenges"?

4. Research Question:

If so, what are these „Global Challenges"?

Based on the previous results, the next two tables display the findings to these questions.

Original Version	Addressed by Lyrics (Topic)	Addressed by Music
1. *Rock Island Line*	Yes (Smuggling)	-
2. *Sidi H' Bibi*	Yes (Love & Relationships)	-
3. *Pachucco Hop*	-	Mixing of Latin & Rock Music
4. *Ronde De Nuit*	Yes (Criminal Politics)	-
5. *The Monkey*	Yes (Inhumane Behaviour)	-

▸ Table 6 - Addressed Global Challenges – Original Version

Cover Version	Addressed by Lyrics	Addressed by Music
1. *Rock Island Line*	Yes (Criminal officials)	Importance of Country for Rock Music
2. *Sidi H' Bibi*	Yes (Love & Relationships)	Mixing Eastern & Western Music
3. *Patchuko Hop*	-	Mixing of Latin & Rock Music
4. *Paris La Nuit*	Yes (Criminal Politics)	-
5. *The Monkey*	Yes (Inhumane Behaviour)	Mixing of Rap & Rock Music

▸ Table 7 - Addressed Global Challenges – Mano Negra Version
▸ Source: the author.

The comparison of both tables shows that the song *Rock Island Line* addresses the "Global Challenge" of smuggling in the traditional version and the problem of criminal officials in the Mano Negra version. Yet, the music of both versions does not appeal to "Global Challenges" directly. But the Mano Negra version

highlights the strong relationship between Country Music and different styles of Rock. *Sidi H' Bibi* addresses the challenge of managing love and relationships in both versions. Although no political challenge is addressed here, this can certainly be seen as a "Global Challenge" by people from all over the world within their private lives (e.g., especially in culturally mixed relationships). In addition, the mixing of eastern and western music stands at the centre of this song. One could also state that the topic migration is indirectly addressed, because the families of some Mano Negra members brought this song from Tunisia to France. *Patchuko Hop* does not address – in neither interpretation – a topic or a genre, which could be connected to the term "Global Challenge" on the language level. Yet, the music touches on the challenge of Mixing Rock and Latin styles.

Considering the very brought interpretation of the term, one could also argue that the song is connected to migration, because it is lyrically and musically placed in the North American Tex-Mex context. On the language level *Paris La Nuit* addresses the global problem of criminal politics as already expressed in *Ronde De Nuit*. Yet, no connection to "Global Challenges" can be found within the music. Finally, *The Monkey* is a song that addresses inhumane behaviour on many levels within the lyrics of the original and the Mano Negra version. Furthermore, Mano Negra's interpretation displays the global importance of the Hip Hop genre and the mixing of Rap and Rock music as a perfect sonic vehicle for passing on moral messages.

9. Final Remarks

As this paper has shown, Mano Negra address "Global Challenges" in their own repertoire as well as in Cover Versions. By doing so, they help to raise public awareness for topics like migration, which – in the case of Mano Negra – could be considered an "umbrella category" that covers many songs that – directly or indirectly – address this topic. "Global Challenges" connected to the topic migration were also addressed by Manu Chao during his solo career. This is reflected in the title of his first solo album (Clandestino) as well as in various songs (e.g., in the song Clandestino), which shows that the seed for Clandestino was already planted during the Mano Negra period. Further research could analyse the band's complete studio repertoire in order to detect all "Global Challenges" on these albums. In addition, Mano Negra's live set would provide even more material for analysis. Prominent examples would include concerts at unusual locations like UNESCO (June 1990, Paris), at La Défense (9 August 1991, Paris) and the concert of Mano Negra and Johnny Clegg at Place de la Bastille (Paris). In connection with the latest research on remotivation, it would be interesting to ask, if these places also became remotivated by such performances. This could open the "Theory of Remotivation" to the academic field of architecture. Further analysis of other Cover Version that were performed live, should definitely include the performance of Mano Negra & Jello Biafra at the "Eco 92" summit in Rio de Janeiro , which clearly addressed the "Global Challenge" of ecology.

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