

---

**THE INAUGURAL SYMPOSIUM OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY NETWORK FOR THE STUDY OF  
SUBCULTURES, POPULAR MUSIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE**

**London Metropolitan University, Thursday 15 and Friday 16 September  
2011.**

**- Abstracts and Contact Details -**

**Christian Punk, Subcultural Resistance and Populist Traditionalism.**

***Ibrahim Abraham, University of Bristol, UK. - [ibrahim.abraham@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:ibrahim.abraham@bristol.ac.uk)***

The idea of music-based subcultures as vehicles for socio-cultural resistance seems – at best – rather retro. A decade or two of British subcultural studies has abidingly argued for the depoliticized nature of music subcultures, or their irreducible internal multiplicities such that thick political descriptions are decidedly difficult. Drawing on interviews with 46 Christian punk musicians and fans from the UK, USA and Australia, this paper argues that Christian punk is a contemporary music-based subculture that evinces a subtle but determined program of individual and collective resistance to what it constructs as the mainstream culture of secular modernity and liberal capitalism. Developing the concepts of ‘populist traditionalism’ and ‘populist anarchism’ utilized in the analysis of popular music and culture by US American sociologist and theologian Tex Sample, this paper analyses the ways in which the values of punk and the ethics of Evangelical Christianity are deployed as tools of resistance by young people, and the ways in which they seek to remedy the contradictions between these traditions. This paper offers further evidence that empirical analysis of specific case studies, absent attempts to offer general characterizations of subcultures, can empower the canon of (sub)cultural studies, drawing back into the discussion concepts that have fallen out of favor.

---

**Class, Gender and Ethnicity in Popular Music - Or How did Colombian Cumbia  
Become the Center of Argentine Popular Culture?**

***Pablo Alabarces and Malbina Silva (in absentia), University of Buenos Aires, Argentina -  
[palabarces@gmail.com](mailto:palabarces@gmail.com)***

From its origin as ethnic music in Colombia in the late Nineteenth Century –showing a combination of indigenous and Afro-American features, like other genres known as "tropical"– cumbia spread to most of Latin America countries through the mediation of cultural industries, marked in each case by local particularities and meanings. In each and every case, there's one meaning that prevails: it is consistently the music of the poor, the popular classes. In Argentina, since its arrival in the mid-sixties, its popularization meant its connection to other local products –folk music, as in the case of chamamé, or modern, as in the quartet–; but fundamentally, the popularization of cumbia led to its consecration as the most popular genre, in the double sense of its consumption –its sales figures place it as the best selling genre– and its meaning of class. Cumbia is in Argentina, without question, the music of the popular classes –but the ways in which the middle classes also consume it allows us simultaneously to understand the phenomena of cultural plebeianization that have happened in the last two decades. This paper aims to discuss these roads, while pointing out

how the study of the cumbia –both its musical and lyrical texts, and their practices (from musical production to the dance)– brings issues of class, gender and ethnicity into play, possibly as no other cultural product in contemporary Argentina.

---

**Legally Pop: Popular Music and the British Obscenity Legislation.**

***Alexander K. Antoniou, City University, UK - Alex.Antoniou.1@city.ac.uk***

Pop operates within particular legal constraints. This study examines attempts to prosecute popular music under the UK legislation for its tendency ‘to deprave and corrupt’: it looks into reported cases, in which popular music has crossed the legal boundaries of obscenity and explores the extent, to which prosecutions of the covers and contents of music records have been successful. Titles on how to ‘Kill a hooker’ or about the pleasure of the narrator when ‘She Swallowed it’ and lyrics, like ‘Suicide is painless’ or ‘No Vaseline’ appear to reshape the cultural enterprise as an attempt to encourage objectionable or criminal conduct. But is there direct evidence of a causative link between the explicit or destructive content of popular music and the inclination to perpetrate abusive acts or sexual offences? Although a consensus on this evidential question has not yet emerged, certain authors unmask the detrimental infiltration of porn into our lives (Paul, 2005) and highlight the gross implications of pornography and violence for our culture. This paper explores the intersections of cultural and criminal dynamics in contemporary social life by inquiring into the labelling of the popular music products as criminogenic in the light of the British Obscene Publications Act 1959 and 1964. Overall, by examining certain legal proceedings and judicial rulings, this paper discusses the capacity of pop to lead to moral degeneracy. Is Marilyn Manson a ‘cult leader who leaves his victims [...] so brainwashed, that they literally cannot separate fantasy from reality’ (Brunet, 1997: 42)? Is the eternal parental cry ‘turn it down!’ alarming?

---

**Subcultures, Cultural Policies and International Visitors.**

***Munehiko Asamizu, Yamaguchi University, Japan - masamizu@yamaguchi-u.ac.jp***

In 1997, the Blair government established the Creative Industries Task Force to promote cultural content as an important export industry. Blair’s cultural policies gained the moniker of “Cool Britannia,” derived from “Rule Britannia.” In 1998, following the example of the UK, South Korea initiated a similar cultural content policy known as “Cool Korea”. Japan has more recently joined the trend with “Cool Japan.” Before the Korean movement (Hallyu in Korean), many Japanese politicians and bureaucrats did not appreciate the political and economic importance of popular culture. However, starting with the Olympic Games in Seoul in 1988, some Korean musicians and movies started to become popular among Japanese people.

From the viewpoint of Korea, their financial crisis in 1997 was a major issue, and exporting cultural products was considered to be a matter of economic importance. Korean TV dramas and music programs were exported to Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and other regions and countries. During the 2002 FIFA World Cup, there was another turning point between South Korea and Japan. Around 2002, Japanese broadcasters often introduced Korean TV programs, and one of the Korean dramas, “Winter Sonata,” was a smash-hit in Japan in 2003. Many Japanese tourists, especially female tourists, rushed to see the filming locations of “Winter Sonata,” and that continued for a while. The Korean movement is continuing in Japan even now. The popular Korean music group, Dong Bang Sin Gi has become popular in Japan, and the hip-hop group Big Bang is another cross-border success.

---

**The National and the Translocal in the Identity of the Hungarian Indie Music Scene.**  
**Emilia Barna, University of Liverpool, UK - emilia.barna@googlemail.com**

My paper relies on a conceptualisation of the music scene as a particular type of on- and offline music network, to which the notions of genre, identity, locality, and the relationship of these, are all crucial. It explores the ways identity can be understood in relation to the Hungarian indie music scene of 2000-2010 as defined in, on the one hand, national terms, through its relation to the Hungarian 'alternative' and 'underground' music cultures; on the other hand, translocal terms, through international influences, global genre aesthetics, and translocal industrial/professional connections. It also looks at the role of online media in creating spaces for the communication, negotiation and reinforcement of identities, as well as the creation and maintenance of the concrete and symbolic connections that constitute the music scene.

The self-definitions and identity expressions of Hungarian indie bands typically make reference to the underground/alternative 'heritage' based in pre-regime change culture, carried through to the 1990s and 2000s. Indie bands openly or covertly distance themselves from a counterculture that has arguably become empty, while the formerly political ideology has shifted to be entirely expressed through music genre labels and related symbolic concepts and values. This distancing is manifest in the choice of the language of lyrics, value judgements, as well as aesthetic influences and international professional and music industry connections. The relationship of the music scene and social-political change can thus be pinpointed in terms of shifts and continuities in identity and discourse.

---

**Reinterpreting Subcultural Elements: Ultras Movement, a 'Supra' or a 'Trans' Subculture?**

**Adrien Battini, Institut d'Etudes Politiques d'Aix-en-Provence, France - adrienbattini13@gmail.com**

This paper aims to study the ultras movement (one of the four forms of radical supporterism spread in the world) and his relation to the subcultural phenomenon since the apparition of the movement in Italy in 1968. The ultras movement shares most of the characteristics of the other forms of subculture, such as: strong association with territory, excess and exaggeration and refusal of the banalities of ordinary life.

First, we would like to question if the ultras movement is a "supra" or "trans" subculture. Indeed the supporterist phenomenon has always shown its capability to copy, to take in and to use elements from other subcultures. Through historical consideration and iconographical demonstration, we will describe how the ultras groups were able to assimilate references from musical subculture (mods, punk, skinheads, rockers), other supporterist subculture, and from other subcultural forms (Rastafarian, Hell's Angels, Hobo). We will also try to explain, by considering the special social context of Italy, how so many forms could crystallize into the stadium.

In a second a time, we will relativize the ultras referential ability: with noticing that instead of being faithful to the subcultural models, the ultras often reinterpreted them and they made their own cultural and subcultural mix. This also explains why some of their referential combinations present some contradictions. We will use the concept of "totemism" reintroduced by the ultras movement, in order to show how this subcultural gathering serves the construction of the group's specific identity and how it is a way to emphasize symbolically the radical and extreme commitment of the ultras.

---

**'Like Trousers, Like Brain': The Walk and the Talk of the Clash City Rockers.**

**Mark Bedford, Amersham College, UK - MBedford@amersham.ac.uk**

As punk rock established itself as a significant youth sub-cultural force in 1977, the Clash were quickly identified as "the most political of the 'new wave' groups" (Gordon Burn, June 1977). This paper is concerned with the meanings that the band's fans made from their engagement with the Clash's rebel rock aesthetic. Using a variety of secondary sources such as fan interviews in documentaries and fanzines, letters in the music press and other fan generated material published between 1976 and 1985, the first section of the paper reconstructs a public debate about the importance of the Clash for the band's fans and ex-fans. The second section of the paper presents primary source material from semi-structured interviews with Clash fans carried out between 2008 and 2011. The participants were born between 1956 and 1966 and are either known to the author, or were invited to take part by people known to the author.

While allowing for the phenomenological possibilities the data in this study may present, the research endeavours to recover oral histories that demonstrate how the Clash engaged their fans' inchoate political consciousness. Several of the participants express a conviction that being a Clash fan was integral to the formation of their political outlook and a factor in their subsequent political commitments as trade unionists and/or political activists. The paper notes the small-scale and undifferentiated (predominantly white working class) social profiles of the participants and, therefore, presents the research as the pilot for a larger study in the near future.

---

**Words + Guitar: The Riot Grrrl Movement and Third-Wave Feminism.**

**Hilary Belzer, John Hopkins University, USA - hbelzer@hotmail.com**

The third wave of feminism, which began roughly in the early 1990s, is distinguished by its insistence on multiple definitions of feminism and the embracing of differences between women. This generation believes anyone can create her own feminism, and that it is essential for the feminist movement to recognize the diversity of women in order to advance their equality. The Riot Grrrl movement consisted of a diffuse network of young women interested in challenging male hegemony both within the underground punk scene and society in general. Riot Grrrl started in Olympia, Washington when a few women formed bands and held women-only meetings in which girls could discuss the ways sexism informed their everyday lives. It was characterized by certain punk philosophies, most notably DIY (do-it-yourself), in that girls actively engaged in cultural production, creating their own music and fanzines rather than following existing materials. It also reflected several aspects of third-wave feminism: the resistance to societal demands for female perfection, support of diversity, and the redefinition of the word "feminist" along with "girl."

This paper seeks to provide an understanding of the Riot Grrrl phenomenon as well as attempt to situate this movement within the context of third-wave feminism. Using an interdisciplinary approach, I discuss Riot Grrrl as a concrete manifestation of the third wave of feminism and how it helps us navigate the diffuse nature of the third wave. The study of Riot Grrrl proves useful in understanding how a new generation of feminists is forging resistance to sexism.

---

### **Dancing Round the Criminal Justice Act: From Free Festivals to Free Parties.**

**Andrew Bengry-Howell, University of Bath, UK - [abhq@f2s.com](mailto:abhq@f2s.com)**

In 1994 the British Government attempted to eradicate Free Festival and Rave culture by passing the Criminal Justice and Public Order act, which gave the police increased powers to remove persons attending or preparing for a rave (section 63) and seize sound equipment (section 64) that was being used to play amplified music 'characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats'. As the state responded with draconian measures to stymie the advances of a new party-based youth culture, which at its peak in 1992 attracted 10,000 New Age Travellers and urban ravers to an illegal 7-day Festival/Rave on Castlemorton common, the rave scene appeared to lose momentum, as dance music and the 'right to party' was appropriated by commercial nightclubs operating within Britain's growing night-time economy.

This paper will challenge this historic version of events, and in particular the notion that British Free Festival and Rave Culture dissipated with the introduction of the Criminal Justice Act and rise of commercial club culture, by drawing on the findings of a study of Music Festivals and Free Parties, which was conducted by researchers from the University of Bath and University of Birmingham between 2007 and 2010. The study employed an innovative combination of digital ethnography, ethnographic fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with Free Party participants, to investigate the processes through which Free Party culture in Britain has continued to operate, despite government attempts to eradicate it, and the meaning that these events hold for those who continue to attend them.

### **Subcultural Fictions: The Representation of Youth Subcultures in Guatam Malkani's Londonstani and John King's Skinheads.**

**Nick Bentley, Keele University, UK - [n.bentley@engl.keele.ac.uk](mailto:n.bentley@engl.keele.ac.uk)**

This paper examines the way in which popular music operates in two contemporary subcultural novels: Gautam Malkani's *Londonstani* and John King's *Skinheads*, both of which deploy references to individual artists, songs and lyrics in their establishment of a signifying framework for the exploration of subcultural identity. These novels, through citation and intertextual reference, establish a collective ideological outlook that registers the multiformal nature of subcultural identity that cross-references music with other cultural contexts. Both novels also use pop musical references as a way of articulating wider debates around contemporary British youth identities and British society more generally.

*Gautam Malkani's Londonstani* identifies a hybrid mixture of pop that mark out the international context of the contemporary 'desi' subculture located in a West London suburb. Music, along with fashion and consumer products such as mobile phones and cars, are deployed as representative of what Sarah Thornton, following Pierre Bourdieu, has identified as subcultural capital that inverts traditional notions of high and popular culture. The language of the novel is particularly interesting in this context as it borrows from styles of articulation drawn from contemporary black American and Asian pop, in particular gangsta rap and Bhangra.

*John King's Skinheads*, although set in a similar location, identifies a very different kind of subculture. In this novel, music references are again used to establish the nuances of ideological outlook contained under the heading of the skinhead subculture, from its roots in Caribbean rudeboy and ska to the appropriation of it by right wing and British nationalist contexts in the late seventies revival. In this way the novel uses references to Skinhead bands and music related to three moments in the British Skinhead subculture: the originating

moment in the late 1960s, the 1970s Skinhead revival, and the subsequent legacies and recycling in white working-class culture in the twenty-first century.

---

**Mods!: Contemporary Cosmopolitanism of a Utopian and Dystopian Youth Subculture.**

***Shane Blackman, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK -  
shane.blackman@canterbury.ac.uk***

This paper addresses the longevity of the mod subculture and argues that the key to mod culture is its basis in modern cosmopolitanism. The papers seek to move away from debates about mod as a form of nostalgia and instead focus on the innovative mod aesthetic as clear and futuristic. Mod is a subculture whose imagination is design conscious, youthful, sharp and focused on the contemporary. I want to argue that mod sets a tone for optimism and possesses the ability to revitalise itself derived from a rolling programme of popular music icons charged with ideas. Evidence suggests that this cosmopolitanism has enabled the international growth of mod beyond the UK, to America, Sweden, Germany and Japan. I want to set up the major mod appearances: the late 1950s original mods, the 1960s public recognition of mods, the 1980s mod revival and the rebirth of mod within 1990s Brit pop within a critical debate of utopian and dystopian youth subcultural politics. Mod style is defined as being about the future, whether it is late 1950s London mods looking beyond the UK towards a European style, or post-apocalyptic mods in science fiction seeking to save the planet from nuclear melt down.

---

**Dramatizing the Economic Crisis in a One-Company Town: Turin and the Collettivo Punx Anarchici in the Early 1980s.**

***Giacomo Bottà, DVA Institut für Popularliedforschung, Freiburg, Germany -  
giacomo.botta@gmail.com***

From the early 2000s, keywords of (post?)subcultural research have been taste, fluidity, tribes and 'fast collisions'. Resistance has often been analyzed as eventful and articulated within consumption. The step from industrial cities to postfordist and creative centres seemed accomplished. Scenes were embedded into the hip new spaces of flexible accumulation represented by the urban space. Nevertheless, the on-going economic crisis put these concepts into question and re-presented issues at stake during the problematic late 1970s and early 1980s. My paper focuses on:

- analysing the cultural processes originated by economic crises.
- presenting some methodological instruments to analyze the social and spatial structure of former industrial cities and their subcultural representations and expressions .
- examining the role played by popular music scenes during the reconfiguration of industrial cities into 'cultural' or 'creative' centres.

My case for this presentation will be the 'Collettivo Punx Anarchici' (Anarchist Punk Collective), active in Turin (Italy) in the early 1980s. I examine both their contents and styles, and the way they operated within the city. I am interested in revealing how the Collettivo was dramatizing Turin decay and social unrest, consequence of the FIAT automobile industry crisis. Bands such as Contrazione, Declino, Negazione were able to 'sound out' urban alienation and decay, creating original, non-profit and self-organized forms of musical production.

---

**Striving for Capital in the Suburban Wasteland: Why Social Class is Still Relevant to the Construction of Youth Scenes in Britain.**

***Andrew Branch, University of East London, UK - A.R.Branch@uel.ac.uk***

In the early 1970s the study of youth cultures and their articulation through the consumption of music and fashion provided the Centre for Cultural Studies at Birmingham with a focal point with which to test a number of theories regarding the agency of working-class subjects. Whilst this work is viewed as historically groundbreaking, its preoccupation with social class has been subsequently challenged as too limited in scope, not least by the scholars at Birmingham themselves. In the mid-1990s, Sarah Thornton's work momentarily appeared to place class back on the youth cultures map in her reworking of Bourdieusian theory, only for its significance to be again downplayed. Preference was instead given to gender relations vis-à-vis practices of distinction and to how youth positioned itself against a constructed 'mainstream'.

This paper will argue that far from being of limited value in understanding the dynamics of contemporary youth cultures, social class, and how it is remade and disguised through its re-articulation, still plays a central role in framing the self-image of contemporary youth scenes. The paper will further propose that these processes of distinction are most acute when youth practice is understood spatially. In this account the relevance of the suburbs as a predominantly middle-class, racialised space is critiqued. Finally, the paper will call for an increased focus on the relational component of classed-identities for British youth as being a barrier to any progressive politics which seeks to celebrate difference whereby, in a cosmopolitan turn, 'they' become 'us'.

---

**'Punque, Qu'est-ce Que C'est?': Globalization and Subculture Meanings in 1970s France.**

***Jonathyne Briggs (in absentia), Indiana University Northwest, USA - jwbriggs@iun.edu***

The French interest in punk music led to the development of an indigenous scene in the 1970s with many groups emulating the style and approach of British punks while trying to establish local meaning for the British subculture. One obvious attempt is in the word *keupon*, a verlan variation on punk, but this term was not the only one used by French punks, who also favored *punque*. Either way, the difficulty in defining local meanings for the punk subculture was further subverted by French understandings of authenticity in punk. For most observers, true punk was found elsewhere—in Britain and the United States for the most part—meaning that punk could only be an experience of cultural consumption rather than one of cultural production. The tensions between concepts of punk rooted in foreign models and the developing subculture of punk in France led thwarted early attempts to define punk in France. This paper will examine the debates over punk, especially those in the popular music press, and the attempts of French punks to create *le punque* to illustrate the shifting meaning of subcultures as they traverse national boundaries.

---

## **Subcultural Sounds of Power: Masculinity and Whiteness in Industrial and Extreme Metal.**

***Dunja Brill, Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany - dbrill@gmx.net***

Industrial (electronic noise music) and Extreme Metal (harsher forms of Heavy Metal) and the scenes surrounding these styles of music are heavily male-dominated subcultural phenomena. On the one hand, these scenes provide niches of truly 'underground' sounds and practices which have largely escaped commercialisation due to their sonically extreme nature, and hence pose a challenge to commodified pop culture. On the other hand, the demographics, aesthetics and discourses surrounding Industrial and Extreme Metal privilege the hegemonic cultural categories of masculinity and whiteness to a degree that seems almost anachronistic in postmodern times.

Both genres share a frequent recourse to historical motifs, e.g. in song lyrics, speech samples, CD artworks and artists' visual presentation. These motifs commonly revolve around combat, war, militarism or totalitarianism, thus including manifold references to masculinity and White ethnicity. Traditional masculine stereotypes like toughness, violence and strength – sometimes coupled with 'Germanic' virtues like honour and loyalty – are much in evidence, culminating in the trope of a hypermasculine Nordic warrior. However, traditional ideas of masculinity and White cultural supremacy are also called into question by some Industrial / Extreme Metal artists and fans through a critical engagement with dystopian scenarios of war and destruction unparalleled in other pop-cultural spheres.

Drawing on participant observation, ethnographic interviews and media analysis on- and offline in both scenes, my paper aims to trace the complex intersections between gender and ethnicity in Industrial and Extreme Metal, highlighting their reactionary as well as progressive tendencies with a view to larger cultural trends.

## **Ambitious Outsiders: Morrissey, Fandom and Iconography.**

***Lee Brooks, St. Mary's University College, Twickenham, UK - brooksl@me.com***

The decision by WEA to recycle a 1987 promotional video for 'I Started Something I Couldn't Finish' to act as the visual backdrop for its rerelease of 'Stop Me If You Think That You've Heard This One Before' on 1992s Best 1 compilation, acts in some ways as a telling comment on the nature of Morrissey's art and perhaps more importantly, the way it, and he, has been embraced by his fans. That the label chose to repurpose existing Smiths material for this, was reflective of Morrissey's own, Bricoleur like tendency to appropriate the contents of his, very particular, cultural portmanteau. Similarly his fans have, since the very earliest Smiths gigs, been quick to adopt many of these appropriations, alongside aspects of his physical appearance and awkward demeanour. Indeed, there is perhaps no more iconic image of this devotion than that of the stream of stage invaders at virtually every live performance intent on nothing more than to spend a fleeting moment in their famously celibate hero's embrace. This paper will investigate the ways in which Morrissey's persona as the outsiders outsider has been constructed through an active process of bricolage and subsequently been imitated and generally reconstructed by a fiercely loyal fan base. In addition it will address the enduring nature of a subculture that continues to be at least partially constituted by the adoption and recontextualisation of Morrissey's artful borrowings more than two decades after the emergence of The Smiths.

### **Self-Theorization Amongst West German Protest Movement(s) and the Counter-culture in the 1960s and 1970s.**

***Timothy Brown, Northeastern University, USA -ti.brown@neu.edu***

The West German protest movement(s) and counterculture of the 1960s and 70s were notable for their intense self-theorization. Nowhere was this more true than around the concepts of “subculture” (Subkultur) and “counterculture” (Gegenkultur). The definition of these terms was taken up both by leading intellectuals of the countercultural left (e.g. Rolf Schwendter) and by street-level activists like the so-called Hash Rebels, activists whose combination of political struggle with drug use and borderline criminality made them both fit subjects and objects of subcultural analysis. These attempts at self-theorization were connected to heated debates, ranging across the left spectrum from student intellectuals to militant hippies, about the proper relationship between culture and politics and the wisdom of fighting to change the system versus trying to escape it altogether. This paper will examine these debates in the period 1967-1977, spanning the transition from mass student and citizen protest to the “Alternative movement” of the 1970s and 80s.

### **An Example for the Role of the Youth Subcultures in the Reproduction of Hegemonic Cultural Structure: ‘Apaches’.**

***Behlül Caliskan & Bulent Kabas, Marmara University, Turkey - behlul.caliskan@marmara.edu.tr***

Today, youth subcultures – transformed by the media into commodities ready for mass consumption – have become cultural forms which middle class youth audience want to consume because of their opposing characters and unique styles. However, such a rapidly transformation of subcultures has led them to be artificially-created cultural forms which are consumed not only by youth but also by middle class people because of its high consumption demands.

While the “differences” are requested to consume to establish a new middle class cultural identity, these “cultural differences” are presented to middle class without their opposing characters, in other words they were “tamed”. Being transformed into popular cultures by media, subcultures have become body cultures as a youth image, losing their dissenting characteristics, having stylistics characteristics on foreground and being a symbol for fun and joy.

The main aim of this study is to reveal the contributions made by today's youth subcultures to the reproduction of existing hegemonic cultural structure. In this context, we will analyze the ways how media consider the “Apache” culture, which is emerged along with the new communication technologies and consists mostly of children of immigrant families which desire to obtain middle class values and tastes.

### **Bologna Decadence: From Subculture to Club Carnival in the Evolution of an Italian Goth Night.**

***Marco Benoit-Carbone, University of Bologna, Italy - marcobenoit@marcobenoit.net***

This intervention reports about Bologna-based ‘Decadence’ nights and their evolution over the years, from the perspectives of subcultural Goth specificity and the liminality of club culture identities. Describing the transition from a niche subcultural haven to an

overcrowded one-in-two Friday-nights swing-fest, the contribution draws from on-field experience since the very first night in 2005 and from interview-based research involving questions to the scene's resident and occasional members. Interviews and ethnographic methodology follow Hodkinson (2002:4-6), also considering self-reflective issues of researching while being involved in the scene.

For their first two years, Decadence worked as 'the only local goth club', providing 'a safe space in which to claim subcultural capital and affirm identity' (Hodkinson 2002:99). With a crucial choice for subsequent expansion, an extra dance floor proposed industrial rock, EBM, and power techno, aside from the traditional Goth dark-wave and post-punk hall, thus enforcing a new and larger scene in a city flowing with students like Bologna. As the audience expanded and diversified, so did key features as the musical selection and the dress code policy. While DJs started to take turns according to the timing and the persistence of the different layers of the audience, dress code became more elaborately communicated, as to dissimulate a much more open policy, eventually including all sorts of 'weird' categories and defying the restrictiveness of core Goth attires.

By its fourth year, around 2008, the audience of Decadence had transitioned from a relatively stable subcultural community to a heavily rotating ensemble of audience layers, the majority of individuals not identifying with Goths. The represented subcultures were several (from outgoing transsexuals and metal-heads to cyber-Goths), but now one would mostly recognize 'ordinary' people, with little or no precognition of any codified subculture, being drawn in by the swinging and promiscuous atmosphere, by the dark rooms and the roleplaying, and by the free-your-dark-side attitude. The very age range increased and diversified, proving that a 'fragmentation of audiences and consumer groups' was rendering 'the already questionable concept of subculture insufficient' (Redhead 1997:x, cit. Hodkinson/Deicke 2007:11) to understand the 'extreme clubbing' and the 'abandon the outside' claims of Decadence. As the nights became a landmark spot for a diversified audience of swingers, Goth, alternatives and clubbers, flyers departed from classical Goth imagery to a more carnivalesque, fetish-infused extravaganza.

Nonetheless, Goths persisted as an audience, and while most 'old-timers' have been criticizing heavily the outcome of the nights, others actually praised the raging 'heterogeneity of the crowd', proving an example of how contemporary subcultures can in fact be 'essentially liminal' (Hodkinson 2002:39), and 'characterized as much by ambiguity and diversity as by coherence and definition' (Muggleton 2000:75). Ambiguity and diversity, which characterize the liminality of clubbing identities, could thus be considered not as opposed, but rather ad complexly interwoven with the notions of homogeneity, belonging and distinction which enforce properly subcultural spaces for their members.

---

#### **Archiving Subcultures Panel.**

***Inderbir Bhullar, The Women's Library, London Metropolitan University, UK - i.bhullar@londonmet.ac.uk***

Subcultures leave their historical traces in a variety of ways; stylistically, experientially, textually, in image and sound, as well as in the academic and political responses that they illicit. This panel will illuminate this by looking at the implications of the ways in which subcultures have been archived. A variety of archivists will explore how their collections draws lines through and around subcultural sources. Using an object or document from their collection each archivist will suggest ways in which our understanding of subcultures can be informed by their archival collection. Not only will this provide useful examples of archival holdings that may support researchers working on subcultures, and suggest how subcultures

have been redefined by the processes of archiving, this panel also raises the possibility of reading archives as subcultures.

---

**'Can I Get Another "Amen"?: Green Day's Post-Secular Revision of Evangelical Tropes in *American Idiot* (2004) and *21st Century Breakdown* (2008).**

**Jennifer Carlberg, University of Chicago, USA - [jennic@uchicago.edu](mailto:jennic@uchicago.edu)**

1. The Historical Context: Jürgen Habermas argues that collisions with a political Islam as well as the resilience of religious beliefs in modern societies, especially America, have generated "a crisis of faith among secularists." In particular, he observes the democratic political form to evince such "post-secular" discursive tensions. Indeed, within contemporary American democracy, so-called "flashpoint" issues regarding gender, sexuality, militarism, faith, moral comportment, and abortion riddle the discursive terrain, at times proving galvanic to the electorate. The Christian right, in fact, is reputed to have used these "flashpoint" issues in order to galvanize their electoral base, at least since the presidential election of Ronald Reagan. Thus, various hegemonic matrices emerge, wherein religious belief converges upon political, economic, environmental, or global platforms in what has been widely termed a "neoliberal agenda" of social conservatism. These are the wider patterns of cultural and political change, I argue, that place post-secular tensions within our purview, crystallizing, objectifying, and communicating them through the distinctive blend of fashion and music that defines the pop-punk/neo-punk subculture. Of late, such subcultural sentiments are perhaps best articulated by the Grammy award-winning artists Green Day. A pop-punk band from Oakland, California, Green Day's first major-label and Grammy-winning album *Dookie* (Reprise 1994) was concurrent with the political machinations of the Moral Majority. More, their Grammy-winning *American Idiot* (2004) proves concurrent with the rhetoric of evangelical Christianity that imprinted itself upon other enormously popular cultural artefacts of the early 2000s, such as the Christian eschatological Left Behind series, and the George W. Bush administration's theocratic ambitions. Finally, Green Day's most recent *21st Century Breakdown* (2009)—Grammy-award winning, too—is concurrent not only with various global collisions between Western nations and a political Islam but also with the broader evangelical response to these collisions. In 2009, *American Idiot* was transformed into a musical theater production using twenty-one songs from these recent albums; further, the Grammy-winning musical suggested that we consider contemporary teenagers as disenfranchised (both again and now a bit differently).
2. A Proposal: Given Stuart Hall's observation that "identities are produced within an ideological field where signs can be discursively re-articulated to construct new meanings, ... and position social subjects differently," I propose that we look more closely at Green Day's co-option and redeployment of a rhetoric of evangelical Christianity as evidence of the re-working of aspects of the traditional religious experience so as to make them available to a "post secular" audience. Indeed, within both the *Bullet in a Bible* performances (which document the *American Idiot* tour) and the *Awesome as F\*ck* performances (which document the *21st Century Breakdown* tour), Mr. Armstrong's addresses a "choir infantry," variously called his, "brothers and sisters"; avails himself of call-and-response techniques, sermonic "placeholders" and mock conversions; choreographs signs of the cross; and even parodies the infamous responses of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell, well known evangelicals, to the terror attacks of September 11, 2001: Mr. Armstrong intones before "East Jesus Nowhere," "[A]nd you will see how godless a nation we have become." At present, my intervention would be a theoretical one, based upon close analyses of their concert performances and musical theater

production. Yet, in order to substantiate these aforementioned performances as generating a broader subcultural response, I will also examine the responses of participants, confederates, and opponents to these occasions that are documented within Internet chat rooms, etc.

---

**Hip Hop Hope in La Ciudad de la Eterna Primavera.**

***Jez Collins, Birmingham City University, UK - jez.collins@bcu.ac.uk***

This presentation reflects upon early stage research using extensive filmed field trip interviews highlighting the relationship between Hip Hop culture in the city of Medellin, Colombia and social change.

Up in the barrios, drug and paramilitary gangs seek to subjugate the population through intimidation and violence. In this environment exists a group of cultural activists who have renounced this way of life and have instead turned to the four elements of hip hop; Mc-ing, dj-ing, graffiti and breakdancing as a way of self expression and as a way of engaging with other young people to use hip hop to bring about social, economic and sustainable change for their communities.

In this paper I will outline how these artists understand themselves as belonging to the subcultural group of Hip Hoppers, how they define and represent themselves through their own music practice and their fundamental belief that this subculture is the only form of popular music that can repair the fabric of their society. From their daily actions in running hip hop schools for the youth in the barrios, to the equal standing female participants are afforded, to the lyrical content of their music which reflects both positive messages and a reminder of their conflict riven past, I will explore the relation between music and social change and also the conflicts that the hip hoppers face; the belief in changing their communities whilst also looking for the elusive 'break' that will take them away from the constant daily battle they face to stay alive.

---

**Second Rate Theories for the Second Sex?: Subcultural Assertiveness or Mainstreaming Power: The Continuing Issues Facing Women within Pathology, Dirt and Deviancy Theory.**

***Gemma Commane, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK – grc6@canterbury.ac.uk***

Drawing from themes and outcomes in PhD ethnographic field research in sexualised, kinky and subcultural clubbing scapes, this paper will critique the problems women still face in asserting and justifying their presence in subcultural spaces. Although a mediated sexual and subcultural assertiveness is available for all women to buy into in the mainstream, through the proliferation of non-normative identities in music videos, artists products and on the high street, these cultural 'lifestyle' products are still clean, girly and binary, presenting tensions for women in subculture. These tensions concern re-presenting agency and choice in ways which have visibility in theory, in practice and within the group's individuals socialise with. Even though insider/outsider debates and the visibility of socially sanctioned identities in subcultures allow agency, visibility and choice to be both apparent and individuated; how all three are situated in wider theory is still problematic. This paper will argue that agency, choice and positive visibility are compromised by pathology inherent in parts of deviancy theory which easily combines with wider social attitudes to devalue bodies that matter the most. However what the paper will also address are the contradictory issues present within

subcultural social sites, where etiquettes, moral codes and authority also compromise women's choices and how these choices are expressed, specifically regarding women distancing themselves from other women they perceive as agentless, victims or pathological. What will be demonstrated is the need to preserve context and the need to challenge not only theories which repeat normativity, such as parts of feminist theory, but those we study too as all connect and are informed by the conditions which allow identity, expression and transfiguration to be realised. Consequently the paper will argue that the study of women in sexualised, taboo and kinky environments needs to challenge the continual requirement to justify research and identities, through tackling 'lacks' which presumes that there are only second rate theories about the second sex.

---

### **The Message in the Medium: Expressive Media in Subcultural Formation.**

**Steve Conway, University of Sussex, UK - [steve.conway@talk21.com](mailto:steve.conway@talk21.com)**

Two media exerted fundamental influence on the development of Reggae subculture; the sound-system and Jamaican Patois. In accounting for this relationship, I draw upon Herder's notion of the Volk; a community formed through a shared language. The medium in which thought is expressed (linguistic or otherwise) structures, restricts and supplements consciousness. Therefore, movement in thought first requires the development of the appropriate medium.

The phenomenon of a community creating the medium which will affect its own cultural change, is indicative of a deeper process. The creation, refinement and maintenance of a medium is understood as an expression of the fundamental tensions of the society; the message in the medium. This message is deciphered when subsequent thought is trammelled by the medium, addressing these tensions.

The sound-system informed the rhythm of Reggae. The DIY equipment through which American R&B was played distorted the sound, giving the impression of an emphasised off-beat and deepened bass-frequencies. These characteristics were incorporated by Jamaican musicians aping the American styles. During the 1960's, the status of Patois shifted from stigmatised marker of class, to exclusive medium of Jamaican literature. In rejecting Jamaican Standard English, the community began to trammel their consciousness through a medium of their own making.

This paper shows that the development of Reggae subculture was in part, a response to the crisis of identity created by Jamaican independence. The ideas/thoughts which emerged from these self-authored media were pivotal in historical and cultural movement.

---

### **Archiving Subcultures Panel.**

**Fiona Courage, Mass Observation Archive, University of Sussex, UK - [F.P.Courage@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:F.P.Courage@sussex.ac.uk)**

Subcultures leave their historical traces in a variety of ways; stylistically, experientially, textually, in image and sound, as well as in the academic and political responses that they illicit. This panel will illuminate this by looking at the implications of the ways in which subcultures have been archived. A variety of archivists will explore how their collections draws lines through and around subcultural sources. Using an object or document from their collection each archivist will suggest ways in which our understanding of subcultures can be informed by their archival collection. Not only will this provide useful examples of archival holdings that may support researchers working on subcultures, and suggest how subcultures

have been redefined by the processes of archiving, this panel also raises the possibility of reading archives as subcultures.

---

**'Purists' and 'Peripherals': Agency in Hip-Hop and Grime Youth Cultures.**

**Todd Dedman, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK -  
todd.dedman@googlemail.com**

Recent academic discourse on subcultures has largely centred on postmodernist ideas of the fragmentation of society and the fluidity of youth cultural boundaries and identity (Sweetman, 2004). The postmodern position states that the term youth subculture is no longer valid in exploring group affiliations and lifestyles in contemporary society (Bennett, 2005). This paper follows the intellectual trajectory put forward by Blackman (2005), Hesmondhalgh (2005) and Hodgkinson (2007) as it attempts to re-establish the term subculture within the field of cultural studies. The paper postulates the notion that cultural groupings concerned with hip-hop have agency and can often be seen to formulate their own version of the culture. They are active in the construction of their local hip-hop or grime scene away from the machinations of the culture industry (Adorno, 1971).

The first part of this paper centres on my qualitative research with focus groups as I attempt to demarcate the boundaries of participation that signify subcultural belonging in comparison to individuals who interact with hip-hop culture on a part-time (Blackman, 1995) or weekend (Moore, 1994) basis. In the second half I will more closely examine grime culture and subcultural agency with close reference to one of my focus groups. There have, at this moment in time, been few academic investigations into grime culture and it is therefore hoped that this work can begin to redress the balance in this respect.

---

***An Exploration of Deviance, Power and Resistance Within Contemporary Cuba: The Case of Cuban Underground Rap.***

**Eleni Dimou, University of Kent, UK - ed77@kent.ac.uk**

Issues of power and resistance have always been of interest to criminology. Over the last three decades there has been a shift within cultural studies and the social sciences concerning the conceptualization of these two concepts. Specifically it is argued that the Gramscian notion of hegemony is no longer adequate (if it ever had been) in explaining the complex interplays of power and resistance within late modern contemporary societies. Rather drawing on Spinoza's notion of *potentia* (i.e. power from below, the inner energy of people), Beasley-Murray (2003), Lash (2007) and Thoburn (2007) argue that we have entered into a post-hegemonic period and thus that we should focus on the micro-politics of power and resistance, which are experienced and realized in everyday life. This paper attempts to bridge the Gramscian notion of hegemony with the micro-politics of power in everyday life, arguing that the two are not mutually exclusive. Specifically, the paper presents ethnographic data gained from research with contemporary Cuban underground rap groups. The paper aims to demonstrate some of the paradoxes occurring within the Cuban culture and power relations, as although Cuban underground rap is highly revolutionary in its ideals, it is censored and criminalized by Cuban authorities. By examining subculture within a socialist state, this paper aims to provide a fresh empirical basis from which to expand existing theoretical understandings concerning power and resistance.

---

**Rituals of Urban Transgression: Moroccan Music Festivals Between Laughter, Drunkenness, and Excre-Mentality.**

***Moulay Driss El Maarouf, University of Bayreuth, Germany - elmaaroufmoulaydriss@gmail.com***

Music festivals, urban arenas for grassroots hip hop commentators and heavy metal devils, are a space for what Stewart Hall calls the global cultural postmodern, where the street as the locus for the periphery manages constant conflict situations and processes of negotiation about representation and power. My paper highlights music festivals as seats of struggle, which, however largely surveyed by the state to manipulate and tame young revellers, witness the birth of counter-discursive practices embedded in music, dance and dress. Young revellers, through their lyrics and bodies, spawn modes of transgression and bold statements against the mainstream political center. In the course of appropriating local and marginal young actors by way of music festivals, the latter, being of a mind to articulate their marginality in a perpetual quest for power, craft local performances which summon efforts to declare themselves the future voices of the underground. In the second part of my paper, I give examples of corporeal performances that mark the festival as a site of theatricality and terrain for the production of laughter, while putting emphasis on the rituals of defiance, anger, cynicism, madness which, by giving birth to complex gestures of ridicule, help explore humor as transgression. It is interesting to examine how during this counter-hegemonic laughing drunkenness the festival constructs a liminal space to ally itself with that which is dirty, bestial, or mythically primal, while reversing social hierarchies during a circumscribed period of release, enthroning and then scapegoating temporary carnival monarch (Riggio 2004, Bakhtine, 1984, Roth 1997, Turner 1968).

---

**Subcultural (-ising) Bodies?**

***Christopher Driver, Griffith University, Australia - christopher.driver@gmail.com***

The potential for music scenes to result in social change has always been discussed in terms of how the meanings and representations which they produce make an impact on the kinds of discourses which proliferate in everyday life. This effectively positions the knowledge produced through participation in music scenes as something cognitive and reflexive – an impoverished way of understanding the relationship between people and the world, by way of a gross simplification of the ontologies of both. In this paper I argue that ‘being subcultural’ impacts upon the way in which human bodies, by virtue of their necessary placement in both time and space, continuously move to produce their social contexts and therefore themselves as selves (DeNora 2000). Such is the distinction between the real and existing social world and the phenomenological categories through which agents make sense of their experience of it. Real social change should not be conceived of as something affected solely in the production of discourses that alter our perception of the social world, but in the impact of practices that, in a very real sense, define that world which is perceived. Indeed, social change is the necessary consequence of our being in the place-world, whether we reflexively understand its impact or not. Producing culture is therefore not something confined to the spectacular musical event but something which, through its impact upon the cumulative and embodied project of self, spills across the wider social ecology. Subcultural bodies are always subcultural-/ising/ bodies.

---

### **Monkey on the Roof: Online Music Innovation and Social Change in the Lives of Delhi Street Children.**

**Andrew Dubber, Birmingham City University, UK - [dubber@gmail.com](mailto:dubber@gmail.com)**

This paper reports upon a practice-based research project and knowledge transfer activity conducted in association with Music Basti, a youth-led charitable organisation that runs music workshops in homes for street children. The workshops are led by professional and popular Indian musicians, and typically revolve around rudimentary clapping and counting exercises, scales, and singing songs together, often supplemented with popular tunes from Bollywood films, or taken from the visiting artists' own popular repertoire. Through the music workshops, children develop basic educational and social skills as well as build confidence and improve their overall experienced quality of life.

After originally meeting with members of Music Basti in November 2009, I arranged to return to Delhi in July 2010, accompanied by my colleague from the Birmingham Centre for Media and Cultural Research, Jez Collins, and record producer Ian Wallman, in order to work with the organisation to record an album of music performed by the children. This recording of songs by children and (predominantly) for children, entitled 'Monkey on the Roof', is being sold online to raise money for the Music Basti charity.

Using blogging, digital video and social media tools, the story of the recording and the issues it relates to are conveyed, and innovative pricing models, music promotion and distribution models are explored in order to examine the relationship between the creation of meaning through narrative, and its association with music consumption. In addition, the meanings of music-making and especially recorded music production for the children themselves are examined.

### **Gypsies and Flamenco in the Spanish Movies: Building National Identity Through Popular Music.**

**Juan Pedro Escudero Diaz, University of Extremadura, Spain - [jpescudero@usal.es](mailto:jpescudero@usal.es)**

In the history of cinema can be found abundant presence of gypsies' subculture movies (lifestyle, traditions, customs and usages, etc.), having special relevance musical treatment: setting, sound effects, interpretation, etc. In the case of Spanish cinema of the last decade include films like *Camarón* (2005) and *Lola, the Movie* (2007). In them, main character is a flamenco and gypsy singer and that is why many scenes recreated environments Flemish contexts.

Following the theme Media configurations of subcultures, scenes and tribes and due to scarcity of studies that deepen the relationship between flamenco and audiovisual media, this paper proposes an analysis of audio and visual treat of gypsies and flamenco in cinema, with particular emphasis in implications of identity and discourse formed around flamenco, as a popular music, and gypsies, how media has contributed to building the discourse flamenco, flamenco imaginary transformation and how it is reflected in the visual space, how it influences audiovisual identity, etc. We will analyze musical performances, scenery, and background and also to illustrate that development will be considered Flemish audiovisual productions in the last third of the twentieth century, where concepts such as authenticity, purity and ethnicity were implicit in most of the films. The main objective is to review construction of new discourse flamenco, imaginary transformation of flamenco and treatment of visual and spaces the flamenco genre, demonstrating the influence of audiovisual in the musical identity.

**Paupers, Poets and Prostitutes: The Evolving Identity of the /Fadista/.**  
**James Felix, University of Leeds, UK - james.felix@live.com**

In the back streets of Lisbon, in neighborhoods that would one day be lauded as the most 'traditional', a man sings. His song is not one of joy, but of a more familiar subject - hardship. In his belt he carries a knife, in his hand a bottle of wine; shunned by polite society, people cross the street when they see him. A century later, the music remains but the perception has morphed.

Having endured in these poor districts, /fado/ is still sung and retains much of the same subject matter. /Lisboettas/ sing of the difficulties they have known in their life, the losses they have experienced, and their enduring love of Portugal, but now people flock to hear these songs; the singers work during the day as bankers, taxi drivers, fishermen and doctors, and in the evening they sing for love of the song. They are now embraced as the epitome of Portuguese culture by the same society that once rejected them.

In this paper, I trace the transformation of the /fadista's /identity, one inextricably linked with the musical genre of /fado/, from its impoverished origins as the song of the lowest in society, through fascist dictatorship to the time when singers of /fado/ become international stars. Examining the cause of this change and the impact it has had on the genre and the nation, I will illustrate the way perception of subcultural identity can evolve independently of musical affiliation.

**Politics on Two Frequencies: Johnny Cash's Vietnam War in Lyrics and in Public.**  
**Michael Foley, University of Sheffield, UK - m.foley@sheffield.ac.uk**

This paper examines Johnny Cash as a political artist, but a peculiar one. On the subject of the Vietnam War, Cash seemed openly conflicted. Whereas most political artists are/were obviously left or right, hawk or dove, Cash was neither – or he was both (on more than one occasion, he described himself as a “dove with claws”).

To date, the few scholars who have written about Cash have been satisfied to explore either the “paradox” of Cash's identity or, more narrowly, his “outlaw” side. In this paper, I make a case for the late 1960s Johnny Cash as a towering figure in American life not so much for his music as for his accessibility as a man, an essential component of whom was a public commentator, an ombudsman who somehow spoke to (and for) so many Americans who were already having internal conversations about the war and protest.

I use Cash's public persona and statements, interviews, concerts, a documentary film, and episodes of the Johnny Cash Show as texts for interpreting not only Cash's politics, but different strands of American political culture in the late 1960s and early 1970s. On the one hand, as the war ground on, Cash's own lyrics became more clearly antiwar; in his public statements and performances, however, he often signalled ambivalence or inner conflict on the war and protest. In this way, he seemed to be speaking on two frequencies, turning the dial between his mainstream audience and an arguably subcultural antiwar audience.

**Hair Politics in the Black Atlantic.**  
**Franck Freitas - franckfreitas@gmail.com**

My presentation questions the confrontation between two levels of interpellation within blackness. The first one—a “global blackness”—restricts black youth around the world to a

single identity, one whose appeal lies in the hegemonic representations within African-American culture, specifically those of hip hop (with its own dress and aesthetic codes). While the other—a “local blackness”—illuminates the connexion black youth must make with ethno-cultural norms in the family environment, in particular those from African descent. How do both of these interpellations mix within the same experience? I argue that hairstyle in hip hop culture can be an efficient interpretive lens through which to analyze the double process of racialization and ethnicization. In which way can it deconstruct their respective and essentialist discourses?

Skin colour and hair were key elements used by early anthropologists to determine the “blackness race”, and these characteristics still play a role in the discourse surrounding the authenticity of global and local blackness. As “the modality in which race is lived” (Gilroy, 1993: 85), gender discourse is the main force for naturalizing racial differences. I will show how the circulation of hairstyles, through the international success of Black American artists, problematizes gender binary classification inside racial categories by underlining the tensions between totalizing racial interpretations and fragmented—“ethnic”—interpretations of “blackness”. In short, I will identify the dissonance between two different essentialist logics within blackness, the processes of racialization - that imposes sameness for all - and ethnicization, - which claims its own homogeneity.

---

**‘From Subculture to Elite Culture: The Politics of Circulation in Transnational Punjabi Pop Music.**

***Patrick Froelicher, Heidelberg University, Germany - froelicher@asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de***

The Punjabi music scene has been transnational since the 1980s, with Great Britain and India being the centres of production. New technologies for the production and circulation of images and sounds have triggered large-scale changes in this scene as well. In the last ten years, the circulation has reached new heights, mainly through the introduction of digital production technologies and new modes of circulation of Punjabi songs as video clips or mp3-files. These technological changes influenced the production as well as the reception of the music and played a large role in turning the formerly quite independent Punjabi scenes in India and the UK into the transnational mediascape of Punjabi Pop.

Through media content analysis and information from ethnographic interviews, I look at interfaces of conflicting imaginaries and musical-visual representations of Punjab and Punjabi identity in Punjabi pop music. In these processes, physical objects such as musical instruments or virtual objects like sounds or images circulate within the Punjabi ethnoscape where they are getting reassessed, and songs and video clips with a distinct subcultural flavour from the Punjabi diaspora get resignified as elite culture within in India. These sounds and images, I argue, nourish discussions about the character of Punjabi identity within India and the diaspora, amongst producers as well as consumers. Both sides are entangled in discourses regarding an assumed dichotomy of “tradition” and “modernity” as well as an ongoing discussion on the moral aspects of video clips, manifested, for example, in the allegation of “obscenity”.

---

### **Total Recall: Rethinking the Festival as Subcultural Archive.**

***Abigail Gardner, University of Gloucestershire, UK - agardner@glos.ac.uk***

The Big Chill is a music festival which “offers both families and ravers a diverse range of music including folk, jazz, African, dub...” With an online presence that invites past and potential festival goers to view video footage of previous festivals, it functions both as a moving digital archive and as a physical archive (Derrida, 1996) for ‘ravers’. Drawing on recent work on memory and media (Van Dijck, 2007; Pentzhold, 2009) and on age and subcultural belonging (Bennett, 2006), this paper moves debates on archives, music and subcultural memories across to the site of the ‘festival’ to argue that it operates as a ‘memory object’ (Van Dijck, 2007). This involves seeing it as an ongoing collective but monitored archival digital space that is also experienced as embodied and located. Conceived of in this fashion, the festival functions both as memory prop and as a space for further subcultural experience or “collective praxis” (Kahn-Harris, 2007:122).

Presence and its documentation serve to place rave culture within the landscape of the accepted “mak[ing] the eruption of the event part of the fabric of the known’ (Grosz, 1999, 16). Rethinking this (and other) festival(s) as archival recalibrates the BCCS notion of ‘incorporation’ as it seeks to ask what role ongoing community affiliation and nostalgia might have in the “fabric”ation of such an archive. Indeed, this festival’s reification of itself as the ‘Big Chill’ (drawing on Kasdan’s 1983 elegy for the hippy era) foregrounds questions around ‘nostalgia’ which this paper sketches out in relation to music, memory and ‘the festival’ as subcultural archive.

### **‘Dangerous Youth?’: An Examination of the Threat Posed by the ‘Control Model’ for Youth Culture.**

***Valeria Gedeon, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary - gedeonv@ajk.elte.hu***

January 15, 2011 there was a tragedy in a Budapest club: three teenagers died in a mass panic accident. After the incident, the Hungarian government closes clubs and seriously limits the possibilities of club life for young people by making the law stricter. The new government formed 2010 May has started a war against youth, which has only one reason: fear – fear of the unknown and social fear. The result of this policy can easily be the same as the ‘law and order’ campaign of Margaret Thatcher: war against some undesirable subcultures classified as deviant (then football hooliganism and rave).

In Hungary, the biggest problem is the government does not make a distinction between social and antisocial, deviant and non-deviant or useful and malicious scenes. The populist power wants one and only: serve the anti-tolerant, pessimist, prejudiced voters by sanctioning the youth – whose future is uncertain, the state cannot provide them jobs and whom the power cannot control. The variable places of subcultures result of political change has been examined within criminology since the Chicago School, Howard S. Becker through Stanley Cohen. My research follows the legal perspective of Steven Redhead.

The presentation demonstrates the relations between the ‘control model’ and the process in which some style-based youth cultures may become folk devils in Hungary. It shows the ideological changes of the new government and its criminal policy according to the youth and their cultures, especially the legislative changes (e.g.: expressis verbis criminalization of graffiti).

### **Youth Lifestyles in Engaged-Art-Activism.**

**Carlo Genova, University of Turin, Italy - [carlo.genova@unito.it](mailto:carlo.genova@unito.it)**

Topic of the paper is the possibility and the usefulness of analyzing youth engaged-art-activism as a lifestyle (engaged-art is here intended as every experience of sociopolitical participation based on artistic activities, however the paper refers in particular to an empirical research focused on music, theater and cinema youth groups).

Nowadays many researches underline how peculiar of youth activism is a “mix” between self-satisfaction/self-realization and collective interests pursuit, as the well-known Beck formula «altruist individualism» sums up. However few researches seem to analyze in detail how these two perspectives of action can be compatible. Among the different experiences of youth sociopolitical activism, engaged-art is a good observation point on these processes because directly connects the two sides of the question: self-expression and collective-interest-oriented-action.

The paper presents an hypothesis: youth engaged-art activism can be interpreted as a lifestyle, here defined as «set of practices, with unitary sense and relational meaning, which is a distinctive model shared by a collectivity, without having neither a pre-existent cognitive-axiological system nor a pre-determined socio-structural position as generative factors» (Berzano, Genova, 2008; 2011). Moving from the actual international debate about subcultural/post-subcultural analysis of youth cultures, aim of the paper is two show how considering these art-activism experiences as lifestyles is possible to obtain a better comprehension of the phenomenon. And in particular to show how it helps to comprehend on one side “why” youth are involved in these activities, and on the other side “how” the «altruist individualism» influences the nowadays youth engaged-art-activism characteristics.

### **Symbols and Icons in the Adoption of British Punk in East Germany.**

**Kate Gerrard, University of Brighton, UK - [kategerrard@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:kategerrard@yahoo.co.uk)**

Punk emerged in the GDR at the end of the 1970s, taking its primary influence from British bands such as the Sex Pistols, the Clash and the Damned. However, despite the strong influence of British punk, particularly in terms of fashion, the symbols used by first-wave British punks such as the swastika and icons of socialism were not generally adopted by first wave punks in the GDR (c1978 – 1983).

This study uses pictorial evidence and personal testimony from first wave East German punks to examine why, despite their broad sartorial adoption of British punk, GDR punks appeared to reject signifiers of Socialism and Fascism in their clothing.

Findings from the study suggest that the general ambivalence towards subverting socialist icons indicates a willingness to disassociate from, rather than appropriate, symbols of the GDR’s socialist system. Similarly, rejecting the swastika demonstrates disassociation from the German past, and from contemporary right wing movements within the GDR. The use of the ‘Anarchy’ symbol – arguably more provocative to the GDR state than the swastika, as it denotes chaos and absolute individual liberty – reflects the desire of GDR punks to seek freedom and disengagement from all political structures and alignments.

By analysing symbols favoured by the first wave of East German punks, we can better understand the nature and position of East German punk within its national context. Further, this situates punk as a transnational subculture, marked by characteristics engendered by specific social, political and economic factors at the national level.

## **Were Industrial Subcultures Political?: Politics, Aesthetics and Simulation in Laibach and Test Department.**

***Michael Goddard, University of Salford, UK - M.N.Goddard@salford.ac.uk***

While various political issues were touched upon by first generation industrial groups like TG and Cabaret Voltaire, Industrial music, unlike punk has generally presented itself and been understood more in aesthetic than political terms. Nevertheless, in addition to the minor political threads such as a Foucauldian politics of subjugated knowledges, critiques of surveillance and control societies and the Burroughsian idea of an information war conducted via media forms in these groups, there were also industrial groups that seemed to take on explicitly political forms, notably Laibach in Slovenia and Test Department in the UK. Whereas the former took on several political guises leading to them often being understood in relation to both Fascism and Socialist Totalitarianisms, Test Department seemed to embrace a far left critical stance, most evident in their collaboration with a Welsh mining choir in 'Shoulder to Shoulder.' In both cases though the question of exactly what politics was being enacted by these groups is not always clear and raises questions about the relations between politics, aesthetics and simulation. While this is clearly the case with the masks used by Laibach, I will argue that the same is true of the use of the figure of Eastern Bloc shock worker by Test Department. This will lead to a questioning of the politics of the industrial subcultural scenes surrounding these and other groups and an argument that would see industrial subcultures as based on a principle of critical autonomy in relation to other proximate subcultures such as punk or gothic.

---

## **Radical Mestizo Scene.**

***Pedro Gonzalez, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK - pedgove@hotmail.com***

The term Mestizo is Spanish for mixed race and mestizaje is a word commonly used to describe the blending of races, cultures and different forms of living. This is also the word to describe a transnational music scene that has risen in the last twenty-five years. It initially grew from the urban areas of France in the mid eighties, then spread through the Mediterranean countries of Europe and Africa in the 1990s, and then moved on to the Atlantic in the American continent (north, central and south of America). Mano Negra, was a punk rock ensemble and pioneer of this scene formed in Paris. His leader Manu Chao and some of the members of the band were the first generation French-born children from immigrants to the French capital. Their social origins were an important element in blending their musical backgrounds into their urgent and infectious rock music. The term Radical has been the attribute added to Mestizo to emphasize the social conscience and political side of this music as an alternative music scene, where activism and involvement in social causes is the proper attitude of a musician as an individual and as part of a collective (neighbourhood or society), in line of the Anarchist aesthetic theory. This work will look into the complexities of this alternative scene that project their utopian vision of the global world through their actions in their neighbourhood. Glocal (Think Global and Act Local) is their belief.

---

### **Anarcho-Punk Webzines: Transferring Symbols of Defiance from the Print to the Digital Age?**

***Matt Grimes, Birmingham City University, UK - Matt.Grimes@bcu.ac.uk***

What role do specialised publications play in the consumer's experience of sub-cultures, music and the shaping of its meanings? This paper explores this role through the pages and practices of anarcho-punk fanzines, in their print and online incarnations.

My analysis focuses on the specificities of 'British anarcho-punk' fanzines of the 1980s, exploring the variety of discursive practices constructed around, and constructing, this music sub-genre and sub-cultural movement. My concern is with the role of fanzine as arbiter of taste and as a site for the construction of musical scenes, its ideology of authenticity, and the identity and sub-cultural capital of its participants. Of primary focus is the fanzine as a site where discourses of defiance and opposition are constructed, embodied and reinforced. While it may be assumed that the practices and associations of the printed fanzine have simply migrated online, I examine and evaluate the continuities and discontinuities between these incarnations, and the role that they play in constructing the ideology and identities of anarcho-punks. My investigation seeks to find whether the same discourses are apparent in punk websites and how they are used in the wider commercial context.

---

### **Neoburlesque: Middle-class Strippers and a Subculture of Commodified Identities.** ***Saphron Hastie, University of Auckland, New Zealand - denerose@gmail.com***

Blair Murphy argues that the neoburlesque movement is a female empowered subculture which suggests new ways of understanding subcultural participation in relationship to women and adults. Debra Ferreday and Emily Fargo argue that neoburlesque is changing the way that gender is done by highlighting the female-female drag elements of femininity and changing the gendered nature of nude spectatorship respectively. While I do not want to argue against these ideas I do want to complicate them. Neoburlesque, as a subcultural form, is female centric but the forms of artifice and femininity which it highlights, particularly the exposed and nude female form, are mediated by their position in and support of mainstream commodity culture as well as neoburlesque's status as daughter of post-feminist girl power culture. I will argue that while neoburlesque, with its distinctive style, is a female centric subculture (focusing on female striptease performance in contrast to many other performance-centric subcultures which tend to focus on male fronted bands) its tense and class bound relationship to contemporary working(class) strippers as well as its own commodified origins, and outcomes, can limit its socially transformative potential. Reading neoburlesque in this context could further our understanding of subcultural identity to include the nuanced interrelationship between mainstream commodity culture and the formation and survival of subcultural groups and styles.

---

### **Punks and Skins United?: Change of Relations Between Punks and Skinheads in the Former Czechoslovakia and Present-day Czech Republic.**

***Martin Hermansky & Hedvika Novotna, Charles University, Czech Republic - martin.hermansky@fhs.cuni.cz and hedvika.novotna@fhs.cuni.cz***

The paper will focus on change of relations between punks and skinheads since their emergence in former Czechoslovakia until now. The first punks appeared in the former Czechoslovakia in the late 1970s and 1980s. In the half of 1980s, the first skinheads emerged amongst punks as a kind of small and unique part of contemporary punk scene. From these beginnings, sub-cultural ideologies of both groups were blurred and vague, in part because of

the lack of information about both subcultures due to existence of "the Iron Curtain". Relatively harmonic relations started to radicalize and change rapidly after "the Velvet Revolution" in 1989 leading to split of both subcultures. At least for the first half of 1990s, both subcultures opposed each other and were perceived as adversaries. Only in the late 1990s did an apolitical current of skinheads, drawing on traditional skinhead values, and a section of punks started to sympathise with each other again (although on different basis). This lead, in some cases, to a hybridization of these subculturalists as some of the punks and skinheads transformed into "skunks".

Using this example of changing relations, we would like to ask a question as to what extent a subcultural identity formed by subcultural style and/or subcultural ideology. And also how different accents placed on one or another creates such configurations that significantly influence the character of the subculture and possibly also its relations to another subculture. We will use the traditional concept of subculture (as defined by CCCS scholars) as an analytic tool, but at the same time we will try to critically assess its analytic potential for studying contemporary sub-cultural formations characterized by its fluidity and hybridity.

---

### **Women Heavy Metal Fans: Subcultures, Scenes, Fans and Community.**

***Rosemary Hill, University of York, UK - rlh504@york.ac.uk***

Drawing on my research into the experiences of British women heavy metal fans, I argue that commonly used terms for investigating metal fans as a group are insufficient to examine women metal fans' experiences. I propose a term that enables discussion of a wider range of fan activities and acknowledges the group's ideologies. Set within the contexts of contemporary debates about the inclusivity of metal, and about the usefulness of particular theoretical terms for understanding the experiences of music lovers, I posit that a theory of metal fans as a group must be able to account for how participation in the fan group enhances pleasure for women fans, but also how the group's ideology limits women's participation. Building upon work by feminist popular music theorists, I argue that terms commonly used – fans, scene and subculture – are inherently skewed towards male fans, meaning that women fans are diminished. I look to the term community, as used in discussions of science fiction fans, and conclude that it enables a consideration of a broader range of fan experiences and may be transferred to music fans. However, the term often hides the ways in which communities subordinate women and silence dissent, and must be cracked open to reveal this gender blindness. Anderson's imagined community can be adapted to do this, enabling the consideration of how women fans imagine the metal community, thus allowing for a discussion of the community's gendered ideology and acknowledging the real pleasures for women in sharing their fandom.

---

### **Ageing and Spectacular 'Youth Culture': Continuity, Change and Community Amongst Older Goths.**

***Paul Hodkinson, University of Surrey, UK - p.hodkinson@surrey.ac.uk***

This paper explores the continuing involvement in youth music and style cultures of older participants. It does so by synthesising some of the findings of existing studies with original qualitative research findings on ageing and identity in the goth scene. Rather than regarding continuing participation as an extension of youth, the focus here is on the ways continuing participation in the goth scene accompanied and was reconciled with material, domestic and physical elements of developing adult lives. Through reference to the case study, I emphasize

the ways the experience of ageing for long-term music and style culture participants can constitute a collective, generational experience.

---

**Youth, Subculture and Social Class: Qualitative Research in an Urban School.**

***Sumi Hollingworth, London Metropolitan University, UK -  
s.hollingworth@londonmet.ac.uk***

Within sociology, and specifically within feminist education research, there has been much work to put social class back on the agenda in theorising the persistently unequal, yet complex and fragmented, neo-liberal times in which we live. Recently, scholars such as Chris Griffin; Tracy Shildrick and Rob MacDonald have called for a bridge between such work and (youth) subcultural studies, in particular.

Drawing on empirical research on young people's friendships in one London secondary school, this paper examines the subcultural groupings in the school, as identified by the young people interviewed. Through an analysis of the three main subcultural groups or 'cliques' identified in the school: the 'smokers'; the 'football crowd' and the 'quiet group', I want to explore the complex ways in which (in this case study) urban young people's school-based subcultural groups are structured and mediated by social class (race and gender) and begin to draw out the implications for understanding youth identities and transitions. Following Skeggs' cultural class analysis I want to unpick how class is made through seemingly subjective 'tastes' (such as music), interests (such as sport) and 'surface' signifiers read on the body, such as clothing and hairstyle. Further, I want to explore how different intersections of class, race and gender carry different value within these groups, positioning the diverse young people differently in relation to a host of power relations.

---

**Archiving Subcultures Panel.**

***Rehan Hyder, University of the West of England, UK - Rehan.Hyder@uwe.ac.uk***

Subcultures leave their historical traces in a variety of ways; stylistically, experientially, textually, in image and sound, as well as in the academic and political responses that they illicit. This panel will illuminate this by looking at the implications of the ways in which subcultures have been archived. A variety of archivists will explore how their collections draws lines through and around subcultural sources. Using an object or document from their collection each archivist will suggest ways in which our understanding of subcultures can be informed by their archival collection. Not only will this provide useful examples of archival holdings that may support researchers working on subcultures, and suggest how subcultures have been redefined by the processes of archiving, this panel also raises the possibility of reading archives as subcultures.

---

**'Wot Do U Call It?': Is Grime Music Criminal or Commercial?**

***Jonathan Ilan, University of Kent, UK - J.Ilan@kent.ac.uk***

Originating in the disadvantaged estates of London's East End in 2001, 'grime' music is Britain's answer to hip-hop: a unique form of street cultural expression and aesthetics rooted in the lived experience of marginalisation. Its subsequent development has been marked variously by commercial success and criminalising reactions from state and industry actors. This raises issues relating to the commodification of transgression within the subcultural industries in an era where technology provides a platform for the production of sophisticated audio-visual street level cultural expression. There is an increasing blurring of lines between

real crime, its mediated representation and subcultures which draw on its aesthetic. Given this, artistes such as Dizzee Rascal and Tinie Tempah feature prominently in the pop charts through adopting polished production values and eschewing street orientated themes in favour of more universal tropes. On the other hand, the police are said to have effectively banned more 'traditional' grime artistes from touring. The commodification of grime has defied the conventional marketisation of urban music: "the more 'ghetto' the music, the greater its ability to court controversy and generate record sales". This paper reflects on how these developments reflect the industry nous of grime artistes and contrasts this to the risk aversion and lack of subcultural acumen demonstrated by the established policing and industry authorities, commenting on the nature of cultural inclusion and exclusion in contemporary Britain.

---

**'Brown on the Inside and Brightly Clashing Colors on the Outside': Exploring Style and Identity Construction among the South African Smarteez.**

***Guillaume Johnson and Marike Venter, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa - guillaume.johnson@wits.ac.za***

This paper explores the discourse on style among the Smarteez, an emerging youth subculture in South Africa. Style, as a combination of a wide range of objects (e.g. clothing, music, dance styles), has become one of the most prominent means of identity expression among the youth culture (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006; Ziehe 1992; Wilska 2002). While this notion is well-explored amongst "Western" youth (see Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006), little is known about non-Western style. The term style is even rarely used in reference to non-Western cultures as the common perception is that Western style is dynamic and trend setting whereas non-Western style is merely conventional and functional (Rovine 2009). By means of several individual in-depth interviews, this research demonstrates that the Smarteez, relationship with style is consistent with post-modern consumer culture theories (Bennett 1999; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006; Maffesoli 1996; Wilska 2002). The findings are organized into four overall thematic categories, namely, style reflexivity, style switching, idealizing freedom and urbanized identities. This paper extends our understanding of style and identity formation among youth in emerging consumer markets.

---

**Dissent Across the Genres: The Blurry Line Between Folk and Punk.**

***Rylan Kafara, University of Alberta, Canada - rkafara@ualberta.ca***

Traditionally, folk and punk music were kept separate in the literary discourse. Instead of bringing to light any similarities, the differences between the two genres have been highlighted. This paper turns away from this historical framework and examines a shared sound of protest, and a mutual attitude that spans across genres.

Musicians such as Woody Guthrie have been forced into the literary narrative of folk music, even if they do not neatly fit. When looking at methods of dissent, Guthrie has more in common with later punk musicians as they share a similar style of resistance. Most revealingly, those following in Guthrie's footsteps have been excluded from the folk discourse, such as Joey "Shithead" Keithley and Tom Morello as the Nightwatchman. This paper contends with the notion of genre categorization and in doing so specifically calls into question how dissent has been labelled. By stressing connections, a counter-history is uncovered that raises questions about the relationship between music and society, and the way it is perceived in academia and popular culture.

---

### **Between Thompsonization and Serbian Folk.**

***Frane Karabatic, University of Zagreb, Croatia - frane.karabatic@gmail.com***

The popularity of Serbian folk singers and the Croatian rock singer Thompson (a veteran of the volunteer army from the Balkan Wars of the 1990s) provides an opportunity to analyse the relationship between contemporary Croatian identity, popular music and political transition in Croatia during the last two decades. Thompson and Serbian folk singers like Ceca provoke agitation and intense public debate in Croatian society, revealing political opportunism, market forces and inconsistencies in the way Croats define their identity.

In the eyes of young people, Thompson is revered as a national icon who promotes patriotism, even though his songs reveal the ideology of Croatian fascists from the 1940s. His lyrics, black clothing, Nazi salute and Ustashi symbols and slogans have the tacit support of the leading political party in Croatia. His young fans are ignorant of history and the meaning of these emblems. Nevertheless, they will proudly, even euphorically embrace the singer's ideology and identify themselves with Ustashi.

Regarding the Serbian folk singers, who are generally identified with the first Serbian folk star Ceca the widow of Arkan, a notorious Serb warlord Croatian society maintains an attitude of strong animosity rooted in the still-fresh wounds of the 1990s wars. Serbian folk singers' harmless lyrics about love are extremely popular, however, and often consumed by the very same people who attend Thompson's concerts.

This paper examines the complex historical forces that have shaped the reception of these musicians, and the contemporary ideological inconsistencies and conflicts their popularity reveals.

### **From Realism to Non-Realism: A Study of the Shifting Proprietors of Bhojpuri Folk Songs.**

***Ajay Kumar, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India - ajaywordsworth@yahoo.com***

The Bhojpuri culture forms a large part of the north Indian culture. The folk songs of the Bhojpuri language contain various genres (such as Kajari, Chaita, Biraha, etc.) that are identified by their typical tones and themes. Every genre has its functionality as there are songs related to seasons, work, profession, rites of passage, fasts and festivals, devotion, and many others that reflect the social structure.

My paper will try to focus on how Bhojpuri folk songs, the erstwhile property of the folk, have travelled from realism to non-realism, to a culture industry spawned consumerist usurpation of the significant voices of the common folk by the oligopolistic forces of technology and global economy. It can be viewed as a transformation of a typically folk into a blended product of folk and popular elements resulting in homogeneity.

I will also try, to some extent, to understand the global and glocal implications of this industry in this hybrid game of mutual interpellation. No doubt, Bhojpuri songs have been co-opted into a number of Bollywood movies forming both global and glocal markets. As a result, the generic typicality of folk songs is vanishing day by day and the "public sphere," to use Jurgen Habermas's term, which gave people ample space for public discourses in the past, has disappeared. Moreover, I will also try to focus on how each genre has its own assigned tone and theme.

**‘Punk Belongs to the Punx, Not Business Men!’: DIY Punk as Resistance.**

**Michelle Liptrot, University of Bolton, UK - ml1res@bolton.ac.uk**

In contemporary music culture the Do-it-Yourself (DIY) ethic of self-production is employed relatively widely. In many cases, its usage arises out of sheer necessity until a band is signed by either an independent (belonging to a major) or directly by a major record label. In either case, the aim is to be a part of the musical overground. At the opposite end of the spectrum to those who aspire to mass popularity, are those who are critical of the established order of mainstream society; or, to be more specific, of capitalism and the political system that lies at its core. These latter artists (and the music culture of which they are a part) are indicative of an ‘economic world reversed’ (Bourdieu, 1993) in that they generally oppose the musical overground, resisting what Jason Toynbee (2002) refers to as the hegemonic process of ‘mainstreaming’. Thus, the sense of autonomy that the DIY ethic provides has led to the view that ‘DIY culture is a self-proclaimed cultural movement, challenging the symbolic codes of mainstream culture’ (Purdue et al., 1997: 647). In turn, this movement is said to be made up of what George McKay (1996) describes as ‘cultures of resistance’. This paper will focus on one of these cultures: DIY punk. Drawing on research involving questionnaires, interviews, and participant observations, this paper will demonstrate the ways that those involved in the subcultural movement use DIY principles to define DIY punk as autonomous both from more commercial forms of punk music and culture, and from the ‘mainstream’. In line with this, it will show why participants render this autonomy as a form of resistance. By exploring some of the factors that contribute to the continuity of DIY punk, this paper will also discuss the limitations of DIY punk’s autonomy.

---

**Soldiers of Albion: English Black Metal, Northern Man and the Warrior Narrative.**

**Caroline Lucas, University of Leeds, UK - carolinelucas@hotmail.co.uk**

‘Among the contort roots,  
Of English Oaks,  
In the caverns of the northern kingdom,  
Dwells the sleeping army.’

[Lyrics from the song ‘The Ghost of Heritage’ by Chris Naughton, from the album *The Ghost of Heritage* by Winterfylleth (2008, Profound Lore Records)]

Heavy metal’s production of archetypal gender identifications has been widely discussed since the early days of metal scholarship. A thematic analysis of black metal music currently being produced by bands in England reveals a clear and distinctive narrative of masculinity. This paper will explore visual representations of gender within the album art work and design content of a number of current bands, and a comparison will be made between this and the spectacle of live performance. This discussion will be positioned in relation to the wider context of the European extreme metal scene.

The recurring figure of the warrior will be examined, alongside a consideration of its role in the mythical imagining of the individual as a member of a gendered collective, or ‘brotherhood’. The fantasy of power and violence presented in this imagery draws on a martial romanticism, which evokes place and contributes to the construction of identifications of belonging. Drawing on some interview data collected from band members, and looking more broadly at the thematic and ideological concerns of these bands will enable reflection on the function of this imagery within narratives of heritage and place. This paper will discuss the perception of the mythology presented within English black metal, as symbolic of contemporary battles for power and belonging in contemporary English society.

**Playing A-Minor in the Punk Scene?: Exploring the Articulation of Identity by Older Women Punks.**

**Laura Manicom, Grantham College, UK - lway@grantham.ac.uk**

Employing qualitative interviewing, this MA research explored how older women punks articulated a punk identity. This exploration focused on a sample of four older women punks and considered issues such as ageing, belonging, femininity and resistance. Due to the small-scale nature of the research the aim was for it to provide illuminations rather than generalisations and the paper will concentrate on those that came to light.

**Bodgies, Widgies and Milkbar Cowboys: Postwar Youth Subcultures in Aotearoa, New Zealand.**

**Tony Mitchell, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia - Tony.Mitchell@uts.edu.au**

Bodgies and widgies were an Australasian youth subculture adapted from British teddy boys, while milkbar cowboys were more US-influenced leather-clad bikers who congregated in milkbars with jukeboxes (still known in New Zealand as 'dairies') and other music dives. They were often accompanied by 'pillion pussies', and drank Bermuda bombers (Bacardi and coke) or 'bodgies' blood' – a mixture of raspberry syrup and soda water (Yska, 1993: 172). They sported Brylcreemed ducktails, ponytails, beehives, stovepipe trousers, straight skirts, hipster jeans, and 'brothel creeper' crepe-soled shoes. These youth cultures generated moral panics in the 1950s, particularly in the local scandal rag the NZ Truth, and especially in connection with two murders in 1955, one with a shotgun in the notorious Auckland Somervells milkbar, the other by a 'bodgie jukebox killer' at Ye Olde Barn, also in Auckland. This paper examines studies of these youth subcultures by the Auckland psychologist A.E.Manning, psychology students at Canterbury University, Christchurch – both regarded them in terms of abnormal psychology – and by the visiting US anthropologist David Ausubel, who was mainly concerned with defusing the effects of exaggerated newspaper reports in New Zealand which blamed US delinquent teenage gang culture as portrayed in the 1955 film *Blackboard Jungle* on the rise of delinquency. Manning concluded that they were 'not typical of the social fester we call delinquency', but rather 'the active boils on the body of society and the tragically unhappy ones of this generation ... Their wildness, their vandalism, and their immorality are a revenge' (Manning 1958:89).

**'A Proper Knees-Up?': Music, Respectability and the English Public House, c. 1920-70.**

**Stella Moss, University of Oxford, UK - stella.moss@history.ox.ac.uk**

The public house has long been at the heart of English popular culture, and has, in recent years, received increasing attention from scholars in various fields including history, geography and sociology. The important role of music remains, however, a neglected theme. In addressing this lacuna, this paper illuminates the vitality and variety of musical traditions in the twentieth-century pub. Particular attention is paid to interconnected influence of class, gender and generation in the formation and development of differing musical subcultures. In many communities pub-based musical cultures retained a varied, even at times ambiguous, reputation. In the interwar 'traditional' street-corner pub, the presence of a piano was a widely recognised symbol of 'best room' respectability, but communal sing-songs in the male-occupied vault would often veer towards the bawdy. While these traditions

remained significant in the postwar period, the increasing importance of the youth market meant that many landlords were prepared to offer an evening's entertainment featuring more modern commercialised acts than those commonly sought by older generations. Notwithstanding these varied forms, pub music typically fostered an atmosphere of community bonding, consolidating the role of the public house as a cornerstone of popular recreation. In illuminating these issues, this paper points to the significance of pubs and pub music in forging identities via cultures of consumption and networks of sociability, thereby expanding understandings of twentieth-century subcultures and their wider social significance.

---

### **Ibiza: A Journey Through British Youth Culture.**

***Kate O'Brien, University of Kent, UK - k.l.obrien@kent.ac.uk***

This paper draws on a research project for a documentary commissioned by the BBC for Radio 4. The programme presents an historical and sociologically informed account of young British people's relationship with the Balearic island of Ibiza. Drawing on interviews with house DJ's, music producers, club operators and licensees, and ethnographic fieldwork carried out in San Antonio Bay, Ibiza during the summer of 2011, this paper will present a critical examination of the place and meaning of 'clubbing' for young Brits who holiday in Ibiza. The main argument of the paper will be to demonstrate that although young Brits are attracted to the island's iconic super clubs such as Pacha and Space, and the 'superstar' DJ's they associate with the heyday of Britain's dance scene, it is the availability of cheap alcohol and the promise of all-night drinking that pulls in the crowds today. The bay of San Antonio represents the 'pleasure dome' on the island of Ibiza and is an urban space where we can observe most convincingly the various ways in which the island's promise of pleasure and hedonism have become commercialised. I will also reflect on the process of making a documentary and consider the role of radio documentary as an academic enterprise.

---

### **DIY and Independence: Changing Philosophies in Post-Punk Music.**

***Alex Ogg - alex.ogg90@ntlworld.com***

The breakthrough of punk resulted in unique opportunities for a disparate variety of individuals to develop their own creative industries outside of conventional music business structures. While most of the punk bands signed to major labels, a grass roots, nationwide explosion of independent labels, galvanised by the new climate of DIY, was arguably punk's most telling legacy. This built into a collective ethos, enshrined by the formation of a distribution spine, the Cartel. However, ultimately this avowedly politicised movement was traduced from one promoting a wide variety of styles and modes of communication to become the diminutive 'indie', indicative of a much narrower musical template almost wholly subservient to market branding.

The roots of independent music, a discrete but complimentary tributary to the post-punk discourse, lay in the UK label boom of the late 70s (as differentiated from earlier independent models such as Immediate, Virgin and Island, which exerted influence on this period but betray readily separable trajectories). Each of the new upstarts was directly motivated by punk's liberating thrust, but almost universally they were founded by an older generation with a predisposition to prior musical movements or counter-cultural politics, alongside renegades from the corporate record business itself. Several took the stance that, as thematically and ideologically challenging as punk was, its musical values were ultimately conservative. But all grasped the window of opportunity punk presented to involve

themselves in the process of releasing recorded music; just as punk artists had been liberated by new-found notions of access and possibility.

The mutations were as numerically staggering as the music they produced was challenging. The *Zig Zag Small Labels Catalogue* listed 231 independent labels in 1978; by its 1980 edition there were more than 800. Cheap recording and production facilities powered the phenomenon but the motives behind it were varied; the links to Thatcherite entrepreneurship were self-evident if rarely acknowledged. Some labels were driven by auteurs with highly stylised aesthetic criteria, others by a political agenda or naked opportunism. Many simply existed as a means of memorialising a moment in time (two of the most epochal independent releases, Buzzcocks' 'Spiral Scratch' and the Undertones' 'Teenage Kicks', are specific examples).

The most famous names to emerge from this era include Stiff, Chiswick, Rough Trade, Mute, Beggars Banquet/4AD, Crass, Fast Product, Postcard and Factory. Beneath those standard bearers were hundreds of lesser known labels, some never releasing more than one 7-inch single. Each had a unique back-story but the sense of shared adventure and common purpose was evident. An effort was made to provide this nebulous movement with a formal structure as Rough Trade set up its alternative distribution model, the ironically titled Cartel.

By the time the Cartel collapsed in 1991, the ethos of independent music had already substantially shifted as 'indie' became a generic descriptive distinct from its etymology (while the gradations of 'independence', themselves fiercely debated and defended, had themselves been compromised by necessary acts of preservation or intervention involving 'majors'). The most pertinent example came when Geoff Travis of Rough Trade and Mike Alway at Cherry Red started a new venture with Warner Brothers, Blanco y Negro, which formed a template for the subsequent explosion of 'faux-indies' underwritten by majors.

The 'failure' of the independent model of the late 70s and early 80s provokes contested debate. Measuring any success by the quantity or quality of artists (and key personnel) who gravitated from the independent nursery is only a small part of this fertile movement's true historical value. Of greater import are the lessons it imparts about the nature of independent endeavour in cultural industry and how close it came to realising its objectives of providing an alternative means of disseminating original thought and creativity.

---

**Maija Popular Music as a Tool for Social Change in the Niger Delta Area of Nigeria.**  
**Albert Oikelome, University of Lagos, Nigeria - oikelomealbert@yahoo.com**

Popular music plays a fundamental role in Africa as it epitomizes the widespread system of cultural evolution and development in the musical art. Over the years, several scholars have contemplated the role of music in both inciting and resolving a spectrum of social and political conflicts in the contemporary world. This paper therefore explores the use of hip hop music for the direct pursuit of peace, in terms of effecting reconciliation between groups in conflict and of inculcating values and non-violent behaviour in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria. The intensifying conflicts in the oil rich delta area in Nigeria has become a subject of discourse in both private and public sphere. This paper will examine the ways popular music artistes in Nigeria have used the culture and poetics of hip hop music to combat the increased criminalization of the region. It will further investigate the numerous avenues employed by the artistes in placating the war driven militants on the need to sheath their swords and embrace peaceful dialogue. Drawing on communication and cultural studies theory, this study provides a content analysis of selected hip hop lyrics relating to the subject of peace and conflict resolution in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Through an

interpretative lens, the study identifies specific themes and explores how these lyrics relate to issues of peace, love and tolerance in the troubled Niger Delta area in Nigeria.

---

### **A Concrete Sense of Place: Sound, the City, Environmental Alienation in the Work of John Cooper-Clarke.**

**John Parham, University of Worcester, UK - [j.parham@worc.ac.uk](mailto:j.parham@worc.ac.uk)**

David Ingram's recent book *The Jukebox in the Garden* and a forthcoming issue of the journal *Green Letters* have been opening up the ecocritical study of popular music. Working within the (largely US) perspectives of 'environmental justice ecocriticism', this paper will explore the work of the 'punk-poet' John Cooper-Clarke to argue that environmental alienation was one of the ways in which punk registered its own more pervasive sense of injustice and alienation.

The paper will connect cultural studies of place/environment in popular music with ecocritical arguments that stress the centrality of place to identity and the importance of sound towards articulating a sense of place. In particular, the paper will explore recurring motifs of the city, street, pollution, and the body to question the long established idea of punk as a 'spectacular subculture' representative of "the death of an aesthetics based on [...] the 'authentic'" (Iain Chambers) and, rather, to present punk as an example of what Lawrence Buell has termed 'toxic discourse'.

Building upon my own recent work on X-Ray Spex, The Jam and The Saints, the textual analysis comprising the body of this paper will consider Cooper-Clarke's work – perhaps, notably, 'Beasley Street' – and will argue that in three main ways punk sought literally to embody its environment: through sound, or sonic effect, looking at the lack of conventional harmony and structure, and various alienating devices; lyrics; and vocal delivery (regionalized, working-class accents coupled with aggressiveness/alienation of tone).

---

### **The Development of Dance Music Subculture in Lithuania.**

**Tomas Peckys, University of London, UK - [peckys.tomas@googlemail.com](mailto:peckys.tomas@googlemail.com)**

In this conference, I will offer sociological study of dance music and related subcultural movements in Lithuania. One of the aims of my research is to explore how dance music subcultures in Lithuania are different from the ones in the West. Based on participant observation, interviews and historical analysis, I will provide a detailed examination of the origins and the local meanings of dance music, discotheques, and raves as well as the countercultural/subcultural ways of life of its participants. The analysis takes into account the Soviet period dating 1976 – 1989 and post-Soviet epoch relating to 1990 – 2010. My aim is to answer the questions such as what were the experiences and significances of dancing in discotheques and later in clubs and raves? What was the role of music, and why dance music in particular was so important to the members of this particular subculture? In addition, I will discuss the impact of ruling regime on the development of Lithuanian dance culture. I will argue that discotheques became central spheres used by young people to express their attitudes towards the regime. In this respect, discotheque culture was one of the political spheres for youth to resist against the Soviet regime. Finally, I will analyze Lithuanian dance culture's connection with the West and the impact of capitalism and rave subculture on the Lithuanian club model.

---

### **Raising the Pink Flag: Gender and Sexual Revolution in the Post-Punk Community**

***Tessa Petrocco, The New School, USA - t.petrocco@gmail.com***

To most of those involved in or aware of the hardcore punk movement in the 1980s, it has been seen as a primarily white, working-to-middle class, male-dominated community. However, with the rise of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and third-wave feminist communities in the mid-1980s and early 1990s, minorities in the hardcore cultural scene took charge with the creation of the queercore and riot-grrrl movements. "Raising the Pink Flag: Sexual Revolution in the Post-Hardcore Community" takes a step back to when the movements were established, focusing on their notable founders, and follows them on their journey towards equality via zines, music and other forms of activism. This article will also explore what impact these movements have made on the current generation and how their legacies will continue.

### **The Calypso: Popular Caribbean Music and Social Change.**

***Everard Phillips - everard.phillips@gmail.com***

The calypso, which forms an integral part of the cultural carnival celebration of many Caribbean communities in the Diaspora, is a syncretic popular art form that has its origin in Africa.

Recording as it does some of the experience from my extensive ethnographic research completed at the LSE, the principal objective of this presentation is to illuminate key processes that underlie the approach by calypsonians, as agents of social change. This presentation will make a significant contribution to the fields of popular music.

The presentation will:

- argue that Calypsonians, who use a localised language, that is steeped in colloquialisms to sing on prevailing local, socio-political and economic ills, function as liminal-servants in an Indigenous Non-Formal Community Process that can bring about Social Change
- illustrate the philosophical, literary and cultural points of references for the management of Social Change in Caribbean Communities.

In doing so it will expose aspects of those calypsos that offer commentary on socio-political and/or economic issues, recognising them as bedded in the popular practice of ritual resistance.

Through achieving the objectives set out above it will intrinsically show how cultural practices and popular narratives feed into and influences Social Change through the medium of the Calypso.

### **Jazz and the First Polish Subculture: Art as an Act of Resistance During the Stalin Era.**

***Igor Pietraszewski, University of Wroclaw, Poland - igorpietraszewski@poczta.onet.pl***

The Stalinist years of 1948-1956 in Poland were a time of communist totalitarianism which prohibited any form of activity not conforming to the government's preferred ideology. Despite the fact that jazz existed in Poland from the 1920's, it was precisely during this era that jazz gained its identity. The myth of jazz as a music of resistance, was born. At the same time the first Polish subculture appeared, linked to jazz "bikiniarze" (zoot suits). Musicians as

well as the jazz public came to represent a specific protest against the state-imposed model of cultural politics (socialist realism). According to communist ideologists, art was meant to be a propaganda tool in the fight against American imperialism and “bourgeois culture”. Dancing and listening to jazz were considered a sign of support for a hostile ideology. For this reason the jazz establishment was excluded from state patronage; barely tolerated, it was viewed at best, with unhelpful neutrality but more often with suspicion. The jazz world existed „alongside” the official cultural model and its protagonists for whom the regime saw no function, were considered non-conformists, outsiders in relation to the realities of social, political and institutional life. There evolved an image (only partly true) of persecuted jazzmen being more open to a non-socialist world and society. This group evoked public outrage and was demonstrated as an example of disease and hooliganism; the media condemned the growth of “jazz and pornography” and these phenomena were treated as the result of a fascination with “rotten bourgeois culture”.

---

**'Militant Entertainment'?: (Sub)Cultural Production of Music, Ephemera and Style as Politics in the Emergent 'Structure of Feeling', 1977-81.**

***Herbert Pimlott, Laurier University, Canada - hpimlott@wlu.ca***

This paper explores the potential of the D-I-Y sub-cultural production of music, ephemera and style as a means of understanding the 'emergent' (resistant, alternative) 'structure of feeling' of the late 1970s and early 1980s. This paper challenges the almost 'mythical' acceptance of conventional (political) histories covering this period that appear to play down or dismiss the impact of such social formations. I draw upon Raymond Williams's concepts of 'structure of feeling' and 'experience' as 'practical consciousness' to both highlight his (largely neglected) contributions to understanding the 'tone' or 'feeling' of an historical epoch and, in particular, of 'emergent' (alternative, resistant) cultures. Music, ephemera and style retain that 'structure of feeling' in their tone, affect, typeface, layout, sound, lyrics, gestures: '.thought as felt and feeling as thought.' (Williams, 1977: 132).

This paper, therefore, seeks to do three things. First, it seeks to both extend and develop Raymond Williams's concept of 'structure of feeling', while acknowledging its weaknesses. Second, it recuperates those products of (sub)cultural production, largely overlooked in Williams's approach, as sources for reconstructing the 'emergent' (e.g. alternative, resistant) 'structure of feeling' of this period: the music (sound, lyrics), political ephemera (leaflets, fly-posters, graffiti, fanzines, papers) and style (clothes, badges, look, attitude). Finally, this paper will demonstrate the importance of paying closer attention to everyday life and 'meaning-making' by subcultures as a means to gain a fuller understanding of the 'structure(s) of feeling' of a period, including those that are 'emergent', whether or not they survive.

---

**Taking the Rap: Grime Lyrics, Violence, and the Law.**

***Eithne Quinn, University of Manchester, UK - Eithne.Quinn@manchester.ac.uk***

In three recent murder cases in London, prosecution counsels presented violent 'grime' rap lyrics written by defendants as evidence of guilt. In one case, the prosecution argued that the rap lyrics found on the defendant's mobile phone were a 'blueprint' for the murder. In another, two young men had posted 'dis' raps on social networking sites, leading allegedly to violence. For the prosecution, unfamiliar with the generic codes of grime rap, little if any distinction was drawn between the author and first-person narrator of the rhymes. On

conviction in one case, the Daily Mail headline read: “Rapper Jailed for Life for Machine Gun Murder.”

As author of a scholarly book on gangsta rap, I acted as an expert witness for the defence in the three trials. I found that these cases slice into longstanding critical questions to do with music subcultures: the correlation, if any, between violent music and violent deed; the discursive construction of subcultures by ideological and repressive state structures; the role of new technologies in the making and dissemination of subcultural music; the connection between lack of life chances and investment in subcultural capital and in boastful ‘badman’ personas.

This paper makes two broad arguments, which both arise from the disjuncture between legal and scholarly discourses. First, in contrast to the careful methods scholars routinely use to determine meaning in music subcultures, legal arguments can be surprisingly crude, and can have important consequences for individuals. Inversely, where cultural studies scholars might stress the artistry and social critique (as well as, to be sure, well-worn generic features) of the grime lyrics in question, real-world legal cases force us to reckon with uncomfortable dimensions of musical power relations.

---

**The Sanitizing of the Profane: Censorship and the Bharanipaatu\* and its Entry into Mainstream Malayalam Music.**

***Shweta Radhakrishnan, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, India - shweta.rkn@gmail.com***

\*Lewd, sexually explicit songs sung during the annual temple festival in Kerala, India.

Tucked away in Kerala (India), is a little village called Kodungalloor. Every summer, this village becomes a site for a very interesting ritual. An annual festival called the Bharani is held in the Kodungalloor Devi Temple, every March. The devotees who attend this festival are all lower caste Hindus and their yearly pilgrimage is peppered with music and dance. Their songs called bharanipaatu are filled with expletives, innuendos and explicit sexual references are sung by both men and women who dedicate these ‘filthy’ songs to the Goddess they adore. However, over the years, there has been a movement to ban this festival and censor the bharanipaatu. It is here that I must add that the move to sanitize this festival has been spearheaded by a mainly upper caste Hindu crowd with very different ideas of devotion and sanctity and profanity.

As the censors tighten their noose around the bharanipaatu, the music has begun to find its own escape. The music of the subaltern has now entered mainstream Malayalam music. Tunes of the bharanipaatu are now used in movies. Religious music has a huge audience in India and the sanitized versions of the bharanipaatu are a huge hit with the religious crowd. This paper seeks to understand the complex struggle that the ‘original’ singers/musicians of the bharanipaatu engage in to retain the true essence of the form in the face of censorship and commercial compulsions. How they negotiate between popularizing the form without deviating too far from the original intent? And how do censorship, the demands of the popular music market and the aspirations of the producers of this music, affect the music itself?

---

### **Subcultural Citizenship in Electronic Dance Music Scenes.**

**Rosa Reitsamer, Institute for Music Sociology, University of Music and performing Arts, Vienna, Austria - [rosa@female-consequences.org](mailto:rosa@female-consequences.org)**

Based on empirical research on the career paths of electronic dance music DJs in Vienna, Austria, my paper explores the practices of cultural production, agency, and social and political participation of DJs, as a basis for acquiring of what I will call 'subcultural citizenship'. Following a brief discussion of neoliberal restructuring in (youth) citizenship discourses and drawing upon an understanding of 'cultural citizenship' that stresses the importance of (youth) culture for the articulation of identity and belonging as well as for participation and personal responsibility, I will introduce the concept of 'subcultural citizenship'. This concept highlights the informal and experimental dimensions that allow DJs and other (sub)cultural producers in electronic dance music scenes to act in the role of citizens, as well as what it means for (sub)cultural producers to belong to society and how their cultural practices are linked to civil society beyond nationality and rights, but in the context of globalisation. In particular I will present three aspects of 'subcultural citizenship' being exhibited by DJs in electronic dance music scenes in Vienna: The first comprises the diverse strategies of informal learning for engaging in the (sub)cultural production of music; the second aspect has to do with the meaning of subcultural style and the third manifests itself in the development of local, translocal and virtual networks through which national identity and citizenship are questioned and collective forms of participation in civil society are tested in order to re-invent a new notion of citizenship.

---

### **The Bad Trip: Neo-Psychedelic Art and the 'End of the Sixties'.**

**James Riley, University of Cambridge, UK - [rjer2@cam.ac.uk](mailto:rjer2@cam.ac.uk)**

In 2003 Loog Records released *Panic Movement* by the American rock band, The Hiss. The title was a reference to *Mouvement panique*, a performance collective active between 1962-1973 that involved the artists Fernando Arrabal, Alexandro Jodowrowsky and Roland Topor. *Mouvement panique* devised confrontational 'happenings' designed to affront the petit bourgeoisie sensibilities of Surrealist art. The group performed throughout the sixties before developing their ideas into other media, notably Jodowrowsky's films *El Topo* (1970) and *The Holy Mountain* (1973). Whilst the conventional, college rock of The Hiss failed to conjure the creative chaos of *panique*, the album's cover art with its swirling collage of snakes, bikers, skulls and military insignia offered an accurate visual evocation of the group's performances. Examination of the promotional artwork produced by associated post-millennial 'Neo-Psychedelic' bands reveals the use of comparable themes and imagery. Steve Quenell's cover for *Heavy Deavy Skull Lover* (2007) by The Warlocks and Rob Fitzpatrick's 'Space Skull' posters made for The Black Angels create a visual language of death, transformation and (oc)cult activity. Complimenting the musical pastiche executed by the bands themselves, these motifs accumulate reference points associated with the 'End of the Sixties', the micro-narrative of apocalypse and violence that permeates the representation and reception of certain late-sixties cultural events and artefacts, such as Jodorowsky's nihilistic 'acid westerns' and the enduring connection between 'Gimme Shelter' and Atlamont, 'Helter Skelter' and the Manson murders.

Through a close analysis of the distinctive visuals that characterise 'Neo-Psychedelia' as a sub-genre of contemporary rock 'n' roll, this paper seeks to map and interrogate the 21st century appropriation of iconic subcultural signifiers. If we are to see the sixties as a deeply resonant 'long decade', this paper considers some of the strategies motivating, and the implications emerging from, its persistent extension.

### **The Impact of European Artists on Global Trance Music.**

***Johannes Ripken, Northstar Connection - info@nc-music.net***

Aim.

The aim of this research is to analyse the impact of European artists on the global Trance music by investigating historical and recent developments in this music scene. The objectives to achieve this aim are:

- To analyse history and backgrounds of Trance music.
- To investigate artists, record labels, events, and other business participants of Trance music.
- To determine recent charts and rankings of the Trance music scene.

Context.

Trance is a global club music scene, which evolved since the early 1990s. Differently to other music genres, not the USA is the leading country in this kind of music. Trance music first appeared in Germany, evolved within Europe, and has developed a global impact nowadays. Although this music has a global fan base, mainly artists from Europe become popular in this music scene.

The analysis of the scene and business landscape, including artists, labels, events, charts, and rankings will reveal the reasons for the strong impact of Europe on this culture.

Methodology.

This research is based on a comprehensive literature review on the Trance music scene and culture. Further, the business landscape and several relevant charts and rankings are analysed and compared to provide an overview on the current music scene.

### **Activist Subcultures?: In Search of a Method for Analysing the Culture of Anti-Capitalist Social Movements.**

***Asia Rutkowska - asiarutkowska@gmail.com***

The concept of culture is one of the most vaguely defined within social theory. Its multiple understandings and definitions offered by various disciplines, along with its lack of clear and well developed research techniques, results in multiple focal points that guide research practices.

This paper offers a brief synopsis of the theoretical and methodological perspectives for examining the culture of social movements offered by anthropology, social movement studies and cultural studies. It explores the potentials and limitations of each approach and attempts to bridge them in search of a method for the study of socio-cultural dynamics, cultural practice and the aesthetics of contemporary post-anarchist / anti-capitalist social movements.

### **Glam Men: Popular Music and Alternative Masculinity.**

***Natasza Sakson - natasza.sakson@gmail.com***

Popular music, as a widely spread medium, often tackles issues beyond pure entertainment and gender is one of them. Since 1970s and the rise of glam rock, through glam metal in 1980s, up to post-2000 era of indie and emo bands and various artists like Tokio Hotel and Justin Bieber, the question of presentation of masculinity in popular media has been put

forward. Not only did those artists oppose the stereotypical male image, but also encouraged a number of fans and followers to free themselves from harmful stereotypes within safe convention of “fandom”. As role models for young generation of fans, they showed the alternative image of masculinity and put forward the marginalized masculinities (as opposed to hegemonic masculinity, concept of R.W. Connell). Musicians with extraordinary image, which blurs gender boundaries, are also a fine and vivid example of gender performativity (J. Butler) and make the concept easier to understand and maybe apply (in adequate scale, of course) in everyday life.

---

**‘Elsewhere / Elsewhen’: The Subversion of Space in Rave Culture.**

***Evie Salmon, University of Cambridge, UK - evie@eviesalmon.co.uk***

The 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act introduced by the then Home Secretary Michael Howard, contained a contentious and oft-quoted definition of ‘music’ as ‘sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats’. Within this remit, sections 63-65 of the Act were aimed at the prohibition of ‘raves’, large-scale, semi-spontaneous outdoor parties. Between 1989 and 1993, these events had become the most visible element of the underground Acid House movement in the UK. Taking as a starting point this attempt to ring-fence the rave through legislature and to define the parameters of its ‘transgression’, I wish in this paper to investigate and evaluate the status of the rave as an event which creates, in performance, a potentially subversive space. With reference to classic texts by Ivan Chtcheglov and Hakim Bey that informed the metaphorical conceptualization of the movement, the argument will initially consider the efficacy of perceiving raves as events that ‘reclaim’ such utilitarian spaces as warehouses and farmland. This analysis will then lead into a consideration of the rave as a social space. Working with literary representations, documented accounts and interview material, the paper will engage with the often utopian discourse that colours accounts of the scene. From here, the aim will be to assess the extent to which the discernable practices and conventions of the rave constituted an equalising social ‘zone’.

When positioned in the light of the media-prompted Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, the counterargument to assess in parallel to this analysis will be the suggestion that the subversion of the rave was a legitimising projection of the Act itself. Overall then, this paper considers the feasibility of defining that which is identified as sub/cultural as automatically sub/versive.

---

**Updated Urban Cultural Expressions in Catalonia: Barcelona's Rumba Subculture in the XXI Century.**

***Pablo Santcovsky, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain - pablo.santcovsky@uab.cat***

In the late forties, during the Spanish post-civil-war period, it births what is known as Rumba Catalana, a new sound coming out from the contact between Catalan Gipsies and Afro-Cuban combos that performed in night clubs in Barcelona at the time. Its own identity as a musical style and cultural movement, make the Rumba Catalana one of the cultural and musical expressions with urban grassroots more recently established in Europe. Over sixty years later, after decades excluded by cultural elites, this urban folklore has become a symbol of “mestizaje” (miscegenation) and has gained widespread social recognition.

In this paper we show a first approximation of the keys of this process, through a mostly qualitative and multimethod research device. The first results show how the catalan rumba

has become an intergenerational social movement with its own aesthetics in recent years. It brings together more than ever a lot of young people of catalan origin. On the one hand we can observe the permanent growing creation of new bands from non-gipsy Catalans (“païos”) and the emergence of new associations and organizations, websites and fanzines, as well as concert halls and shows programmed weekly. Even the old “rumberos” are gathered in this phenomenon. Rumba Catalana is a bilingual cultural expression par excellence; it stands as one of the more inclusive cultural mechanisms of Catalan society in recent times.

---

**A Golden Lemon for Discursive Defiance: Discursive Hegemony and Subversion – a Critical Discourse Analysis View on Punk.**

***Melanie Schroeter, University of Reading, UK - m.schroeter@reading.ac.uk***

This paper proposes to contribute to the theme from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective. Within CDA, discourse is understood to at the same time constitute and reinforce social reality by symbolic interaction in social contexts (Jäger/Maier 2009: 37). Critical discourse analysis is concerned with the notion of power (cf. van Dijk 2008); how discourse defines the boundaries of the sayable, how hegemonic discourse makes some voices heard and some perspectives known whereby ignoring others that become marginalised or even tabooed. Where subversive discourse deliberately undermines or denies the perspectives presumed by hegemonic discourse, this has to be seen as an attempt at promoting change of discourse as social practice. It is surprising that subversive discourse remain rather neglected in the broad variety of CDA-based empirical studies. “Critical language awareness” as promoted by Fairclough (1995) can be fostered not only by critically analysing texts that represent hegemonic discourse, but also by looking at subversive practices attempted in subcultures like e.g. Punk – where the lack, or refusal, of symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991) seems to become a prerequisite for free expression. With this in mind, song lyrics of the Hamburg-based (post) Punk band Die Goldenen Zitronen (“The Golden Lemons”) (1984ff.) will be analysed (in translation). The analysis will show how – among other aspects – the lyrics of the band engage in subversive discourse. It will also look at how the band promotes and reacts to social change by adjusting their critique to changing issues and changing social contexts.

---

**The Birth of British ‘Metapolitical Fascist’ Music.**

***Anton Shekhovtsov, George Bell Institute, UK - anton.shekhovtsov@gmail.com***

The paper explores the origins, ideology and initial development of a particular type of far right music, which I term “metapolitical fascist”. The bands and artists, who started to play this type of music in the 1980s, extensively adopted the ideas of right-wing Gramscism to diffuse the system of democratic values through a struggle for cultural hegemony. In contrast to White Power bands, who articulated a political message, “metapolitical fascist” bands moved away from the sphere of immediate politics and represented fascism’s “inner immigration” within the dominant liberal framework of contemporary Britain. The paper investigates the political and cultural background against which the first “metapolitical fascist” bands appeared. In terms of culture, this background was, in particular, characterised by the increasing politicisation of British music: the rise of the Rock against Racism campaign, and – as a reaction to this – the emergence of National Front-affiliated Rock against Communism movement. In the political sphere, the NF rapidly declined, yet the British far right movement was increasingly exposed to the ideas of Julius Evola and the European New Right, most importantly to esotericism, critique of both capitalism and communism, and ethnopluralism. The paper also focuses on the main representatives of the British music

scene, namely such Neo-Folk bands as Death in June, Sol Invictus and Fire + Ice, and considers these bands' ideological stances as revealed through music, lyrics, album and song titles, etc.

---

**'Man on the Moon': Representations of Masculinity in R.E.M.'s Music Videos.**  
*Emilee Simmons, University of Leeds, UK - dremileesimmons@gmail.com*

The notion of gender is a significant avenue of investigation when understanding the relationship between genre conventions and the formation of a band's identity. In regards to the identity of American rock group R.E.M., the visual representation of masculinity and the homosocial nature of the group played a significant role in the band's early identity and their associations to the Indie and Alternative rock genres. By highlighting a cross-section of examples within R.E.M.'s music videos (1983-1993), this paper will explore how this visual representation of masculinity contributed to R.E.M.'s identity and how it compares to the perceived notions of masculinity within their associated genres.

This notion of masculinity within the Indie and Alternative Rock genres will also be discussed as literature on the genres claim that they are more open to women participants and are less traditionally masculine. Yet is this the case and what does this mean in relation to the dynamic of an all-male band such as R.E.M.? This paper will also explore how the introduction of a female figure, either as an additional member of the band or through visual representations in their music videos, could also have a significant effect on how R.E.M.'s identity is portrayed and how this affects the homosocial identity of the band and of the genre.

---

**Not Living in the 50s: Conversations with Rockabillics, Hepcats and Teddy Boys.**  
*Stella Sims, University of Sussex, UK - S.C.Sims@sussex.ac.uk*

This paper will feature initial observations from interviews I have undertaken with individuals interested in 1950s revival culture/style. I argue that the mainstream popularity of looking back to post-war styles and culture since the 1950s has been influenced by the image of 1950s-revival subcultures, which emerged in Britain during the 1970s. While my title uses subcultural labels, these labels only serve as a way in to explore the processes by which certain individuals embrace what one could broadly call '1950s revivalist' culture and lifestyle. Most of the people I have interviewed are reluctant to identify with a specific label for their overall identity.

The use of past styles in opposition to contemporary popular tastes and fashions has been an historical feature of post-war subcultures, used a means of distinction from the mainstream in punk, teddy boy and rocker (Hebdige, 1979), as well as the youth culture of vintage clothes and the 'rag-market' more generally explored by McRobbie (1989). 1950s revivalists redeploy selective fragments of 1950s visual, material and musical culture, and I consider these elements as part of the 'relics' of history explored by David Lowenthal (1985) that circulate in everyday life in the present. What happens when relics from the 1950s are taken out of context and collide with the present? I draw on Raphael Samuel (1992) and the Popular Memory Group's (1983) theories of the relationship between past and present that forms knowledge of the past and the construction of history. I will suggest that 1950s revival culture is a salient illustration of the way 'the past' is remembered, reworked, embodied and embedded in everyday life.

---

**From the Juke Box Boys to the Bobby Sox Brigade: Female Youth, Juvenile Delinquency and Subcultural Style in Wartime Times Square.**

***Tim Snelson, University of East Anglia, UK - T.Snelson@uea.ac.uk***

In March 1944 the New York Times reported: ‘Everyone is talking about bobby socks and the bobby socks brigade.’ It continued that whilst the police had been forced to “take steps” and sociologists and ‘defenders of the home [were] calling meetings’, the bobby sock was ‘actually nothing more than an anklet.’ However, in the symbolic use of this inoffensive commodity, ‘the purchaser and her motives changes an innocent pair of anklets into a sociological problem.’ In this article the reporter alludes not only to the classic moral panic, but also characterizes the transgressive bricolage associated with post-war British subcultures. However, this paper will argue that by reorienting the historical emergence of modern youth (sub)culture from the British post-war scene to wartime America – or from Hoggart’s ‘juke box boys’ to Times Square’s ‘bobby sox brigade’ – young women become the subcultural pioneers who ‘through their distinctive rituals of consumption, challenge ‘more orthodox cultural formations.’ In this wartime period and in urban centers where war industries were located (such as New York), female youth were by far the biggest concern for media, legislators and social scientists; it was in the attempts to discipline the unruly bodies of the ‘bobby soxer’ that modern youth market emerged. This exclusion from (sub)cultural studies can – certainly in part – be attributed to the bobby soxer’s temporal and geographical specificity. Summarily, this paper will argue that a focus on the localized and contested terrain of discourse avoids the over-emphasis on coherence, universality, authenticity of much moral panic and subculture theory.

**Scenic Capital: Identity and Authenticity in a Hip Hop Scene.**

***Laura Speers, King’s College London, UK - laura.speers@kcl.ac.uk***

Based on ethnographic research, this paper examines the intersection of social media with hip-hop and youth culture in an American college town. Scenic capital draws from Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural, social and symbolic capital, and adapts Sarah Thornton’s ‘subcultural capital’ to include new media. The term was coined to capture the diverse currencies of belonging to a specific music scene ranging from performance of self, to sociality, connectivity, authenticity and coolness. Scenic capital incorporates the themes of identity, authenticity, performance and place from the literature on hip-hop, youth subcultures and new media, into an empirically observable cultural and social phenomenon, identifiable online and offline in a local youth hip-hop scene. The study revealed that the hip-hop scene was kept alive through the same few members who paradoxically also stunted the scene through exclusive membership, and by the acquisition and distribution of scenic capital. Membership was performed through negotiating complex identity politics, and through the manufacture of authenticity, a central element of hip-hop culture. The multi-sited ethnographic study captured how media increasingly play a role in the expression of young people’s values and identities. The concept of scenic capital renders visible the cultural resources youth draw from to articulate self and social identities. The paper will suggest that the expressions and performances of scenic capital recorded in the Midwestern hip-hop scene can be applied to other music scenes and genres and perhaps broader youth culture.

### **Hip Hop Subculture and Music in HBO TV's *The Wire*.**

***Jonathan Stewart, University of Southampton, UK - jonsleeper@btopenworld.com***

*The Wire* is a paradigmatic example of how realistic TV social commentary and crime drama can foster meaningful dialogue about and between fictional and factual configurations of subculture in the media. Significant cultural and political issues were foregrounded in successive seasons: ethnicity, drug crime, the police, the post-Fordist economy, local government, education and the media. All were projected against the backdrop of a once great American city in decline, using the enduring and dynamic images and sounds of hip hop street culture.

The projects of Baltimore are a location where subcultural styles are employed to invoke spatial meaning and to perform a sense of authenticity. This paper will examine hip hop soundtrack choices made by the show's producers and demonstrate how their attempts to construct authenticity were balanced with creative nuances that subtly introduced apposite cultural and musical themes: from economic vulnerability to style-based statements of braggadocio, from crime and punishment to reform and regeneration. *The Wire's* appreciation of Baltimore street culture is apparent in a reliance on local actors, a sympathetic portrayal of important characters, a conscious decision to incorporate local hip hop music in the soundtrack and the role played by this music at particular plot points. "The DNA we've created for those characters determines the kind of songs – be they old-school funk and slo-jam, current hip hop or Irish punk – they listen to." (George Pelecanos, writer/producer, *The Wire*)

### **Subcultures and Civil Rights: The Stax/Volt Revue and the Politics of Soul Music in Britain.**

***Joe Street, Northumbria University, UK - joe.street@northumbria.ac.uk***

This paper uses the 1967 Stax/Volt Revue to demonstrate the extent to which British soul fans interpreted soul music as a political expression during the 1960s. Recent historiography of the African American civil rights movement has indicated that soul was a powerful expression of political sentiment for activists and offered significant assistance to the movement in many ways. Nothing, however, has been written about the extent to which this political reading of soul crossed the Atlantic Ocean. This paper applies a transatlantic approach to the study of soul. It reveals that, while some soul fans were convinced of the political ramifications of the music, many were not. It suggests that soul fandom came just as much from a personal identification with a subculture of soul fans as from political identification with black peoples. Members of this subculture, which is closely related to the Mods of the early 1960s, considered themselves superior to the average pop fan of the 1960s. While soul did offer some individuals the opportunity to engage in biracial interaction, for many it was more an opportunity to align with an authentic subcultural music. Nevertheless, many soul fans reflect that their love of soul music had an impact on their developing political consciousness. The paper thus concludes that soul operated for many fans largely as a signifier of status, coolness and perhaps an 'otherness' that was not enacted in racial terms but which existed largely within the structures of British youth culture.

**‘No Respect From Me’: Music Scenes and Work Ethic in the Age of Social Media.**  
*Tamás Tófalvy, Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Hungary -  
 tamastofalvy@gmail.com*

In my talk I aim to interpret the transformations that took place in the extreme metal scene known as deathcore due to online social practices in recent years. I focus on the notion of work ethic, evaluating the process how web 2.0 applications have affected the concept in this extreme metal scene. Through the interpretation of the career of the band Job For a Cowboy on MySpace I show how the online success of the band led to the devaluation of the deathcore genre label and to the decreased reputation of MySpace as a medium among the fans, scene members conceiving of themselves as the authentic members of the scene. The devaluation of the medium and the genre, in relation with some aesthetical concerns, was strongly interrelated with the common conviction among the critics of the so called ‘MySpace deathcore bands’, that the online musical activity of a band through a social platform should not be considered as ‘work’ as opposed to ‘working hard’ on playing shows and touring ‘in real life’. Through this case study my aim is to show that besides new social practices and conflicts deriving from the scenes’ Web 2.0 presence, some ‘classical’ aspects of subcultural conflicts are still present in music scenes in the age of online social media.

---

**Battling the Battle: Civilising Hip Hop Subculture.**

*Patrick Turner, London Metropolitan University, UK - p.turner@londonmet.ac.uk*

This paper will argue that there still exists a UK hip hop youth subculture of impertinent, competitive expression. One, moreover, that due to its seemingly malevolent – even feral - character poses a particular challenge to cultural institutions serving youth. I refer here to the phoney war of the street emcee battle or clash, experiencing something of a boom in England’s urban conurbations due in part to the emergence of a confidently indigenous form of hip hop music: grime. The praxis of the street battle, although long commodified beyond parody in the Hobbesian lore of gangsta rap, still retains – I will argue - the capacity to discomfort and scandalise. Evidence for this, I will claim, can be partly found in the efforts of self-avowed hip hop teachers, operating under the aegis of ‘consciousness’, to civilise rap emcees; to purge their ‘street’ nihilistic cosmology. I will ask: what are the cultural politics of this therapeutic outreach? What are young ‘spitters’ doing when they direct hyperbolic boasts, goads and threats at each other during their battles? To what extent do pedagogic aspirations for hip hop fail to acknowledge that competitive rivalry in hip hop, from the outset, always indexed the negativity of the wider social imaginary? Is hip hop’s battle aesthetic indeed a component of the culture’s constitutive limit? Inscribed in the perennial opposition between the socially progressive and brazenly irresponsible? Finally, do efforts to civilise anti-social ‘flow’ also reflect wider regulatory agendas? Using data drawn from my own ethnographic research into new hip hop practices, this paper will explore these questions.

---

**Subcultures During Political Transition: Failure After the Loss of the Enemy.**

*Jan Vedral, Charles University, Czech Republic - hvedral@gmail.com*

According to Dick Hebdige the presence of resistance is one of the key features of youth subcultures. After the original shock of the ‘Other’, their deviations from the norm are usually incorporated into the ideology of democratic regimes. After the loss of social enemy status, subcultures also lose their subversive and rebellious potential, because “punk can be a family affair.”

Before the Velvet revolution youth subcultures had a shared enemy in Czechoslovakia: the Communist regime. At first sight, the fall of this enemy seemed to be a victory for these subcultures. The oppressed were believed to be on course to becoming the new dominant, mainstream culture of the emerging democratic system. With no signs of incorporation, social limits and pressure, as part of the general euphoria and atmosphere that produced a sense that 'everyone is now allowed to do anything they want to. However, after the loss of this enemy, pre 1989 subcultures quickly became 'unfashionable'.

The political transition was not followed by a comparable revolution in mainstream culture, and, despite their connections to the previous, discredited system, the pop stars maintained their positions at the forefront of Czech popular culture.

The main subjects of this presentation will be the need for subcultures to define themselves against a powerful enemy and the question of authenticity as it affects subcultures under totalitarian regimes and after the political transition in the Czech Republic.

### **Ostpunx: The East German Punk Rock Scene in a Social, Political and Historical Context.**

***Aimar Ventsel, University of Warwick, UK/University of Tartu, Estonia - punkrock@folklore.ee***

In this talk I discuss Ossi (East German) pride in the German streetpunk scene. West and East punk scenes in Germany are divided, these are two separated networks of clubs and other venues, bands tour very seldom on the "other side", East German identity is often manifested through various symbols like badges, special brands of clothing or various practices (preferring certain alcoholic beverages) and rituals. I show that the Ossi pride as a basis for the punkrock identity is closely linked to various social, political and historical processes. It is rooted in a specific position that punk had during the socialist era. Since German unification, Ostpunx see themselves as rebels against the state that has occupied their country. I place East German punk in a larger sociopolitical context and demonstrate that it reflects general sentiments toward the economic, political and social policy of the "alien" state. The identity of East German streetpunk is not based on Ostalgie (or nostalgia for the GDR) but is – similar to the 2-Tone movement – a reflection of current economic and social processes like deindustrialization, rising unemployment and a lower living standard in East Germany compared to West Germany. The Ostpunx ideology is very ambivalent combining punk-ideology with regional working class disappointment with the economic reforms. I show that German social norms and the ethic of work are essential for constructing the Ostpunx identity.

### **Subcultural Theory in France: A Missed Rendez-Vous?**

***Chris Warne, University of Sussex, UK - c.m.warne@sussex.ac.uk***

As if accounting for the dog that didn't bark in the night time, this paper seeks to explain a non-event: why has subcultural theory historically gained relatively little traction in the French context?

In the first instance, it considers the intellectual and institutional frameworks within which subcultural theory could have taken hold in the 1970s and 1980s. By focusing in particular on the evolution of youth studies in France during this period, it will focus on the wider dynamics that structured social and cultural investigation of the French contemporary, and the tropes that came to dominate understanding of youth cultural practice.

The second part of the paper will test the presumption of the first, namely that subcultural theory is somehow alien to the French setting. It will briefly examine specific instances of where subcultural theory might be successfully applied to French examples and outline some of the potential new perspectives that this offers.

Overall this paper will make a contribution to the history of subcultural theory and offer some perspectives on both its origins and its wider applicability, tracing its influence beyond the immediate Anglo-American contexts of its elaboration.

---

**The Affects and Trajectories of 'New Right' and 'Fascist' Ideology within the 'Neo-Folk' and 'Post-industrial' Music Milieu.**

*Peter Webb, Goldsmiths, University of London, UK.*

---

**'It's Barbie Bitch': The Globalization of Nikki Minaj's Mis-constructed Barbie Movement.**

*Whitney Weston, Howard University, USA - whitneyweston07@gmail.com*

Hip-hop has become a transnational culture, whose roots are grounded in the United States. To understand hip-hop one must understand the values given to color, physical attractiveness, and appropriate sexual behaviors. These values have permeated all aspects of American society and are spreading worldwide. Hip-hop is the most relevant movement to explore the globalization of popular culture, as it reflects, reinforces and redefines the world in which we exist. One of the newest pop culture phenomena's is The Barbie Movement led by superstar female rap artist Nikki Minaj, who has coined the term "Its Barbie Bitch". The Barbie Movement has garnered followers throughout the world, most being predominantly adolescent females. This study 1) examines the historical creation of Black beauty in the United States, 2) investigates the influence of mass media in communicating socio-cultural expectations of beauty, and 3) explores the globalization of the Barbie Movement and its implications.

---

**Subcultural Style, Image, and Action: Finding the Right Fit.**

*Andrew Wilson, Nottingham Trent University, UK - andrew.wilson@ntu.ac.uk*

This paper is based on observations drawn from involvement in a group of small town 'traditional' skinheads in the late 1960s to early 1970s and on follow up interviews with around fifteen of them for a historical ethnography of subcultural influences in this period. The paper considers the construction of skinheads in literature and reflects on the influences giving shape to the style and action of the group and how this was reconciled for those who moved on to the northern soul scene. Finally, it asks what these changes in style and action tell us about involvement in subcultures.

---

**Can Neds (or Chavs) Be Non-Delinquent, Educated or Even Middle Class?:  
Contrasting Empirical Findings with Cultural Stereotypes.**

***Robert Young, University of Glasgow, UK - robert@sphsu.mrc.ac.uk***

Ned (non-educated delinquent) is the Scottish equivalent of the English term 'Chav'. It refers stereotypically to low class, uneducated, raucous and antisocial youth and is linked to specific (sub)cultural markers, e.g. a preference for drinking the fortified wine 'Buckfast'. Using a survey of over 3000 15-year old school pupils from the West of Scotland, we investigated the association between adopting a Ned identity and socioeconomic background, educational engagement, delinquency, peer-status and (sub)cultural markers. 15% of pupils self-identified as a Ned. (Sub)cultural markers, e.g. listening to Hip-Hop, peer-status, delinquency, educational disengagement and area deprivation were associated with adopting a Ned identity. This suggests greater evidence for agency or cultural than structural or socioeconomic influences. Irrespective of socioeconomic status a substantial minority of young people self-identify as 'Neds' and among explanations for this appeal are elevated (sub)cultural status, the appeal of non-conformity and the growth of 'Chav pride' within popular culture. The modern appeal of a 'Ned/Chav' identity to even middle class youth represents a distinct shift in the traditional configuration of class and subculture identity.

---

**Approaching the Muslim in Contemporary Western Music.**

***Nabeel Zuberi, University of Auckland, New Zealand - n.zuberi@auckland.ac.nz***

How might we conceptualize the presence of the 'Muslim' as a noun and adjective in recent 'western' music culture and media, particularly in the context of the War on Terror(ism)? The paper argues not only for a focus on the Muslim as figure in relation to subculture theory's concept of homology. It looks at how 'Muslim' subjectivities, feelings and spaces are articulated and widely distributed, in direct and indirect fashion, through the musical discourses of Muslims and non-Muslims. These 'Muslim' elements may not always be acknowledged as such, but have been essential in organizing the political, cultural and racial imagination in western nations. Influenced by scholarship on the politics of emotion (e.g. Sara Ahmed) and theories of affect in new media and cultural studies (e.g. Patricia Clough, Jeremy Gilbert, Jasbir Puar), the paper argues for an engagement with the rhetorical modes and sonic affects of specific music genres and practices. These sounds do not just 'belong' to the Muslim or Islamic. I emphasize the circulation of musical material and transnational exchanges in digital music media. The paper refers to music, journalism and scholarship on diasporic Punk, Hip Hop and Grime in the US and UK, the audio- and visual scapes of Dubstep, and the performances and narratives of DJ mixes in electronic music culture.

---