

REVIVING DIY: THE IMPORTANCE OF DO IT YOURSELF TO THE PORTUGUESE ALTERNATIVE ROCK SCENE⁵⁹

Ana Oliveira¹, Paula Guerra², Pedro Costa³

1, 3 ISCTE-IUL – University Institute of Lisbon, DINAMIA'CET-IUL, Portugal

2 Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Institute of Sociology, University of Porto, Griffith Centre for Cultural Research, KISMIF Project Coordinator, Portugal

The approach of DIY music careers lies in the premise that music is a unifying pole of activities, clustering a diversity of practices and lifestyles around it. The analysis of musical production is usually based on an entrepreneurial perspective about creative workers and, specifically, about the musicians. In this context, it can be useful to revisit one of the core values of the punk subculture, the DIY ethos, based on empowerment, on taking possession of the means of production, as an alternative to mainstream production circuits. Starting from the case of three projects - Filho Único, Haus and Hey, Pachuco! - we explore the relevance of do it yourself logics and procedures in the construction and maintenance of musical careers in the alternative rock, considering their impact on Lisbon metropolitan area's music alternative scenes.

1. Introduction

The approach of DIY music careers is usually based upon the premise that music is a unifying pole of activities, which can be understood as a cluster of interrelated traded and untraded activities, which structure, on one hand, the revenue and income sources of those persons, and on the other hand their lifestyles and daily lives, as well as their reputation in the respective art world. The analysis of musical production is based on an entrepreneurial perspective about creative workers and, specifically, about the musicians. Several authors have paid particular attention to the 'new independents', freelancers workers involved in a logic of reducing specialization and promoting multiple skills, which makes them simultaneously assume the role of musicians, producers, designers and promoters, generating contamination between various artistic-creative sub-sectors, challenging boundaries between the professional and the amateur in a social sphere marked by relational densification (Hennion,

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Maisonneuve and Gomart, 2000; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). This is particularly true when the differences between work and leisure, supply and demand, traded and untraded interdependencies progressively blur, in institutional contexts marked by project oriented work, labour flexibility, collective knowledge accumulation based on interest interdependencies and complex territorially embedded regulation mechanisms (e.g. O'Connor and Wynne, 1996; Scott, 2000; Caves, 2002; Costa, 2008; Borges and Costa, 2012).

This emphasis can be related to the exercise of social theory to revisit one of the core values of the punk subculture, the DIY ethos, based on empowerment, on taking possession of the means of production, as an alternative to mainstream production circuits. It's about mobilizing DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, collective action) as new standards to promote employability, managing the uncertainty and precariousness of this option in terms of building a professional career.

In the contemporary fluid landscapes of music creation and music consumption, and seizing in particular the advantages of digitalization and technologic progresses in production and dissemination mechanisms, artist-producers-gatekeepers collectives structure their activities, formal and informally, in this kind of practice, assuming its ethos and philosophy, but also its economic advantages, for the affirmation of their cultural goods as well as their reputational assets within their art worlds. Both in the middle of the main creative milieus of the city or in the peripheries of the urban core, they develop their specialized activity, strongly networked, both at local and international levels, around the creation, presentation, dissemination, production, and legitimation of musical manifestations (both at supply and demand sides) which relate to their specific aesthetic and creative purposes. From the promotion of gigs, events and festivals to the daily promotion and nurturing of a lively scene in each of the places they are anchored in, they develop a persistent DIY-based activity which explores those principles as tools for their competitiveness in their "market segments" and for the symbolic affirmation within their artistic worlds.

Starting from the case of three cultural associations (Filho Único, HAUS and Hey, Pachuco!) which are exemplary of these principles and DIY ethos, we explore in this paper the relevance of do it yourself logics and procedures in the construction and maintenance of musical careers in the alternative rock scenes, considering their impact on Lisbon metropolitan area's musical art worlds. The analysis is based on a variety of methodologies and techniques, including in-deep interviews with each scene's protagonists, ethnographic observation and media and bibliographic reviewing.

In next section a discussion on DIY and its evolution in contemporary music scenes is made, framing, from a more theoretical perspective, the set for the empirical analysis. Sections three, four and five present the three cases which were studied, respectively, Filho Único Association, HAUS project and Hey, Pachuco!. Finally, a brief conclusive note systematizes some of the achievements obtained so far with this research.

2. DIY today

Both, the DIY acronym and the expression in English "do it yourself" are current, being also used the expression in Portuguese "faz por ti próprio" (do for/it yourself). In this context it refers to a musical production way far symbolically separated from the phonographic industry and professional circuits and ideologically motivated (Guerra, 2013, 2014). It is not always easy to date, if that is possible, precisely the emergence of an idea. However, it is possible to establish some key moments: first, in 1957, largely due to the action of International Situationist, a cluster of various artists, with Guy Debord standing out amongst them, who had as main objective to rebel "against the dominant discourses, images and ideas of capitalist consumer culture, (...), and sought to incite a revolution, employing cultural tactics that exposed contradictions and openly criticized the society" (Downes, 2010: 3).

A second moment is the 1970 crisis, characterized by a break period in exchange rates, wage freeze, and economic stagnation led to the British artists of the poor class to be even more disenchanted with the state and its inability to cope with the crisis. This has led the United Kingdom to the formation of new youth sociability movements, particularly in punk, with Sex Pistols, which simultaneously served as a foundation of social explosion, and an inducer of fear in the general society (Holtzman *et al*, 2007).

This apparent death of punk gave new life to the counterculture. However, and in the United States that gave rise to several local scenes in communities, suburbs and cities, united by a DIY spirit. All they repudiated the influence of capitalism, and began to create their musical and cultural production networks, with the intention to move away from capitalism and its institutions (Holtzman *et al*, 2007). This is the approach around the DIY gained greater importance because of the general trend towards a post materialism in developed industrial societies and even a feeling widely shared in the 80s and 90s: that the the old radical politics was no longer able to cope with the forces of capitalist globalization (Císar and Koubek, 2012).

And this appreciation of the sense of community of amateur musical practice goes hand in hand with the connotation of marginality. On the one hand, musical marginality, to claim the young musicians in a unique artistic expression, authentic experience - not without contradictions and ambiguities - contrasted with the market and the dominant musical conventions. On the other hand, the connotation of marginality related to the social condition of the young musicians in terms of symbolic challenge to the authority and youth rebellion conveyed through music, whether at the level of use of music as a political mobilization tool of identifiable social groups (which is more visible in more politicized musical genres and socially cut form punk or rap) (see Silva and Guerra, 2015; Humeau, 2011).

More, we can analyze this space as being of multiple socialization, a social sphere in which stratification factors, such as class or school capital are played in a context of symbolic trial, opening the possibility of new practices and cultural backgrounds. The musical self-production circuits form a plurality of spaces for socialization, character-

ized by diverse symbolic codes - according to different musical genres, youth culture, social environment, urban environment, degree of approach to professional circles, among other factors (Laing, 2015; Martin-Iverson, 2014; Guerra and Bennett, 2015)

That said, what does this concept mean? What is its range? Is it only about music? Some authors do not fail to notice that it is a term that is not without its ambiguities, but may be confined to a particular ethics to guide the activities of movements fighting for the autonomy and independence of a society geared to consumption (Guerra and Quintela, 2014).

Similarly, a first approach may refer to the creation of a symbolic alternative creating a self-empowered space, a space of mutual aid and alternative social organizations (Kuhn, 2010). Or associative and recreational practices organized by the participants themselves in a process of empowerment and capacity to impact on personal life project and in the struggle for gender equality. More than anything, the DIY serves as a counterforce to neoliberalism.

However, this is only part of the story. We have to take into account, likewise, questions that refer to alternative forms of socialization (new forms of education and establishment of community families); rejection of corporations, business chains and multinational companies; emphasis in the media and alternative information channels offered; compared with the strategies of direct action; alternative housing system (squats, cooperatives); practices of DIY participatory culture in computer learning, both in concepts and capabilities. The program is particularly relevant, giving the creator the ability to manipulate the environment in which it moves the establishment of the computer, adapt it, and reinterpret experiences with ecological principles, doing gardening, repairs and recycling, music and preserving their own food; adult education, etc. (Hemphill & Leskowitz, 2013; Guerra and Quintela, 2014, 2016).

And despite being a dimension that was not present in the above mentioned two moments, the truth is that the Internet, and contacts for it enabled, revolutionize the DIY (Guerra, 2015 and 2010; Guerra and Silva, 2015). It is commonly accepted that technological advances such as the Internet, greatly benefited the movement facilitating the contact with other punk scenes worldwide. However, if it created more contact, it also created more division within the punk genres (Moran, 2010).

How we could not stop talking, we have to stress the importance of zines to spread the movement. Non-commercial, small circulation, punk zines served primarily to establish communication between the various scenes, expanding to a forum where people could discuss some topics covered by the media (O'Hara, 1999). Respondents are focused and give value to this kind of attitude, because it is a time of recovery and appropriation of something distant and seized by capitalism - the publication (Bryant, 2014; Hemphill & Leskowitz, 2012). The value of zines is not only the external and internal encouragement of producer and the reader, through a production that seeks to express passions, knowledge and frustrations through a DIY artistic creation (Holtzman *et al*, 2007).

About the piracy, for example, Hemphill & Leskowitz (2013) they mention their radical character, marked by issues such as pirate radio stations and their meaning - return power to the masses and creators without corporations as the media. Equally relevant is the fact that the public does not have to pay for information. (Hemphill & Leskowitz, 2013). There is also here the prospect of creating a lasting documentation of the event, that is, DIY videos valued in their ability to replicate the feeling of being on the show, being understood as gifts within the explicitly non-mercantile or non-commodified systems of exchange, ending by providing a point of contact between individual users, fan communities and bands (Guerra, 2010 and 2015).

About the *skillshares*, the authors note as it has been one of DIY marks and the creation of free unions in events where volunteers create workshops on a capacity to control and dominate, from civil disobedience to work with wood. Equally remarkable, radical study groups are another way to share this type of accumulated knowledge - and serve a purpose of disseminating information gathered by traditional channels. In this sense, therefore, the DIY of these groups involves the formation of a community of practice. With regard to the Internet and open source materials, participants' responses tend to point to democratization projects, pointing out the online groups as self-educated communities. Moreover, the creation of tools such as wikis and open source allows for even greater democratization of the internet (Hemphill and Leskowitz, 2012).

Is interesting the research on DIY scene of Baltimore, by Eversley, which analyzes the nation-state from a perspective rarely addressed: those who managed to escape the merger of the state and understand that the nation-state draws a clear distinction between those who accept their control, the civilized, and those who are not under its jurisdiction, the barbarians. But this barbarism is nothing more than the resistance to the incorporation by the state apparatus and the pursuit of freedom out of this apparatus (Eversley, 2014: 51).

And it appears that DIY ethics in Baltimore, where it seeks to escape the control and surveillance state seeking to achieve greater autonomy. But the relationship is now more complex, because there is no clear division between state and non-state spaces. There is no clear rejection of power and state control, they know that this is not plausible. There is a clear choice for legal places where they operate, thereby to avoid the constant police operations against illegal or semi-legal sites (Eversley, 2014: 52).

Here Eversley, relying in Houston (2008) introduces the term rebel citizenship, that is, the use of citizenship as a "sphere of resistance, agency and contestation" (Eversley, 2014: 52). And transposing this concept to the DIY scene of Baltimore, the author defines it "as the use of space for purposes other than its original intent and at the same time, subverting the hegemonic patterns of productive citizenship (productive citizenship)" (Eversley, 2014: 53). Therefore, we can establish a horizontal policy, without any kind of leader. It is a form of protest against what is regarded as the cooptation of states by large multinationals and their inability to deal with the problems of people. So, the answer is an organization that allows people the ability to organize the society in a the bottom up way (Eversley, 2014: 75).

Thus, the "DIY punk scene resembles the direct democracy in the sense that the musicians are free to organize their own spectacles if they can find a space or collaborate with others from the DIY community" (Eversley, 2014: 76). And this horizontality policy has clear implications in terms of sociability in the DIY community. First, the barrier between audience and artists is overthrown; second, there is an intimacy that "permeates the whole social environment in punk shows, and thus promotes a hyper-social atmosphere" (Eversley, 2014: 76). That is, as Moran notes: DIY is revealed as an ethical principle and can be summed up in a phrase "made by fans for fans". So one of the consequences mentioned by Eversley is that the barriers between audience and artists are felled; second, there is an intimacy in punk gigs, and which therefore promotes an atmosphere of strong sociality and conviviality.

3. Cultural Association Filho Único

The Cultural Association Filho Único emerged in early 2007 in Lisbon. It is a project of two young brothers (at that time with less than 30 years old) who always were related to music. Music was present in their lives since their childhood. One of them even started to write about music with 18 years old in a webzine called 'Putada Subjectividade', because he hated everything which was written about music in the traditional press. And this is already a form of materialization of the DIY logic. It has to do with the recognition that the existing means don't have the expected quality and because of that, people should do something to fill that gap (Dale, 2008). He also worked in a record store and through this job and the webzine he started knowing several people related to music. The other became Dj with 18 years old and began to organize some parties. Later and for three years, both worked together at Galeria Zé dos Bois (ZdB), a non-profit organization created by a civic initiative which is also an art centre and a space of musical fruition and dissemination, based in an eighteenth-century palace in the heart of Bairro Alto, Lisbon (which is generally consensually recognized as one of the main central cultural agents in "alternative" performing and visual art worlds in Portugal). They were responsible for programming and curating concerts. Like they say, to work at ZdB meant a kind of 'knowledge avalanche'. Almost all people with whom they had contact were musicians or were somehow related to music. Nowadays their network of social relations also revolves around the music – musicians, journalists, people from labels and distributors. Their lives are about music: they make music, they write about music in several national and international publications, they promote concerts and their cultural consumption and leisure time are mainly related to music. Everything intersects with music allowing them to be connected to it in an increasingly broadly, dense and rich way.

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

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

Filho Único co-founder

In fact, several authors associate DIY to a specific action regime or model of work within the subjects tend to assume different roles in order to meet specific needs. It may be the need to do something that nobody else does (Bradley, 2004; Hein, 2012), or the need to act without many resources and to make money doing something that we really like, here in the case of artistic creation dissolving the distinction of art from commerce (Eversley, 2014; Reitsamer, 2011). DIY emerge as an alternative answer when the dominant logics and procedures don't work, when there is a gap, when people think they can do something to improve the surrounding environment. That's what Pete Bradley describes about Nottingham and his decision to create 'Enjoy the Ride', an initiative that 'offers an autonomous space for an audio-visual celebration of art, music, poetry, film and, generally, anything creative' (Bradley, 2004:180). The project began with a shared perspective about the lack of venues and promoters in the city. Bradley was looking for a space to showcase his latest audio-visual work and was given the opportunity to put on a show at the café-bar where he worked. With the help of a network of artists, creatives and friends, Bradley created an experimental night called 'Enjoy the Ride', in which he and other artists show or perform some of their work. The first night was a success and he decided to transform this experience into a regular, monthly celebration.

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

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

Filho Único co-founder

The main objectives of the association are the presentation, promotion, production, edition, display and integration of all musical manifestations which are governed by

aesthetically progressive creative purposes. The association seeks to promote, organize and produce events of things seen as the result of a progressive thinking, an attempt to aesthetic achievement. It seeks to integrate the more creative and daring music otherwise in people's lives and is nowadays a very important agent of the Portuguese alternative rock scene, an essential reference in terms of alternative culture promotion.

If today, the words 'indie' and 'independent' are commonly taken only to be connotative of a musical style, here and like in the earlier punk and post-punk period we are using them to denote a specific way of work separateness from the major labels, from the main agents, from the dominant logics. In this kind of perspective, the word 'indie' and the expression DIY are at the same time connected with the creation of an alternative and with an empowerment and action process. DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, and collective action), logics and procedures enable these musicians and cultural promoters to create and promote what they want and what they think is important to the city's cultural scene. In another words DIY skills, logics and procedures can be seen as an empowerment and autonomy tool, as a way to work independently in relation to established standards and hierarchies, taking control of the entire process. But this does not mean that some success factors such as competence, focus on results, and all the work and all efforts around visibility, legitimacy and impact of the project are disregarded. In general terms, they are identified as some of the key success factors in this sector and therefore articulated with the DIY logic and procedures.

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

Filho Único co-founder

Actually, we can say that nowadays Filho Único is a successful project and despite its beginning in a more independent spectrum, has experienced a path characterized by a certain institutionalization. Today the cultural association is composed by seven elements and works in continuous and integrated collaboration with various public and private cultural agents all over the country. During all these years of experience, and being part of its working model, we must highlight the issue of proximity to the various cultural agents with whom Filho Único works. Not only the cognitive proximity, which means a common set of ethics, civic principles and goals, but also the physical or geographical one. This leads us to the existence of an atmosphere shared by a community and to the possibilities of creation of networks, essential to the success of this kind of projects. In the beginning Filho Único was located at Bica, a central area of Lisbon downtown near to Bairro Alto, assumed as the closer case to what is referred as a creative or cultural neighborhood and recognized by the association's founders as the "only truly creative centre of this country," where is everyone - musicians, visual artists, programmers, promoters and all the others cultural agents (cf. Costa, 2007, 2013 on this). Today Filho Único is located at Pólo Cultural das Gaivotas, a new centre of artistic creation, with offices and rehearsal rooms for projects in the areas of theatre, dance and music. The space is managed by the city

council and entirely dedicated to the cultural sector, promoting synergies between the various projects.

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

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

Filho Único co-founder

4. HAUS Project

Also in a central area of Lisbon, near the river and the train station, we find another cultural project in which are present the DIY principles and mechanisms. HAUS, open since 2015, is at the same time a recording studio, a set of rehearsal rooms, a space for agency and production of concerts and other shows and also a place where the relations between music and brands are explored. Actually, its founders see the project as a music centre where are concentrated different and complementary valences and whereby they play different roles going to meet the horizontal policy idea of Eversley (2014).

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

HAUS co-founder

The project results entirely of a previous musical career, made together by the four founders of HAUS⁶⁰. It emerges from the desire to share with other musicians the knowledge acquired in years of studio and road. Therefore, the project is based on a community spirit and experience exchange. It can be seen as a way and a space of transmission, accumulation and co-creation of knowledge. Something made by a group of people thinking about alternative forms of the Portuguese musicians create and manage forms of expression and income. Therefore, this is a project that seeks ways of sustainability not only to the elements that integrate it, but also for other musicians related to it. As we said before, HAUS can be understood as an important space of socialization based on a deep symbiosis between the people who attend it. They form a community of affections, consisting of people united around the same principles and objectives, which is something characteristic of the independent and DIY ways of doing - the creation of an atmosphere of strong sociability and conviviality, essential to the creation and management of musical careers.

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

HAUS co-founder

In this sense we can say that HAUS arises from a DIY attitude and a way of doing. Its founders, all of them with musical careers linked to punk and hardcore, did not wait, did not ask for support, they acted mobilizing its background, the knowledge, the tools, the networks of relationships they had and, above all, the fact that they were not afraid to fail. Above all it is the idea of DIY as a tool for autonomy and independence and as a way of empowerment.

In an article which reflects about the possibility of DIY be considered a counterculture, Hein (2012) shows that the punk rock scene has demystified the cultural production process, underlining the capacity everyone has to become a cultural agent. This dynamic is translated into DIY, a system of action that presided over the development of a punk entrepreneurship, relatively independent from the mainstream recording industry. In fact, the author speaks about the development of an "alternative economy" entrepreneurship. In this perspective, he says DIY shows that it is possible to develop a cultural business directed to a specific niche maintaining the punk's values can thus be considered a counterculture. DIY can promote the self-production of a cultural or musical scene taking part of an empowerment process, an awareness of

⁶⁰ Apart from other older bands, currently they have a common band, called PAUS.

action capacity. The involvement in DIY ethos encourages people to invent and innovate. In some way, it promotes experimentation and creativity, but as Hein underlines this dynamic depends on the actors' determination to create and to 'make the product'⁶¹. Actors have to learn to identify the resources, to be aware to the opportunities and to build their own strategies. DIY can be seen as an empowerment process through which a person or a group acquire the necessary resources to reinforce their action capacity and to emancipate themselves. So this empowerment process emerges as promotor of creativity. Therefore, we can say HAUS is a space and a project which promotes this empowerment and stimulates creative freedom through the possibilities of share provided. This leads us to the importance of do it together and of the role of creative community for the creation of musical careers. This perspective is based on a relational approach of music, understood as a collective creation, a product of the connection between the different elements that composed the worlds of music (Guerra, 2015; Crossley & Bottero, 2015; Crossley, McAndrew, & Widdop, 2014; Mcandrew & Everett, 2015).

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

HAUS co-founder

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

The DIY spirit implies that if you are a fan, you must feel inspired to do. It is a very recurrent discourse. 'If he does, I also can do.' (...) To do is more important than a career or whatever, so it is because of that DIY is a super breeding ground for many people who are working today because it demystified it to match. It leveled the aspirations, because somehow the entertainment system until the 90s was a more or less diagonal thing. The artist was someone unattainable, superhuman (...) 'This is not for everyone.' The idea of being very difficult meant that the records and the concerts were the closest people could be to the artists. DIY dismantles it. You do not need to know how to play to have a band, you do not need to know how to write to have a fanzine. What matters is that you do and your perspective is very important. And this gives a lot of creative and expression freedom of creating new discourses, new vocabularies, new techniques.

⁶¹ Reference to the music *I make the product*, from the Desperate Bicycles, an English punk band pioneered the do-it-yourself ethic. The music belongs to the EP *New Cross, New Cross*, released in 1978.

HAUS co-founder

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

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

HAUS co-founder

5. Hey, Pachuco! Cultural Association⁶²

Already in the outskirts of Lisbon, but belonging to the metropolitan area, we highlight another cultural association, Hey, Pachuco!. Headquartered in Barreiro, on the south margin of the Tagus River, the association exists since 2000. It started its activities first as an informal group of young people and, in 2005, was formally constituted as an association. It works to promote a new image of Barreiro: that of a young city full of life, with an ideal location for the growth of a cultural event of urban nature. Today it is renowned for being the producer of one of the most prestigious European rock'n'roll festivals, Barreiro Rocks. At the same time, it also works as an editor, essentially releasing the work of bands and artists of the city moving in rock musical sphere. To these projects we can add the Music Factory [Fábrica de Música] and the Young Musicians Program [Programa de Jovens Músicos].

Starting by the festival, over its fifteen years Barreiro Rocks has to position itself as an international reference, being one of the most popular in the circuit of European festivals of rock'n'roll. Apart from the quality of the artists and bands who take the

⁶² The approach of this case study results from an exploratory analysis conducted until this moment using the analysis of institutional information about the association and press articles regarding the same and its projects.

stage, the festival stands out for its atmosphere. This one is characterized by the festive atmosphere and the celebration of friendship among those on stage and the audience. In fact, this is a festival in which the audience is composed by musicians and in which the musicians are also audience. Indeed, the festival began as a way to give an opportunity to play to the new groups of the Hey, Pachuco! label and eventually became a 'structure' for these and other groups could develop their projects in a more consistent and objective manner. To this it was essential the festival presentation parties around the country (and not only) and the creation of networks with other associations and festivals, promoting an exchange of ideas and musicians and even creating a circuit essential to the creation and management of the careers of these artists. At the same time, it proved to be crucial the quality of the bands presented and the bet not only in big international names but also in the bands of the city and of the country. In other words, the combination of established foreign groups and local bands proved to be strategic (Fast Eddie Nelson, 2015; Lopes, 2015b). As we said, today the festival is a reference, always aware and involved in the promotion of the names that stand out and the emerging names in the underground and rock'n'roll ball sphere (Lopes, 2015a).

Music Factory is another project developed by the association since 2012. It is a platform for the promotion of artistic creation of the county. Its main objective is to create synergies between the companies and the musicians on the south margin of the Tagus River, in particular by supporting the creation of projects of social inclusion through music. These supports pass through funding spaces for rehearsal, recording, editing, merchandising, tours, among others. Physically, this project is located in the King Studio, a music studio, which provides the facilities and equipment necessary and that gives their experience in organizing and promoting bands, events and actions of social inclusion. The project has been developed with the support of the Municipality of Barreiro.

Another project developed by the association is the Young Musicians Program, created in 2012 to stimulate musical creation in the south of the Tagus River, more specifically in the city of Barreiro. This project is a partnership between the Music Factory and Baía do Tejo, a public company dedicated to the management of the development of the real estate of a set of large brownfield areas in the periphery of Lisbona metropolitan area (the "Lisbon South Bay", as they branded it), whose mission is to enhance and develop their territories, promoting its urban and environmental improvement, pursuing simultaneously the Business Parks management activity located in the municipalities of Barreiro, Seixal and Almada. It arises from the aim to overcome a previously identified gap (the lack of a free rehearsal space) that can be assumed as an obstacle to artistic aspirations, particularly of young creators. In this sense, the program offers to all young people of the South margin of Tagus River the possibility to use a fully equipped rehearsal room (King Studio) without costs for the ones enrolled in the program. The objective of this project is to energize and explore all the musical creative power in the region.

The creation of Hey, Pachuco! Cultural Association is closely related to the associative dimension strongly present in Barreiro. There are numerous associations in the city, with specific modes of relationship, which act as social cohesion factors and which encourage participation. There is therefore a collectively accumulated and

shared large associative tradition that is assumed as an important cultural heritage, particularly for the current cultural and artistic projects (Belanciano, 2010). Basically, the size of the association intersects with some of the DIY values and principles previously explored. We speak of the idea of promoting forms of music production alternatives to mainstream circuits, because of an ideological question, or because it is easier the access to these non-conventional mechanisms. We also speak of the sense of community and the importance of networks for artistic creation and promotion. And of course we talk about the empowerment process very inspired in this associative dynamics, and that led the association's founders to start the project, albeit with limited resources.

Within this cultural heritage, music has always played an important role. During the dictatorship music was linked to the associative movement, with singers repressed by the authorities palying in the associations, providing a cultural offer that was not anywhere else (Belanciano, 2010). Nowadays the musical offer of the city, particularly the one that is promoted by Hey, Pachuco! and by Barreiro Rocks Festival, is also associated with very specific sounds. At the same time, alongside the festival, it is also recognized the proliferation of numerous musical projects, many of them located in the 'most exuberant languages of rock' (Belanciano, 2010).

In addition to this 'inspiration' in the cultural heritage of associations, Hey, Pachuco! is also perceived as a result of the explosion of possibilities brought on the one hand by DIY principles, and on the other by technological innovations which, as we said, democratized the access to forms of music production (Fast Eddie Nelson, 2015). Like labels such as Bee Keeper did in the 90s Bee Keeper, in 2000 surge is created Hey, Pachuco!, first as a label and later as an association and events promoter.

With a beginning essentially marked by DIY ethics and procedures, Hey, Pachuco! is nowadays an association with a set of activities recognized and supported by local political and economic powers, and with an important role in the transformation and conversion of the city and its identity. At the same time, through the opportunities it provides, people already recognize the influence of the association in promoting a new generation of bands that have formed and began playing more regularly inspired by the dynamics surrounding the Barreiro Rocks Festival and supported by the Young Musicians Program. In other words, it's already possible to peak about the existence of new musical projects that result from the fact that the association have shown that there are always alternative ways of doing things and that what is really important is to do, to act, or to 'make the product', as Desperate Bicycles would say (Duarte, 2015).

6. Conclusion

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

On one hand, we can see clearly traces of this DIY ethos in the analysis of these agents' labor's logics. The 'new independents' that are the paradigm of this kind of activities and practices can be seen as freelancer workers reducing specialization and promoting and seizing multiple skills, enabling them to assume, formally or informally, the role of musicians, producers, designers, promoters, generating contamination between various artistic-creative sub-sectors, and challenging boundaries between the professional and the amateur in a social sphere marked by relational densification, where the thin borders between work and leisure tend also to blur and disappear. The artist-creator-consumer, seen here as a real entrepreneur of himself (cf Borges and Costa, 2012), between production and consumption, between symbolic subject and symbolic object, between vocation and opportunities, affirms himself in the core of these collaborative processes, and builds his/her "career" and professional trajectory in a self-built milieu which is constructed, progressively, generating and exploring successive opportunities of self-capability-building, collective empowerment, and reinforcement of self-autonomy. Collective learning mechanisms and shared knowledge accumulation are here fundamental, like in any creative milieu in general, including all the symbolic aspects, and thus gatekeeping functions and reputation building mechanisms are also an important part always strongly explored in these DIY mechanisms.

On the other hand, we can also see clearly the DIY in the analysis of the competitive advantages of these values and processes as part of the development of alternatives to mainstream production circuits. Highly specialized and strongly connected in networks, both locally and externally, these DIY circuits are a very efficient way to affirm the specificities of the difference (aesthetic, artistic, symbolic, processual, or other) that is explored as an economic competitive advantage in the structuring of the markets for the goods and services that are produced by these creators. These circuits are a way affirming and exploring business opportunities, linked to certain market niches, based on differentiation and distinction (in the goods and services, in the way that are experienced, in the symbolic distinction their consumption conveys, etc.), and to seize their higher risk propensity (compared with mainstream activities and players – see Caves, 2002) rooted in their ability to operate their specific knowledge, and manage their reputation.

In this context, we argue that the mobilization of traditionally acknowledged DIY skills (strength, achievement, freedom, collective action) enable these actors to promote a certain kind of "employability" (but not necessarily the formal one we are used to), managing through time the uncertainty and precariousness of this option in terms of building a professional career. They develop a kind of self-sufficiency, in the construction of their trajectories and life paths, which is reinforced by the degree of integration in a specific milieu or scene they are into, locally and externally articulated through an extension of network mechanisms, both at material and symbolic levels. There is a tendency to link this autonomy to technologic evolution. However self-sufficiency is not just technologic. That is a part, which is decisively enabled in the music field by digitalization processes and internet, in recent decades, but, mostly, these self-sufficiency mechanisms come from the ability to build and manage economic, symbolic, cultural and social procedures that enable the agents to provide a space of autonomy from other hegemonic forces in each of those fields (from mainstream markets to social control or to the symbolic over-legitimization in certain art worlds), and DIY procedures give many tools for enabling this.

A final word must be addressed to the role of the specific personalities and strong charismatic leadership in each of the projects which were analyzed. We are fully aware of the importance of the specific creative milieus and scenes where each of these experiences is embedded, as well as of the importance of the “collectives” each of them assume (and is genuinely convinced) to be. But the strong “charisma”, “vocation” or “leadership” qualities of some of their members, crossing often several artistic collectives and different kinds of activities, is definitely an aspect which will need further inquiry.

Naturally, these and other exploratory conclusions will be tested and developed, in further work, both with the in-deepening of these case studies, and with the analysis of other associations and interesting cases, in the scope of a broader on-going research project, in which these aspects will be furthered disentangled.

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Author(s):

Ana Oliveira, PhD Student
ISCTE-IUL – University Institute of Lisbon, DINAMIA'CET-IUL
ana.s.s.oliveira@gmail.com

Paula Guerra, Assistant Professor
Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Institute of Sociology, University of Porto, Griffith Centre for Cultural Research
Department of Sociology
pguerra@letras.up.pt

Pedro Costa, Assistant Professor
ISCTE-IUL – University Institute of Lisbon, DINAMIA'CET-IUL
Department of Political Economy
pedro.costa@iscte.pt