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"Cultural and cross-cultural approaches to social representations: The implications of the globalised/localised cultural scenario"

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Key Lectures

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For about sixty years, different social scientists and analysts have observed a *global continuous, progressive development of electronic and popular music*, with its moments of normalization, *statu nascendi* and innovating explosions. We are interrogating in this lecture about the meaning and the international diffusion of the popular music, that is the most ancient phenomenon of intercultural sharing.

From a certain point of view, music is the best metaphor of the anticipation of the society changes. Jacques Attali (1977, *Bruits. Essai sur l'économie politique de la musique*, Paris, PUF) has had a good idea when he proposed to analyse the evolution of music production/consumption as an exploration of the future social and economic structures.
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- I will say more: music is the first system and intuition of the whole communication complexity (networks, global thinking, systems) and of the divination of the social relationships. It is really the primary global culture. It has engendered the most number of hybridizations and intercultural influences.

- From this perspective, it is the first efficiency device production of a “global thinking and practice”, even if its creation is also and essentially individualistic. Consecutively, it is a source of mediation and reproduction of social representations never or rarely studied in this latter field research.

- Progressively, the various tendencies of electronic popular music and its creations have formed indeed a real emblem and mode of expression of the minority’s cultures integration and exclusion.
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- We are witnessing increasing diffusion and standardization of these trends. They also illustrate a typical ideology/system of creating social differentiation, entertainment and pleasure.

- From an anthropological perspective, these styles are linked with diffuse awareness of the emergency of world/global ecology or/and urban anxiety and worry. This international, heterogeneous cultural movement (of the popular and underground music = PUM). can also be considered as a globalization of both musical and ritual attitudes as well as reflexive creativity practices all around the world.

- What are its characteristics?
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• Numerous electro-amplified and ever newer propagation styles (rock, rap, metal, punk, techno, world and hybrid music);

• Potentially alternative and marginal practices “against mainstream”;

• Electronic and marketing integration and miscegenation of (and in) every local popular musical styles (fado, flamenco, salsa, nova trova, raï, african-urban groups…);

• Anthropological phenomena of differentiation and normalization/integration of minority/deviant expressions in postmodern societies;
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• Specific social representations (socio-cognitive and ritual systems) of “art doctrine” and “art-doing” mainly in the amateur and low-known (or garage) bands;

• World-divinatory and feeling-anticipation process through an underground musical sensitivity and a creators’ proximal/local attention;

• Growth of musical propagations of neo-pagan attitudes and tribal experiences (the “Age of tribes” theorized in France by Michel Maffesoli, in 1988, and then in 2008).
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• The design of these practices and their mode of influence lead us to depict some specific representations in the different local contexts and as results of intercultural exchanges. Here are the main parts of my lecture today:

• 1. Growth “musicalization” in postmodern societies
• 2. The French intercultural appropriation of PUM and its public policy
• 3. The charity rock: genesis and meaning
• 4. PUM diffusion of rage and anger: drift and catharsis
• 5. Conclusion: a meta-system (SR) and a typology of PUM artists
1. Growth “musicalization” in postmodern societies

- I propose the expression “musicalization” (of revolt and of everyday-life)”, which probably emerged from the beginning of the “hominization” and may become more pronounced at the end of the First World War. It is a paradoxical movement, opposed to that of “verbalization/militarization of dissent”. The latter has been developed from the beginning of the 19th century until 1945 during the first “age of the crowd” (obsessed by total solutions and consequently by totalitarianism).

- When I speak of “verbalization of revolt”, it is ambiguous because this process includes not only “military and war action” of the European nations, but also the movement of intellectual explanation of politics and of everyday life (Aufklärung, Lumières /Enlightenment philosophy, human rights actions).
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• One example of this opposition, in France, has been the Sartre’s fashion especially in the 1960’s until his death and the successive trend of “musicalization” and lack of interest for the intellectual topics among large parts of the young generations after the 1970’s.

• But we can also rediscover this opposition today between the underground militant bands (alternative groups) and the entertainment music one.

• ➔ I think that this is the ambiguity of modernity. From the beginning, the fight for the Enlightenment and democracy had become inevitably (for both American and French Revolutions) nationalist and warmongering.
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- The popular underground music styles (rock and roll, rap, techno, metal, world music) appeared at a crucial time of inversion of these values, during the World and Cold Wars (1914-1970). As it is very well known: the claim for flower power in the Sixties was not only a poetic attitude. It symbolized also the transformation of the masses and minorities’ credo for their mobilization and their gathering.

- They are exemplary crystallizations of other expressions and representations of crowd. This movement illustrates the end of a certain type of protest organization, centred around fundamentalist, Marxist and communist beliefs (all being totalitarian).
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• ➔ This “musicalization” concerns all the dimensions of life” and materializes a global entertainment model and a current, dominant love culture (ordo amoris). It implies at the same time a globalization of sound (with a main marketing aim) and proliferating intercultural exchanges between all kinds of minorities.

• ➔”Musicalization” is intended as integrated into the global and heterogeneous movement and the various components of the PUM.

• (For a definition of the popular music, see: International Association of Popular Music, Simon Frith, Reebee Garofalo, Dick Hebdige, Richard Middleton, Roy Shuker, John Street…)

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- In my approach, PUM is characterized, in sociological terms, by these different features:

  - Communitarian and marginal styles and behaviours and research of excitation behaviours (addiction, trance, hard-core crazes, and very strong bodily and mental feelings);

  - Ambivalent connections with conventions and most of the standards. This structural ambivalence is frequently transformed both into a need for dissidence and a need for stardom. The latter is accompanied by denial of identification with the stars and leaders;

  - Position of refusal (with rage and denial) or, in the opposite way, attitude of overinvestment towards marketing rationality models;
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- Defence and promotion of the popular character of their modes of diffusion/distribution/consumption;

- Seek for an audience at all costs (i.e. “need for recognition”), even if the public is restricted to some friends or to the small group of music producers;

- Will to preserve an expressive authenticity (influence of a specific SR of originality).

Consequently, as the PUM, “musicalization” movement has also structural and sociological characteristics.
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• I will be specifically dealing with the representation of, dissent, politics and power within this phenomenon (in terms of anomy, mental deregulations, construction of innovations and new identities, and emergence of other forms of sociability). Finally, “musicalization” is the blank, projective and virtual space of institutional political and social life. In this long and strange movement that includes a new ordo amoris, the “traditional” societies of Africa, South-America or Asia rejoin the western countries. In what examples can we analyse it?
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• 2. The French intercultural appropriation of PUM and its public policy

• In France, the history and the diffusion of Anglo-American music and popular cultures are very old. For example, there is a well-known tradition and a French touch in the Jazz music (Stefan Grappelli, Django Reinhardt).

• Rock music began to be listened to in the very early 1950’s. Nonetheless, an active development of underground music innovation dates from the late 1970’s.

• At the same time, the public policy of popular music has been, since 1981, in correlation with the access to power and government of socialist movements (1981-1986; 1988-1992; 1997-2002).
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- In order to set the historical background, we should just remember the creation of the Music Day in 1982 by the Left Party Minister Jack Lang. Consecutively, one observes, in the 1980’s, a great success of this Music Day all around the European Union and world.

- One also notices an increasing popularity of rock music protests in the same country (1979-1988): identification with the punk model and English “new wave” (during the stage of my first investigations: 1979-1987).

- In order to give a sound and an image of the impact of underground mythology and “flower power attitude” in the middle of 1970’s, I can give the French example of Ange, a band which exactly represents (influenced by King Crimson and Genesis) the style of this period before the punk break: [http://dailymotion.virgilio.it/video/x2jyjr_ange-hymne-a-la-vie_music](http://dailymotion.virgilio.it/video/x2jyjr_ange-hymne-a-la-vie_music).
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• The punk break is at the opposite of this atmosphere. An example of the French punk nervous transformation. There had been numerous rebel groups in the 1977-1987:

• Metal Urbain (Panik):
  ➔ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o_HMXbk3g08&feature=related

• Starshooter group which was both commercial and innovative:
  ➔ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=65jBSbEpGHA;

• Or also Bijou:
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- I can also show you a more politically subversive band which, before Serge Gainsbourg and his perversion of Marseillaise by reggae music, proposed a punk remix of the French hymn: Oberkampf:
  ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i1ORXrQ6r9k&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i1ORXrQ6r9k&feature=related).

- Here is a laudatory remix of the French revolutionary song “Ah ça ira!” by the Porte-Mentaux, one of the groups of my first ethnographic sample (1980-1986):
  ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jyBzGUfgSf0](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jyBzGUfgSf0).

- Bérurier Noir, a redskin alternative group created “Porcherie” song against J.M. Le Pen and his party:
  ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=59OVb4j48tM&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=59OVb4j48tM&feature=related)
  ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ce1RseAVOog&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ce1RseAVOog&feature=related).
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- Komintern another redskin group very hardcore:
  - http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqTkQ0YpjrM

- Marquis de Sade is a dandy example of this period:
  - http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ppi3BL2H8-w&feature=related

- Les Garçons Bouchers: a festive and popular alternative band (song: “La bière”):
  - http://dailymotion.virgilio.it/video/x96ib_les-garcons-bouchers-la-biere_music

- One example of a French-British international experience is Orchestre Rouge or Passion Fodder:
  - http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jbx6G0lujJA)
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• But the list is too long... all this is old nowadays!

• There have been at the same time (for Black African and Arabic immigrants’ children), numerous and various appropriations of American hip hop in the French suburbs (Marseille, Lyon, Paris…), since 1982-1983. That has given birth to a mixed and relatively original French rap.

• During the same decade, the concept of “world music” began to be diffused, with the expression “sono mondiale” in Paris, diffused by Nova Radio (an audio broadcast of the underground and fashionable glossy Actuel).

• The experience and the label “world music” started from Paris and then got across London after a marketing meeting of 25 record companies (Taylor, 1997).
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• I don’t show you now neither the “best of” of French hip hop nor the worst, but a little sample of the everyday production. Here are some relatively underground (for some of them gangsta rap) and recent production of Yvelines groups (district of Versailles):
  • La Tryad Les Graphs (Mantes-La-Jolie)
  • Effi Ello (Mantes-la-Jolie, Val Fourré):
    ➤ http://dailymotion.virgilio.it/related/x6xsa7/video/x4w4dv_effi-ello-leffet-de-groupe_music.
  • Vicié (Mante-la-Jolie):
    ➤ http://dailymotion.virgilio.it/related/x4w4dv/video/x69vp4_vicie-les-bas-fonds-de-manteslajoli_music.
  • Hasko with Haise Prod (Plaisir) who claims to represent “78”:
    ➤ http://www.booska-p.com/clip-hasko-on-est-la-cl147.html
  • Or the well-known La Rumeur from the 78:
    ➤ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RSUvVSmcecs
  • Or from another suburb of Paris (in the North):
    ➤ http://dailymotion.virgilio.it/relevance/search/Alpha+5.20/video/x8k7ft_alpha-520-guerre-et-paix_music.
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• After the 1980’s, one observes, in large areas, multiplications (1990-2009) of many other trends (mainly techno, straightedge, cyberpunk and metal). As seen above, some revivals of punk and a commercial standardization of the French rap could be noticed. Temporal limits impeach me to give other examples.

• Like in other Western countries (United Kingdom, United States, Scandinavian lands, or Germany), all these trends are strongly structured and organized. They have networks, periodicals, websites and radios. These networks consist of active consumers and small-groups, which are present both in cities and villages, with their own associations, their lobbying activities and the intention to influence the Parliament’s deliberations, the government’s decisions or the regional and local authorities.
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- The expression “Third Sector” in the definition of public policy of PUM
- This institutionalization of the PUM leads to the development of the so-called “Third Sector”. This expression is an excellent example of how intercultural processes are developing in a specific area, like France. From the point of view of the cultural activism and of the French underground music associations, the expression “Third Sector” has links with the revolutionary and connotative expression “Tiers État” (“Third Estate”) that concentrated, in 1789, all the representatives of the People in the Parliament.

- I specify that “Third Space” is also a concept proposed by H. Bhabha, a specialist of the “subaltern studies” (2007, Les lieux de la culture. Une situation postcoloniale, Paris, Payot) with “hybridity” or “ambivalence” in order to characterize the process of creation through globalization and migrations contexts.
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• And by metaphorical expression, “Third Sector”, also reflects the economic and social solidarity of small cultural enterprises and non-profit associations. Furthermore, “Third Sector” indicates all kind of alternatives to industries and services controlled by strictly stock exchange and financial logics.

• ➔ Various national associations (TECHNOPOL, FEDUROK, IRMA...), different kinds of networks of concert halls, several independent productions, numerous conferences of musicians and producers, many professional training courses, technical and commercial help-activities confirm the existence of a strong institutionalization of underground and electronic popular music.
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- The specialization of the State Administration is another indicator of this institutionalization of PUM. Ever more studies and researches on music and amateur practices have been conducted from 1981 until now

- DEP of the French Ministry of Culture (http://www.culture.gouv.fr/dep/)

- Despite this increasing institutionalization of PUM, the academic recognition of the social scientists specialized in the study of underground cultures is not at the same level and legitimacy as what they are in British and American universities (see Dauncey and Le Guern, 2008).
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• There are many barriers and difficulties to be considered as a serious researcher, in France, if one chooses the sociology or the social psychology of rock and underground music. My strategy, now, is to integrate a management research centre and also to create and organize a professional Master of Management in artistic and cultural organizations. In this manner, I have developed a field research and a master degree program with my Laboratory. Is it a good reaction against French social psychologist ostracism?

• At the same time, we can observe continuous non-evaluation and non-control of cultural expenditures by many local authorities with specific consequences: prevalence of favouritism/nepotism or ideological choices in financing decisions (see chapter Le Guern and Dauncey, in Seca, 2007).
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• ➔ Observation of disorders and paradoxes in the local and national public policies. This situation of PUM is paradoxical.

• We can spot an increasingly institutionalization and a certain disorder in the French public policy. Obviously, it is not easy to “manage” the proliferating Dionysian need either in rock practices or in other types of electronic music, or in all kind of practices in modern societies. But the basis of the demand of rock and rap bands, ever since the origins of these movements (especially in American “garage bands” for example), has been to be equally treated and not to have constraints.
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• The characteristics of this public policy in the local urban zones are in contradiction with the aim of punk or rock revolt. The latter (underground music) was born in liberal contexts. And the French policy is inspired by a regulatory philosophy of culture and by an uncontrolled and segmented selection of the assisted bands. How to solve this contradiction?

• This paradox of the PUM public policy explains and justifies the diffusion of an often plaintive and PUM mini-technocracy claiming subsidies and requiring even more attention (and the most helped bands are not the less plaintive).
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• That can lead to unequal support of some styles, at the expense of others. In other words, the French public regulation of PUM will potentially help legitimate artists rather than others, more or less wild or conformist.

• This contradiction doesn’t hinder a parallel maintenance of a hierarchical representation of cultural values. One observes a typical representation of the public resources for the Culture: a small part of the money goes to underground bands, whereas ever more financial support is provided for jazz, classical or opera music (see http://www.culture.gouv.fr/dep/ for any statistics data and investigations).
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- Last but not least, this kind of policy (“Third Sector”, local and national subsidies, maintained hierarchies of arts) and that of the market (small companies linked with the great labels and search for success) lead to a chaotic and paradoxical development of these trends (and of SR diffused by “alternative” groups) in France.

- The protest songs and speeches of Anglo-American folk and pop rock of the sixties are perfectly and curiously adapted to this logic of schizophrenic integration both into the market and the State. What about charity music business practices which has integrated the public policy variables and the global business necessity?
3. The charity rock: genesis and meaning

Charity rock (and music) is another specific trend of the intercultural and global culture. The structure of this activity is very well described by historians of MUP culture (op. cit; see bibliography). Various events were precursors to this global phenomenon:

- The struggle for civil rights and against racial segregation in the United State between 1950 and 1960.
- George Harrison, the former member of the Beatles, was one of the first to organize a concert for the flood victims in Bangladesh in 1971 (Delmas and Gancel, 2005).
- In the United Kingdom, the RAR (Rock against Racism movement) in the mid-1970s was another pathfinder.
- Many artistic bands want to impose themselves as both micro-social movements and spokespeople (see the redskins and other
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• At a procedural level, we remark also that the global communication of artists activates a spontaneous knowledge of political and communicational action and an intuitive application of any social and political science “discoveries” (minority influence, efficiency strategy and marketing of communication, Gramscian notion of “organic intellectual” “entryism” behaviour, that is a Trotskyite concept of political fight).

• In the same time, charity underground music is a business affair and an instrumentalization of some styles with a special aim, like in other artistic circumstances. We can give as example the punk political manipulation and perversion (by cultural and record companies and by radical political parties), after the deep revolutionary disillusion in the middle of seventies (see, Marcus, 1989).
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• From the 1977 to 1980, one observed the emergence of various strategies in order to domesticate the punk explosion. This “domestication” has been initiated by extremist, neo-fascist and populist fronts, on the one hand, and by left parties, on the other hand. These strategies tried to apply political instrumentalization to the non-controlled punk anarchism.

• The French and Jack Lang’s regulation policy of rock in the 1980’s had the same intention for all styles and trends in popular music. In France, in the 1980’s, there have been also rock and world music concerts of the “SOS Racisme” movement, tightly connected to the French Socialist Party.
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- There are two social representations of music utility/functionality:

- The Global Charity rock orientation and its links with the Market model (the diffusion model of Moscovici’s research on communication);

- The local, rebel and alternative musical protest pattern, whose origin goes back to the Negro spiritual or to the American Folk song; but it is also linked with the diffusion of the history-related process of political songs (like the Marseillaise, the first version of the International or Verdi’s music) (the “propaganda and propagation” modes of Moscovici’s approach).

- In order to better understand the genesis of charity rock, let’s complementary examine the British context of diffusion and instrumentalization of the music, in the 1975-1990:
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1. Spontaneous Anti-Thatcherism of many British singers (Elvis Costello, The Smith or Boy Georges, in 1988; or “Stand down Margaret!” by The Beat, at the end of 1979);

2. Since 1976: creation of the RAR (Rock against Racism) as a reaction to the English National Front and the drifts of the Nazi-skin rock. The RAR movement worked and acted in cooperation with the Anti-Nazi League;

3. Anti-war Protest (Falkland Island Crisis, in 1982) and Campaign for the Nuclear Disarmament (named “CND”, in 1982);

4. Support for the pit workers’ strike (1984-1985) by rock groups or musicians, like Asian Dub Foundation or Billy Bragg;
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5. Demand of the left parties to fight Margaret Thatcher’s authoritarian and ultra-free-market excesses.

6. In 1984, implementation of Live Aid: version “less partisan” in comparison with the previous movements, and closer to the apolitical combat. The Live Aid was created under the impulse of Bob Geldof who reiterated the same formula, in several Western cities, in July 2005.

7. The model of Live Aid will then be replicated several times, for example, in France, with “Les Enfoirés” (French Anti-malnutrition movement), the earthquake victims in Armenia or, more recently, “Solidays” (aids solidarity movement), and so on. And I suppose in other countries...
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The “charity rock” features

• The concerts of this type, with market-humanitarian aim, multiply in the following years both in the United States (Band Aid; or, in the 2005, a group of rockers against the politics of George Bush) and elsewhere only to promote every worthy cause.

• Indeed, this marketing pattern of Live Aid becomes a mode of management of donations in the Western countries. One observes a self-publicity of well-known artists, an implicit commercial income, and a demonstrative and effective altruism: the money from concerts and records was presented as necessarily transferred to the victims. An automatic and global diffusion of the “good feeling” has been organised.
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- It is impossible to establish an assessment other than financial (which is nevertheless positive) of these global and artistic mobilizations of generosity. There remains an impression of ambivalence related to the imposing and narcissistic nature of the modes of communication used.

- Thomas Reed ironically notes that the Band Aid videos «show us no African at all, but lots of rich musicians, looking and sounding alternately and often, simultaneously sincere, and self-satisfied. A sense of inactivist self-containment is reinforced visually by the extremely static staging of the video—no one moves from the claustrophobic recording studio» (Reed Thomas, 2001, “Famine, Apartheid and the Politics of “Agit-Pop”- Music as (Anti)colonial Discourse”. Cercles, 3, p. 99.)
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• The examples above have been incompletely analyzed. It may be necessary to undertake deeper investigations into their internalization and their social representations.

• Can maybe this kind of inquiries makes it possible to understand the integration of these various tendencies into the everyday life of the democracies? This observation may help to understand and to explain, for example, the French administrative policies aiming to support, encourage and control these musical practices. But the most interesting thing to do is the comparison between the “charity music” structure or characteristics and the proliferation or absence of “alternative groups” in a local context.

• The case of charity rock is ambiguous. It results as much from sincere political involvements of various groups as from the media diary effect (Gerbner) or stardom impact.
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• 4. PUM diffusion of rage and anger: drift and catharsis

⇒ A common sense of the underground music has been developed during the sixty last years. It resembles an ideology of music.

⇒ We will examine the probable consequences of the what I call “standardization of feeling” (Seca, 2005a, 2005b, 2009) and the SR diffused by these underground styles...

⇒ The confrontation between the global electronic rhythmic domination and the local diversity of its reception explains the continuation of diffusion and consumption of some new violent and enraged creations. It is as if the controversial and conflicting impact of the standardization of feeling generates various reproductions of the same or original imitations.
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Consequently, the controversial impact of these different styles seems to be in latent contradiction with their intercultural benefits and their financial profit.

Expression of the anger (or rage) is frequently associated with rock, pop, rap, techno, hardcore and metal. In my opinion, there is no true contradiction between these different phenomena (differentiation / standardization / communication modes / global development / conflict generated during the reception of a new “object” of SR).

The musical underground expression of rage in local contexts is naturally connected to the modulation and the adjustment to the need for differentiation of the publics during the communication process. Here are examples of any countries where the pattern of the PUM has different consequences in terms of expression of anger and of repression.
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• Kampuchea nowadays

• According to Jean-Philippe Petesch, the popular productions of this country are founded, above all, on the ambiguous social norm of “smiling-face” (Kampuchea is very often presented as the “Country of smile”), self-presentation and **conformism**.

• By contrast with these values, the Khmer-French group Véalsré, which was relatively soft and quiet in 2005, has been regarded as a protest group, even if it was very far removed from the extreme standards and practices of the Western PUM productions.

• In a metaphorical but clear way, **it tackles the prohibited and central question of the Red Khmer genocide**. So, as not to provoke revenge, it must be economically sustained, helped and protected by the Embassy of France and the French Arts Centre of Pnom Pehn (Petesch, 2007).
The french-khmer group, Véalsré (2005, Pnom Pehn)
The french-khmer group, Véalsré (2005, Pnom Pehn)
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- This experience is an excellent and positive example of the struggle between standardization and hybridization in mass culture. The reality of standardization is not the same in Kampuchea and in Western European Union. Véalsré music was without originality if we evaluate it with the European criteria. It is very gentle and mild in comparison with the hardcore (in rap, techno or metal) of western countries.

- [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wUCVD3GXLZA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wUCVD3GXLZA)
- [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ONxQ3VjQ1es&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ONxQ3VjQ1es&feature=related)

- But its subversive impact remained relevant in Kampuchea. Like in the case of the soviet States in East-Europe, the only existence of an artistic current or of a rock group is enough so that the repression forces begins to be applied. The critics of the Freudian-Marxists or situationists against standardization have no relevance in this case.
Contemporary India

- According to Stéphane Dorin, the rock music styles have the following characteristics in this cultural sphere (Dorin, 2007):
  
  - *Predominance of conformism* (norms of honesty, social and political at the same time);

  - *Maintenance of the social integration* in the Western attitudes and values, in a context of resurgence and reformulating expression of Indian nationalism;
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- *Decrease of underground or rebellious forms of cultures* connected to new combinations, with local popular musical forms -like in Kampuchea with Véalsré- in order to produce Indian rock versions. The latter has become a “mediation and recombination attitude”, in order to accede to the public space;

- *Existence of a strong protest and socio-political content of the folk scene*, being inspired by the American Pete Seeger and the tradition of the political Marxist Indian songs.

- But the protest is *often undervalued*. For example, there are no hip hop practices in India (Dorin, 2005).
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- **Example: Suman Chatterjee and the Jibonmukhi song** or how the India Tradition become hybridized and globalized by the appropriation of a traveller Bengali artist:

  - Suman Chatterjee in concert (Photo: Stéphane Dorn, 2007)
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In the East Europe before the fall of communism:

- **Conformism of official rock groups** (Poland, USSR) with underground emergence of a protest scene (see Zaytseva, 2007, in Seca, *op. cit*);

- In some local and national spaces, a **pure and simple prohibition of rock or a limited tolerance** (example: Romania during the dictature; See also the famous repression of the *Plastic People of the Universe in the Communist Czech Republic*), a little like in pro-Franco Spain or in the old fascist Portugal;

- Example of a very famous Romanian group before the fall of the communist dictator:

  ➔ Phoenix (the well-known and very soon forbidden song “In the shadow of the great bear”; the original title was a playing-word between “URS” -that means “bear” in Romanian- and URS(S):

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- Ambiguity of rock music functions (integration of strange patterns; selective or filter -or propagandist- attitude; analogies with contemporary India or Kampuchea;

- Populism in some parts of Russia: underground and rock groups, like in Western countries, have proclaimed and are affiliated to neo-Nazism, neo-Fascism, racism, Satanism, or ultra-nationalism: this is the bad aspect of communitarianism and tribalism (see: François, 2006, La Musique Europaïenne. Ethnographie politique d’une subculture de droite, Paris, L’Harmattan).
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United States (1955-1981) and the world spread of music

- The field research is here too large and dense. It is impossible to abstract and to synthesize it.

- Only one example: the great moment of the American influence on the mythology of pop music has been the 1960’s. The folk rock and the protest song accompanied an authentic movement of cultural change which culminated (and finished) in the psychedelic rock and the promotion of an ambiguous type of emotional and narcissistic communication (Delmas et Gancel, 2005; Lasch, 1979). This part is obviously must be detailed.

- I notice the existence of a special cross-fertilization in the so-called “Anglo-American music” which is less homogeneous than some continental Europeans believe. The appropriation process of the British styles is typical. The influence of the sixty’s bands (The Rolling Stones and the Beatles) is to remind.
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- We cannot go over all these styles in this presentation (see: Seca ed., 2007): Example of this type of cross-fertilization: the Hardcore/Straight-edge current is born, with the group Minor Threat, in Washington DC, in 1981 probably in reaction/imitation to punk impact. There are numerous examples of inter-influences and hybridizations between American and British bands. Another case is the influence of New York Dolls band on the birth of the punk British movement.

- In various western countries and globalized spaces, one notices nowadays the emergence and diffusion of six stylistic and tribal trends, implying a technical deepening and an emotional intensification of aesthetic explorations of the 1945-1990s experiences.
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- populist and identity rocks (country and western, folk, skin-rock, some metal styles and industrial music);  
- free parties (and techno) practices;  
- hard-rock and metal trends;  
- hip hop and rap movements;  
- punk revivals and hardcore styles.  
- world music that includes the work of transformation and hybridization of folk and tropical or asian cultures.
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The dark and internationalized side of PUM

• We can now do a little exploration of the dark side of “musicalization”: rage, propagation and internalization of hate in various examples and styles:

• The internalization and internationalization of Scandinavian Black Metal is one example of this hard “hate” influence. A Pagan and Nazi tribe from Norway is spreading nowadays all over the world. Here are some of the precursors:

• Varg Vikernes (scandalous and Scandinavian precursor of Black Metal):
  ➔ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQkYoPKUHQ4&feature=related

• Darkthrone (and Mayem) “Under a Funeral Moon”:
  ➔ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dM4qRuECGb4&feature=related

• Darkthrone, in 2004 live:
  ➔ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Szljuroty_w&feature=related
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• Mayem auto-mutilation behaviour in live concert:  
  ➔  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rS4FGL5NlII&feature=related

Another case is the French Gangsta Rap and its strong influence on the young generation of the poor suburbs and ghettos:

• French gangsta rap band Alkapote from the 91 (« Père-Noël»):  
  ➔  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HAQMlEy2IWU

• Alkapote (« Frissonnez »):  
  ➔  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiVhLsotmZ8&feature=related

• Alkapote (« Sucez », or « L’Empereur »):  
  ➔  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n21eLrpy_z0&feature=related  
  ➔  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DY2hTjsZRA&feature=related
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- Suprem NTM, French famous group of rap is nowadays too a controversial case:
  - “Qu’est-ce qu’on attend?”
    ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H_IN2YF0_pc](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H_IN2YF0_pc)
  - « Nique la police »:
    ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYDzCzSiaz4&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYDzCzSiaz4&feature=related)

- The Nazi and extreme-right is analyzed accurately by Gildas Lescop (in Seca, 2007). One of its characteristics is the absence of originality of its music. The imitation of the proliferating underground creation doesn’t lead to an attractive product in these political and extremist trends. I don’t show video of the racist and Nazi group Skrewdriver (or others). It is too shocking and insulting.
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- When the music becomes more creative or hypnotic, it begins to combine and to play or to surf with disturbing images and clichés, exactly like the Punks did it at the end of the 1970’s.

- The ambiguous style of the Slovenian Laibach (play with Nazi aesthetic, like Marilyn Manson Group) is a good example of this disturbing and fascinating art production:

  ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q3SvjSu4R-8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q3SvjSu4R-8)

- The Gabber style is another ambiguous style, linked with extreme right (see Lescop’s comments, 2007):

  ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c-NQDdUAwQU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c-NQDdUAwQU)
  ➤ [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKjhh9gZnTo&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKjhh9gZnTo&feature=related)
 Comments on the rage expression

- In spite of the nuances of regional and local appropriation described above, can one start to speak about the advent of a trans-cultural matrix of rebellion? Is this matrix ever a source of change and transformations? How to tolerate extremist violence and verbal drifts in these trends?

- If there is a standardization process, founded by these musical forms, is this tendency in relation with an accentuation of individuation (to be singular in small similar groups) and psychopathological regression? Or is it the opposite, that is to say this process may encourages, crystallizes and materializes ever more diffusion of minorities’ behaviours and patterns?
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- The “musicalization” of revolt and all kind of artistic involvement are strongly associated with the influence of a specific model of “internality” (“we are the oppressed, they are bad”; “we are the Champions, they ignore us”) very often studied in modern social psychology. The increase of the internalized causal attributions in different cultural and organizational fields means (and in music practices) that this trend goes with:

  - A general “psychiatrization” and individuation of the social relations;
  - An excessive obsession with individual / standardized / marketing/ influenced bodily cultures;
  - An ideology of charismatic, gifted personality;
  - A worship of the modified states of consciousness;
  - A narcissistic instrumentalization of others.
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• 5. Conclusion: a meta-system (SR) and a typology of PUM artists

• There is a meta-system (social representations) which organizes the influence of electronic and rock productions and their latent impact: it is more effective than the traditional propaganda because it is centred on the after-effect of minority influence (Channouf, 2004; Moscovici, Mugny, Nemeth, Pérez, Personnaz…).

• Contemporarily, a Nietzschean and “situationist” philosophy is one of its consequences. There are ever more Dionysian or pagan rituals and aesthetic emotions.

• They consist of acts, symbols and crystallizations of this matrix. They are structured as a system of assertions about the rebellion, the community, the body, the pleasure, the future and the self-conception in the world.
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• This symbolic and representational matrix of underground music also includes a puritan and religious refusal / promotion of idolatry. There is indeed a permanent rebellion against institutions. It is another source of violent expression in music.

• At the same time, one observes many great federations of fans (see the internationalized funeral of Michael Jackson recently), multinationals, official leadership, stardom… and all kinds of gathering leading to the diffusion/objectification of an ideology.

• This explains why there is a great influence of this specific culture, qualified as “utopia” by its organic supporters or intellectuals. For the conservatives and critical intellectuals, these “cultures” are defined as “ideology” and “addiction attitudes”.

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• As it could be seen during the first lecture, this tendency is a symptom of the relative decline of the “logos” deliberating philosophy holding the advantage of an essentialist and communitarian conception (a claiming / protest democracy value).

• An apologia and a justification of “neo-tribalism” are then emerging among producers, supporters, poets and musicians (crews, tribes, posses) accompanying a main-group or a style.

• This apologia implies a prevalence of fetishism and a “fluidic” representation of musical action, that is an increasing promotion of the hypnotic efficiency of art and of what Maisonneuve in France calls the « corpore-ization » (a general body interactive feeling ideology: cf. Seca, 2001; Maisonneuve, 1981, 2001).
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• Another very constructive characteristic of this matrix of PUM is a specific design of creativity: self-training, technological and instrumental minimalism, individuation career with functional use of the group, in spite of the formal promotion of collective benefits.

• A typology of PUM minorities?
• To finish our description, a typological classification of musical protest can be presented: the genius, the entrepreneur/manager and the guerilla.
• I propose this classification, a little different from what Nathalie Heinich has drawn her inspiration from Max Scheler’s writing (the Saint, the Genius and the Hero: see Heinich, 2005 and Max Scheler, 1933 „Vorbilder und Führer“ in Schriften aus dem Nachlass, Berlin (in Gesammelte Werke), Trad. In French: 1958, Le Saint, le Génie et le Héros, Lyon, Vitte Ed).
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• First, I have unified the figures of the Saint and the Hero into one, i.e. the “guerilla”. Why have I done so? The reason for the disappearance of the Saint, is from my point of view, due to the fact that the holiness is not noisy and resounding nowadays.

• If you try to understand why Satanism and animism are so active in the underground practices and consumptions, I think the answer is in the question of “silence” (in other terms, the lack of silence) in PUM expression.

• Consequently, my classification takes into consideration the absence of holiness and the impact of the market. At the same time, the opportunity for these artists to be heroic and brilliant is integrated into my structural approach (the figures of the Guerilla and the Genius).
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• Evidently, the struggle for heroic attitude and behavior, the necessity to be inspired and authentic are the cornerstone of their values and activities in contrast with.

• This partially answers our question: why would these musicians accept to obey and to comply with cultural industries, political ideologies and new polytheist religions?

• I have called “acid state model” the tension between the necessity of minority promotion of the self and values, on the one hand, and the logic of marketing and mass affiliation, and the other hand.
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**The genius**

- He/She is a heaven traveller, a mad and possessed person, like La Fontaine, Van Gogh, Michelangelo or Picasso; for popular music I can cite: Ian Curtis, John Lennon, Jim Morrison, Jimmy Hendrix etc.

- This type is concretized by the diffusion of metal styles and occult practices (sorcery, magic, violent rituals, scarifications, body-transformations).

- The inspiration and what I call the “device” (that is a “viable and progressive identification project”) are the only processes that connect the classic and eternal artists of the glorious past with the underground and electronic producers.
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The entrepreneur or manager:

• This type represents the anomic behaviors of musicians and the influence of market and stardom (sex, drug, rock and roll, and lies).

• These behaviors concretize the new spirit of capitalism (Boltanski and Chiapello, Menger): the entrepreneur-ship artist is a featuring and networking artisan, centered around different and numerous projects and with variable part-time implications.

• This manager-artist can also become critical and rebel. But the rebellion is object of calculations and adaptation. Capitalism needs the critics, subversion and rebellion in order to be revitalized.
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• **The guerrilla**

• This figure is that of a fighter for the absolute, with a romantic posture, inspired by Don Quixote and the existentialists’ behaviors or the young Malraux’s life (in *La Condition Humaine*).

• This type is closer to the partisan and the resistant fighter position. Different symbols represent this type. The military clothing (when it comes to every different style: rap, techno, hardcore, metal, and so on), the instrumentalization of this kind of music by extremism and populism and, also, the permanence of the “thêmata” (and structural representations) of authenticity or purity are as many exemplary indicators of this type. In the social everyday life of the musician, these three types are joined and combined, with the predominance of one of them.
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- “The musicians […] are constantly finding new sounds to project their new selves, selves that often find commonalities all over the globe, but at the same time they are also critiquing some of politics and politics of the west, even sometimes their own countries. ‘Meta-narratives’ of progressive political change may dead in the west as (postmodern) theory, they may be dead, even, in practice, but musicians around the world are telling us that it’s not so. Just as the subordinate groups in US culture have always done more than the dominant groups to make radical positions available through new sounds, new forms, new styles, it looks as though it is the subordinate groups around the world who are doing the same, perhaps even showing us how to get along on this planet. If we would only listen” (Taylor, op. cit., pp. 203-204.)