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The rest still Hebdige. Take Me To Your Party to Understand and Explain the (Sub) (Post)Cultures

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Hebdige's work, especially his masterpiece *Subculture* (1979), indelibly marked the panorama of youth subculture theories in the fields of the cultural studies, humanities and social sciences. For decades it was the headlamp for all

researchers concerned with understanding the changes that took place in youth cultures, their sociability and their styles. He also was a pioneer in the use of transdisciplinary approaches, as we can see in his different contributions, as well as the concern to address the social and cultural impact of the growing number of subcultures and the recent diasporas in the United Kingdom. Despite all its possible limitations because it is a work that also felt the weight of the years, a situation he recognized (Hebdige, 2012), it is a classic of full right. The strongest proof is that, despite a huge theoretical criticism of his work, the concept of subculture has not lost coherence and is being continually readapted in new investigations.

The studies on youth subcultures comprises a significant diversity of theories, concepts, methods and approaches (Williams, 2006, 2007, 2011). The origins of subcultural studies are associated with two distinct sociological traditions: the American and the British. In relation to the first, it is based on the pioneering studies carried out by the sociologists of the Chicago School in the 1920s and 1940s, although the authors of these studies do not consider themselves 'subcultural scholars' (Williams 2007: 572). In relation to the British tradition, the subcultural approach comes from the study of working-class youths developed in the CCCS from the mid-1960s and throughout the following decade. It was guided by a transdisciplinary approach and considered the contributions of areas including sociology, literary theory and criticism, semiotics, cultural studies and media

studies (Guerra 2013; Guerra & Quintela 2016a, 2016b).

In *Subculture*, a work originally published in 1979, Hebdige argues that in post-World War II England a profound change occurred in how social classes were experienced due to structural factors such as education, youth economic empowerment, the growing importance of the media and the burgeoning of leisure among all social classes, among other factors. One of the effects of such changes was a fragmentation of discourses about what it means to belong to the working class. It is interesting to note that in the CCCS the emphasis was not on the celebration of fun, but on the way in which subcultures sought to solve problems affecting the lives of the working-class youth. These solutions, however, could not overcome the fact that these individuals were placed in a subaltern position in the social structure. They, therefore, should 'focus on certain activities, values, certain uses of material artefacts, territorial spaces, etc., which significantly differentiate them from the wider culture' (Clarke et al., 1997: 100).

All scientific perspectives have flaws. The CSSS is no exception. Tait (1993) was possibly one of the first authors to elaborate a critique of the subcultural approach, calling into question the variables used to define subcultures, which were, above all, age and social class. He points out how the critical dimensions of gender and ethnicity were forgotten in subcultural analysis. Regarding gender, a mention should be made of McRobbie's contributions (1978, 1980, 1993), concerning the invisibility of female subcultural participation. On the issue of ethnicity, authors such as Wade (2000)

and especially Huq (2006) find that the postcolonial era was (and is) a time of great social changes in the former colonizing countries as well as a time of constant and in all-direction flows between former colonizing and colonized countries. In that way, we simultaneously have globalization and localization operating in a complex web of network flows, showing that the notion of cultural homogeneity, understood as a guarantee of identity and specific values, is increasingly indefensible when we talk about popular music.

The main body of criticism to subcultural theory comes from the so-called post-subcultural theories, which began to take on a great prominence in the late 1990s. It is an approach that allows questioning cultural issues that affect young people in a more complex, dynamic and reticular way. The identities of young people have come to be seen as reflexive identities, articulating aspects with specific local and/or regional aspects with issues clearly global and/or virtual. In the post-subcultural theory, one of the most relevant concepts is that of neo-tribe. Maffesoli (1996) initially developed this concept to try to give meaning to what he considered to be the new patterns of sociability in postmodernity. For their part, Bennett (1999) and Malbon (1999) transposed this concept to post-subcultural studies to respond to a growing flow of youth cultural identities. The belonging of these young people to youth cultures depended on factors such as taste, aesthetics and affectivity, and not, as postulated by subcultural theory, on class, community and ethnic ties (Bennett, 2011).

On the other hand, there is also the concept of lifestyle. There was a resurgence of an interest in this concept in the 1990s. Much of the merit of this recovery must be attributed to Chaney (1996) who, in addition to putting lifestyles at the centre of his theory, made an essential distinction between lifestyle and ways of life. Although the latter refers to more stable lines associated with the community of belonging, as well as to a set of shared norms and rituals, lifestyles are creative projects which are typical of reflexive actors and demonstrate what the author calls 'consumer competence' (Chaney, 1996: 92–97).

The third central concept of post-subcultural theory is the concept of scenes, first postulated by Straw (1991). For this author, scenes transcend space and refer to a certain state of relations between individuals that are based on the sharing of affinities at the level of musical styles. It was (and is) a central concept in post-subcultural theory because it allows a departure from the deterministic perspective in which subcultures existed rigidly and followed class, community and ethnic lines. Scenes, on the other hand, follow lines of sharing and aesthetic affinities and, likewise, are amid constant fluidity and change (Kahn-Harris, 2004).

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