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So close yet so far: DIY cultures in Portugal and Brazil

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses how different forms of involvement in underground punk and/or alternative scenes develop into specific do-it-yourself (DIY) careers. From a *corpus* of 214 interviews, the various DIY representations of social practices held by Portuguese punk scene members are studied, especially regarding the way they experience and develop knowledge, networks, and skills. These social representations are particularly important in terms of their insertion into the labour market. At the same time, the centrality of DIY in Brazil's funk, electronica, and alternative rock scenes is compared with the Portuguese punk context through a recent analysis carried out in Brazil with 32 members of those scenes – mostly women – showing the importance of DIY beyond punk and the Global North.

KEYWORDS

Brazil; do-it-yourself (DIY) practices/ethos; alternative scene(s); Portugal; punk scene(s)

Introduction

DIY is a hot topic. There are plenty of studies about it, and not only at the academic level. For some, it is a way to ameliorate the prescriptions of a consumer society in late capitalism; this issue has gained a new importance in the wake of the economic crisis of 2008. For others – especially corporations – it is a way to keep up with social change: if there is a demand for DIY goods, they will provide them – as is the case with IKEA's worldwide success. However, this raises various questions: What types of DIY are there? Is it possible to have DIY without a specific *ethos*? Is DIY simply *a love for the necessary*? These issues are relevant, especially in the South where Portugal and Brazil once again meet: the former on the tail of Europe and the other below the Equator (Santos, 2017). There is a scarcity of Southern voices in the (sub)cultural analyses, despite constant calls to develop a social theory more open to these voices.

Brazil is a good example of this. In this immense country, there is enough material to allow for the advancement of our collective knowledge on DIY cultures. Particularly in Rio de Janeiro's funk scene, there is vibrant DIY culture, where many innovative ways of appropriating the potentialities of new technologies and social networks to break the cycle of poverty, economic precariousness, and social fragility can be found. In this scene(s), it is possible to observe different ways of enacting DIY strategies. On the one hand, there is an incorporated ethos – a desire to do things differently and, above all, independently; on the other, DIY can be a tool for other flights – the success that only

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the mainstream allows. It is these DIY social representations found in Brazilian underground music scenes that are so essential to a reinterpretation of DIY cultures as the basis for artistic and musical production in the South. The term "representations of social practices" is used, with an explicit emphasis on DIY representations of social actors in both Brazil and Portugal, to help better understand their social, material and ideological contexts. These social representations are always those actors' representations of their social practices, their life-world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). It is thus essential to present a brief theoretical approach to the concept of DIY and then attempting to understand and analyse those same representations as they are found in the Portuguese punk and Brazilian alternative scenes (Guerra, 2017, 2018, 2020a).

Rethinking DIY culture in a post-industrial context

The expression "do-it-yourself" is now a household term. In music, it often points to a mode of musical production that is distinctly different from the commercial circuits of the mainstream music industry (Gordon, 2012; Høigaard, 2002). The actions of the Situationist International in the 1950s and the punk scene in the 1970s are usually regarded as its historical precursors. The Situationist International was an artistic and cultural movement that aimed, above all, to satirize and denounce the inconsistencies of capitalist consumer society (Debord, 1992) through the creation of countercultural artistic objects, such as manifestos and zines. Its claims extended to using the symbols and forms of the status quo as a means of symbolic and ideological resistance. Owing much to Dada, the Situationist International would glorify its ready-mades and *dètournements* (meaning "to hijack something" in French) (Colegrave & Sullivan, 2002), using them to raise questions about the nature of art and the state of society.

On the other hand, punk emerged from an economic crisis in the 1970s, one that brought rising discontent to various layers of society. Punk emerged in this context, particularly in the United Kingdom, as a locus of social expression as well as an unwilling vehicle for fear and moral panic (Gildart, 2013). Punk gave a new life to counterculture through the growth of scenes, networks, fanzines, independent record labels, DIY, clothes, an aesthetic, media, and venues.

According to Dale's (2016) perspective, there is *no zero year* for the spirit of DIY. What we can find is a long period of construction, due to a culture of resistance and desire for other types of music. This was also due to technological developments, such as Xerox copiers that allowed for the easy production of fanzines. The importance of the DIY ethos of punk should not, however, be understated – particularly the break with the pretentiousness of progressive rock and the defence of amateurism as a form of resistance against virtuosity. But this creates certain problems: when amateurism is the most important thing, when any form of professionalization is despised, how is a punk band supposed to survive? That is why Dale (2016) maintains that punk's aspirations to completely disentangle itself from the mainstream economy are always bound to fail. This happened in the 1990s, a decade crucial for the development of DIY culture, which ceased to be purely an underground niche and became professionalized. Hesmondhalgh (1999) speaks of a shift from an idealistic standpoint towards an industry-based model. However, O'Connor (2008) refutes this perspective. The reality is more prosaic: DIY has always been more of a necessity than an ethos of resistance.

For a long time, the DIY analysis focused on a vision that celebrated the creation of a DIY industry (Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Cohen, 1991), made up of a small number of collectives and fans who became entrepreneurs – that is, individuals who followed a DIY ethos that kept them away from the mainstream. Tarassi (2018) suggests that the dichotomy between independent and mainstream is obsolete. As a result of substantial changes in the music industry and the creative economy, the relationship between indie and mainstream has changed and became one of interdependence. In the 1990s, authors such as Hesmondhalgh (1999) and Negus (1992) were already advocating this non-oppositional perspective. Additionally, independent musical production is increasingly approaching the logic of cultural economics: a core of professionalization and entrepreneurship runs through the independent scene.

As Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011), and Leadbeater and Oakley (1999) note, cultural production today is a network of small, independent, autonomous cultural groups, which choose independence in order to obtain artistic autonomy but at the same time do not shy away from sustaining relations with large cultural enterprises. Specifically, in the music world the distinction between bands that sign to a major label and those that have their own label, or are added to micro-labels, no longer has any operational value (Guerra, 2016). Above all, the constitution of an alternative musical career depends on both cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and the establishment of a network of relations in the field (Reitsamer & Prokop, 2018). These contact networks are not only important for finding a place to work, they are also vital to the recruitment of staff for the bands or for seeking out new possibilities of work in the music scene.

In focusing on the economy of relationships, a blurring of the distinction between free time and working time, consumption, and production is found. The reason is simple: in this context, any social occasion can become a professional opportunity. Of course, this logic of creative employment can easily turn into self-exploitation (Scott, 2012; Throsby, 2014).

Only individuals with stable economic foundations, and often family support, are able to remain in this economy, which is based on underpaid or unpaid work for a long period of time. Another requirement is a multi-tasking form of expertise as a way to overcome the uncertainty associated with independent music's economic instability (Bennett, 2018). However, this relationship with economy has its problems. First, it is as unstable as all human relationships. Second, and since it is based on a system of reciprocity, it has the side-effect of closing the door to new players. An economy based on networks of relationships ends up backing those with the greatest social capital or with more experience in the scene.

Background and methodological approach

With an analysis of 214 interviews conducted with members of the Portuguese punk scenes, this article aims to understand how the development of immersion, production, promotion, composition and performance skills in the scene contributed to the development of do-it-yourself (DIY) careers. The representations of DIY practices among these social actors and the ways in which they experienced and developed knowledge, networks and skills from that involvement/experience are analysed. These interviews

were held between 2013 and 2016 with social actors involved in the underground and alternative scenes all over the country; some cities in which they were held include Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra, Leiria, Aveiro, Braga, Viana do Castelo, and Castelo Branco e Viseu.[1] This analysis is complemented by recent research carried out in Brazil in 2018, the product of an ethnographic approach based on 32 interviews, mostly with women, conducted with members of the funk, punk, indie rock, and electronica scenes in several Brazilian regions – Rio de Janeiro, Fortaleza, Recife, Piauí, and Porto Alegre e Maceió. These interviews were then subjected to a categorical, vertical, and horizontal content analysis, complemented with use of the data analysis software NVivo.

The purpose is to demonstrate how important DIY cultures are in peripheral social and cultural realities, especially regarding the development of social and artistic innovation strategies, and creative and cultural entrepreneurship careers (Bennett & Guerra, 2019). Because the concept of DIY careers occupies centre stage in this analysis, we consider it appropriate to postulate the meaning of the term. Jian (2018) warns that any analysis of DIY musical careers implies a new paradox: the fast appropriation of the DIY ethos by neoliberal ideology. For example, Chapman (2013) refers to the emergence of the DIY "one-man band", and the way such idea is rooted in a neoliberal logic that prioritizes individual success above else (McRobbie, 2016).

The concept of DIY careers paved way to new perspectives in youth studies. Haenfler (2018) talks about "life after subculture" – the recognition that subculture careers do not end with youth (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2012; Furlong et al., 2011). A subcultural trajectory entails achieving a form of expertise that can be capitalized on in professional life, not only in musical careers but also in a new cultural economy that values a set of attributes that are characteristic of DIY scenes (Bennett, 2013, 2018). Similarly, at the marketing level, promoting the band or the fanzine, distributing flyers and so on encompass the idea of a *self-making* (Wierenga, 2009). These are very marketable qualities in an entrepreneurial-centred economy (Campbell, 2015).

Threadgold (2018), on the other hand, speaks of individuals *choosing poverty*. Those who invest in DIY cultures establish a difficult and complex series of negotiations between education, employment, and unemployment (and, increasingly, under-employment) to survive financially without compromising their creative and artistic passion. They reflexively make tactical decisions that allow them more time and space for their creative aims. In doing so, they devalue the idea of economic safety. This is because their ideas of success have shifted away from the neoliberal *illusion* of success measured in material terms, which could be interpreted as choosing a bohemian lifestyle. That would, however, be incorrect: this choice is the result of a reflexive strategy aiming to deal with structural precariousness and a preference for ontological security over economic success. If this requires living in relative poverty, so be it.

The following section addresses a set of questions: What different modalities of DIY exist? Is it possible to carry out DIY practices without a coupled ethos? In other words, is DIY just *a love for the necessary* and not a way of seeing the world? Would anyone who records an album at home and takes pride in it act differently if there were other economic possibilities? How are DIY careers activated and represented in Portugal and Brazil – and in different music scenes?

The afterlife of punk resistance in Portugal

Laing (2015) warned against the habitual association of British punk to working youths' hardships and aspirations during an economic crisis, stating that it may hide at least part of what actually happened. Similarly, all 214 interviewees from the Portuguese punk scene mostly come from upper middle class families, have a higher than average academic education for Portuguese society, are overwhelmingly men from urban areas averaging 40 years of age and, most notably, do not make a living primarily from music or the arts. On this, it is important to note that approximately 60 per cent of this article's sampled social actors participate in the punk scene as amateurs, enthusiasts, or fans – portraying their activities as hobbies. Thus, punk cannot be seen as a spontaneous expression of working-class rage against the establishment: it was slowly built and developed by a heterogeneous group of radicals such as Malcolm McLaren and Jamie Reid, art students like Pete Shelley, critics and journalists bored with rock music's "accommodation", and young and talented performers and songwriters hailing from the working class, such as John Lydon, or from the middle and upper classes, such as Joe Strummer. This construction of a new musical movement and a new youth urban scene is complex and multifaceted, not reducible to little more than mythical and primordial bonds to a given social class (Bennett & Guerra, 2019; Laing, 2015).

When considering the everyday DIY practices of Portuguese punks (Table 1), it is clear that authenticity and its response to the mainstream (Daschuk, 2011) are key elements in these actors' lifestyles. A determinant factor, one reflected in the content and frequency of these actors' DIY practices, involves their experience of the scene as amateurs, which is why event managing is the most frequently mentioned activity.

While Table 1 lists a diversified set of Portuguese punks' DIY practices in descending order of relevance, Table 2 presents the main reasons behind those practices.

In effect, DIY frequently means those involved being self-sufficient, going against the dominant (political) "establishment", going against the grain of a dominant culture of major mainstream labels, and helping themselves and others to grow as people, allowing them to come into contact with others and their worlds and realities. DIY can also mean the creation of a symbolic alternative through a space of self-empowerment, mutual help, and alternative social engagement (Guerra, 2018). Alternatively, and more frequently in the Portuguese context, it means the recreational practices

Table 1. Everyday DIY practices of Portuguese punk scenes' participants (%)*.

Everyday DIY practices	% (N 214)
Event managing (concerts and music festivals, art, literature, fanzines, exhibitions)	79.4
Musician and/or music producer (producing, publishing, and distributing music)	51.4
Making art in other fields, such as visual arts, design, photography, video, cinema	33.6
Putting together fanzines and indie publications	23.3
Teaching themselves a musical instrument	21.5
Organizing and managing local rehearsals	16.9
Preparing, eating and sharing vegetarian, macrobiotic and vegan meals	14.0
Organizing lectures, debates, roundtables	10.3
Being part of squats and libertarian culture centres	8.4
Sewing clothes and other visual accessories	7.0
Other	14.9

*The total sum of the percentages is greater than 100 because several interviewees mentioned more than one kind of practice, due to the fact that these numbers were extracted from the semi-directed interviews held.

Table 2. Reasons behind the adoption of DIY practices in Portuguese punk scenes (%)*.

Reasons behind DIY practices	% (N 214)
Being self-sufficient (doing what they want and how they want to)	65.4
Being against the dominant (political) 'establishment'	63.1
Going against the grain of a dominant culture of major mainstream labels and the search for profit at the expense of the music	44.4
Helping themselves and others grow as people, allowing them to come into contact with others and their worlds and realities	42.9
Feeling useful to the punk scene and contributing to such a vibrant subculture	31.3
Financial need and/or resource scarcity	25.2
Making something the mainstream market does not provide (e.g. clothes, accessories)	23.3
Adding to their own knowledge and experience	21.9
Helping those who are in less privileged economic situations	16.8
Resisting capitalism and the common order, establishing a more anarchist and less hierarchical way of life	14.5
Evading the bureaucracy that pervades society	10.7
Other	20.1

*The total sum of the percentages is greater than 100 because several interviewees mentioned more than one reason behind the practice of DIY-ethos-based activities, due to the fact that these numbers were extracted from the semi-directed interviews held.

organized by the participants themselves in a process of empowerment that influences their own personal project.

This is only one part of the story. The interviewees also mentioned the importance of the fanzines, e-zines, posters, illustration, and artwork linked to the music realm. We can also perceive a deep concern regarding the creation and customization of clothes and aesthetic accessories. The activities dedicated to merchandizing are also of paramount importance for these actors, who frequently followed the possibilities that punk offers to achieve other artistic activities, such as painting, design, cinema, video, DJ-ing, photography, or literature. Another set of activities directly related to the DIY ethos comprises squats and the participation or promotion of left-libertarianism cultural centres, as well as the organization of debates and public speeches. Issues such as freeganism, vegetarianism, veganism and so on were strongly felt, especially in the hardcore Portuguese punk of the 1990s, and became consolidated into the DIY lifestyles of punk. The participants' ageing process has translated into a different engagement in subcultural life, with a greater focus on the development of work-related practices where the DIY ethos is fundamental (Hodkinson, 2013). More than simple leisure, these identifications become a part of the individuals' identities in adult life, directly influencing career choices. We should also note that many of these social actors are now collectively referred to under the "creative workers" umbrella. In this role, they recognize the need to take care of themselves, adopting an entrepreneurial view of their own careers (McRobbie, 2016). This means that DIY careers are laden with risk and uncertainty. It then becomes more than an ethical choice: it is a systemic condition and precondition of these systems.

Something interesting about the Portuguese punks' positioning is its proximity to the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' (CCCS) concept of resistance, which implies a latent or manifest collective intention to oppose an oppressive, dominant or hegemonic social order (Guerra et al., 2020; Hebdige, 2018). On the other hand, it is also evident that, while keeping a dissident intentionality, these practices are no longer solely focused on attempting to replace dominant symbolic models for self-made ones. Those DIY practices the actors undertake mainly express an avoidance of the more standardized trends, more

normative social experiences, and prescribed, linear, and saturated life trajectories (Ferreira, 2016; Guerra, 2017, 2018; Haenfler, 2018).

Given the data, the need arises for a reconceptualization of subcultural resistance. There is a conscious enactment of resistance at the micro, meso, and macro levels, which is not just defined by a rejection of a vague "adult" culture. Resistance can no longer be defined as the push for change in dominant political or economic structures, as a rejection of the mainstream in favour of "autonomous" alternatives, or as symbolic stylistic expression. It must be understood contextually as a complex and fluid phenomenon rather than as an homogenous, universal prescription (Haenfler, 2004) since current (sub)cultural resistance dynamics are no longer structured based only on social class, but take into account other factors such as ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, or lifestyle (Ferreira, 2016; Pais, 2020). The concept of resistance – as used here – continues to be a useful tool for recognizing various levels of politics and change in a vast array of youth actions, as observed by those working within post-subcultural theory (Bennett, 2018). Evidently, there is an assumption of the mobilization of DIY, resistance, fulfilment, freedom, and collective action skills in order to manage the uncertainty and precariousness that characterize the current job market and, in a general way, modern society itself. DIY careers can, therefore, be understood as a pattern of employability promotion based on skills acquired through first-hand experience, peer contact, and frequently through participation in youth subcultures.

Following Thornton's (1995) work on club cultures, in which the author coined the term "subcultural capital", the experience of youth subcultures in adult life and in its participants' career paths has been the subject of increased academic interest. Similarly focused on the British cultural context in the 1980s and 1990s, McRobbie (2016) argues that one the major influencing factors on the current shape and entrepreneurial spirit of cultural industries was precisely the involvement of many contemporary artists and creative workers in the movement around music, dance and rave culture. Haenfler (2018) discusses the ways in which subcultural music experiences translate into marketable skills and job opportunities, with the caveat that such things are strongly conditioned by issues of gender, class, and ethnicity. Concentrating on the straight edge movement and the hardcore music scene in the United States, Haenfler demonstrates that many among the older straight edgers chose or created their own careers, grounded in DIY values shared through their subcultural experiences.

At the same time, this author states that subcultural experiences encourage dispositions that enhance a posture of resistance in the face of the more "conventional" employment world: risk tolerance, confidence, self-sufficiency, adaptability, a strong work ethic, and the capacity to attain goals by overcoming many obstacles. This article's data point towards the same conclusions: if, on a macro level of analysis, DIY is linked to its traditional meaning of resistance and subversion, on a meso-analytic level it can be seen as a response (or an alternative) to resource scarcity (or a lack of access) in the making and promoting of cultural goods. For these reasons, Bennett and Guerra (2019) consider that DIY has currently become synonymous with a wider ethos of lifestyle politics, with repercussions for actors' personal projects and professional options on a global scale. Faced with this scenario of a redefinition of the concept of DIY music production and of the sphere of DIY creative practices, some authors (e.g. Jian, 2018; Threadgold, 2018) even go so far as to say that the concept of DIY has been co-opted. Converging with

the arguments put forward by some authors previously referred to in this article (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2011; McRobbie, 2016), Jian alerts us to the danger of excessively celebrating this new wave of DIY careers, arguing that they may rapidly become an "unconscious and involuntary neoliberal conspiracy" (Jian, 2018, p. 237) that encourages people to live in precarious, unstable, and self-exploratory situations. But the article's data also makes it possible to identify the singularity of DIY manifestations in Portugal regarding social, political, and economic development in countries outside the Anglo-American context. At the time of punk's emergence in Portugal, there were no major publishers or labels interested in signing punk artists, particularly during its formative years. This resulted with the local punk scene being an exclusively DIY affair, beginning to establish the importance of this practice in the Portuguese context. The production and availability of punk fashion and style followed a similar route. There was no Portuguese equivalent of, for example, Carnaby Street or the King's Road until the mid-1980s, when the first fashion shops and punk fashion designers appeared in Portugal. During the early years of Portuguese punk, its fashion and style dimensions consisted of clothes, footwear, and artifacts from two sources: those imported from the United Kingdom or United States, and those created from clothes and footwear from parents' or grandparents' wardrobes, adapted to punk styles. Another factor that deserves to be highlighted and that marks the difference in the evolution of DIY in Portuguese, as opposed to that experienced in Anglo-American contexts, is the development of the music industry. In fact, the music industry in Portugal has always lacked strong institutional support; in fact, it was only in the 1990s that there was a boom in the industry and everything connected to it in the country. Thus, it is from the 1990s onwards that we have witnessed an increase in venues, live music circuits, the holding of major festivals – let us take as an example the Paredes de Coura Festival[2] – sound, image and logistics services, design and musical artwork, fashion and other related music (Guerra, 2020b).

Entrepreneurial funk and so on in Brazil: DIY or die?

This section begins with an overview of one of the new wave of Brazilian popular music's main stars: Linn da Quebrada. This is not an innocuous name, as *Quebrada* [Broken] is the word Linn uses to describe her birthplace – in this case, a menial, poor neighbourhood. In every interview she defines herself as "[a] fag, trans, black, and peripheral, the daughter of a housemaid", a true one-person "collection" of oppressed identities. Her music is exactly that: an expression of a reality made from an intersection of multiple inequalities and oppressions, as well as an attempt to connect with others who have similar life experiences (Sharp & Nilan, 2017). All this while never neglecting to advocate for a policy of visibility for a social group until then had been forgotten.

The best way to attain visibility is to speak up and demand visibility for one simple reason: it used to be impossible for trans[3] to find any representation in media, in music, and in pop culture in general. It is essential to occupy space in public, to be heard in public forums – to demonstrate to the public that they exist and to the LGBT community that it is possible to simultaneously be happy and demand their rights be upheld.

Linn da Quebrada's musical career started, like those of many of her fellow funkers, through digital DIY: by posting a YouTube video of a song called "Enviadescer" in 2016.

She achieved some success and launched a musical career as MC Linn da Quebrada. The following year, she further reinforced her career's DIY stance: her first album, *Pajubá*, was released after a crowdfunding effort that raised 45 thousand Brazilian *reais* (nearly eleven thousand dollars at current exchange rates) through a website called Kickante. Let us first focus on the album's title. *Pajubá* is the name of a popular Brazilian dialect that combines Portuguese with several West African languages. In addition to being used by Afro-Brazilian religions' believers, it was also claimed by the LGBT community during the Brazilian military dictatorship. *Pajubá* is, therefore, a dialect of resistance, a counter-language (Halliday, 1976). Another interesting aspect is Linn's choice of music genre: funk. It is much more common to hear misogynous and chauvinistic, rather than politically engaged, lyrics in funk – especially not the kind of lyrics that stand up for social and sexual minorities. However, that is Linn da Quebrada's specialty. After initially attempting rap music, she found a way of expressing herself through funk. This may be rooted in a childhood spent on the periphery, where funk and samba music were omnipresent. It was where she came into contact with what she calls "fag music" and LGBT songs, a clear minority in relation to the male-centric funk scene. With it, however, came an understanding that music was just one of many social spaces to be conquered by her LGBTQI+ lyrics. More, and different, voices were needed.

Linn is this article's entrée into Brazil. The profile of Brazilian interviewees suggests a connection to Brazilian middle and lower classes, a majority of women and LGBTQI+ people, an academic education above the national average and an average age of 30. They are mostly urban dwellers who dedicate themselves completely and professionally to creative and musical activities, which is the antithesis of the profiles of Portuguese punks. In addition, their (sub)cultural links are not as intense as those of Portuguese punks, given that they develop their projects within a hybrid and diverse panoply of music (sub)genres, starting with funk, and mixing with hardcore, punk, *sertanejo*, indie rock, metal, and even EDM.

When questioned, Brazilian interviewees said they overwhelmingly considered their everyday DIY practices to come through in their work as musicians and/or music publishers (music production, publishing, and distribution) (Table 3). This scenario is reminiscent of Foucault's (1990) definition of "techniques of the self" or "arts of existence" as the reflective practices by which people regulate their own behaviour and attempt to transform their lives to meet certain aesthetic and/or ideological ideals.

Table 3. Everyday DIY practices of Brazilian funk scene participants (%)*.

Everyday DIY Practices	% (N 32)
Working as musicians and/or music publishers (music producing, publishing, and distribution)	88.1
Event planning (concerts, music festivals, live acts, DJ sets, balls …)	68.7
Preparing, eating, and sharing vegetarian, macrobiotic and vegan meals	62.5
Organizing discussions, debates, and community outreach	62.5
Making art in other fields, such as literature, visual arts, design, photography, video, film	59.4
Making YouTube videos, devising DIY tutorials and developing and using free apps to make and record music	43.7
Creating homemade clothing, accessories, jewellery, manicures, hairdos, tanning and beauty salons	37.5
Organizing and managing local rehearsals/ Developing home recording studios	37.5
Integrating independent collectives	34.4
Other	34.4

*The total sum of the percentages is greater than 100 because several interviewees mentioned more than one kind of practice, due to the fact that these numbers were extracted from the semi-directed interviews held.

Similarly,Ferreira (2016) and Bennett (2018) present the hypothesis that the concept of resistance is no longer adequate to understand these youth groups' practices. From their perspective, finding traces of an underlying resistance mindset in the aesthetics of contemporary youth scenes is difficult due to the lack of a clear "enemy" against which to revolt (Table 4). Therefore, these interviewees choose a life of DIY ethos and practices not because they are against the "system", but due to financial need and/or resource scarcity. This is not because of a lack of worthy causes; these social actors are simply much more engaged in the expression of a mindset of existence, meaning "the social recognition of a personal identity self-fulfilled and self-defined as singular, authentic, creative and free" (Ferreira, 2016, p. 68).

This attitude is shown clearly by the relevance of some of their reasons for their DIY practices: "Escaping from social stigma" and "Doing something they love the way they want to, parallel to mainstream academic and professional circuits". This concept of art of existence, amplified and reallocated, takes on a double meaning: in a context of aesthetic consumption, it may be used as an "art of wellness" or in the production of aesthetics, it may be an "art of breadwinning", of transition into working life.

While the youth (sub)cultures of the past were organized around an ethics of contestation, today's youth microcultures are organized mainly around an ethics of celebration, mixing values like experimentalism, hedonism, and presentism: living for the now, overcoming barriers and limits, in a constant search for satisfaction. Therefore, the ethics of celebration is structured towards exploring everyday life's unpredictabilities, living life as if it were a journey through "exotic routes" crisscrossing the flow of routine. They emerge from free time, seen as moments of freedom, and escape from routine responsibilities, perceived as restrictive. Many creative practices are experiences as the art of living well, around which affinity networks are built, and are the context for strong sociabilities and identity sharing. It is increasingly frequent for those leisure and/or consumption practices to expand into productive areas, then becoming "arts of breadwinning".

Regardless of any discussions about the current significance of DIY cultural production practices and their greater or lesser intersection with commercial or mainstream logic and know-how, the strategies referred in Table 4 and developed by these social actors to ensure their professional careers are sufficient to consider maintaining a DIY approach to "art as existence" in the analysis of career building in musical and artistic scenes in Brazil. This approach has, in fact, been present in research into different music genres in different geographic, social, and cultural contexts (Haenfler, 2018; Reitsamer &

Table 4. Reasons behind the adoption of DIY practices in Brazilian funk scenes (%)*.

Reasons behind DIY practices	% (N 32)
Due to financial need and/or resource scarcity	93.8
To escape from social stigmas	65.6
To do something they love the way they want to, parallel to mainstream academic and professional circuits	62.5
To add to their own knowledge and experience	50.0
To create something previously non-existent in the market	46.9
To remain independent (doing what they want, how they want it)	46.9
To defy and/or provoke the mainstream Brazilian cultural and musical industry	15.6
Other	15.6

*The total sum of the percentages is greater than 100 because several interviewees mentioned more than one reason behind the practice of DIY-ethos-based activities, due to the fact that these numbers were extracted from the semi-directed interviews held.

Prokop, 2018; Scott, 2012). There is, however, a caveat here: among this research, some authors adopt an entrepreneurial perspective in their analysis of music work, even using expressions such as "cultural entrepreneurs" (Haenfler, 2018) to designate those musicians and other social actors in the music scene who manage their own careers without resorting to intermediaries such as music labels, managers, or agents. The profile of most Brazilian interviewees confirms this perspective: they possess characteristics linked to an entrepreneurial attitude (flexibility, resilience, creative problem-solving, the ability to deal with risk and uncertainty) and in their everyday lives are involved in entrepreneurial activities – networking, securing project financing, concert and tour organizing and/or promoting their work and events to the public and various intermediaries (journalists, critics, radio personalities, event planners).

Interviews with these social actors reveal an acute awareness of those structural barriers that keep certain people from pursuing or flourishing in a career in the arts. Interviewees describe resilience as an essential psychological asset for an aspiring artist – as an adaptability skill and as a valuable resource to cope with unstable, short-term work, making it sustainable. They also view it as a professional motivational "blessing" that allows them to prosper in a difficult environment. Their connection with DIY cultures is fruitful. Perhaps many late modernity individuals' appropriation of DIY principles and practices reveals their – personal and, in many cases, collective – opposition to the strict dominion of neoliberalism in a global context.

In fact, the Brazilian reality, a country of the global South, is very specific (Santos & Meneses, 2010; Wallerstein, 1984) and shows us that talking about DIY practices is not exactly the same as talking about entrepreneurship. Individuals who, faced with the impossibility of accessing the "normal" labour market, launch themselves into business or personal projects. They are guided by DIY logics and practices, which assume themselves as forms of opposition to neoliberalism, which promote alternative forms of survival and existence. In fact, they are logical and distant practices from entrepreneurship, because they are born outside the Brazilian cultural mainstream and its thriving cultural industry, realizing artistic creations outside the current capitalist system, within the limits of capitalist structures and institutions. Therefore, in a first phase, there is no similitude between DIY and entrepreneurship. However, and given the extension of these parallel and underground DIY production and consumption markets in Brazil, it is inevitable – following the Frankfurt Critical School paradigm (Adorno, 2013) – that the production, divulgation and consumption processes start to massify – but only in a second phase.

The two sides of the "DIY coin": a case of "Resistance" and a case of "Existence"[4]

"No borders DIY": unlimited resistance in Lisbon, Portugal

Rafael Brazuna's[5] path demonstrates how a punk, DIY attitude, built from adolescence, can be a constant throughout a person's life, both personally and professionally. Rafael has been strongly connected with the Portuguese punk scene since he was 15 years old. This tight relationship is evident in the ten bands he has been involved with as singer and/or drummer. It is also clear in his participation in *okupas* in Germany and Spain (Barcelona), as well as Lisbon where he lives. In truth, his trajectory demonstrates

an ample and multifaceted involvement in the punk lifestyle. In addition to the bands, he also actively participates in community outreach, organizing and publishing fanzines, album sales, label management and concert organizing, while not neglecting his collection of albums, memorabilia, and various punk-related objects. Due to his connection to punk and to the search for a healthier lifestyle, Rafael became a vegetarian at 15 and at 19 began working in a vegetarian food shop where he started learning about Chinese medicine. Later, he returned to the restaurant industry as an assistant cook in a vegetarian restaurant. Rafael also continued selling albums, practising naturopathy, and teaching therapeutic cooking. In 2004 he began teaching Kung Fu. Currently, Rafael and his wife own a macrobiotics and alternative medicine business. His example illustrates the ways in which DIY as a result of prolonged subcultural participation may evolve and transform over time, converting into not only a continued active participation in the punk scene but also, in a general way, to a lifestyle, namely a professional career oriented towards resisting the "establishment". In this sense, DIY is still a permanent fixture in Rafael's everyday life, allowing him to lead a life that escapes the "system" as much as possible:

> I don't currently organise concerts as often as I used to, I don't go to concerts as often as I used to … Honestly, if you're in your thirties and punk or hardcore is still just being in bands and putting fanzines together, to me, that's so small, and I find it much more interesting to see people – people from my generation – that managed not to work in some shitty company, that managed to have their own businesses, interesting businesses with interesting values, promoting interesting things, and living their life really differently. That's the basis of punk, that, the 'be yourself, do it yourself' … that is, DIY and 'do it yourself', it's not just for albums, not just for fanzines, it's for every aspect of your life, it's so you can be as independent from the system as possible. (Rafael Brazuna)

Zine-se with Fernanda Meireles: the shop without walls in Fortaleza BR for the world

Everything in Fernanda Meireles'[6] life was DIY. As a joke, Fernanda says "DIY saved me". From an early age, she got in touch with art, developing a special interest in literature and graduating in history. It was then that, in a completely DIY way, she started making a fanzine that only circulated among friends. Later, she created the fanzine *Missiva*, which had an innovative particularity: it was sent by letter to the people of Fortaleza that Fernanda wanted to know or to know better and developed around the aspects that Fernanda had in common with the person to whom she was writing. In 2000, she was invited by university students to organize a Zines Workshop, which she still conducts. Similarly, in 2002, she started the project Zine-se, a project of exchange and networking between people who like fanzines.

Simultaneously, she had a band called Devotchkas and then Alcalina. Because they did not know how to play very well, they started to do covers and progressively started playing some songs of their own. For the recording of their first album, they organized a crowdfunding campaign. The plan was for the band to throw concerts so they could sell t-shirts (with artists' drawings) and thus get money to record the album. When they got enough money, they decided to record at home. Afterwards, they organized a release party to deliver the record to people and sold the equipment they used to record the album to get money to make copies of the records.

After the band ended, Fernanda continued her trajectory of creative autonomy with *Loja sem Paredes [Shop without Walls]*, a DIY project consisting of a "shop" that travels through various cities, helping to expand sales opportunities. Fernanda always imagines her life writing and making fanzines, as this has been her way to earn a living from an early age. DIY has always been an imperative, a form of income, a way of life and a search for meaning:

> When you see a woman with a guitar or any instrument, you imagine that she is the musician's wife. You don't imagine that she is the instrumentalist, because that is the first thing … or else she will be the girlfriend, but she will never be the instrumentalist. And the bigger the instrument, the worse it is … the more complex it is, the less she could be in that space. The first point is then to untie oneself from these ties that have been placed. The second point is to be seen as a creative being and as a creative person. It seems that our creativity is more for objective questions of the home, organization and not for the completely experimental part, something completely innovative and technological, never put the woman in that place, of being creative. The song writing, writing zines was always a form of intervention, of making myself heard. And also, a fight for gender equality, for the LGBTQI+ cause, for my existence as a citizen and for my economic survival. (Fernanda Meireles)

Final remarks

After presenting these two different case studies, it is possible to observe some dissimilarities between them. The overarching question is whether DIY means the same thing in both realities. That is, DIY practices exist, but is the inherent logic the same? Based on empirical data, in Portugal the DIY ethos meant a moment of freedom for young people, becoming part of their transition to a more urban and cosmopolitan lifestyle after the April 25th Revolution. In this context, even as Portuguese punks struggled to establish the cultural resources with which local scenes were built, their oral histories reflected a collective sense of achievement and independence as a new generation of young people struggled to emerge from the shadows of dictatorship. Unlike other countries in Europe and North America, in the case of the first generation of Portuguese punks, DIY careers were in most cases not a reaction to the "commodification" of music and popular culture; rather, they were a necessary step to reach the cultural base through which the new urban and cosmopolitan sensibilities of a young post-revolutionary Portuguese person could begin to establish a career by resisting a society that was still very rural, poor and closed in on itself. Then, with the advance of the 1990s and the beginning of the millennium, DIY practices were continuously incorporated as "arts of resistance", whose main axis was non-conformist – some would say libertarian, others counter-cultural or counter-hegemonic. The debate abouts these terms is in itself very relevant; the common bond is no less so: being on the "side of the outside", on the margins or underground, close to what the normative social consensus views as chaotic, disruptive, and inconvenient. Punk discourses make a positive mark of rebellion, non-domestication, and dissent.

Brazil faces strong domestic pressures caused by the slowdown of the global economy and its impact on employment opportunities. As shown by the data, as part of a collective strategy to deal with the prospect of precarious employment and its impact on quality of life, many young adults are compelled to adopt a lifestyle

characterized by relatively modest means, offset by a greater margin of freedom in terms of career paths. The existence of DIY cultural production and consumption within a socio-economic ecosystem suitable for this purpose provides them with an ethical lifestyle that they feel is more important than the search for wealth and status. As noted above, if one way of understanding the emergence and increasing prevalence of musical careers founded on DIY is a response to the precarious nature of everyday life in post-industrial societies, given that they are inevitably "arts of existence", other factors may also inform the significance of these careers for those who dedicate themselves to them. As these scenes have become globally established, their significance has also been seen in relation to gender and ethnic inequalities in many of the world's cities. Another factor that has played an important role in shaping opportunities for young people to engage in DIY music/creative careers is the growing importance of live music on the cultural policy agendas of many cities around the world. In addressing the Brazilian case, we can talk about the inevitability of a cultural entrepreneurship that implies the introduction of new ways of working in order to fill a chronic lack of public funds and employment opportunities. Therefore, it is possible to visualize the mass appearance of entrepreneurs and small cultural businesses. By choosing a lifestyle based on DIY ideology and practice, individuals can articulate more incisively their sense of distance from the institutional and cultural policies of a neoliberal urban existence.

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Notes

1. This sample was constructed through the snowball method, according to the actors' contact networks and starting from an initial database referenced by the research team. It aimed to be as complete as possible in terms of generation, gender, geography, roles, and punk subgenres (see Guerra, 2018, p. 2017). The KISMIF project's 214 interviewees share a past or present participation in the Portuguese punk scene, as musicians, promoters, publishers, critics or other intermediaries, or as consumers.
2. The Paredes de Coura Festival was born in 1993 and, since then, it has been organized annually in the small town of Paredes de Coura.
3. We are using the term most frequently used by interviewees.
4. This section makes use of interview excerpts as illustrative examples. Every interviewee mentioned has agreed to the use of their real identities through informed consent, in accordance with the American Sociological Association's guidelines.
5. Throughout his life, Rafael was part of several bands, for example, Atentado, Etacarinae, Subcaos, M.O.T.Ü., Kamones, Ratos Fanhosos, Squander, Paradox, Antagonist. He owned a distribution and promotion company called No Borders DIY. In 2020, Rafael founded the distribution, publishing, and promotion company Monolith Records (https://www.facebook.com/monolithrecordspunk).
6. For further information about Fernanda, see https://www.facebook.com/Loja-sem-Paredes-380497008693933.

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