METROPOLIS, TECHNO-CULTURE, DIGITILIZED MUSICAL GENRES AND
CLUBBING IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

METROPOLIS, TECHNO-CULTURE, DIGITILIZED MUSICAL GENRES AND
CLUBBING IN TURKEY

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This thesis will analyze the social life in metropolises in terms of technological changes and social transformations with their effects on everyday practices especially musical genres. This thesis also aims to understand the relationships between techno-culture, contemporary musical genres and clubbing as a subculture that reflects the aspects of techno-culture with its life style especially musical tendencies. The thesis will also make some illustrations of the features and life style of clubbers in Turkey. So, this study is composed of both theoretical and empirical structures. In order to make a comparative study, clubbing will be compared with the other subcultures appeared after the Second World War like Jazz, Punk or Acid House. The aspects of everyday life like drug use, consumption or "appearance" of those subcultures will be the base of this comparison.

Keywords: Metropolis, Techno-Culture, Digitalization, Music, Clubbing, Consumption, Ecstasy

ÖZ

METROPOLIS, TEKNO-KÜLTÜR, DİJİTALLEŞMİŞ MÜZİK TÜRLERİ VE TÜRKİYE'DE CLUB KÜLTÜRÜ

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Bu tez, teknolojik değişim ve dönüşümlerin metropollerdeki toplumsal hayata etkilerini günümüz müzik türlerinden kesitler aktararak yansıtmaya çalışmaktadır. Bunu yaparken, konuyu daraltmak amacıyla "club" kültürünü kesit olarak almakta ve bu kültürün teknik ilerleme ile olan ilişkisini kurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla, tez hem teorik hem de ampirik bir temel üzerine kurulacaktır. Aynı zamanda karşılaştırma yapmak amacıyla İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası ortaya çıkan diğer altkültürlerden (Jazz, Punk, Acid House) de bahsetmektedir. Toplumlardaki sosyo-ekonomik değişimlere tepki olarak çıkan bu kültürlerin gündelik hayat pratikleri "club" kültürüyle kıyaslanmaktadır. Özellikle uyuşturucu kullanımı ve gündelik tüketim pratikleri üzerinden teorize edilmiş olan bu karşılaştırma her toplumsal dönemin kendine has alternatif kültürlerin ortaya çıkışına zemin hazırladığı olasılığından yola çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Metropolis, Techno-Kültür, Dijitalleşme, Müzik, Clubbing, Tüketim, Ecstasy

To my Grandfather

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: Signature:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ix

16

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> 'Urban Culture'...is neither a concept nor a theory. It is...a myth...(which)...provides the key-words of an ideology of modernity, assimilated, in an ethnocentric way, to the social forms of liberal capitalism ... it suggests the hypothesis of a production of social content (the urban) by a trans-historical form (the city) ...(but) the city creates nothing...The link between space, the urban and a certain system of behaviour regarded as typical of 'urban culture' has no other foundation than an ideological one ...From this point of view, the problem of the definition (or redefinition) of the urban does not even arise....Such a tendency helps to reinforce the strategic role of urbanism as a political ideology and as a professional practice (Castells: 1977: 83, 89, 90, 431, 441, 463).

> Analyses cannot merely reflect the "facts"; our perception of facts is ordered by mental concepts and theories (Mann, 1993: 3).

This thesis purposes to understand the relationships between metropolis, techno-culture, contemporary musical genres, especially techno-music, and clubbing as a subculture that reflects the aspects of techno-culture with its life style especially musical tendencies. Also, in this thesis, I will attempt to present the enumeration of occurrence causes of clubbing via relations with everyday life and consumption tendencies in the sphere of metropolis. Seemingly techno-culture has direct impacts on club culture in respect to musical tendencies and way of life for example synthetic drugs, computer supported hi-fi systems or turntables.

On this topic, firstly, my thoughts are deduced from some observations of unconventional or subcultural ways of life besides with the aid of critical sociological approaches. Secondly, I attempt to provide some specific data with depth interviews in order to collect the specific data about individuals, who were

members of a specific subculture[1] recognized as "clubbers" –with their archaic name "ravers"[2]-. Also, I interviewed with professional DJs from Istanbul and Ankara, employees in some clubs, a journalist in a weekly magazine, police and owner of a shop related to clubbing. So, this thesis can be considered as either empirical or theoretical study. Specifically, while I was preparing this thesis, I interviewed with six individuals, who defined themselves as clubbers. Three of them were from Ankara and others were from Istanbul. I found those individuals by using a kind of snowball technique. The famous DJs from Istanbul and Ankara to whom I talked are illustrated as successful individuals; especially DJ from Istanbul is a well-known professional in the top famous DJs list in Turkey. Also, I talked to two bodyguards from Istanbul and Ankara clubs, one ticket seller who is responsible from admissions. In order to gain information about drug use, I talked to a superintendent of police in *TADOC* (**Turkish International Academy Against Drugs and Organized Crime**). To collect data about relations between consumption and clubbing, I talked to a clerk and owner of the shop where clothes and accessories related to clubbing are sold in Ankara. Duration of interviews changed between approximately half to two hours. I interviewed with clubbers in clubs, shops and school. To interview with journalist and DJ, I went to their bureau in Istanbul. I had an interview with police in his own office. Finally, for interviewing with clerk and owner of the shop, I went to two different shops. Also, I attempted to integrate every valuable and useful material like articles, interviews, from newspapers, magazines, Internet and *flyers*[3] with this study. I had to use some

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[1] For Lefebvre, critical analyses of everyday life in the modern world are crucial to grasp the effects of mystifying, alienating and boring character of metropolis. Individuals need to create their own space in order to struggle with those boring and alienating effects of everyday life. So, spheres of subcultures are symbols of struggle with "boring" everyday life (Lefebvre, 1981). Chetcheglov: "We are bored in the city, there is no longer Temple of the Sun"(Knabb (ed.), 1989: 1).

[2] While rave scene means both early times and being a style of underground entertainment involved in illegal parties, club culture reflects a culture that integrates with consumption society and mainstream popular culture: "As the Rave scene became monopolised by the club scene, the underground sense of unity began to diversify. Clubs began to cater to the existing social divisions of society, by holding different music nights. Rave and Dance music remained popular but began to reflect the diversities and divisions within main stream society" (Sareen, 1997: http://www.gmv.ac.uk/~english/cbl/project/ta4208.web-site.html. Difference between these concepts will be explained more clearly in the following chapters.

[3] Flyers can be defined as hand poster prepared to inform people from parties or other activities. Specific feature of them is their design that reflects colorful nights and digitalized character of club culture. According to Douglas Rushkoff, this colorful hand posters are derived from seventies rock band Grateful Dead. He says "West Coast young rock musicians like the Grateful Dead and Todd

articles, which are downloaded from Internet, because this issue can be accepted as new for academy in Turkey. So, it might be said that it was hard to find sufficient materials from libraries, which I could benefit. Thus, Internet was a useful tool to obtain articles and information about the clubbing scene in and out of Turkey. That's why, it should be stated that due to the lack of theoretical studies based on the Turkish context, the theoretical base-ground of this study was largely based on academic sources written by European authors. Finally, I want to add that this is a modest study, which is not based on macro-level claims about subculture phenomena in Turkey. I think, in order to emphasize on these kinds of claim, a large-scale study is required.

In the common sense, there is a widespread thought that due to the lack of authenticity or originality of subcultures in Turkey, it is hard to say that they have authentic features originated from Turkey's own circumstances. Briefly, it means that Turkey differs from other European countries in terms of reasons of subcultural appearances. It can probably explained by copying process of subcultures appeared in West by youth in Turkey. Actually, Turkey's Westernization process has been criticized since Kemalist period due to its constructive elements based upon so-called copying of values of The West. Feroz Ahmad's example from Turkey's cultural sphere in 1930s can be significant for this kind of claims,

> While Istanbul was protecting its lead position in the trade field, Ankara was transformed as the center of cultural and intellectual fields. The Republic possessed its own national theatre and this was administered by methods imported from Europe. So, a West-type cultural sphere was created for elites. Due to the insufficient character for revolutionist and dynamic Turkey, blue melodies of Turkish music, Radio of Ankara was ordered to broadcast Classical West Music (Ahmad, 1995: 133).

This kind of critical approach can be useful for the understanding of contemporary cultural sphere of Turkey. As we will see in the following chapters,

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Rundgren were the first to popularize colorful, swirling computer graphics on concert tickets and video projections during shows" (www.rushkoff.com/cgi bin/columns/display.cgi/electronica). Today's flyers do still have these features like being colorful and computer graphics)

copying of Western or exclusion of local cultural values can be observed throughout youth cultures significantly.

Theoretically, this study is not based upon a specific scholar or theoretician but rather, it is an eclectic study. I mean that my observations regarding to distinct cultures and metropolis will be presented by benefiting from various sociological perspectives which are both interpretative and critical approaches, but actually this is a specifically presentation of thoughts of an individual as an inhabitant of a metropolis. As Simon During says about de Certeau's studies that "he does not look down at the city as if from a high-rise building, he walks in it" (During, 1995: 151). For de Certau, *walking* is not merely a kind of practice, which implies physical activity, but practice of social space (ibid). Likewise, Lefebvre reminds us that everyday life sets up itself as a social space (Lefevbre, 1997). So, in order to observe marginalized cultures, it is required to take some walks in the cities. For this thesis, Ankara and Istanbul are fields for taking walks not merely physically but sociologically.

As we know that society is composed of different individuals, communities and groups, which are constituted by those individuals. Georg Simmel notes that groups emerge with at least three people. He defines it as *triad*. Two individuals or with Simmel's term *dyad,* in this sense, cannot form a group. So, a dyadic relationship is a not subject of sociology but becoming a *triad* or more (Simmel, 1950). It means that size and variation of people in either urban or rural areas are important aspects for the sociology. This variation can be observed especially throughout subcultures or marginal cultures. These cultures are the colorful side of the city. About differentiation and variation of people, Richard Sennett quoted from Aristoteles's crucial book called *Politics:* "A city is composed by various individuals; similar persons cannot bring into existence a city" (Sennett, 2002: 47). So, I can say that differentiation of people and its reasons are the main issue of this study. This is why, I took walks to meet those people who prefer to look and live differently. It might be said that we may not gain totally authentic or original aspects of subcultures from that walk taken in different cities but the important point is to search as an inhabitant but to write as a sociologist.

Before I start to mention diversifications among subcultures and their connections with technology, music and drug, I prefer to explain clearly the critical approaches, which are forming the base ground of this study. Initially, I want to emphasize on formation conditions of modernity, which are composed of significant controversies and contradictions, caused by mixing of secular, ascetic[4] or religious aspects. We can meet with so-called mutually exclusive appearances in the same social spheres. For instance, the production/consumption circuit[5] has become a character that is mutually changeable or secular life world may include rationality and irrationality at the same time. Featherstone suggests about partnership of incompatible and contradictory aspects in consumption society,

> Discipline and hedonism are no longer seen as incompatible, indeed the subjugation of the body through body maintenance routines is presented within consumer culture as a precondition for the achievement of an acceptable appearance and the release of the body's expressive capacity (Featherstone, 1991: 171).

For this thesis, consumption appears as the basic question featuring industrial-technological societies. Since capitalism has invented many strategies to survive in the crisis that appeared after Second World War, consumption has widely started to play a leading role in economical structures. As a simple definition, meeting of basic needs has been transformed to "need fetishism" and needs have not been accepted as subjective power of individuals but as production power. The powers that are external to individual have begun to control the needs (Bookchin, 1996: 157). It is better to talk also about the positive side of consumption discussed by some authors, especially de Certau. According to him, consumption should be not just a passive practice or meetings of basic needs by individuals but it has potential also to become an active social practice that determines the forms of life styles or views. So, de Certeau claims that individuals cannot be blamed as

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[4] I do not use this term as Weber uses in his studies. I mean by this terms that today, most of entertainment in cities has become "painful" because of loud music, smoky and dark places and crowdedness. I think, entertainment is a paradoxically secular ascetic practice.

[5] I prefer to use production and consumption at the same time because, I agree with Baudrillard's definition on consumption society. According to him, today, consumption has become productive power (Baudrillard, 1997: Featherstone, 1998).

"passive" consumers. According to him, consumption cannot be valued as passive act, but rather as an active social process. It means that products, which seem to be consumed, appear as kind of production tool not by market but also by individuals as the creative acts. He describes and analyses this act created by subjects as "*practice*" (De Certau, 1998).

Consumption, as a "social practice," has a crucial role in the definition of subcultures. Because, this practice does not merely reflect the act for consuming but production of identities through symbols, objects and images. These features of consumption in modernity make it differed from naïve or pre-modern types. Simply, consumption patterns have potentials for transformation "purely rationalistic" character of modernity into "romantic" or "pietistic pur itanist" attitudes. Consumption as a productive process create its own images, symbols or "disciples",

> While the sphere of modern hedonistic consumption obtains its dynamic from pietistic Puritanism, romanticism and an ethic of sensibility, the origins of modern production lie in ascetic puritanism, founded upon rationalization, utilitarianism and regulation. The rational precepts of production thus appear Apollonian in character compared to the Dionysian dynamics of consumption (Muggleton, 1999: 100)[6]

Due to the production of images, symbols and changeable meanings of objects via consumption, the study of any subculture seems to require some specific information about consumption. As we will see in the following chapters, subcultures mostly define themselves throughout symbols and images created by changing the conventional meanings of objects, which are loaded by the dominant culture.

Any term that implies dogmatic, stable or conservative approaches toward modernity like normality or abnormality may not be useful to define the complicated conditions that we experience. That's why; it might be said that

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[6] According to McRobbie, Benjamin also pointed out modernity and the multilayer character of it: "...Concerning himself in the *Passagenwerk* with modernity as a multiply layered social reality, one which could only be grasped in the form of the philosophical fragment, the 'dialectic image', or in the note form itself" (McRobbie , 1995: 118, Benjamin, 2000).

normality or abnormality can be handled as issues by moralistic perspectives or approaches but not for critical social sciences. As Deleuze notes, the terms "normal" or "abnormal" are not useful to define any society, because all societies can be rational and irrational at the same time (Deleuze, 1997). Moreover, Hall and Clarke indicate multi-layered and heterogeneous characters of culture in their shared study. According to them,

> The dominant culture of a complex society is never a homogeneous structure. It is layered, reflecting different interests within the dominant class (e.g. an aristocratic versus a bourgeois outlook), containing different traces from the past (religious ideas within a largely secular culture), as well as emergent elements in the present (Hall&Clarke, 1980: 12).

Social sciences often come across with normality concept. Due to its conceptual implications like morality or overgeneralizations, social scientists generally pay attention its uses in cultural studies. About normality, Herbert Marcuse says,

> While the normal functioning of the digestive tract or the lung is likely to be the same in the case of a healthy corporation executive and of a healthy laborer, this does not hold true of their minds. In fact, the one would be very abnormal if he regularly thought, felt, and operated like the other. And what is "normal" lovemaking, a "normal" family, a "normal" occupation? (Marcuse, 1968: 250)

In terms of being far from any moralistic point of view in this study, I attempt to present the formation conditions of some subcultures like punk, hip-hop or acid house but, the presentation of these cultures will be brief and at an introductory level. As the main issue, rave/club culture will be presented in the detailed and comparative manner on the basis of the theoretical and empirical study in Turkey. Marginalized cultures and their relationships with the dominant culture will be illustrated by their connections with market, its economical strategies and techno-culture.

Finally, it is better to stress that any social fact may occur under various circumstances. Social sciences should be interested in these circumstances together with their contradictions, reasons, and results without any moralistic judgements.

So, "normality" or "abnormality" cannot form any restricting category for social sciences. This "immoralist" approach can open different ways to cultural studies and they should pay attention to multi-layered features of every cultural formation, especially subcultures. I mean that most of subcultures generally have recognizable attitudes toward common socio-political structure in societies like aggressiveness of punk culture, political side of hip-hop or consumption driven way of life by clubbing. So, in other words, they may experience specific connections or disconnections with market, law or dominant culture. Their integration or *so-called* disintegration periods deserve to be studied sociologically to elaborate their complicated social conditions. Namely, any subcultural formation can give us some specific clues about the social circumstances included also causes of subcultural appearances in the society. So, in the sense of relations of subcultures with social conditions, this thesis will trace ties of subcultures with economy, politics and art. This integration period with the economical structures, mentioned above in the present society is also another main issue in this study. In order to understand the variations of social circumstances that prepared the background of subcultures, some versions formed in the past will be compared with the main subject group of thesis based on "clubbers".

In this study, technoculture, digitalization, consumption, lifestyles, subcultures, clubbers, rave, drugs, ecstasy are keywords used to comprehend youth cultures under the conditions of capitalism and these will be discussed and defined in the following sections.

CHAPTER 2

METROPOLIS LIFE AND MOODS

2.1 Metropolis and Uncertainity

Because, metropolises are the cradle of technological changes and various alternative cultures, this chapter aims to provide the theoretical background related to metropolis life that includes reasons and conditions for appearances of subcultures involving different urban moods in metropolises, which seem to be affected by socio-economical conditions directly or indirectly. So, every individual reacts toward those conditions with various attitudes. In order to form the theoretical background of alternative ways of life derived from different moods, which reflect the catastrophic conditions in metropolises, I preferred to prepare this chapter by using critical theories, approaches and movies that present the catastrophic side of the metropolis. It might be said that as gatherings of different individuals but with common "moods", subcultures reflect the variations of reactions toward urban life. It might be said that clubbing is a culture of metropolis life but not the village. Briefly, this chapter attempts to picture the reasons of reactions of individuals who live in metropolises.

I will attempt to picture out the image of metropolis by using an important theory from physics. Meteorologist Edward Lorenz made computer simulations on weather in 1961. By these simulations, he discovered "*the butterfly effect*" or with its other expression, "sensitive dependence on initial conditions" in chaos theory (Gleick, 1995). According to this theory, "what the experiment showed was that, in non-linear systems, small differences of the initial condition will give rise to large differences in later stages. It is called the butterfly effect because, at least theoretically, it implies that a stroke of the wing of a butterfly could be the cause a

9

hurricane".[7] It can be accepted as a Chaos Theory, which "in particular rejects the common-sense notion that only large changes in causes produce large changes in effects" (Urry, 2003: 23).

I benefit from that '***Chaos Theory***' in respect to define the sphere of metropolis that every individual or object including potential that can change the order of social life directly or indirectly. Clearly, metropolises differ from rural areas in terms of size, socio-economic conditions or technical infrastructures. So, changes caused by every individual or objects are more uncertain than rural areas. It might be said that uncertainity is a significant feature of these huge territories that has serious impacts on individuals. Briefly, for any intellect in huge urban areas, most of things could be accepted as uncertain. This means that individuals attempt to survive in this uncertainity. I think that this is the most significant state of urban mood. However, as "*a moral and political animal*"[8] (Nietzsche's definition), the survival-centric life purpose is not just the reason for the existence of humanity. Human beings attempt to produce art, philosophy or science for cultural richness providing alternative ways to cope with matters in ordinary life. For this thesis, as an escape plan, subcultures were taken as the subject that reflects the features of metropolises with their socio-economic aspects. So, cultural "escape" plans illustrate the attitudes of individuals or communities toward aspects of life in metropolis like technical features, socio-economic or demographic structures. These plans may be observed through subcultures like clubbing or punk culture.

In these huge territories, knowledge, informative sectors, communication, and even entertainment have been playing the central roles almost in their every part since technological improvements began to offer rich opportunities to humanity even though they surround humanity with their "cables". Likewise, power relations have been rearranged by new informative technologies and advanced capitalism day by day. These rearrangements cause the recent contradictory relationships occurring among knowledgeable subjects. Also, we have been witnessed to the visibility of

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[7] http://www.update.uu.se/~fbendz/philo/indeterm.htm

[8] Pearson-Ansell, K. (1998) *Kusursuz Nihilist*, Ayrıntı: Istanbul, p.162

10

diffusing power relations through information/communication sectors. This complicated side of technological growing has increasingly been showing the serious effects on inhabitants of the Earth. Due to visibility of these effects, almost every individual in metropolis - as an open gate to technoculture- fears the possibilities of ecological problems, extending population, or technological wars, which could cause the destruction of whole earth with a nuclear bomb. So, as a common thought can be concluded that there are many negative outcomes of these gigantic technological developments. Crowded, congested and stressful conditions in these spaces may cause appearance of different negative moods of its inhabitants. They might appear as loneliness, alienation, pessimism or rage toward life. As Süheyla Kırca quotes from Ben Malbon,

> As the site of a multitude of 'social spaces' and varying levels of sociality, the city stimulates our emotions and senses intensely. Its complexity and destiny is structured through processes of keeping up with schedules, punctuality, spatial ordering and organization in such a way that its citizens can find themselves feeling overwhelmed, isolated, and, perhaps most paradoxically, lonely (Kırca, 2002: 1).

This catastrophic existence of metropolis paves the way to a new way of life together with "survival strategies". So, in this socio -spatiality, what the most reasonable possibility is to create a private sphere as alternative and marginal way of life to escape from the congested social and physical nets of metropolis. In this study, the concept "metropolis" and "urban" are usually used in a more negatively way than the term "city". First of all, let me tell the reasons of why I chose the concept of the metropolis instead of the city. In respect to distinction between these terms, Murray Bookchin has significant terminological definitions on these two social spheres. He looks at the meanings of the terms in Latin and Ancient Greek civilization. According to Bookchin, the word "city" is derived from *civitas* in Latin*,* which denotes a community in which members administer their own affairs collectively and equally. Bookchin related this word to cultural courtesy and Western exception from other cultures. Also, he remarks that civilization as a concept is derived from the word *civitas.* In Ancient Greece such an independent community was called as *city-state*, which was secular; so, it differed from Jerusalem due to these features. City-state in Ancient Greece consisted of a chief

11

town and its immediate neighborhood. For Bookchin, the definition of city does not carry any negative meaning. According to him, city is a center of population composed of inhabitants mostly living in harmony with each other. Moreover, establishments provide individuals with self-consciousness and also, preserve and create rationality with secularism in his understanding of the city. Likewise, cities are humane, ethical and ecological centers of population in which individuals can live autonomously. Also, institutions do not apply any pressure on individuals. In order to present more clearly the differences between city and urban, Bookchin stresses the distinction between these two concepts, urban has negative meaning for him that implies the demolishment of city which is composed of free citizens and rich cultural aspects. Also, he indicates that urbanization causes the disappearance of close relationships among citizens due to its unnamed, homogeneity and giant establishments. Similar to the separation between urban and city, metropolis and city have distinctions in terms of their formation conditions and features (Bookchin, 1999). Actually, let me say that the division between the meaning of city and metropolis is related to associations appeared in my mind. So, division between these concepts is not inevitable or obligatory. That's why, I will use both terms interchangeably depending on the different context.

When we look at the development of urban areas historically, we see that since the Industrial Revolution, we face the notable trend of a constant growth of urban communities at the expense of rural settlements. City populations constitute a large proportion of the total populations of countries not only in highly industrialized nations but also in developing countries. Obviously, the basic reasons of this urban growth were the emergence of the factories, developments in transportation technologies and also, improvements in the mechanization of agriculture. In the course of time, the output of these technological improvements was a reduction in the need for labor. Still, cities have been keeping on to develop rapidly even without any constraints. This means that industries have begun to create their own ways to remove obstacles on speed and level of production. For example, when there is a need for raw materials, many modern and industrialized cities have been founded as close to natural sources as much as possible to decrease transportation costs. However, neither the demand for raw materials nor the market

has been decreasing since the Industrial Revolution. According to Mumford, cities in developed countries have continued to expand their territories far beyond their political boundaries especially after World War II (Mumford, 1947). This growth has brought many problems together with it. For instance, due to a noticeable expansion, it has given rise to huge new governmental and different governmental agencies to deal with the problems in metropolises. Until the industrialized and technology driven period, it can be said that the concept of city was carrying a kind of positive meaning, but together with the Industrial revolution, in the pessimistic meaning metropolis' time has come. This is the result of contributions of technological improvements that begun to be experienced in communication, transportation, and factoring. Finally, this was the end of the ideal city of Bookchin that emphasized intensively the *city-state* of classical antiquity and the occasionally, semi-self governing "commune" of pre-industrial Western Europe. As he suggests, city-state is a place where individual has freedom, rights and autonomy in spite of "*the state*". I prefer to give this brief information about city by Bookchin in order to present the changes of the city historically. These changes are so-called forerunner of the birth of metropolises, which include various moods that have specific potentials for the birth of distinctive identities like clubbers or punk.

Following part will be related to 'images" of metropolis by some movies. I think, these images are useful to present my impressions on metropolis life. Also, these images will be mostly related to techno-culture that is crucial keyword for this thesis due to its effects on the formation of clubbing and other cultures, which use the technology intensively.

2.2 Metropolises and Catastrophic-Artistic Examples

> We have developed speed but have shut ourselves in. Machinery has left us in want. Our knowledge has made us cynical, our cleverness, hard and unkind. We think too much and feel too little. More than machinery we need humanity (Final scene from Charlie Spencer Chaplin's The Great Dictator) (Bazin & Rohmer, 1989: 39).

This chapter purpose to embody the negative features of metropolis by using a few important movies, which express sensitively those negative sides. As it will be understood from the names of these movies, writers and directors fictionalized their thoughts via life worlds in hi-tech metropolises. It might be said that movies could be useful to understand the futuristic images of metropolis. That's why, I have chosen these well-known movies as examples even if these images of "the future" seem fictional for us right now. I pay attention to stress the visions and images based upon metropolis, because as a metropolis way of life clubbing is an audio-visional culture. Their visional side reflects the hi-tech feature of our time besides with the music. So, I prefer to present the some visions of metropolis, which were created and produced by some moviemakers. Also, these images, I think, are useful to picture the catastrophic effects of metropolises that force individuals to search for new ways to escape from them.

Metropolis, which is originally *Thea Von Harbou's* novel and filmed by *Lang Fritz*, can be a good example in order to picture out those negative impressions on metropolis. In this movie, the director significantly stresses the inhuman character of the metropolis that is apparently presented to the audiences with an impressive music and images. Even though a text quoted below is presented at the beginning of the movie, its theme interestingly includes a kind of "prophecy" devoted to future:

> This film is not of today or of the future. It tells of no place. It serves no tendency, party or class. It has a moral that grown on the pillar of understanding: The Mediator between brain and music must be the heart (Thea Von Harbou, Eurika Video Release © 1994).

The audience can watch the movie either relating it to the present or future because but, it apparently tells something about time and space involved experiences of people related to the past, present and future all together. In *Metropolis*, catastrophe and chaos derived from the power, greed of humanity that causes the rise of hi-tech are illustrated via the struggle between low and high classes. The movie constitutes its main theme on the anger of workers in factories.

They are very angry toward the whole system of metropolis due to the dehumanization in the factory system and bad working conditions,

> …In Metropolis (1927), Lan g (Fritz) use images of high-tech landscapes and routinised and de-humanized workers cast against mechanistic and steeled cityscapes to inscribe a futuristic vision of the urban-industrial world of capitalist development and authoritarian politics; it was a terrain theatrically re-visioned, of course, through the lens of scientism and the mutant chaos of the late twentieth century in Ridley Scott's seminal Blade Runner (1981) (Westwood, S & Williams, 1997: 3).

Sometimes, metropolis may become a frightening territory or 'iron cage' for us as *Fritz* pictures in *Metropolis*. Actually, Fritz stresses on dehumanized and catastrophic character because, this makes the present and the future more undetermined and uncertain for the humankind.

Another example with same title Fritz's movie is Osamu Tezuka's *Metropolis,* which is an anime (Japanese animation genre). Indeed these two movies are stories of future societies based on technological progress and human's doom. Actually, each of them ends up with an opposite conclusion in respect to results appeared by the struggle between 'the elite" and 'the underclass", but at the same time, Tezuka's anime also represents the catastrophic and dreadful face of metropolis by using futuristic elements as Fritz does. *Metropolis* is the tale of wielding the absolute power by human beings benefiting from hi-tech. It is based on highly developed metropolis divided into two that when one side celebrates the rising of the *Ziggurat*, another side is totally against it due to the invasion of technology and robot workers as a result of *Ziggurat,* which is a dreadful tower rising high into the sky of the city and its origins are derived from *Tower of Babel*. It is also a powerful informative computer control center surrounding the whole city to gain control over society but, also, provides so-called easier life for inhabitants at the same time (Tezuka Production © 2001).

> Both directors, Fritz and Tezuko, processes the issues related to technology and humanity without optimistic outcomes in their movies. However, they differ from each other in respect to comprehending of the multilevel structure of

metropolis. Due to this multileveled character, each movie ends up differently. But, they have a significant common point that each movie ends with the destruction of the hi-tech metropolis. However, Fritz's Metropolis ends up with a peaceful understanding taken place between the workers and the boss. In the final scene, the female hero does say, "There can be no understanding between the hands and the brain unless the heart acts as mediator" (Eurika Video Release © 1994). Nevertheless, Tezuka's Metropolis ends up with the demolishment of machines and the leader *Duke Red,* who attempts to wield the absolute power and so, humanity begins to rise upon metropolis.

Actually, there are many other movies about life in metropolis and high technologies but as a cult movie, *Ridley Scott's Blade Runner (1982)* is the most significant one in the contemporary cinema industry. This movie is "as original and memorable as such other future worlds as Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*" (Ebert, R. 1995: Microsoft © Cinemenia'95). I think, the most memorable element in the *Blade Runner* is the image of techno-metropolis in which cars are flying, laser lights are flashing or huge advertisement dashboards are appearing. This metropolis seems dark and chaotic. This is the metropolis of future,

Ridley Scott's futuristic thriller is set in a hellish, claustrophobic city, dark and polluted, and with a continual drenching rainfall—it's Los Angeles in the year 2019. The congested-megalopolis sets are extraordinary: this is the grimy, retrograde future—the future as a black market, made up of scrambled, sordid aspects of the present. A visionary sci-fi movie that has its own look can't be ignored: it has its place in film history (Kael, P., 1995: Microsoft© Cinemenia'95).

These kind of futuristic or prophetic movies widely reflect the dark side of the metropolis and future. Generally, the future is illustrated with technological developments and their impacts on human beings. Technology has become visible in every parts of our life day by day. Movies, musical genres or computer games involved in hi-tech intensively. Even, there is a thought in the common sense that techno-music is the music of the future. This issue will be discussed in the following chapters by relating to clubbing. In most clubs, there is a VJ (Vision Jockey) who is responsible from visions preparing for increasing the effects of music and atmosphere of club. In clubbing, visions are so important as much as sounds are. Every vision and sound creates different mood aspects of individuals.

So, following chapter will attempt to illustrate the relations between metropolis life and the moods.

2.3 Metropolis: The Cradle of Various Moods

We are in an era in which as 'technology and administrative complexity are growing then "society" as such must be becoming more vital. Thus the city appears on the surface to be an ever more complex and important institution" (Sennett, 1970: 51). Initially, as a "complex and important institution", issues devoted to modern city, technological improvements and their impacts on social life have become crucial keywords to grasp our present time and culture. Ostensibly, these improvements with their sophisticated outcomes have brought into a more visible existence day by day. Today, various governments attempt to take control almost all over the society by using the power of technology as much as they benefit from cultural imperialism and Adorno says, 'No mention is made of the fact that the basis on which technology acquires power over society is the power of those whose economic hold over society is greatest" (During (ed.) 1995: 31). Adorno significantly stresses that power has cause to become powerless of the individuality even though it seemingly provides some so-called opportunities. In a such time that dominant emotion among individual can be becoming powerless caused by the huge institutions and so, people need their own 'private space", whe re they can also invite others who look like them or possess some common cultural aspects like art, political attitudes or life styles. These commonalities have facilitative effects on probable solidarities among individuals. Lefebvre defines this kind of practice as:

> Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance (Lefebvre, 1996: 33).

This spatial practice is devoted to close cultural ties among individuals who provide safe social spaces for each other which are far from constraints of the

dominant culture. Moreover, they find some opportunities to fill the lack of safety opened up by modernity and advanced capitalism. If these states are accepted as reasons for existence of subcultures[9], it might be said that subcultures are a kind of desertion plan from "iron cage" created by the modern era. When we look at these desertion plans, we can see that they are mainly widespread among members of youth. Following chapters will be devoted to the reasons of this fact.

In order to bring into existence a subculture for coping with the pressures of the dominant culture, individuals usually have to benefit from emptiness or weaknesses of that culture. They can use these features of dominant culture in respect to either in a subversive or critical manner. Yet, it does not mean that every subculture can be understood as including aims or values for resistance or subversive strategies towards power relations established in present culture. Under this circumstance, it reveals the changeable characters and formations of metropolis life. It means that as inhabitants of metropolis, individuals who involve in any subculture reflect the various moods as the reactions toward the established social constraints. Likewise, young individuals generally experience distress or difficulties in metropolis life as other people do but their ways for coping with them illustrate their common attitudes, which are marginalized or diversified from dominant culture. That's why, they likely become visible in the society more than other age groups. Those ways or strategies may be accepted as aspects of social problems or disorders in society by the dominant culture. About this subject, Hebdige says, "Youth is present only when its presence is problem, or is regarded as a problem" (Hebdige, 1988a: 17). Young individuals indicate their anger, boredom or radical political identities by resisting via rituals including dressing strangely, striking unusual attitudes, breaking common rules of society, breaking different materials like windows, public phones, heads reflecting rhetorical challenges to the law (Hall & Jefferson, 1980). These attitudes mainly form the ways for surviving in the conventions of mainstream culture. Also, different moods of youth alongside their

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[9] This term is basically and simply defined as "culturally distinctive groups...at the community level, people differ so much from each other in such things as their jobs, their neighborhoods, and their life styles that moral consensus becomes difficult" (Fischer, 197632). Fischer's analysis is based on concept of anomy that implies weakening of cohesion in society and imbalance of social order. Actually, this approach seems a bit moralistic. In following chapters, definition of subcultures will be presented in terms of different approaches.

physical appearances with the transformation of objects into symbols of resistance, or making them fit to their daily practices are generally derived from aggressive emotions devoted to the dominant culture. In most cases, societies experience these attitudes as constructive form of subversive acts. *Aggressiveness* is especially visible and significant in urban areas, especially in the huge, multilevel metropolis. I mean by constructive that marginalized cultural practices can add various colors to conventions of societies. These colorful additions are observable as in aesthetic, political or intellectual aspects. At this point, if aggression can be strived to adapt critical thoughts of individual's life, we can say that "aggression is (in most cases) socially useful destructiveness - and yet fateful because of its self-propelling character and scope" (Marcuse, 1968: 268).

Subversive or aggressive practices of individuals may not be simple, irregular or nonsense but, they may reflect planning and organization being composed of "reasonable" reasons. So, let me say that anger of individuals might not be just ambivalent reactions that can be thrown out of any context. According to Simmel, "The psychological basis of the metropolitan type of individuality consists in the intensification of nervous stimulation which results from the swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner *stimuli*" (Weinstein (ed.), 1950: 409-424). And then, he adds his critical analyze for inhabitants of metropolis that "thus the metropolitan type of man-which, of course, exists in a thousand individual variants - develops an organ protecting him against the threatening currents and discrepancies of his external environment which would uproot him. He reacts with his head instead of his heart" (ibid). According to Simmel remarks that mental life in metropolis is directly affected by external environment negatively in spite of existing of constructive effects created by industrialization on physical and technical structures of metropolis. Coser remarks,

> The trend of modern history appears to Simmel as a progressive liberation of the individual from the bonds of exclusive attachment and personal dependencies in spite of the increasing domination of man by cultural products of his own creation (Coser, 189).

However, it appears to me that growing borders of metropolis life as extremity of technological developments and economical structures have negative impacts on individual's mood. Mental life of individuals as inhabitant of metropolis reflects this extremity and catastrophe by his impulses, which are visible through his/her daily practices, thoughts or embodied reactions. However, on the one hand, ideology of capitalism has been transformed to offer individual easier ways and choices to cope with those distressful conditions in metropolis. At the same time, it also forces individuals to make some concessions with its ideology. Consumption is the one powerful ideological apparatus of capitalism. A consumption driven life style may be directed towards one that can form reified or alienated moods. As Adorno says,

> Each product affects an individual air; individuality itself serves to reinforce ideology, in so far as the illusion is conjured up that the completely reified and mediated is a sanctuary from immediacy and life (Adorno, 1992: 87).

At the end, as these social conditions indicate the existence of capitalist ideology that metropolises have become more important and so, they have become also workshops of civilization for social sciences because, socio-economic-political results of advanced capitalism seem more visible in the metropolis life than in the non-metropolitan communities. According to Shields, city as 'workshop of civilization' and we can classify an environment as a city and then 'reify' that city as a thing. Indeed, this notion of the city, the city itself, can be accepted as representation of a society and social relations within it and so; we can get some ideas about a society from city's representations (Shields, 1998). Subcultures are seemingly representations of 'hidden' side of the cities. Discontented inhabitants of metropolises and cities come together to constitute a social space, which does not allow the demands of conventional social life taken place in these huge territories. For instance, they prefer to listen to music loudly, use the drugs or establish sexual intercourses, as they want. As much as the demands of social life increase, they shall become 'hidden' and 'alternative'. However, there is one side of this social situation, which is economical. They can be so-called 'marginal' but they spend money and consume in the "Affluent Society". Following part will attempt to present the economical dimension of metropolis.

2.4 Metropolis as "Affluent Society"

Indeed, everyday practices give us some clues about the pressures of the city life, because the success of modernism has been its capability of entering –invading of- into our everyday life. By the consumption and "commodity fetishism" (Marx, 1997), Capitalism has transformed the daily practices into social spheres that carry the symbolic meanings loaded upon mostly objects. Moreover, consumption has not been just the meeting of needs by individual anymore, but the creation of artificial ones that people do not need really but supposedly. In the affluent or consumption society, there are masses driven into consumption with the various patterns that are reproduced by capitalism. Our everyday life is the tool for the reproduction and completing of production and consumption circuits by capitalism.

Clearly, Capitalism has formed sharp distinctions between richness and poverty in urban areas. Visibility and affluent character of consumption opportunities with invisibility of poverty constitutes multilevel features of the metropolis. So, we can face significant variations in respect to consumption opportunities obtained by rich but not by the poor. It indicates that metropolises can come to mind with their "affluent" features or "varieties" in lifestyles reflecting by consumption patterns. Marcuse defines so-called "*affluent society*" as "an abundant industrial and technical capacity which is to a great extent spent in the production and distribution of luxury goods" so-called "unproductive" goods and service, "a rising standard of living, which also extends to previously underprivileged parts of the population", "a high degree of concentration of economic and political power, combined with a high degree of organization and government intervention in the economy" and "scientific and pseudoscientific investigation, control, and manipulation of private and group behavior, both at work and at leisure (including the behavior of the psyche, the soul, the unconscious, and the subconscious) for commercial and political purposes" (Marcuse, 1968: 248). These features of "affluent society" can be observed in the cities of industrial countries as the typical aspects of modern times. At this point, to understand city and its relations with capitalism are main problematic issues for social sciences. About this issue, Castells

21

suggests that in order to understand city and its features, it should be looked at the processes of society as a whole. Likewise, the specificity of capitalist society, its class contradictions, and its uneven and non-continuous development, also, should be paid attention by urban studies. He also suggests that the question of the city, the urban as a theoretical object and space have serious and important effects on social life. According to him, urban culture cannot be accepted as an isolated knowledge, which is merely derived from cities or metropolises, but it should be comprehended with certain historical realities (Castells, 1977).

We are the diversified members of *city-vilization*[10] and attempt to produce our own culture by using different tools. For Featherstone, "cities have always had cultures in the sense that they have produced distinctive cultural products, artifacts, buildings and distinctive ways of life" (Featherstone, 1998: 95) Featherstone suggests that "two senses of the term culture: culture as way of life (anthropological sense); and culture as the arts, spiritually elevating cultural products and experiences (high culture)" (ibid). Post-Fordist period has transformed consumption into a tool of means of production and a part of life styles. Capitalist techniques, like advertisement, creation of life styles or constitution of hedonistic self, pushes people to entertainment places, vacations or shopping malls to consume anything what they are "supposed to need". Entertainment is a significant aspect of this era reflecting different moods of individuals. According to Simon Reynold, rave culture "is riddled with Zen-like paradoxes. It's music of resistance and acquiescence, utopian idealism and nihilistic hedonism. It's both escape route and dead-end, orgasmotron and panopticon, space and cage" (cited in Redhead (ed.), 1999: 92).

Consumption creates a circle, which is hard to break down, and so artificial instinct for consumption is reproduced and supported by consumptive tendencies, which are observed throughout life styles. Style should not be merely related to simple or basic visionary situation of individuals anymore but also, it shows

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[10] This term means that civilization is a word as a derivation of term civitas in Latin, which *is* denoting of a community in which members administer their own affairs collectively and equally. City-vilization illustrates an association of civilization not as based on those communities but crowded and heterogeneous cities.

symbolic positions of objects produced by members of various communities through usage of commodities. Briefly, consumption constitutes itself as a way of communication. Bourdieu suggests that consumption is "a stage in a process of communication, that is, an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code" (Bourdieu, 1984: 2). Commercial objects become to be considered as not just pecuniary objects but spheres that gather consumers as if they are members of a community. This is the so-called "community" of -with its different names- style, fashion or "*bricolage*." According to John Clarke, we pay attention,

> In describing the process of stylistic generation, we have made partial and somewhat eclectic use Levi Strauss' concept of bricolage- the re-ordering and re-contextualisation of objects to communicate fresh meanings, within a total system of significances, which already includes prior and sedimented meanings attached to the objects used" (Hall & Jefferson, 1980: 177).

If an example from cinema is given, it can be said that transformations of objects into different meanings can be observed through Charlie Chaplin's movies. In his movies, the universe of objects is not presented with their common usages in objects universe of society. Objects in Chaplin's movies are not used by *Tramp* with their conventional functions in. *Tramp* transforms them from conventional objects into unconventional ones, even he defunctionalizes them with his original understandings. For instance, in his movies, breads can dance or shoes strings are eaten as if they are spaghetti. However, Chaplin's transvaluation of objects does not aim to exclude *Tramp* from society, as Bazin suggests, but for involving in it (Bazin & Rohmer, 1989: 16). So, similar to *Tramp* movies, in the sense of creating new meanings from daily objects and spaces, style is a way of life within some consumption patterns and symbolic signifiers produced by individuals to create a sphere of subculture that sometimes implies exclusion from social conventions but not from whole society. Actually, style includes space, which becomes social and coded specifically. Lefebvre defines it as "*representational spaces*" that are,

> Embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be

23

defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1996: 33).

So, style is an attempt for corporation of codes, symbols and coded-spaces as exclusion from social sphere of mainstream culture. New attempts for producing alternative ways of life and styles seem as the results of repetitive features of urban sphere, but at the same time these attempts engulf another types of repetitions. So, it might be said that cities make individual tired like factory workers -facing with alienation because of repetition- not just physically but also psychologically. In this factory system, we need our own private spheres to take a rest "peacefully" or "angrily". It causes that we enjoy our leisure times as if they are sacred rituals. Today, even if these rituals seem as merely simple daily routines or practices but they can gain symbolic meanings day by day. Likewise, these symbolic meanings have potential to picture in our mind some images of different life styles and subcultures. Generally, subcultures as diversified ways of life are related to different entertainment styles and strategies for not just surviving but coping with symptoms of socio-economic structures that make individuals weak and alienated. Actually, the matter of alienation has been an important subject of sociology from past to present. Mainly, *alienation* is defined systematically and as detailed by Karl Marx. He expands the definitions of Hegel and Feuerbach on alienation. According to Marx, the worker becomes poorer as much as he produces more wealth. As increases in power and extent of their production, the worker becomes a cheaper commodity the more commodities he produces. For Marx, this process causes "the *devaluation*" of the human world and it "grows in direct proportion to the *increase in value* of the world of things" (Marx, 1993: 140). Labour does not only produce commodities, but also it produces itself and the workers as a commodity. So, according to Marx:

> This fact simply means that the object that labour produces, its product, stands opposed to it as *something alien*, as a power independent of the producer. The product of labour is labour embodied and made material in an object, it is the *objectification* of labour. The realization of labour is its objectification. In the sphere of political economy, this realization of labour appears as a *loss of reality* for the worker,

> objectification as loss of and bondage to the object, and appropriation as estrangement, as *alienation*.[11]

Although, as a Marxist term alienation seems as related to economical structures or factorial system, actually it is also explanatory for metropolis life and individual. According to Marcusian analysis, metropolises have become factories and so, individuals often experience what the worker does but in a different ways (Marcuse, 1967). I mean that the worker produces what he cannot have generally; individual in metropolis consumes what he/she does not *supposedly need*. Indeed, it might be said that alienation of the worker and individual is directly related to world of objects.

Alienation is frequently argued by social sciences how it can be analyzed and solved. It is clear that those structures, in which we attempt to live, bring about alienation and impose it on individuals. Eventually, in order to cope with that matter, most of individuals search for their own ways and attempt to create the newest and the marginal solutions. Entertainment is a well-known solution and strategy for it: The music, movies or places to where they go or also, drugs, which they use. On the other hand, entertainment is actually a difficult subject because of its varieties in terms of different situations, conditions and time. However, there may be some suspicions about its most important aim, which is coping with alienation. Eventually, people escape from social pressures caused by uncertainty, economic depression, bureaucracy, power or institutions etc, but they may begin to experience another type of alienation, which is caused by entertainment chosen in cities where we can face with affluence of entertainment styles and culture. Shortly, this means that entertainment and ways of life related it offers individuals another "reality" formed by repetitive music (causing decrease in perception and thinking), synthetic drugs creating world of imagination and a consumption driven style. These issues will be explained following chapters.

Metropolises and the cities are the economical centers of capitalism. So, socio-economical features of these huge territories are crucial to understand the occurrence reasons of subcultures. That's why, I attempted to link the "Affluent

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[11] http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm

Society" with metropolis. Today, subcultures are not just alternative side of the dominant culture but they have become a market used by capitalism effectively. I will attempt to illustrate the features of the subcultures in respect to both social and economical occurrence reasons. Actually, it might be also said that they are the hidden side of the cities that include alternative way of life in contrast to "boring" rules of conventional cultural aspects. According to Chambers,

> The city exists as a series of doubles; it has official and hidden cultures, it is a real place and site of imagination. Its elaborate network of streets, housing, public buildings, transport systems, parks, and shops is paralleled by a complex of attitudes, habits, customs, expectancies, and hopes that reside in us as urban subjects. We discover that urban 'reality' is not single but multiple, that inside the city there is always another city (Quoted by Soja, 2001: 325).

Subcultures seem to involve in the 'hidden' cultures of the city emphasizing above by Chambers and it can be said that these cultures are another face of the cities. Also, irritating and exhausting character of cities because of their overcrowding feature and its "wider spacing between individuals, which is usual in the countryside, that rural folk are less tense more neighborly, and often better mannered than their urban counterparts" (Storr, 1968: 155) leave people to search new paths to control their environment which is constituted by individuals who want to live same life styles together.

I think that theoretical approaches emphasized above relating to metropolis life can be used to analyze the life in Turkey, also. Industrialization process and rising of techno-culture have seemed to put on the agenda pf Turkey in recent years. However, let me say that every change in the metropolis life doe not coincide with the changes in Turkey in respect to synchronization. I mean that we supposedly experience those significant changes and transformation not at the same time with Europe or America, but later on.

The following chapter will be about technology and effects on culture and social life, mostly in metropolises. This chapter is related to techno-culture, because my main issue which I chosen to study as alternative culture is clubbing. Indeed, this culture is totally related to technology and its aspects. Following two chapters

26

will be about technological improvements, impacts and relations with music and cultures to understand connections between clubbing and contemporary changes experienced in the beginnings of 21st century. .

CHAPTER 3

TECHNO-CULTURE: "ELECTRONIC CAGE"[12]

3.1 Speed, Metropolis and Machines

> We now live in a hyper-modern world where panic noise (the electronic soundtrack of TV, rock music in the age of advanced capitalism, white sound in all the 'futureshops') appears as a kind of affective hologram providing a veneer of coherency for the reality of an imploding culture.[13]

Let me begin the presentation of the techno-culture with a scene from a Stanley Kubrick's movie called *2001: A Space Odyssey*. This futuristic movie begins with a sequence in which one ape of a tribe discovers how a bone is able to be used as a weapon and then, he considers that it can be used to hit over the head of members belonging to another tribe while these two groups fight each other to get essential life resources. That's why, since the ancestors of human beings possessed the ability to use the first tool, they have become tool-using animals that diversify them from other creatures in the Earth. This diversified feature of the human beings seemingly provides them with an advantageous position while they struggle with difficult conditions in the wild nature. Actually, this was just the beginning that tool-using ability was the door to hi-tech future. Briefly, by that ability, any hard condition and situation have become to be made easier by humans. However, afterward, humanity has also begun to pay its price in social life directly or indirectly. According to Marcuse,

> As a mode of production, as the totality of instruments, devices and contrivances which characterize the machine age is thus at the same time a mode of organizing and perpetuating (or changing) social relationships, a manifestation of prevalent

[12] Kroker, M. (2001) *Spasm,* Ctheory Books: Canada, p.6

[13] Kroker, A.& Kroker, M.&Cook, D. (2001) *Panic Encyclopedia*, p.156

thought and behavior patterns, an instrument for control and domination (Cited in Kellner (ed.) 1998: 41).

So, it might be said that the root of technology kingdom was laid by the invention of the first tool. Sociologically, technology can be defined as Marcuse states, "by itself ca n promote authoritarianism as well as liberty, scarcity as well as abundance, the extension as well as the abolition of toil" (Kellner (ed.) 1998:41). So, technology can be used simply to define the processes by which human beings invented tools and machines to increase their control on nature and trial for wielding of power. However, Lewis Mumford suggests that there are some differences between a tool and a machine: "The tool lends itself to manipulation, the machine to automatic action" (Mumford, 1947: 10). Actually, this distinction between tool and machine reflects the division between "primitive" civilizations in which harmless and simple tools are used and hi-tech ones that will likely be threat for the universe.

In the past, tools and machines were being used to meet "needs" of people but then; they have been improved to create new artificial needs for humanity like computer games, 3-D (Three-Dimensional) movies, hi-speed luxury automobiles, etc. So, the invention of the first tool was the initial symbol of hi-tech civilization with high level, speedy changes in almost all societies. To reach speed of technology is required an accelerating culture with its every part. In *Speed and Politics*, Paul Virilio remarks us the importance of "speed" as a sign ificant feature of city. Impacts of technologies and unceasingly mobility with their implements in cities are crucial issues for him in the modern era. Virilio uses the term "*Dromomatics*" in order to point out and stress the crucial function of speed in history. Because, according to him, speed has important roles in parts of urban and social life, even warfare and economy, transportation, communication, and other parts of everyday life (Virilio, 1998). Virilio' s *dromology* focuses on the technological innovations and advancements like steam engine, which cause sharp socio-economical transformations in the societies. He also emphasize on the effects of "speed" and "accidents" on power relations and class structures. However, for this thesis, a part of Virilio's theory is significant and important. That part is based on the increase of speed in the social relations so-called "dromology" not in the

context of control, intervention or domination of a class by others but briefly acceleration of everyday life which might cause the alienation people from their own daily life in the course of time. So, everyday life becomes what we attempt to catch up with its increasingly climbing speed but, this is a tag that may be resulted in the lack of the "digestion" our presen t time because, "technological revolution of historic proportions is transforming the fundamental dimensions of human life: time and space" (Castells, 1989: 1) [14]. These radical and crucial changes experienced in social life have serious effects on private sphere of individuals. Nevertheless, we might say that we cannot talk about any "private" time/space or socio -spatiality without any interruption of today's industrial society because, as Marcuse claims that this private space of individual has been invaded and people have begun to experience a decline in their private reality due to a rising technological reality. Also, effects of the mass consumption might be observed through experiences of individuals that can be defined as a kind of industrial psychology created by factory system in capitalism that implies confinement and ceasing of freedom of individual as if he/she lives in a factory (Marcuse, 1967). As also Negri and Hardt said,

> The processes of modernization and industrialization transformed and redefined all the elements of the social plane. When agriculture was modernized as industry, the farm progressively became a factory, with all of the factory's discipline, technology, wage relations, and so forth. Agriculture was modernized as industry. More generally, society itself slowly became industrialized even to the point of transforming human relations and human nature. Society became a factory (Hardt & Negri, 2001: 297).

So, it can be said that this factory system produces a new mood surrounded by energy, technology and speed. Alienation in the socio-factorial system "consists in the total absorption of the personality into the process of commodity production" (Reitz, 2000: 144). So, in this factory, as the good fellows of technology, our habits, life styles and expectations change rapidly and are reproduced as much as technology transforms the present and future by the market. On the other hand, at

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[14] Castells continues both sides of impacts on time & space duality of technological revolution positive or negative on the basis of "historical optimism and moralistic pessimism" and he says about technology and relations with informative developments "...The unfolding promise of information technology opens up unlimited horizons of creativity and communication.... simplistic message of technological determinism, be it the liberation of the individual from the constraints of the locale, or the alienation of social life disintegrating in the anonymity of suburban sprawl" (Castells, 1989: 1).

the same time, they are subjective "revolutions" for humanity, because they also include some capabilities for transformation of life worlds from communication to consumption by individuals. According to Castells, "Technological revolutions are always part of a broader process of change in the techno-economic paradigm which forms the basis of the processes of production, consumption, and management" (Castells, 1989: 2). For instance, individuals can make own music in their amateur studies or distribute their manifesto through the different parts of the world by using the Internet. This might be accepted as the positive side of technology.

Seemingly technology affects sharply the spheres of time and space either negatively or positively. So, the conventional meanings of time and space have been changed by hi-tech. In a "panic situation", we attempt to catch the time, technological changes or transformations without a long thinking period but a quick and sudden period. This *fast-thinking* period results in indigestion of reality in the social life. This is why, alienation is not just a class related problem today but it reflects impacts of hi-tech, digitalization of life and the speedy level of civilization. Actually, they seem to reflect both regeneration "*Generation hi-tech*" and "*Degeneration*: *Generation X[15]*" at the same time,

> Technology as degeneration? The electronic cage corresponds to four orders of domination: beyond alienation (the objectification of the subject) to reification (the subjectification of the object), beyond reification to simulation (the fetishism of the spectacle), and now beyond the age of simulation to virtual experience (the specularity of the fetish) (Kroker, 2001: 37).

In the shadow of capitalism, restructuration and regeneration might be considered as the capable keywords to illustrate changes in societies. As Kellner suggests, "capital is restructuring itself through the implementation of new technologies into every sphere of life" (Downey & McGuigan (ed.) 1999: 194). Restructuring of capital does not imply simply economical transformations but huge, diffused ones. Many new modes of societal organization and structures have occurred and surrounded social relations via arms of technology but, societies

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[15] Mathematically "X" is used to describe the uncertainty principle.
(http://zebu.uoregon.edu/~js/ast123/lectures/lec06.html)

usually take part in these transformations without comprehending improvements and their effects with impulses on people, actually we cannot understand as the detailed what we are dealing with. Societies have begun to be structured by complicated technologies and techniques. This is called as *'technosociety'* and in this organized and structured by technologies, are new, as Douglas Kellner says:

> Modes of information *and* entertainment and it is becoming harder and harder to separate them. Indeed, as I have been suggesting, the new technologies are much more than solely information technology, but are also technologies of entertainment, communication, and play, encompassing and restructuring both labor and leisure (Downey & McGuigan (ed.) 1999: 191).

Finally, during the work or leisure time periods, we are surrounded by hi-tech in offices and homes obviously. We also use our leisure time by benefiting from technology in our everyday life. Yet, generally, it might be said that technoculture and '*technocapitalism*' shape our everyday life with or without the permission of us. Sphere of entertainment has become to involve in hi-tech and at the same time, capitalism benefit from this sphere by transformation it into space of consumption and purely hedonistic. As we will see that club culture is a good example for this kind of social formations.

3.2 Affects of Hi-Tech on metropolis inhabitants

> The Industrial Revolution and its consequences have been a disaster for the human race. They have greatly increased the life-expectancy of those of us who live in "advanced" countries, but they have destabilized society, have made life unfulfilling, have subjected human beings to indignities, have led to widespread psychological suffering (in the Third World to physical suffering as well) and have inflicted severe damage on the natural world. The continued development of technology will worsen the situation. It will certainly subject human beings to greater indignities and inflict greater damage on the natural world, it will probably lead to greater social disruption and psychological suffering, and it may lead to increased physical suffering even in "advanced" countries (Unabomber, 1996: 9).

In spite, he is neither an academician nor scientist; "*Unabomber*" has become a significant figure in discussions on industrial-technological systems and structures. People envisage his name widely in these kinds of discussion. On the other hand, they have changeable thoughts devoted to him that are divided into different approaches because, as I said before, he cannot be categorized under the name of "science". In his homeland, USA, he has been accepted and rememb ered as a terrorist. Actually, his famous nickname has been given to him due to his so-called "terrorist" attacks. He was called as *Unabomber* because, he was sending bomb packets by mail to science and technology centers like universities or laboratories where scientists were processing some experiments on genetics, weapon technology, or animals resulted in likely damaging of the nature. At this point, his sensitivity toward nature and natural life has caused to appear ambivalent thoughts about him because these acts were not simply "terrorist" attacks to kill people on purpose (However, tragically, a few people died due to bomb packets). The main reason for him was to illustrate political reactions toward advanced industrial-technological societies with their catastrophic effects on the nature. So, whether we accept him as a terrorist or activist, there is a fact that his actions were planned and organized by a significant purpose based upon "hatred" against the destructive side of industrial-technological economical systems. For him, there is not any separation between capitalist or socialist mode of productions because, both of them benefit from the destructive technological tools. For a master thesis, which is formed via scientific methodology, he may not be accepted as reference, but his acts does not deserve to be undervalued due to his sensitivities towards negative side of technology that damage nature together with humanity. Likewise, *Unabomber* has an organized and systematized manifesto based on these negative sides of technology and industrial processes. In this manifesto, he says,

> We give attention to only some of the negative developments that have grown out of the industrial-technological system. Other such developments we mention only briefly or ignore altogether. This does not mean that we regard these other developments as unimportant. For practical reasons we have to confine our discussion to areas that have received insufficient public attention or in which we have something new to say (Unabomber, 1996:10).

It is clear that heavy industrial-technological structures confine humanity in a digital-technical cage physically and psychologically. We confront with an incredible acceleration in our daily life that affects our perception negatively and so, social realities shall become blurred in the perception plane. As much as the acceleration of technological developments increase, number of optimist moods decrase. Likewise, doubts about "reality" also increase. It can be observed throughout the creation of 'realities' by using capabilities of digital media or hi-tech and speedy communication systems. Seemingly, our "systematic" –sometimes amorphous- everyday life reflects this acceleration of time with changes in perceptional levels. Under these circumstances, it can be welcomed as normal the production of some escape plans or strategies from the boring and blurred *reality*. Today, we are "*all invited to digital*" (Advertisement slogan of *Samsung*) by advanced capitalism. This "polite" invitation brings some doubts about reality: "Whole new cyber-worlds are being created out of "virtual reality" and "artificial intelligence" and "digital community" (Soja, 2001: 325) Shall we accept that the facts which are valid for "cyber worlds" are also valid for " concrete reality". In the sense of virtuality and reality, the significant point is that technology has begun to blur the conception of reality with its process of becoming digitalized. To become digitalized means is to transform society into "a zero fault" structure. What I mean by *zero fault* can be more understandable by an example from a musician, a reggae producer who criticizes "zero fault" feature of technology in music ironically:

> The drum machine don't make mistake like musician"
> says the little powerhouse. If you want to be good drummer,
> copy the electric machine then may be you can see Lee
> 'Strach' Perry [16]. Better to use a machine than use a human who
> is unclean. I'd take a drum machine and beat the drummer until
> he plays like one" (Gilbert&Pearson, 1999: 116).

It might be said that *zero fault* society is the result of development in computerization. It is obvious that today, most of technological innovations have taken place in this technological field. Briefly, computer is an electronic device that

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[16] He is a singer, dubber and producer.

"can receive a set of instructions, or program, and then carry out this program by performing calculations on numerical data or by compiling and correlating other forms of information" (Encarta Multimedia Encyclopedia). I think, its capability of calculations based on numbers and features of digitized character seem to form our future. It is clear that computers have opened up a new era and had impacts on all parts of social life like manufacturing through the techniques of automation, enhanced modern communication systems, entertainment, etc. Every process that a digital computer embodies is based on one operation, which is explained as the ability to recognize the digital gate either open or closed. It means that the computer can recognize only two states: 0 or 1. There is nothing outside the digits for computer. With this brilliant innovation, technology leaves us with a confrontation between pessimism and optimism or both for future. Alexander Cohen says,

> Technology has progressed but left the earth behind, no morality, no ethics... The old have failed to adapt to the changes; the violence of modern technology sees its reflection in Ultraviolence, beyond violence. Labor in this age is no longer that of production, but of destruction without purpose, violence without a referent.17

In terms of the ontological meaning, difference between 1 and 0 indicates difference between existence and nothingness. Yet, in digitalized mediums, this couple is the new meaning of restructuring and totality. Nevertheless, technology includes both meanings of those: existence and nothingness. In the other words, they are both the symbols of creation and destruction.

Advanced technology seems to provide humanity free time to construct their cultural worlds, at the same time, rapid and dehumanized progress causes a kind of cultural scarcity besides the economic one. So, according to Bookchin, "scarcity can be defined with its either biological or cultural effects" (Bookchin, ibid). Actually, surrounding of culture by technology is visible through art especially contemporary musical genres like techno music. Indeed, it might be said that every part of social life are affected by those changes. But, as we will see in the following chapters, even though, the meaning of art also has been changed by technology, it can be still

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17http://cinemaspace.berkeley.edu/Cinema_Beyond/C_B.lectures/ClockworkOrange/Benj_CultIndustr_Clckwr.html

considered as a resistance and struggle source against suffocating feature of social life in the Capitalist sphere. On the other hand, it is better to remember that factory system within Capitalism attempts to invade also art. About effects and results of new kinds of art or music can be said, "Everywhere music creates the mood, the energy level, of the postmodern scene. Never seen but equally never shut out, music as panic vibrations secretes through the body of the social. Always ready to enter, it is also always ready to circulate" (Croker&Cook, 2001: 6).

Following part will attempt to bring together technology and music in order to make easier to understand clubbing as a techno-music driven culture. I think, musical tendencies reflect the way of life of individuals and other significant point is that musical genres reflect the cultural transformations and changes in societies. By this chapter, I will attempt illustrate effects of technology on music and the effects of music on various way of life.

CHAPTER 4

DIGITALIZATION OF MUSIC

4.1 Music and Culture

> Music has always been produced with mediated via a number of technologies; to assume that it is only during the latter half of the twentieth century, or during the era of microchip that technology has entered the process of music making is to misread histories of the musical instrument as well as those of recording and production (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999: 111).

Music is simply an act of listening, but "there are different modes of listening –what Frith calls 'ideologies of listening' and the mode of listening that 'demands' this distanciated, almost purely aural understanding of music is a product of the rationalist approach to music and to art more generally" (Malbon, 1999: 83). So, it might be said that the understanding and interpretation of music are basically subjective practices that depend on the individualistic states and so, as Malbon says, "What we feel about music is essentially what the music means to us…" (ibid.: 83) However, musical tendencies and genres reflect also the social structures and status of societies and individuals. They mainly reflect the socio-economic and technical transformations in societies. Former chapter was related to technical transformations taken place in societies. This chapter will purpose to connect technology and contemporary musical genres. Technological changes and their interconnections with music are significant because, the members of some alternative cultures are gathered together by the impact of music like clubbing. Likewise, most of those cultures have been music driven way of life like Punk, Jazz of Hip-Hop. So, the link between former chapter and this chapter is important to point out the effects of technology on music. I aim to present these relations on the basis of sociological approaches on technological improvements and their effects experienced contemporarily. So, this chapter is not going to be related to any

musicological theory or approach. About musicological theories and their relations with cultural studies, Beverly Best says:

> There is a gap in popular culture theory where 'the text' used to be. In the case of popular music, for example, the politics of production and reception of music have been endlessly theorized with many good results, while investigations of musical text –uses of sounds and instruments, rhythm, phrasing, time signature, sampling, structure, lyrical content – have often been left to the aesthetic formalism of musicology or the equally ahistorical formalism of some anthropological and semiotic approaches (cited in Redhead (ed.), 1999: 18).

It is clear that new technological developments have significant effects on contemporary musical genres. Every technical innovation relating to music has provided musicians with the new productions techniques that also give rise to the new musical genres. Actually, as much as technology has been improved and become widespread, it is getting easier and easier to make music and even publish these musical productions via the Internet. Moreover, these improvements have also caused a visible decrease in the costs of those productions. So, individuals can make their own music, clips or even small-scale parties with their computers and hi-fi systems. Even the localities actually have been affected by the worldwide changes experienced in the technology. However, this does not mean that global changes wipe out 'the local" or authentic features of national aesthetic but r ather, national contexts reflect also global ones. As Grossberg remarks "..national contexts can no longer be so confidently isolated from the global circulations of people, power, capital and culture" (Cited in Redhead, 1999: 199).

Changes in some musical genres are important because most of subcultures or popular ones are directly related to music and they seem to carry characteristics of music being listened by members. I mean that if we accept anger, happiness, politics or merely fun as emotional and effective parts of musical genres, we might say that they likely reflect aspects of subcultural formations as popular cultures also do because of music's powerful impacts on moods. According to Nietzsche, music is the most powerful artistic creation among others. He constitutes his philosophical approaches toward music by using Schopenhauer's philosophy but also, he

improves this philosophy (Lasserre, 1997). According to Schopenhauer quoted by Nietzsche from *World as Will and Idea*, I, p. 309:

> We may regard the phenomenal world, or nature, and music as two different expressions of the same thing, which is therefore itself the only medium of their analogy, so that knowledge of it is demanded in order to understand that analogy. Music, therefore, if regarded as an expression of the world, is in the highest degree a universal language, which is related indeed to the universality of concepts, much as they are related to the particular things. (Source: www.geocities.com/thenietzschechannel/bt4.htm, Compiled from translations by Francis Golffing and Walter Kaufmann.)

If we can turn back to our main issue by aid of the illumination of these philosophers: Subcultures make themselves differ from popular or dominant culture by using musical tendencies and language of music 'as an expression of the world'. For example, Punk, Hip-Hop, Rock, Mods or the Bikeboys have various musical understandings and choices, which are changeable in terms of their life styles. Musical tendencies and lifestyles are mutually effective for each other. I mean that music does not determine the way of life or the opposite but both affect each other mutually. As Tia DeNora remarks us "for Adorno, music was linked to cognitive habits, modes of consciousness and historical developments" and she adds that "a grounded theory of music-society nexus allows conventional distinctions between musical and social materials to be dissolved; in their place, musical and social matters are understood to be reflexively linked and co-produced...The challenge, in making this return, lay in how to articulate the concern with music as an active ingredient without reverting to the mythological realm of the 'great Zero', to show, symmetrically, how music articulates social life and social life articulates music." Actually, as critical thinker Adorno appears in side of being against popular culture as furious but pessimist author. He stresses especially on music. According to him, mass production and consumption in advanced capitalism has been blurring the distinction between music types, which are defined as serious and popular one by Adorno (DeNora, 2000: 1,4). For Adorno, distinction between "serious" and popular music concerning their creation process and later can be recognized with keeping in mind the fundamental characteristic of popular music which is defined as standardization. Because, its whole structure is standardized, it is hard to separate

"authenticity" from its most general features to th e most specific ones (Adorno, 1941).

So, exception of art, especially music, from studies on subcultural formations causes failure in figuring out the 'mood" of the subjects. At this point, Lawrence Grossberg says 'Cultural studies has always argued that popular culture cannot be defined by appealing to either an objective aesthetic standard (As if it were inherently different from art) or an objective social standard (as if inherently determined by who makes it or for whom it is made)" (Cited in Redhead, 1999: 201-2). Recently, as Redhead suggests popular music seems to process like a mirror of current trends, which reflect forms of major economic and technological transformation in the name of economic liberal policies of de-regulation, privatization and regeneration. Moreover, due to its destructive impact on distinction between high and low culture, Redhead accepts the pop culture as postmodern by criticizing Jameson's so -called mistake about the specific periodisation of the postmodern. Exactly what he means that the birth of the pop is the deliverance of postmodern scene and also, According to Redhead, it should be remembered that 'popular music forms part of a leisure sphere which is ever more carefully controlled and regulated whilst it is undergoing major economic and technological transformations in the name of economic liberal policies of de-regulation, privatisation and regeneration" (Redhead, 1990: 8). This destructive effect of popular culture on high/low culture has caused different attitudes toward it and critical thinkers have been divided into miscellaneous interpretations. For instance, two sides of approaches are deemed to convey reflexive relations of popular culture on individual. Namely, some features involved in popular culture offered individuals to overcome with some unwanted constraints of dominant culture and as the opposite of this thought that some specific impacts on individuals like depoliticization or commodification are imposed by dominant culture or capitalism on subjects. These are two controversial approaches in social sciences. However, Grossberg critiques these approaches because of their normative understandings. According to him,

> …Too much cultural studies has continued to locate
> popular culture within binary normative economies: on the one

40

hand, the popular (as poaching, fragmented, contradictory, bodily, carnivalesque, pleasurable) versus the legitimate (as reified, hierarchical, intellectual, etc.), and, on the other hand, the popular (as stylized, artificial, disruptive, marginal, resisting) versus the mainstream (As naturalized, commonsensical, incorporated, etc.) (Cited in Redhead (ed.), 1999: 201).

So, it might be said that it is difficult to understand divisions between cultures and musical tendencies by using normative or sharp theoretical approaches. Many of them have relations with each other and socio-economical structures directly or indirectly. For this thesis, connections of them with technology are important to form the effects of "digital age" on contemp orary way of life and musical tendencies.

4.2 Music, moods and technology

It is clear that in the last two decades, we have witnessed a chain of rapid developments by technological inventions in the fields of communication, entertainment and information sectors. These developments reflect an unbelievable pure speed, which forces the border of perception of human beings. Relatively as a new musical genre, techno-music seemingly reflects that pure speed its high rate tempo. Generally, this genre is played in the clubs very loudly and even, you cannot listen to your own voice. About the relationship between music with high rate tempo and perception, I might say that perception and adaptation of individuals into realities perceived by the five senses have begun to experience some uneasy states with that speedy character of new genres especially techno music. It creates a new kind of mood. Hence, people attempt to search for some solutions in order to cope with those states that cause some inabilities in perception of life. Especially, in entertainment culture, we can observe a rise of high speed and hi-tech musical tendencies and productions. Even, in order to adapt themselves to those impacts of hi-tech developments music called techno-music might also use some synthetic drugs (Statistics on use of these drugs will be presented in the following chapters), which have significant effects like an increase in the threshold of perception, extra energy for bodies provided by ecstasy. As we know that in the past, while the technological developments had sufficed to needs in our everyday life, today speed

41

of technology has become beyond our life and even, it forces us to reach its speed. We have two choices for those technological developments like adaptation or confrontation. So, clearly, our emotions, perceptions or states of thinking are affected by technology significantly. So, let me say that the perception of reality may not coincides with the speed of life:

> The real can no longer keep up to the speed of the image... Today, things have speeded up to inertia... Speed economy, but slow jobs. Speed images, but slow eyes. Speed finance, but slow morality. Speed sex, but slow desire. Speed globalization, but slow localization. Speed media, but slow communication. Speed talk, but no thought (Korker & Kroker, 2001: 9).

We are able to observe those changes in music industry. Musicians have obtained various technical tools to produce work of art. They can create a symphony without an orchestra or they can use the voice of a dead singer like for example, after the death of vocal of *Queen*, *Freddy Mercury*, the band released an album called "*Made in Heaven*" by using computer systems. While you listen to that album, you may forget the death of Mercury, rather, you feel the music. Grossberg claims that in popular music, we may explicitly insist, "feelings and understandings can no longer be connected" (Nehring, 1997: 67).

World's hi-speed character reflects its amazing features of motions. In techno-music, machine-driven sounds, cause difficulties in perceptions of individuals: Eyes may lose their capabilities because of the dark places where that music is played, ears get an extra energy taken from eyes and divergent moods and perceptions that pass through different dimensions due to speed of music by the contribution of the laser lights created by VJ (Vision Jockey). This is a music that goes through all parts of the "soul" of listener with its speed and high tempo, technology and vitality. That's why, there are specific moments that you can feel yourself in a purely hypnotized, a kind of metaphysical way and also moments in which music makes you pure, sensual and dynamic. This music offers a rise from

'boring' real world. It can be inscribed as " *aesthetic hallucination of reality*"[18] (Quoted by David Muggleton; Redhead (ed.) 1999: 179). So, an individual who urges to give permission this music to enter his/her inner self, likely feels his/herself as much as possible being relieved. Also, he/she can obtain the ability to experience breaking borders with the real world completely. In clubs, the result of speedy music, crowd and dancing is to stop the thinking. Ben Malbon asks a question to a female clubber: 'Do you do a lot of thinking when you're out?' and he answers:

> It depends on the evening I think, ummm…There are occasions where, err, you're relaxed and you don't really think that you're too heavily enjoying yourself, um, if that makes sense, erm, not really (Malbon, 1999: 142).

How to gain this speedy and technical feature is an important part of the contemporary music, especially techno music. As I said, it is totally related to technological improvements. Complicated and sophisticated innovations with mass productions have provided people to reach hi-tech apparatuses easier and cheaper. Hence, the widespread use of technology by individuals has resulted in new ways in every part of social life. Especially, development of computer technologies has obtained convenient conditions for music industry and also amateur musicians. According to Rushkoff,

> Cheap micro-processing technology put high-quality sound synthesizers and mixing studios in the hands of musicians who never had access to professional recording equipment before. These young musicians, generally members of the countercultural communities who had already embraced computer technology, were profoundly changed by their ability to manifest in sound almost anything they could imagine.19

First of all, if we talk about technical ingredients of this music, it is definitely required to emphasize on the amplifier, it's the most important technical part of that music. For techno music, the amplifier is an invention, which has changed the understanding of entertainments and created a new style of fun. Its function can be defined simply as conversion of the relatively weak electrical waves received from the input devices into power sufficient to send to the speaker systems.

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[18] Baudrillard, J. (1983) *Simulations,* New York: Semiotext(e)

[19] http://www.rushkoff.com/cgi-bin/columns/display.cgi/electronica

That power is totally depending on the requirements of the speaker systems and this is also depending on needs of spaces used by individuals for reasons like entertainment, gathering or movies. These speaker systems can be defined as loud and,

> Electromechanical devices that produce audible sound from amplified audio voltages, are extensively employed in radio receivers, motion picture sound systems, public-address systems, and in other apparatus in which sound must be produced from a recording, a communications system, or a sound source of low intensity" (Multimedia Encyclopedia Encarta, 1995).

Another crucial equipment of DJing is the mixer. The DJ mixer is a key piece of DJ equipment. The BPM (Beats per minute) counter is built in DJ mixers and so, DJs can calculate the beats of songs and equal them with others by which they want to mix or intervene. With a mixer, DJs can combine various songs by using specifications of apparatus and contributions of computer. So, music reaches a kind of unity by using different fragments or samples taken from other songs. These songs are not required to be merely techno music but they can be even jazz, rock or classical one, so that about techno-music, it might be said that if we define post-modernism as fragmented, unconventional and mixture of matters including controversies like ethnic melodies, rock, jazz, blues or pop riffs, it is a kind of post-modern genre because of its fragmented, speedy and hi-technological features that differ techno-music from rock, jazz, blues, soul which "are played and performed by artists via the medium of their instruments" (Pearson&Gilbert, 1999: 113). According to Bennett,

> In much of the academic work focusing on urban dance music there is an implication that the style is symptomatic of a 'postmodern' world of fragments in which the arbitrary incidence of signifiers is taken for granted. Which such references to postmodernism indicate in part a general shift in sociological thinking during the early 1990s, it is arguable that they also been inspired by urban dance music itself, or rather the way in which the music is created. Through its use of state-of-the-art digital technology urban dance music has facilitated new approaches to musical composition. An important development in this respect is 'sampling' which allows for sound sources to be stored electronically in a computer memory (Bennett, 1999: 609).

Sampling, as a technological contribution into music, is a current musical application and has started to be used in the most of musical genres. It is applied by musical genres from even rock to dance music. In the meaning of musical form, it adds songs different musical parts from various parts of life or genres. For example, we can hear the call to prayer in a heavy metal song or a speech from a death poem in a dance song. Every sample from outside is mixed with original song by using computers. This technology has,

> Allowed the production of music using only previously performed copyright material (old records), or with a range of audio CDs and CD-Roms which present a selection of performances matched for tempo and key, waiting to be assembled into 'complete' tracks, or to form elements of, or backings to new or existing compositions (Gilbert&Pearson, 1999: 118).

As a new technique in dance music, it can be said that sampling has made British dance or house music distinctive from its vanguards. According to Adam Brown:

> Derived from a collection of 1970s disco, early 1980s synth-pop, Euro pop, Hi-NRG[20] and the black electronic house/techno of Detroit and Chicago, the British house scene has had an important impact upon the ways in which music is produced, understood and consumed. Central to its production has been the use of the sampler: the ability to lift sounds (bass, keyboards, vocals) electronically from other sources, and combine them with an electronic drum pattern (sometimes also sampled) and also sometimes original vocals or instrumentation (Cited in Redhead (ed.) 1999: 76).

Even though, sampling commonly seems to be used and preferred by practitioners of the dance music, also many musicians in the pop music industry often benefit from this technique with useful electronic and digital equipments. Especially, techno-dance music and hip-hop, which can be accepted as today's music genres, use sampling and other digital techniques intensively. For example, Douglas Kellner points out that hip-hop culture in different parts of the world where a wave of new culture is rising which can be connected to technology. After rock

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[20] High Energy

and punk's modest and limited connections with technology, we can consider the Hip-Hop culture as a kind of product of technology and also, as a reaction of youth toward conventions of the dominant culture. According to Kellner,

> In turn, hip hop and rap have influenced all other musical styles and culture, involving a breaking down of boundaries between music, image, spectacle, and everyday life. Hence, rap is becoming the familiar soundtrack to postmodern technoculture, part of advertising, film and TV, and the new digital and multimedia culture (Kellner, 1999: http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell.htm).

These genres of technoculture have different language that I even define as machine language commonly used by computer programming. Their technical faces are criticized because of inhuman nature of music. According to Tomlinson,

> The key to understanding this language lies with one of its most common criticisms: its technical, mechanical 'inhuman' nature. The rave generation grew up in a techno-world; they can scarcely, if at all, remember life without VCR's, answering machines, computers, and digital sampling. They are at home with rave music, because 'they are most at home with the notion that technology is our new nature' (Tomlinson, 1998: 204).

Its repetitive and digitalized feature seemingly reflects our modern times, which involve highly technological, computerized and sophisticated structures. About techno-music, Tomlinson claims that " 'Music without singers or conventional instruments…an exciting, relatively new idea' Rave music or techno can be defined as 'repetitive and cold", "faceless, computer-generated dance music", "monotonous, boring, mechanical" (Tomlinson, 1998: 203). So, its highly technological character seems to adapt 21st century's digitalized present and the future. If I give an example from our daily experiences to explain alienating character of repetitive techno-music: Sometimes, we feel a weird alienation caused by looking continuously at our face in the reflection on a mirror or repeating a same word for lots of times. I think that repetitions may cause alienated moods of individual. According to Marcuse,

> Hitler knew well the extreme function of repetition: the biggest lie, often enough repeated, will be acted upon and

accepted as truth. Even in its less extreme use, constant repetition, imposed upon more or less captive audiences, may be destructive: destroying mental autonomy, freedom of thought, responsibility and conducive to inertia, submission, rejection of change (Marcuse, 1968: 267).

It should be remembered that there are also positive approaches toward techno music even though, repetitive rhythms or a dehumanized technical apparatus forms it. According to Inciardia and McElrath, 'through a number of front-cover articles in the music press and style magazines, it could be argued that a 'new' politicized pop emerged in Britain in the early 1990s. Yet for many, pop music developments in the years at the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s have been ones of 'hedonism in hard times' –the pursuit of pleasure as an escape from the effects of a recession-hit economy. It has been argued that this has been most graphically illustrated in the *house music* scene -John J. Sloan defines house music as "mostly instrumental dance music first played at ware**house** parties in Detroit and Chicago in the 1980s (thus its name); similar to disco but up-to-date electronic rhytms; slower than techno (about 120-130 bpm), but not by much. (Inciardi&McElrath, 2003: 296)- where a drug culture of enjoyment and dance seemed far removed from previous analysis of punk (and other music, and youth) subcultures" (Redhead (ed.) 1999: 75). Actually, it is another side that repetitions in music provide individuals with escapes from repetitions of socio-economical structures.

The examples from our daily life that I used above may be useful to recognize the effects of repetitive music. It might be said that psychologically, repetition causes alienation. Techno music with flashes, hi-tech speedy laser lights, which coerce perceptions of people and the atmosphere of spaces has an effect that I can call as *reversible alienation*. I define it as reversible is because, individuals prefer to listen to that music and go to clubs, because, they urge to escape from their routines and dominance of social norms with "boring" social realities likely alienating them to their self but, they experience another kind of alienation caused by music and other parts of that culture explained above. So, I think that what they experience can be defined as *reversible alienation*. To some extent, this entertainment type can be defined as an attempt to escape from the alienating effect

47

of societies, so that individuals catch opportunities for feeling more self-confidence and less pressure on their psyches. Individuals can obtain this psychological effect by techno-music with the contribution of drugs having serious effects on moods and bodies. Eventually, this music-driven entertainment provides individuals ways for escape from alienation even if it causes to appear another type of alienation so-called "second one". Marcuse mentions ab out alienating character of art by indicating some examples from artists like Picasso, Joyce, Beckett and Bob Dylan. For Marcuse, "art responds to the total character of repression and administration with total alienation. The highly intellectual, constructivist, and at the same time spontaneous-formless music of John Cage, Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez may be the extreme examples" (Reitz, 2000: 197). This comment includes a problem due to replacing alienation with another one. However, this "second alienation" or *reversible alienation* is response to the repression and total alienation as Marcuse suggests. However, example of techno music differs from Marcuse's radical examples. The artists mentioned above transformed the patterns of conventional art understandings. Cage's and Stockhausen's atonal and "schizoid" music or Joyce's diversified writing are significant for these artists. Their so-called "illusory" world contributes to the "real" world with radical transformations experienced in artistic tendencies. According to Marcuse,

> Art retains that alienation from the established reality which is at the origin of art. It is a second alienation, by virtue of which the artist dissociates himself methodically from the alienated society and creates the unreal, "ill usory" universe in which art alone has, and communities, its truth (ibid.: 199).

About Marcussian approach to art, Reitz says "In Marcuse's estimation, the classical forms of sublime and doubly alienated art transcend the everyday, alienated social reality, and represent the critical potential of art at its best" (Reitz, 2000: 199, 200). However, even if Marcuse defines artistic tendencies as "illusory" or "formless", this does not mean that he emphasizes on art as depoliticized concept but instead, he "implies that his opposition to the cultural revolution does not mean that he is trying to depoliticized his aesthetic theory, but rather to clarify the form in which politics may legitimately by present in art" (Reitz, ibid: 200).

4.3 Effects of Technology on Contemporary Musical Genres

In 1990's, the effects of technological improvements and techno music have become visible on other musical genres like Heavy Metal, Rock or Hip-Hop. It is possible to talk about a combination of techno music with other genres emphasized above. Even, this combination has resulted in the birth of new hybrid genres for example mixture of electronic with Metal music has begun to be called as "industrial -metal" or "industrial -hardcore". Even, sometimes, in order to blame that music, fans of rock music call it as "techno" because, according to Locher, "straight industrial music (sometimes called "techno") is usually produced almost exclusively through electronic keyboards and computers, emphasizing dance beats and long songs with plenty of "samples" (sounds, voices or even segments of other songs which are digitally reproduced at the touch of a button)" (Epstein, 1998: 102). At this point, we should pay attention that though, using digital technology is performed in this kind of music, they use human vocal but "processed" (electronically distorted) and include rarely lyrics based on any meaningful social or political concerns. So, they differ from techno music in respect to lyrical and musical formation. Gilbert and Pearson say,

> What is that makes house, techno and their variants so specific and unique? Perhaps the most obvious answer is that these forms stand out in the history of recorded 'popular' music in that they eschew verbal meaning. Most house and techno tracks have no lyrics. Vocal samples are used as pieces of sound rather than as meaningful phrases" (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999: 38).

"Ministry" and "Marilyn Manson" [21] are two good examples for this kind of music since 90s. Technically, they use techno beats but, members of industrial metal separate themselves from techno music and say "…techno is more repetitive, meant more hypnotic, more dance oriented. The big difference is techno faster tempo, a lot faster than what we do, a lot more repetition. They don't tend to use any instruments"(Epstein, 1998: 106). But, as branches of rock music, it is "difficult

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[21] He is a musician that first name came from "*Marilyn* Monroe" who was the symbol of sexuality and the latter one is surname of "Charles *Manson*" who was a serial killer in USA and symbol of violence. His musical genre is defined as industrial rock, but he has become significant with his asexual look and ultra-violence lyrics.

to treat as primary text not because it presents no authenticity at all but because it contains a number of moments of authenticity" (Nehring, 1997: 67).

Pop culture increasingly inserts most parts of pop music into alternative or subversive culture. In so far as it does induce, command or result in conformity of individuals, it is obviously that pop culture cannot fulfill the essential promise of art that addresses societies for deliverance from the homogenizing manipulations of the market. In other words, it can never result in the new but only in repetition. This repetition seems to divide into various so-called genres offered to people by the market as choices:

> …Po st-war pop music now has its own genealogy, split into specific taxonomies such as rock and roll, psychedelia, thrash, noise, garage, punk, go-go, Hi-Nrg, funk and dub which are readily available as a resource for documentary film-makers, record collectors, disc jockeys or musicians and producers armed with the latest sampling technology or just a sharp line in pastiche. The musical styles embodied in these rock and pop discourses can be revived, reworked, quoted, parodied, and plundered almost at will (Redhead, 1990: 8).

Naturally, there are also positive approaches toward techno-music. For example, Douglas Rushkoff argues the techno music on the basis of democracy and he does this by comparing to the Internet. According to him,

> Although rock and roll enthusiasts considered this early rave music dull and repetitive, the kids who danced to it appreciated it deeply. As democratic as the Internet itself, rave music could be produced by almost anybody. Moreover, it was composed of digitally recorded samples of music and sounds from around the world: the South American shaman's drum beat (he uses these words when he describes DJ: DJ Sparky is the head Shaman of us (Ruhskoff, 2003: 68) could ride under the sound of industrial machinery. The bleeps of a videogame could accent the vocals of a Pakistani chant. This was a global community at least as diverse as any Usenet newsgroup (Ruhskoff, 1999:22).

Adam Brown presents another argument about democracy carried out by Simon Reynolds that digs up the sampling phenomena to reach democratic and

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[22] http://www.rushkoff.com/cgi-bin/columns/display.cgi/electronica

undemocratic elements of dance music. As Brown quoted from Simon Reynolds that he 'has argued that sampling has both democratic and undemocratic aspects. He says that it takes the fictitious nature of recording even further, creating events that 'could never have happened' and he argues that house has 'a kind of democracy of sounds"' (Cited in Redhead (ed.) 1999: 76).

As a social and cultural, musical genres significantly affect each other directly or indirectly. At this point, musicological formations are not so important for social sciences but the causes of their mutually interactions and connections with technology and socio-economical conditions. For instance, I prefer to emphasize on effects of techno music on other genres because, as much as this music rises among individual and becomes "the center", other musical genres remain as "periphery". So, most of them have been forced to pass the side of "center".

CHAPTER 5

SUBCULTURES AND EVERYDAY LIFE

5.1 Post Second World War and its Affects on Culture

An important libertarian group called *Situationists* was offering some new perspectives devoted to art, politics and city life in 1968. Their perspectives were based on micro-level transformations involved in individual's everyday life, in short, promising a revolutionary daily life thus to give a chance to individuals to change his/her world. Art and culture was not regarded as separate activities that's why, Situationists transformed them into part of everyday life not as in a way that is pacifist but activist way. Actually, the Situationists requested a different kind of revolution that could provide people the imagination and so, they may create and construct an eternal festival atmosphere. As the most significant figure of this movement, Guy Debord accepts today's society as a "society of the spectacle" that is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images" (http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SI/en/display/). This critical approach related to society pave the way for micro-level transformations in the everydaylife of individuals. According to Debord,

> The concept of spectacle unifies and explains a great diversity of apparent phenomena. The diversity and the contrasts are appearances of a socially organized appearance, the general truth of which must itself be recognized. Considered in its own terms, the spectacle is affirmation of appearance and affirmation of all human life, namely social life, as mere appearance. But the critique which reaches the truth of the spectacle exposes it

as the visible negation of life, as a negation of life which
has become visible (Part 10)[23]

They were neither affirmative nor against popular culture directly but they were criticizing that culture due to its features like consumption driven life view or depolitization process. However, it needs to be said that members of this movement have a significant feature that actually, most of them possessed sufficient pecuniary power and intellectual capacity. So, they had both time and critical thinking for political struggles. These potentials were differentiating them from working class. Under these circumstances, revolutionist daily life was possible but for other people who have to work to survive, there is a problem (Knabb (ed), 1995). Transformation of everyday life into a revolutionist and self-creative one may be a solution for the alienating effect of capitalism and boredom in metropolis life but how can individuals gain their adequate free or leisure time and solve their pecuniary problems? This chapter may not be able to answer these questions but responses of youth cultures to "boredom" of life in metr opolis will be the main issue. That's why, former chapter related to metropolis life was the presentation of results of "bored" moods. As we will see, their responses toward dominance of the culture in the past were mainly the occurrence of different subcultures:

> The "subcultural response" is neither simply affirmation nor refusal, neither "commercial exploitation" nor "genuine revolt". It is neither simply resistance against some external order nor straightforward conformity with the parent culture. It is both a declaration of independence, of otherness, of alien intent, a refusal of anonymity, of subordinate status. It is an insubordination. And at the same time it is also a confirmation of the fact of powerlessness, a celebration of impotence subcultures are both a play for attention and a refusal, once attention has been granted, to be read the Book (Hebdige, 1988a: 35).

I want to continue this chapter with a memory from my adolescent years that affected my deeply. The beginnings of nineties were the years when we often experienced various cultural polarizations based on being fans of different music types like metal, rap or acid. Though, when I was a student at secondary school, I

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[23] http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SI/en/display

experienced many events about this childish polarization. In those years, I could say that teenagers seriously benefited from these musical styles to establish their personalities, life styles or appearances. In these years, a few specific popular music genres among teenagers like Heavy Metal, Hip-Hop or Acid were dominant. Being a fan of Acid Music was illustrated via a carrying smiling face on school bags or t-shirts and one who acts like this was called as "acider" (acidçi). At this point, it is important that he/she was usually from middle or upper-middle class family. A individual that worn black t-shirts on which were drawn some skull illustrations or characteristic logos of rock or Heavy Metal bands, was called as "metal" (metalci). Meanwhile, Hip-hop children were generally dancing in parks, highways. Their significant feature of appearance was to wear caps reverse on their heads. These childish but harmless polarizations among teenagers were even used as subjects of some cartoon journals like "*Gır Gır*". Nowadays, it seems that those divisions may not visible as much as it was in the past but we may still find specific polarizations among youth in terms of economic class, life style or musical tendencies.

Subcultures have been mainly taken their roots from period after Second World War. When we take a glance at this period, mostly alternative and authentic urban cultures attract our attention like Jazz, Hippies or Punks. Likewise, their fragmented and divergent features due to radical transformations experienced after the war were visible and questionable but also, at the same time, coercive to be comprehended by social sciences. This is because, after Second World War, socio-economical structures have begun to change rapidly and dramatically. Ostensibly, these changes with their impacts on societies could be seen easily by studying subcultures that might be defined as distinctive cultures constituted by elements including "certain activities, values, certain uses of material artifacts, territorial spaces etc. which significantly differentiate them from the wider culture" (Hall, 1980: 14). Mainly, these differentiations from mainstream culture "tend to emerge during periods of rapid social change and through their opposition to the dominant culture, have a variable effect on the direction of future change" as Sloan says (Cited in Inciardi&McElrath, 2003: 294). Also, these sharp variations among cultures cause a tension that "made it possible for sociologists of youth culture to address questions which were simultaneously the subject of moral panics in the

parent culture and the substance of lived experience within youth culture" (Rowe, 1995: 4).

So, at this point, in order to define a culture as subculture, we should differentiate it from wider culture via its "eccentric" appearance, behavior patterns or life style of members. Generally, subcultures are defined as conjectural/temporary that exist under some specific conditions, namely, way of life created by an established context and temporary immanent or close ties among members. About this, Gramsci warned us "in studying a structure, it is necessary to distinguish organic movements (relatively permanent) from movements which may be termed 'conjectural', and which appear as occasional, immediate, almost accidental" (Hall, 1980: 10). For example, about Acid House culture, Steve Redhead quoted a comment written in Sunday Times is "If they had been 10 years earlier they would have been punk rockers…20 years taken LSD and listened to Jim Morrison" (Redhead, 1990: 1). I think, this quotation indicates the importance of conditions and time sufficiently to figure out the conjectural feature of a subculture. Obviously, different purposes in subcultural formations are affected by changeable contexts in terms of time and space. Briefly, purposes might be explained with initial causes like political, social or individualistic experiences and also, sharp changes in societies like war, pressures of state etc. or impacts of ambivalence in economic plans of capitalism affecting most parts of the world. This ambivalent and uncertain character of capitalism mainly forces members of working class to escape from tiring economic relations. If we analyze subcultures in Europe especially Britain, we can observe that they are mainly composed of working class members. (Hall: 1980, Hebdige: 1988)

As much as individuals experience increasingly rapid changes in their life, they seemed also to change their behaviors patterns and attitudes. Actually, these changes are simply reactions toward socio-economical structures taken place by governmental strategies. For example, those individuals were not dressing similar to conventions of society or choosing entertainment styles produced by mainstream culture. However, in Turkey, we experience different contexts related to occurrence of subcultures. Constructive reasons in here reflect impacts of pressure of Western

values. I mean that it is possible to talk about copying way of life or values derived from "West". For example, as Fero z Ahmad said above, "Due to the insufficient character for revolutionist and dynamic Turkey, blue melodies of Turkish music, Radio of Ankara was ordered to broadcast Classical West Music" (Ahmad, 1995: 133). Similar social processes are seemingly experienced by youth. In Turkey, it can be said that there is not any authentic or original subculture created by youth without effects of "West". Moreover, mainly, impacts of consumption society on youth become more visible due to import of subcultures or alterative cultures from Europe. Consumption society has the potential for transformation of imported values from different countries into goods to be sold in market. Although, the constructive process of subculture seems as different from other Western countries in Turkey, we can still observe specific appearances, which separate individuals from wider culture. Also, there are specific commonalities shared amongst members. The Clubbing in Turkey chapter will analyze the relations between consumption and subculture in Turkey by illustrations of some examples.

5.2 Subcultures and Constructive Elements

To define the totality of specific cultural aspects as subculture sociologically, we need some common features among a group of people that have potentials for differentiation from the wider culture. These commonalities can be related to political attitudes, behavioral aspects or dressing etc. But, the important point is to create a kind of specialization in mainstream culture that makes a group people marginal from mainstream value structures. Because, this study is based on youth cultures, we begin this part by the numeration of features of these kinds of subcultures. The first significant one can be shown as symbolism and modes of expression, which can be defined as "style" or "life style". According to Locher, "this style, a predominant defining feature of youth subcultures, is a key identifying component to the members" (Cited in Epstein (ed.), 1998: 101). Likewise, according to McRobbie,

It was important to draw a line between youth culture and pop culture, crediting the former with a form of symbolic class authenticity and the latter with all the marks of the

consumer culture, in reality the two were always merged, involved in an ongoing relationship (McRobbie, 1995: 156).

Moreover, It can be said, "as the subcultures is commodified for a mass market so also is it de-politicized and made palatable for popular consumption" (McRobbie, ibid: 160). So, subcultures can be understood as groups of people that have something in common with each other that separate them in a significant way from people from another social groups or cultures. However, among members of a significant subculture, differing social backgrounds can cause a further differentiation among themselves. Yet, in a subculture, subjects could come together by a common reason, which is changeable according to socio-economic reasons. Hebdige benefits from two Gramscian terms to comprehend socio-economic differences among various subcultures formed during modernity. These terms are conjuncture and specificity. According to Simon During,

> Subcultures form in communal and symbolic engagements with the larger system of late industrial culture; they' re organized around, but not wholly determined by, age and class, and are expressed in the creation of styles. These styles are produced within specific historical and cultural 'conjunctures'; they are not to be read as simply resisting hegemony or as magical resolutions to social tensions - as earlier theorists had supposed (During, 1999: 441).

For During, members of any subcultures come together and create styles "out of the images and material culture available to them in the effort to construct identities which will confer on them 'relative autonomy' within a social order fractured by class, generational differences, work etc" (ibid, 1999). This creation of styles can be understood via Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* which is a gathering of dispositions observed through a "field". Habitus produces a sphere for age nts to struggle with the dominant structures of a field. He defines the habitus, as a general principle of responses adapted to the demands of a certain field as the product of individual history, but also, throughout the constructive experiences of earliest infancy, of agents' the whole collective history of family and class. As a deep structure habitus is crucial for the middle ground between agent and structure. With this conceptualization, he indicates the relationship between habitus and practical or common sense cognition. Habitus involves lifestyle, consumption patterns of socio-political attitudes (Bourdieu, 1984). Tanıl Bora writes on the preface of Hebdige's

57

book, that especially, after The Second World War, some subcultures were taken place to reject the values of capitalism and consumption society composed of alienation/reification effects (Hebdige, 1988:8 (preface)).[24] While, consumption driven way of life was rejected by subversive subcultures like punk or hippies in the past, today consumption patterns have been directed by a strategy of capitalism called as "fashion" or "trend".

Subjects involved in a subculture refuse the dominance of wider culture that might be resulted in normalizing by using deconstructing strategy. They have significant behaviors, signs, "look", which are irritating of "silent majority", rejecting of principle of solidarity and harmony and in contradiction with myth of consensus (Hebdige, 1988: 21). According to Muggleton,

> Jameson defines that process remarked by Hebdige as 'breakdown in the signifying chain', which leads to the destruction of narrative utterance and its replacement by the intensification of aesthetic 'affect', can be interpreted as having identical consequences for fashion. In both cases, meaning gives way to spectacle. Style is now worn for its look, not for any underlying message; or rather, the look is now the message (Redhead (ed.), 1999: 176).

"The look" as a result of dress and dress as an important part of style has mutual relationships with social practices. In this sense, dress reflects the social class, life style or social positions in the mainstream culture. For discussing the subjects of dress, consumption and classes, Veblen is a significant theoretician, who explains dress as relating to pecuniary aspects with signifiers of everyday life and leissure. According to him,

> It will in place, by way of illustration, to show in some detail how the economic principles so far set forth apply to everyday facts in some one direction of the life process. For this purpose no line of consumption affords a more apt illustration than expenditure on dress. It is especially the rule of the conspicuous waste of goods that finds expression in dress, although the other, related principles of pecuniary repute are also exemplified in the same contrivances (Veblen, 1957: 118).

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[24] This quotation is translation from Turkish source.

In spite, he shall have formed his theories to explain his era; even today his thoughts on leisure, dress, or consumption are useful to analyze contemporary pecuniary relationships, and life styles that are consumption driven and social distinctions. As the main issue of this thesis, it can be said that subcultures have direct relationships with dress and consumption. Indeed, youth creates own distinction from dominant culture by using strange dresses. These types of dresses reflect also youth's socio-economic situation.

The Commercial goods, which are used to create the "style" is marginalized by youth and become to carry ritualistic meanings, which are private to members of subculture. It means that they indicate spiritualistic situations of individuals. It means that social practices, which include relationship with these symbols, shall become rituals and so, commonplace meanings of goods hitherto have been changed. About relationships between dress and the mood, Veblen says, "The commercial value of the goods used for clotting in any modern community is made up to a much larger extent of the fashionableness, the reputability of the goods than of the mechanical service which they render in clothing the person of the wearer. The need of dress is eminently a "higher" or spiritual need" (Veblen, 1957: 119).

According to Blaikie, youth subcultures are generally excluded by older generations because of "creation of cultural hurdles such as credentialism, while younger generations accuse their elders of cultural obsolescence" (Blaikie, 1999: 129). According to Pountain and Robins, *Cool* has been an important element of all youth subcultures which has appeared since 1950's but in order to confuse their families' mind, they often were obliged to change their names –more frequently their clothes (Pountain&Robins, 2002: 15). Hence, we can say that styles of youth subcultures are not merely related to physical consumption. It also indicates the psychological situations of the subjects. Featherstone emphasized on this culture by benefiting from Douglas and Isherwood studies. Featherstone said,

> The work of Douglas and Isherwood is particularly important in this respect because of their emphasize on how goods are used to draw the lines of social relationships. Our enjoyment of good, they argue, is only partly related to physical consumption. It is also crucially linked to their role as

59

markers; we enjoy, for example, sharing the names of goods
with others (Featherstone, 1995: 21).

I think, this means that mass consumption is not just a consumption of goods but it creates a common psychology among consumers. Consumption driven life views and unrecognizable alienation are results of that common psychology. Typically, this is the one-dimensional situation of consumption society (Marcuse, 1997).

> Alienation, which is nearly everywhere unrecognized, is thus typified either by the 'happy consciousness" that results from conditioned satisfaction with the mass-produced, common denominator, commercially, available pleasures, or by a numbness or anesthesia to the everyday forms of repression suffered by the middle-class beneficiaries and the marginalized victims of the system. Marcuse reasoned that his kind of deeper alienation could occur in the booming postwar economy because the system was able to deliver consumer goods to nearly everyone (Reitz, 2000: 145).

However, we should pay attention that goods are not just composed of clothes or cars but includes leisure, entertainment, music or spaces.[25] Symbolic meanings, in the course of time, are loaded on commonly used goods by a subculture. Also, 'bored" and "anger" young individuals directly resist to conventions of social life by benefiting from their leisure times and also, in this sense, deficits of the dominant culture create a movement sphere for youth. As Muncie tells us, 'For young people, though, style and leisure allow an expression of identity and self image which helps to counter or deny the contradictions and subordination faced in most other aspects of their lives. Leisure is thus the key area for the creation of distinctive subcultural styles which not only have creative, but also political, potential" (Muncie, 1999: 166).

For, Hebdige, even the most ordinary objects would be loaded with a meaning that transforms them guarantee of a hidden and incongruous identity. Yet, later, the market might capture the second meaning of the expression of subculture

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[25] Featherstone suggests about categorization of art, novels, opera, philosophy etc. as high cultural goods that these 'high" cultural goods should be related to the ways in which other, more daily, cultural goods like clothing, food, drink and leisure pursuits are handled and consumed. According to him, high culture should be inscribed into the same social space like everyday consumption (Featherstone, 1998).

beyond the object, and it would be "air" which is i ndependent from any subculture or symbol of a status. This, as a matter of fact, is a contradiction, which never ends between dominant culture and definition of daily facts of marginality (Hebdige, 1988: 13). So, this direction forces social sciences to define public and private spheres. According to David Chaney, in a culture in which experiences revaluation of its features during changes caused by new era, we can talk about "a move away from more public, communal, collective ways of participating in cultural occasions towards more private, personal modes of participation – a process that can be described as decentring leisure" (Chaney, 1996: 113). This is entirely related to technological developments, "such as the video recorder and personal tape and CD players, which have made personal access to and control over performance ubiquitous". For Chaney, also, these changes caused a re -formulation of public and private spheres. (ibid.: 113) C.Wright Mills emphasized on that "the most fruitful distinction with which the sociological imagination work is between the personal troubles of milieu and the public issues of social structure" (Mills, 1959: 8). So, as Blaikie suggests, it is very necessary to focus on the "dialectical relationship between public and private worlds" (Blaikie, 1999: 129). Interrelationship of the development of the cultural sphere and a mass culture also includes connections between public and private spheres directly. As much as public sphere creates its own harsh rules and become dominant on individuals, privacy is used by individualism to constitute its own shield and then, marginality becomes significant at the center of public sphere because of its normalizing effect on everyday life. For example, when punk rock appeared in 70s in the culture scene of Europe and America, the marginal features of it attracted the attention of public. In the sense of musicality, its basic features were simplicity and anti-virtuosity but at the same time, subversive attitude toward socio-cultural political scene make Punk culture marginal and alternative for youth. Also, for Punk rock, everyday life was a concept waiting to be criticized and changed. Andrew Herman refers to a punk named "Patrik" as an example for punk's attitude towards everyday life. Accordi ng to Herman "For Patrik spirit entailed the opportunity to publicly speak of the terror and the boredom of his everyday life, which is exactly what he did in his second and final song called "I Hate My Room" (Herman 1990: 49). Johny Rotten, a member of "Sex Pistols", and "Mark P." interpreter of Punk era, recognized

individualism as a cornerstone for punk life style. In this point, what they call as individualism should not be confused with other definitions including egoistic, isolated, bourgeoisie or briefly, we can say as liberal individualism. Punk life style accept neither conformist nor opportunist tendencies. In this sense of approaching, individuals who had conformist tendencies were expelled from this community. Also, punk rock refused rock'n' rol l music, which does not invite listeners to challenge conventions and also, its spirit without resistance (Laing, 2002: 182, 184).

When we observe different subcultures like punk, ravers, hippies or skinheads, we can see a subversive attitude towards adult censure, morality or regulation. As Muncie said "in short, subcultures were celebrated as authentic expressions of youthful subversion, particularly in their ability to engender 'moral panic' and adult fear" (Muncie, 1999: 159). Also, according to Parsons, as Muncie quoted, 'youth culture emphasized values of hedonism, leisure consumption and irresponsibility, rather than productive work" (ibid.:160). Hedonistic and pleasure oriented tendencies can be observed in youth culture and through its aspects like popular music via its myriad forms. In this hedonistic form of society,

> The world as it is can become an object of enjoyment only when everything in it, men and things, is accepted as it appears.... For since the life process is not determined by the true interests of individuals creating, in solidarity, their existence through contending with nature, these potentialities are not realized in the decisive social relations. They can only appear to consciousness as lost, atrophied, and repressed. (Marcuse, 1968: 163)

However, according to Redhead, popular music forms including purely hedonistic, depoliticized aspects are not just simple youth music anymore but, elements of disappearance of marginal youth culture and its varieties. He remarks "..it is a popular music which is no longer simply 'youth' music; music that became associated with the post-war construction of notions like teenager, generation gap, youth culture and youth subculture is now assisting in the imminent destruction of these categories." This means that youth subcultures have lost their subversive, rebellious and 'deviant' character and become conformist, 'than that the discourses and practices which constructed and positioned youth culture historically after Second World War are now undergoing profound transformations" (Redhead,

1990: 8-9). Sociological approaches need to pay attention to those transformations of youth cultures appearing in complicated and sharp socio-economic transformations. Especially, the effects of post-industrial society, with its intensification of alienation have directed sociologists into studying attitudes of youth toward dominant culture that has effects on almost whole values in societies. Youth culture has clearly "expressions of alienation, unconscious r esistance and a defiant assertion of autonomy and difference" (Rowe, 1995: 4). Impacts of becoming mass culture have driven youths throughout searching ways for differentiation in their everyday life. According to Featherstone, mass culture or consumer culture can be comprehended as contribution to 'the increasing prominence of culture within modern societies- tendencies that threaten to erode and domesticate everyday culture, the taken-for- granted stock of memories, traditions and myths" (Featherstone, 1997: 16). If we give an example for this domestication process, when we looked at end of 70s and the beginnings of 80s, we could see same looking punks but their attitudes were apolitical. As a matter of fact, they were not "real punk" anymore but just so -called punks who pretend to act like punks. Dave Laing said, "In 1984 Eurovision Sing Contest, there was a British band named Belle and the Devotions described as "punk" in the newspapers in England though, they were not. The punk was taken away its meanings featured as subversive and marginal sub-culture attitude and began to be used as a fashion term in pages of populist media" (Laing, 2002: 212). So, objects, styles or images lost their meanings in the market originally loaded by subculture. According to Muggleton:

> At the level of 'spectacular style', the studies of youth subcultures which came out the of the 'Birmingham School' stressed the subculture's active appropriation and transformation of signs through the subversive act of bricolage, contrasting this by implication with the 'passive' consumption of mainstream fashion and, hence, dominant identities by 'conventional' youth culture. Thus, although the wholesale adoption of modern mainstream fashion seems to be defined in contrast to the active and creative postmodern consumer, it also provides the norm of 'passive' conformity to dominant modes against which acts of bricolage by modern youth subculturalists were a form of resistance…The all -encompassing power of the contemporary mass media has ensured that there can be no longer be a sanctuary for the original, 'pure', creative moment of subcultural innovation which preceded the

onset of the contaminating processes of commercialization, commodification and diffusion" (Cited in Redhead (ed.), 1999: 174, 178)

So, objects or signs which are loaded with alternative meanings by subcultures in order to create their own *style* can be used against conventional or mainstream identities, which have not any so-called authentic or original meaning. This creative and subversive act, *bricolage* is used by subcultures. Via *bricolage,* any object is appropriated and transformed into a distinctive one that carries different meanings from its conventional one. Individuals load these meanings in terms of their daily routines and attitudes. Moreover, these meanings are reproduced through lifestyles and attitudes of subcultures. Also, they gain a ritualistic importance as Hebdige suggests before. However, Muggleton stresses the disappearing authenticity and originality of meanings in subcultures and he says,

> If the post-punk stylistic revivals really are examples of pastiche, then, as Jameson would have it, they are merely 'simulacra' about the past, nothing more than our 'pop images' and 'cultural stereotypes' about the past, for the peculiarity of postmodern time has now and for ever more precluded any possibility of subcultural 'originality' (Redhead (ed.) 1999: 177).

Muggleton's critical approach involves 90's marginal groups or post -Punk period. Until nineties, we could find original, authentic or avant-garde subcultural formations. About the disappearance of originality and objects carrying so-called unconventional meanings, Hebdige remarks us, 'these 'humble objects' can be magically appropriated, stolen by subordinate groups and made to carry 'secret' meanings which express in code a form of resistance to the order which guarantees their continued subordination. Its transformations keep going 'against nature' interrupting the process of 'normalization'"(Hebdige, 1 988: 18). Actually, we can say that by using distinctive symbols, objects or styles, under the name of subculture, Hebdige presents us a huge theoretical engagement consisting of relations of individuals with city, politics and daily life. McRobbie stresses,

> In subculture, Hebdige recognizes that familiar objects warrant analysis as signs and repositories of organized meaning, as much as linguistic or 'pure' visual signs. Under the conceptual umbrella of subculture, he brings together art,

literature, music, style, dress and even attitude, and places
these on the same analytical plane (McRobbie, 1999: 14).

This subcultural formation's wide cultural umbrella is visible at the level of relations with the dominant culture. For keeping its dominance, wider culture attempts to impose commonly accepting values on individuals, because normalization or standardization has advantages to protect so-called "social order" in societies. For this order, communities to remain "homogeneous" that prevent them from disorder benefits from morality and socialization. Sexuality, dressing or entertainments as social spheres are significant for that homogeneous social order. Subcultures form "another" and "hidden" cultural aspects behind the scene. They involved in alternative way of thinking, living and acting. Obviously, most "social order" creates these alternative approaches like punk, rock or rave. Subjects involving in these cultures listen to divergent music, dress differently or use drugs. Following chapters will be based on social aspects by presenting significant examples especially from club rave and culture.

5.3 Subcultures and Socio-Technical Developments:

Every transformation in the technical sphere finds its manifestation in social life and economical changes. This undeniable situation becomes visible through the sophisticated technical inventions that have important effects on the societies and individuals. Indeed, every innovation is the result of a cause and effect relation in society. It means that the artificial need of human being is a reason and every innovation is the result of this need. However, yet, the existence of technical innovation does not remain as a simple cause and effect relation. It is more than this. In this part, I purpose to point out the effects of technology on subcultures. I think, we cannot accept any subculture as perpetual due to the likely rapid transformations that a society passes through technically, socially or economically.

Obviously, the social sphere attained an unpredictable, eccentric character because of intensive and rapid technological improvements during the last decades. Especially, we can feel this past in the sense of perception of what "reality" is or not. Being increasingly blurring of "the real" and increase of the distance between

reality and virtuality has caused some confusions, chaos or conflicts in the whole thought systems. Those storms of change paved the way for different solutions, which are found by various cultures in order to cope with these confusions. The most significant one of those solutions is a tendency based on digression from technological developments; in contrast, the other tendency tends to cope with this problem by benefiting from the tools of technology intensively. First one usually appears as a tendency toward Eastern mysticisms or conservative life styles, anti-technological political views which stress the crash and implosion of this culture. Techno-society remains humanity to confront hyperreality, which has caused to lose the touch with reality. According to this approach, a new virtual class rules us and it illustrates the new stage of virtual capitalism, which brings great changes in laboring in sweatshops or factories (Kellner, 1999). The latter has unconventional and demystified inclinations, some fictional approaches for social space and life styles, which are mixtures of a few elements like drugs, contemporary music or entertainment. Obviously, *clubbing,* as an example for the latter tendency, reflects contemporary and distinctive community. This culture reflects non-conservative way of life and adaptation to hi-tech without any constraints coming from subjects. They seemingly change as much as technology does. The character of music genres listened in clubs like techno, trance or house are important to understand relations of clubbing with the technological improvements, market or contemporary musical tendencies. Actually, club music can be taken as a good example to see effects of technology on music with relations to communities. About music and it connections with communities, Fritz said,

> The music had (also) a powerful influence and was key to the overall effect. It was a combination of the people, the environment, the music and the drug all conspiring to bring about a unique set of circumstances with the power to create a powerful and meaningful group experience (Fritz, 1999: 5).

Walter Benjamin argued the art and its relations with dominant culture. Its standpoint is based on political criticism and he criticized bourgeoisie art because of its cathartically basis and also, depoliticization of masses. Mechanical production democratizes and politicizes art, but the "aura" of it with our "primitive" and "savage" spirits has begun to be sold in markets. According to Jameson, transformation of mode of production and new techniques has destroyed tradition

66

and the mode of experience, which depends upon that tradition (Jameson, 1997). If this destruction is meant as whipping out authenticity of art because of interrelation with tradition, we can say that it signs the collapses of the distance between mass and art. According to Benjamin, it is liberation and democratizing of art. However, Benjamin believes that the destruction of tradition causes another problem that is the absence of creativity of masses. Remedies for this problem stand out in a critical standpoint because, masses have began to produce 'art' in terms of technical improvements and reproduction of art is the destruction of the "aura" of it. So, we can say that uncritically accepted art loses its importance and it causes a homogenization and depoliticization. Also, art reflects and improves the senses, imagination, and other aspects of the mind and body, it gives rise to individuals to experience beyond the conventional morality and social norms. It means that both the artist and the public can reveal hidden conflicts and discharge tensions. Most today's most music invites people to experience not politics, brainstorming or thinking but to be relaxed and to share a hedonistic life view. According to Marcuse,

> In the principle of hedonism, in an abstract and undeveloped form, the demand for the hedonism extended into the realm of the material conditions of life. Insofar as the materialistic protest of hedonism preserves an otherwise proscribed element of human liberation, it is linked with the interest of critical theory (Marcuse, 1968: 162).

These material conditions of life indicate relationships of some "marginal" subcultures with consumption driven life styles. Hebdige claims initially that, the subculture concept is directly related to consumption. First of all, its applicability is valid in leisure times and in order to form a vision related to a specific subculture, the meanings loaded to goods by conventional culture and market are distorted and subcultures gain ways of communication through those goods via their distorted meanings. That is to say, it is difficult to make a sharp distinction between commercial exploitation and creativity/originality, even though these two categories are definitely opposite to value system of most of subcultures (Hebdige, 1979). Its character can be connected to consumer society, depolitization process or drug usage. So, club culture is not an exception due to its connections with market and consumption, as we will see in following chapters. According to Redhead, among

the youth subcultures, there is experienced a shift from subculture defined as marginal gathering opposing dominant cultural formations to club cultures that can be meant as hedonistic, consumerist and apolitical. At this point, Redhead emphasizes diversities of this 'club culture' that is based on a shift, which is from "moralistic individualism to hedonistic individualism" (Redhead, 1997: 7). However, even though, there are some theories emphasizing on mutually contradictory relationships between puritan-rationalist economy and individualistic-hedonism, according to David Muggleton, in a rational economy "organized on the basis of efficiency and a hedonistic culture ruled by the principle of self-gratification", "it is possible to posit puritan -rationalism and romantic-hedonism as contrasting cultural traditions of modernity locked together into a symbiotic relationship" (Muggleton, 1999: 168).

Hedonistic life view can be seen easily in most entertainment places like bars, discos or pubs. In so-called "marginal" entertainment places, music genres, which we listen to, are almost the same. For these genres, the most significant feature is to be made for dancing and totally cathartic. Even in most "rock bars", we can meet some music genres that we could never listen to in those bars in earlier times. For instance, end of eighties to mid-nineties, to hear hip-hop, rap or dance songs was impossible and also, it attracted harsh reaction of people who liked to listen to specific genres. Yet, it is still possible to say that there is some places where we can hear specific genres like blues, jazz or heavy metal and beyond merely dancing. In 70's, pubs were places where people could listen to music genres rock, punk or reggae, which were totally politic or reflected aspects of subcultures (Hebdige, 1979), but, today, pubs are places that people consume to dance or drink alcohol. Consumption society has intensively and significantly affected entertainment spaces alongside the creation of countless shopping malls or stores. Today's consumption strategies and patterns are not the same with others existing in the past:

> The organization of space within department stores, supermarkets and the new shopping centres is very different from that found in the corner shop in the traditional working-class community… To take drinking as an example: the traditional intimate 'local' pub has been gradually replaced by

the large through-lounge pub, which incorporates a different organization of social space with much greater opportunities for surveillance and display (Featherstone, 1991: 173).

According to Bookchin, "Urban culture is reproduced, packaged and marketed as a part of leisure time of urban inhabitants" (Bookchin, 1999: 33). As Featherstone emphasizes above, drinking, shopping or leisure are not simple acts related to consumption, but they involved in strategies of dominant culture including surveillance, standardization or normalization. Advanced capitalism has potentials to take alternative social acts into "center" or sphere of dominant values as Immanuel Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 1996). For example, as subversive acts, punk, rock or rave have seemed to lose their alternative places in today. As Redhead reformulates it by using club culture that it is the transformation of subcultures into club cultures (Redhead, 1999). He increases example related to transformation by illustration hip-hop and house music:

> Hip hop and house are the latest phases is an unwritten (because unwriteable) history of black pop: a history determined not by sacred cow artists but by producers and backroom technicians, a history conditioned not by individuals and their notions of the meaning of music (as with rock) but by changes in technology, in what it is possible to do with sound. (Redhead(ed.) 1999: 77)

Ostensibly, producers, investment strategists or traders have begun to play crucial roles in this culture industry. The new phases of different cultures are the issue of both social sciences and economy.

5.4 Rave: State of Deliriu-m-usic[26]

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[26] "Delirium is a symptom rather than a disease, and hence is not treated by any specific measures other than those used to combat the causative disease and to reduce the patient's fever. Delirium may be due to causes other than high fever, such as exhaustion from nutritional disturbance, unusual excitement, psychosensory impairment, severe head injury, and drug addiction" (Microsoft Encarta'95 Multimedia Encyclopedia) Examples for drugs are "alcohol, amphetamines, cocaine, hallucinogens, inhalants, opioids, phencyclidine (PCP), sedatives, hypnotics, other substances" (ibid) By the way, *Deliriu-m-usic* is my term to illustrate relation of rave to delirium situation.

> Rave as a Post Modern Phenomena is continuing
> to increase in size. Every year more teenagers discover
> the potential of this forum for having fun. Suddenly they
> feel part of something, which they enjoy. However, the
> Rave phenomenon is fundamentally dependent upon the
> taking of drugs. Unfortunately, like any other culture, or
> cult, Rave is self-stupefying. 27

Initially, the presentation of definition of a concept by using a dictionary is a common practice in most of studies but I think it is an usable technique to figure out the differentiation of a certain concept from its common and conventional definitions (because of effects of diversity of time, space and conditions). So, we can begin this chapter by offering definitions of the word of rave in two different dictionaries:

Rave \' rāv\ *vb* [ME raven]

- To speak wildly, irrationally or coherently (*as if in delirium*)
- To talk with extreme enthusiasm
- To roar; rage
- To move or advance violently; to utter in madness or frenzy. (Microsoft© Bookshelf'94 Interactive Dictionary)

- If someone raves, they talk in an excited and uncontrolled way because they are very angry.
- When people rave it up, they enjoy themselves in a lively way, for example by drinking and dancing a lot at a party.
- *Raving:* If you say that someone is raving, you mean that they are mad. (Colinbuilds, 1990: 653)

John J.Sloan points out that 'the term 'rave' was used to distinguish the activities occurring at mainstream, licensed clubs, from those occurring at 'pay parties,' or 'dance clubs.' Raves emphasize social bonding, the collective experiences of dancing, a communal state of euphoria, and the 'happy vibe' (Cited

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in Inciardi & McElrath, 2003: 294). "In recent years electronic music has grown into a powerful and multifaceted artistic movement. Raves and related dance events have become an integral part of this movement incorporating deejays, unselfconscious dancers, and various performers employing an array of visual technologies for the benefit of the audience" (drugpolicy.org/law/electronicmu). These visual technologies provide individuals with darkening places lightened with flashes and lasers; concealing faces and dance figures under laser lights take our attention in darkness that purifies their faces from their own faces. Repetitive rhythms of music make minds alienated from "real world" and hypnotize souls with its "magical stick". Non -stop music, high-level *bpm* (beat per minute) and over-exiting effects of ecstatic substances are the significant meanings of this entertainment. Besides the physical effects of those ecstatic substances, in this entertainment style, Paul Willis says that in the way of using them, "they facilitated passing through a great symbolic barrier erected over against 'straight' society" (Hall&Jefferson, 1980: 107). So, every part of the entertainment can be related to pass over the norms of straight society or dominant culture. Thus, as Willies continues that "drugs were seen as the way par excellence of unwinding the apparent tightness of reality, they seemed to begin to unravel the real world". Individuals begin to "pass through the symbolic barrier" (ibid, 1980: 110).

The origins of 1990s rave culture and then club culture are most directly rooted in the Acid House phenomenon in the UK in 1988 and the roots of acid can be found in Chicago's discos and clubs via their rhythmic and repetitive, melodic music with vocal. About England, as homeland of this culture, Redhead says, "Acid house, and other, gatherings symbolized the problems of time and space in the so-called 'post-industrial' city. Cities of England like Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Bradford and Leeds, "became the last refuge of hedonistic youth in search of a 'good time'." (Redhead, 1990: p.5) According to Kahn -Egan, "acid Houses are clubs where kids can "drop acid" (take Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) and dance to music especially designed to heighten the drug effects." According to Pearson and Gilbert, "acid hou se was probably the most self-consciously repetitive form of western music to have emerged since the developments of recording. Its hypnotic beat appealed to the body of the dancer while making no concession to

71

classical demands for narrative meaning or harmonic" (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999: 72-73). About electronic music and its fans, Douglas Rushkoff says,

> By the late 1980's, a global community of young people had formed around this music and the gatherings at which it was played. Some say it started in England or the island Ibiza, others credit the "techno" clubs of Detroit. Wherever it began, "rave" had become a cultural phenomenon as big as rock and roll. Literally thousands of kids would drive to remote locations, usually outdoors, ingest mild psychedelics and dance until morning to electronic music made by young people a lot like them. 28

In the beginnings of 1990s, 80s Acid Houses were transformed into *raves* that can be defined as "all night dance events, held in abandoned warehouses and airplane hangars and other large-capacity buildings without permits and licenses" by Sloan. (Cited in Inciardi & McElrath, 2003: 294) Further, open fields and clubs are places in where parties are mainly organized to be joined by young crow (teens to mid-twenties). Dances amid often-elaborate lighting and visual and visual displays to the hypnotic beats of techno, acid house, ambient house, brutal house, progressive house, trance, jungle, and related musics by McRobbie (McRobbie, 1999). As a very marginal way of life, The Acid House was reflecting the problems of metropolis life. Individuals who were depressed due to socio-economic conditions created their own escape ways from these problems. According to Steve Redhead,

> Media publicity about Acid House refocused attention on the city but the outskirts, the margins of the urban environment, not the inner-city which Margaret Thatcher targeted as ripe for political conquest through policies of regeneration. This was, manifestly, the sound of suburbs. Warehouses, which had been extensively, and illegally, used for Acid House, and other, gatherings symbolized the problems of time and space in the so-called 'post-industrial' city" (Redhead, 1990: 5).

This is the story of the late eighties. When we come the nineties, we face with a transformation of this way of life into another called as rave. About

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28 http://www.rushkoff.com/cgi-bin/columns/display.cgi/electronica

transformation of Acid house into Rave Culture, McRobbie continues "in Rave, even though it, too, as it grew out of Acid House had developed its own 'underground of authenticity' and, as Sarah Thornton described, its own VIP culture, this cultural foreknowledge was never a precondition of entry" (McRobbie, 1995: 170). For rave culture, Adam Brown says "house music's consumptive 'spiritual home' is the rave, a phenomenon which generated a large-scale media moral panic in the late 1980s along with legislation to regulate it" (Redhead (ed.) 1999: 78). Rave is largely a youth phenomenon and also, "youth culture is a vital ingredient of the rave culture in general" (Tomlinsen, 1998: 195, 199). In England, police began to pay attention to that youth culture because of the use of drugs in rave parties (Kahn-Egan, 1998). About this scene, Saunders said "When raving was new to Britain, ravers described it as one big happy family and would feel at home at any event where people were using E (ecstasy). But over the years, and particularly from 1993, the scene has divided up into distinct subgroups - each with their own style of music and clothes, their own music and drugs of choice" (Saunders, 1995: whole book available in website, http://www.ecstasy.org/books/e4x). Actually, the choice of drug use was not simply the reflection of illegality or disordered spheres of this culture but Willis remarks, "the real meaning of drug use was in the entry into a large symbolic world" (cited in Hall & Jefferson, 1980: 112). Psychedelic drugs create this symbolic world with effects on neurotransmitters in the brain but ecstasy is different from drugs that paralyze the consciousness. According to Saunders, psychedelic drugs like LSD "alter the users state of consciousness, often providing dramatic insights which may be profound but are hard to describe in words or to assimilate into normal life." On the contrary, Ecstasy "allows the user to remain in their normal, but enhanced, state of consciousness, and this enables experiences and insights to be remembered later when they can be soberly considered and assessed." (The Guardian, 1995: July, 22nd) About drug use in clubs and parties, a professional DJ, David Haslam, remarks his impressions especially based on Ecstasy and its effects:

> 1988 was the year 'acid' house hit the tabloids, 'we call it acieeed' went top 20, and in Britain the media and the mainstream discovered house. And more house. And ecstasy. There is no doubt that the entry of ecstasy into house clubs gave the scene a huge boost, loosened the crowds, fed the

atmosphere and contributed to the staggering rise of house music (Redhead, 1999: 157).

When we look at subcultures formed after Second World War, there is a one thing that attracts our attention: Every subculture had its own drug custom and it changes according to the life styles of the members of that culture. For example, when Hippies were consuming LSD or marijuana that have an effect of calming down or becoming cool; punks preferred "speed" as a derivative of amphetamine, which provides users extra energy and capacity for action. For Mods, amphetamine (speed) was a valuable drug. According to Muncie, "Mods were the epitome of the conspicuous consumer, whether in clothes, scooters, music or amphetamines. But for Hebdige they were never passive consumers. The scooter and clothes were transformed into symbols of solidarity while 'speed' enabled a total commitment to all night dancing in the clubs and discos" (Muncie, 1999: 172). This subculture seems to be as ancestor of club culture.

Among clubbers there is a significant network and solidarity because this life style is a business of crowd. According to Adam Brow, "football and music are usually consumed in mass audiences where the importance of the shared, collective pleasure is central. The notion of the 'crowd' is important in that it both heightens the pleasure of the consumption of popular music and football and plays a crucial role in its production" (cited in Redhead (ed.) 1999: 68). Yet, they use this solidarity to inform each other about parties, programs or other social activities. In order to gain that network, they benefit from Internet, magazines or fliers designed and prepared to inform people from party programs. Most clubbers attempt to catch parties or concerts to dance until mornings. To concert, DJ contributes as single individual and he/she makes music by using turntable with other apparatus like mixer or computer. There are many DJ in this scene and clubbers try to follow these DJs' shows, news or recordings. About fame and artist relation in the rave scene, Douglas Ruskkoff says:

> Unlike rock concerts, raves don't focus on the stars. There are no rock heroes to worship, only records and CD's by relatively anonymous artists. Just as the Internet tends to destroy the illusion of authority, electronic music removes the cult of personality from the music scene, and this makes it a

marketer's nightmare. But whenever businessmen are afraid, chances are something positive is happening. Electronic music embodies and amplifies the core values of the original Internet community: there is no boss, anyone can participate, and the more contributions from around the world, the better. The object of a rave dance is to join a large group together, at least temporarily, into a single, joyful, coordinated being.[29]

In his novel, "*Ecstasy Club*", Rushkoff writes a dialogue between two individuals about somebody else by relating him to the death of rock culture. The writer's thoughts emphasized above can be understood more clearly in that dialogue. Two characters talk about an individual who come to party to have fun. According to these two guys, he seems a bit sluggish and dances badly but he moves as if he is very "cool" because, he feels like this. The reason for this emotion is to do something for himself according to both.

> First individual: Last year, he bought a Nirvana (a Seattle alternative rock band that his founder and singer, Kurt Cobain, committed suicide in 27 years old) t-shirt and he felt himself cool because, he went a party that I do not know where it was. Does he look as if cool due to existing in our party? What are the differences these two parties?

> Second Individual: they are totally different. That t-shirt made himself happy due to devoting himself to that group. Actually, he wanted one thing excluded except for him. He wanted a hero. That's why, rock music is dead... In here, there is a homemade music that some guys can create in their garages and the music, which is played by other DJ guys in anywhere (translation from Turkish, Rushkoff, 2003: 70).

Dancing is the building stone for clubbing but not any heroes who stands higher than the individuals having fun. Due to this individual-centered situation, in clubs, every part of space is designed to make clubbers feel comfortable and relax. When I went to a club in Turkey, I saw an interesting atmosphere which makes individuals invite a relax mood. First, I went down through the stairs and walked into a large and dark room, which looks like a warehouse and the loud music, was what I noticed first. The music was techno music, also known as trance or electronic music. The next thing I noticed was the people. The most of them were young adults, who were between 18-27 age. Most of them were dancing; not like typical figures derived from disco or pop culture but they had "original" ones. They were

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[29] http://www.rushkoff.com/cgi-bin/columns/display.cgi/electronica

dancing to the beat and also moving according to colorful lights flashing to the beat of the music. If we benefit from experiences of individuals who join those events in raves, we can see significant similarities between them. From a club in England, an individual tells:

> The dizzying laser lights flashed in synchronicity with the pulsating bass of the music that bounced off the psychedelic warehouse walls. As my boyfriend and I mentally attempted to organize the chaos surrounding us, we pushed our way through the crowd of spasmodic lunatics who contorted their bodies in time with the music and lights. We located a couch in a room covered with cartoonesque, hyper-graphic graffiti (Kahn-Egan, 1998: 1).

This techno-graphic formations of those entertainment spaces push youth into a so-called new world formed by visions, lasers and blurred reality. Intensive technological features in these spaces create a new form of consciousness consisting of vague forms. This vague situation reflects various mood styles changed by laser lights, semi-darkness of space, drug use and electronic music. Actually, these features of this space put a division between real world and world in clubs. So, it might be said that there is a schizophrenic state in this space. Kroker names this kind of generation as "the vague generation" that "can be so sharply analytical in their diagnosis of the growing epidemic of conspiracy theories because their mood runs to the charmed atmosphere of floating reality: floating conspiracies, floating bodies, floating moods, floating conversations, floating ethics." (Kroker, 2001: 6) The last example above belongs to our present time but in past, there were significant impacts of technology on entertainment even though they were not intensive as in present. So, we can use another example from the past and a different person who is a journalist tells his experience at a disco in New York in 1977 but, it gives us some clues about features of 1990s rave and club culture in following paragraph,

> The music never stops...not for a single minute. Each song segues into the next... The lights are synchronized with the sound, and they never stop flashing except during the percussive interludes, when everything falls dark.... After you've been (there) for a while... You may begin to feel a disorientation of fancy within yourself, and you may attune yourself to repetitive shifts of this electronic music of the spheres and fall into a kind of... trance in which your brain

turns off and you give yourself up to the sensations which envelop you... The... trance is hypnotic (Tomlinsen, 1998: 195).

Words used by the journalist provide us with some clues about New York in the past but today; in USA the state has strict restrictions for rave scene and clubs because of drug use as I mentioned in the previous chapter. US classified the club drugs mostly used in clubs or parties,

> The term "club drugs" usually refers to those substances that are sometimes associated with the dance club and rave culture of the last decade. During the late 1980s, a number of promoters and DJs in England threw "raves" or large dance gatherings centered on the growing popularity of electronic music… Some participants of the club/rave culture used illicit substances to enhance the musical experience. The most notable of these club drugs is Ecstasy; however GHB, Ketamine, Methamphetamine, LSD and Rohypnol are also commonly termed club drugs. Recently, raves have been targeted in the war on drugs as the Federal Government attempts to use the 1986 'Crack House' Law to prosecute business owners that hold events in which some people use drugs (drugpolicy/ drugbydrug/clubdrugs).

If drug use becomes a part of entertainment style, governments apply some sanctions or laws in order to stop increasing drug use. As we see above, in USA, there are serious restrictions based on drugs use especially club drugs like ecstasy. Similar to USA, when Acid Houses became popular in England, the government began to pay attention drugs and policies related to the use of them. According to Adam Brown,

> The Entertainments (Increased Penalties) Act 1990 (also known as the Bright Bill) and the introduction of new police powers in the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act have given a greater political dimension to house music. This dimension was certainly less evident in the early, hedonistic years of acid house, as well as in commentaries about house, such as Simon Reynolds' description of it as a 'pure pleasure immediacy'"(Redhead (ed.) 1999: 80).

Rave has some similarities with disco culture but actually; its formation is totally different from that. As youth subculture, 'the scale is huge and ever increasing, the atmosphere is one of unity, of dissolving difference in the peace and

harmony haze of the drug Ecstasy" (McRobbie, 1995: 168). This peaceful features of rave is illustrated by PLUR (**P**eace-**L**ove-**U**nity-**R**espect):

> Can be summed up in the acronym PLUR which regularly appears on rave flyers and tickets all over the world and has recently turned up on various clothing products from some of the leading sportsware designers. The letters stand for peace, love, unity, and respect. This simple mantra has been widely accepted as the guiding principals of rave culture" (Fritz, 1999: 203).

About unity, peace and ecstasy, here is a letter written by a Buddhist monk to Rick Doblin of the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies in California. He says,

> What blew my mind was the fact that I' ll be 70 this year. I was so taken by the MDMA (ecstasy) and music that I danced from 11 P.M. to 7 a.m. It had a very strong impact on me, since I could totally give myself to the rhythm and was in a sort of trance, which reminded me very much of the North American dances which I witnessed in New Mexico. It also occurred to me that the DJ was a kind of shaman. Having gotten over the initial ' shock' of the rave, I have had time to muse over the whole experience. I' ve come to the conclusion that rave dancing could be a very important aspect of the spiritual path. It is not only fun and relaxing but is also creative, that is, liberating. The other night I went to a nightclub to dance with three visiting monks from Mt. Baldy! (Fritz, 1999: 184)

About what the Buddhist Monk said, Willis quotes from an individual who is addicted to acid: "Les: Yeah, because the Eastern concepts of religion have a lot in common with acid, or the acid concepts of religion" (Cited in Hall & Jefferson, 1980: 115). As we know, though acid and ecstasy are not the same but both include matters affecting perceptions of users and they have similar effects on individuals. What Buddhist monk said above about clubbing and his comparison with shaman rituals is interesting because, it stresses the relations between dancing, hedonism and ritualistic features of it. Shaman's drums and DJ's technical apparatus cau se to appear 'primitive' impulse of human beings: "disappearance" with dancing and MDMA (Ecstasy). According to Saunders, all over Europe and North America

78

Ecstasy is mainly found in city dance clubs and in Britain it has spread out to people living in the cities. Actually, as Beck and Rosenbaum says "MDMA (ecstasy) is not a new drug. It was first synthesized by the German pharmaceutical firm of Merck in 1912. Human experimentation, however, has only been traced back to the early 1970s. Thus, in terms of time "on the street" MDMA has been around for less than two decades" (cited in Inciardi & Mcelrath (ed.), 2003: 282). Recently, ecstasy as a "club drug" can be accepted as social drug, which provides users emotion of unity with others. It means that this synthetic drug has potential for homogenousing of feelings and reactions of individual in the clubs. Also, it changes the consciousness situation of individuals via its chemical contents.

Mainly, MDMA is linked to ravers because; their life style is directly related to energy, motivation and enthusiasm. It is impossible to make generalizations about ecstasy use but every article from which we benefit to write something about rave emphasizes Ecstasy and rave relations. Even, when using search motors in the Internet to find, rave and clubbing are linked to synthetic drugs. Saunders remarks us about some reasons of Ecstasy use by ravers. He says, "Some ravers take Ecstasy along with LSD ('candy-flip'), with the hallucinogenic qualities of LSD adding to the warmth of the Ecstasy. This combination also extends the experience, as LSD lasts for about twice as long as MDMA, and is often used outdoors at music festivals and in natural surroundings." At this point, there is a significant date for Saunders that "by 1994 the quality of Ecstasy improved and it became re-established as the dance drug of choice." However, for Saunders, "It felt more real than the fantastic, illusionary worlds of LSD or magic mushrooms, as if the effects were activated by the ecstasy but ultimately came from somewhere deep inside" (Saunders, 1995). [30] Synthetic drugs have spread out all around the world. Andrew Thomson who is a sociologist doing research among 16-25 age group believes that interviewers who told that they did not take drugs yet, actually did their friends said that they were probably lying because, questions were asked in public, and they actually took drugs themselves. So, this makes it even more difficult to explain the statistics about drug use, and we could say that the many of those who said that they did not actually used

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[30] All quotations from Nicholas Saunders were taken from http://www.ecstasy.org/books/e4x/

Ecstasy. An individual from Ankara (age 28) to whom I talked say, "I do not use ecstasy, but if I did, I would not tell you".

According to Saunders, the total number of 16-25 year-olds in Britain is 7,444,300. Statistics indicating how many of these go to clubs regularly are not available, but Andrew Thomson believes that the figure is about 90% among those of the age group (Saunders, 1998). In America, according to Kahn-Egan, also, "the American rave subculture is an alternative, underground nightclub movement promoting techno music, synthetic drugs, and teen angst: the discos of the 1990s." Also, it might be said that in Turkey, there is large-scale use of synthetic drugs like ecstasy and captagon according to statistics of 2002 collected by National Police Office (These statistics will be presented in following chapter). Nicholas Saunders, as an ex-user of Ecstasy, elaborates the reasons of Ecstasy use are:

1. Increased enjoyment of dancing
2. Improved quality of life
3. Greater ease of self-expression
4. More caring for other people
5. Increased spiritual awareness
6. Greater happiness
7. Increased closeness with lover (http://www.ecstasy.org/books/e4x)

In a website, there is a link which is about rave and frequent asking questions and this website seems to pay attention to rave and its connections with drug use. Even, we can find a whole book based on Ecstasy and other drugs online. According to Mike J.Brown, who is the author of answers to FAQ, "There is an undeniable connection between recreational drugs and raves. There are many reasons for this situation. Some of these reasons may include but are not limited to:

- The presence of drugs throughout youth culture
- The sensory and empathetic enhancements drugs offer to the experiences of raving
- The expectations of some ravers about what they are ' supposed' to be doing at raves

80

- The energy provided by drugs to help people stay up all night dancing
- The desires of some ravers to escape or to return for a night to a carefree, childlike existence
- The way the music played at raves lends itself to drug-influenced listening and stimulation
- The relatively safe, comfortable and stimulating environment provided by raves
- The inexperience and immaturity of young adults, out on their own for the first time, who want to indulge in the forbidden fruit, so to speak (http:// hyperreal.org/~mike/pub/altraveFAQ.html)

Yet, at this point, the significant point is that 'when MDMA is experienced at raves, it lacks some of the subtle effects experienced in quiet surroundings, but has an extra quality not seen when the drug is taken in private. The combination of the drug with music and dancing together produces an exhilarating trancelike state, perhaps similar to that experienced in tribal rituals or religious ceremonies" (Saunders, 1998)[31]. Paul Willis can give us some clues about effects and reasons of drug use especially Acid as synthetic one and it has similarities with Ecstasy. Experiences of two individuals with acid are interesting for the reasoning for drug use. Initially, Willies says 'the ability of drugs, and especially acid, to open up blocked experimental areas was commented on frequently by our groups:

> Les: You can actually see, and I have seen, music, I have seen it bubbling out of the speakers.
> Val: You see, you are trapped by all your senses, you're trapped by touch and smell and taste and sight and sound, but you can take acid, the cross-over, so you are no longer trapped, you are no longer trapped in the way you see the world. (Hall&Jefferson, 1980: 110)

After the use of ecstasy or acid, individuals cannot perceive their surrounds as before the use them. Drugs change their perception of 'reality" and relations to other individuals. Thoughts and emotions of a woman taking Ecstasy for the first time from Welsh's book named Ecstasy,

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[31] http://www.ecstasy.org/books/e4x/e4x.ch.04.html

> I feel as if knowing everyone, all strangers. We share an inner vision and brotherhood. As if, we are in our own world and we are far from hatred and fears. I coped with my fears; that's all. I danced and music was great (Welsh, 2003: 267).

We can talk about another novel about club culture, techno music and drugs. Douglas Rushkoff's novel, Ecstasy Club, is a significant example devoted to rave culture in USA but it also gives brilliant clues about that culture in different parts of Europe. In this novel, writer emphasizes on a group of people who searches for new ways to escape from the 'real world''. We often meet this distinction between 'real life'' and 'their reality'' in this novel. A character named Zach says, 'Far from this real life bullshit, I would have dropped an ecstasy'' (Rushfoff, 2003: 44). He uses these words when he solves some bureaucratic problems in the city center. Actually, Ecstasy Club is likely a story of subculture, which has serious plans for members. This club organizes some parties that are open to everyone in the city like "*deadheads*" (Grateful Dead's [32] fans), gays, lesbians or rockers. These parties are not merely for money but for coping with the boring 'real li fe''. The main character Zach defines the party as 'This is a party that involves the past; it is a consciousness event constructed on consciousness message'' (Rushkoff, 2003: 71).

Rave, as 'the cult of acceleration without destination'' and as digitalizatio n of music that use components of technology 'tends to wear out its human components; drugs are required to bring the nervous system up to speed; the human frame was not built to withstand the attrition of sensations.'' About rave's drug culture, Reynolds continues "..Even if you could manage to get consistently reliable high-quality ecstasy, the fact is that E-based lifestyle is a dead (ening) end; weekly use gradually empties the brain of the substances whose release MDMA triggers in a rush and gush of euphoria. My sense is that intransitive, go-nowhere aspects of rave culture are almost chemically programmed into MDMA itself'' (cited in Redhead (ed.), 1999: 86-87). Irvine Welsh calls clubbers who take ecstasy as the ' chemical generation' . (Welsh, 2003) This generation urges to feel every part of entertainment throughout their veins, nerves or whole bodies. The drug's chemical features offer user to perceive small things even supposedly abstract

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[32] This is an old rock band.

things. A 19-year-old girl defines her feelings about Ecstasy and music as below and as it illustrates that what she feels has many similarities with Irvine Welsh's chemical generation and characters in his novels:

> When you listen to the music you usually know the music is coming out of the speakers. But when you' re on E it' s like you' re dancing on the notes... it' s all around you, and you feel so up there it' s like, its so hard to describe, its like heaven. And it's so good, you love everybody, you look around and you think oh you' re all wonderful! I've never felt anything like it! [33]

Combination of drugs and hi-tech audio systems create an unusual atmosphere in clubs. So, sophisticated lighting and sound systems became the norm in the clubs where this new form of music became popular. (Inciardi & McElrath(ed.), 2003: 294) Rave culture is a significant example for synthetic, technology-driven life style and contemporary subcultural existence in our society. Fritz says, "it seemed amazing to me that this life-changing ritualistic, cultural phenomenon was going on in almost every large urban center in the western world and beyond, making it a truly global phenomenon. It has been estimated there are now many more ravers in the world that there were hippies in the sixties" (Fritz, 1999: 6). Dancing is the big part of this culture and mostly, it is accepted as a kind of ritual. Music and dance cannot be separated from each other for this culture. Nex part will be related to dance and its ritualistic character for rave.

5.5 Dance Ritual, Body and Rave

> The dancer receives music through the body in a manner whose directness is manifested in very act of dancing. But it is also important to understand that to some extent all music must function in this way. As sound, the vibrations of all musics are capable communicated to the whole body."
> (Gilbert & Pearson, 1999: 45)

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[33] http://www.qmw.ac.uk/~english/cbl/project/nrjv/ta4208.web-site.html

Adam Brown defines dance and football culture as "carnivalesque" due to its pleasure intensity that "free from ideological constraint" and also, "celebration, enjoyment, the mass at play are all central to both football and music" Redhead (ed.), 1999: 68). According to Adam Brown,

> De Certeau's and later Fiske's success is to emphasize how subordinate elements may attempt and achieve victories over dominant elements, even within mass, commercial cultural industries such as popular music and football. De Certau argues that, while members of popular cannot gain control of the production of culture, they do its consumption – the ways in which it is used. If popular culture has to 'make do' with what is offered to it, it still has the potential to 'make over' these offerings to its own ends. The fandoms and subcultures associated with the football and music industries certainly seem to fit this model. (Redhead (ed.), 1999: 68)

Rabeillas and works on him by Bakhtin can make more understandable the mutual relations between popular culture and its rituals. In the works of Bakhtin, popular culture or language is a culture or language, which is not suppressed by power and mostly we can observe this state in carnivals. The hedonistic approach of people toward carnivals is not far from subversive characters of individuals who join these rites of passage. So, we can observe the connections between hedonistic life views and popular culture in Rabeillas' novels and carnival culture (Bakhtin, 2002). Also, they both include affirmative position to life and "individualistic" freedom. Even, before carnivals, we can refer to Greek society where pleasure and individual freedom were important in ritualistic and realistic life experiences. Dionysussian rituals were significant parts of Greek civilization. So, we can say that carnavalisque is similar to Dionysussian rituals in which people were drinking wines and dancing. Ostensibly, it was the world of freedom and over-excitement. Nietzsche states the world of Dionysus by showing the importance of dance:

> Nietzschean world by stating that the body itself only comes into existence with the dance. Here the post-Nietzschean dance of the five senses takes solar energy and converts it into the joy of life. The body becomes the thermal exciter (Croker&Cook, 2001: 213).

Actually, I give those examples, because most authors define rave culture and clubbing in terms of religious aspects like shamanism, Zen or Dionysus rituals.

For example, Simon Reynold's statement is based upon these different religious or philosophical approaches. For Reynolds,

> From another vantage point, rave can be seen as the ultimate postmodern experience (culture without content, without an external referent). Or as a Bataille-like sacrificial cult of expenditure-without-return, a glorious waste of energy and resources into the void. Or even as the quintessence of Zen (the emptying out of meaning, via mantra and koan; the paradox of the full void). But you can have your fill of emptiness; even bliss can get boring (Redhead, 1999: 90).

However, those public rituals like carnivals, rituals or practices are full of sexual activities and notions whereas raves are curiously asexual, or pre-sexual, environments. According to Tomlinson, its reason can be linked to AIDS threat at past and present. In order to avoid, ravers try to be far from intensive sexuality in their entertainment (cited in Epstein (ed.), 1998). Moreover, there is a duality about their sexes like androgyny or bisexuality. According to Chrys Kahn-Egan, 'to emphasize androgyny and bisexuality, males and females both wear childhood T-shirts, baggy shorts, and Puma or Converse gym shoes'. Also, males who want to look more formal prefer dressing 'the black dis co pants, low cut '70s shirts from Goodwill, and high heel clogs. Females in more formal attire wear baggy childish dresses, and funky sandals or high heel gym shoes' (Chrys Kahn-Egan, 1998).

Moreover, McRobbie quotes from Simon Reynolds, 'So the rave m yth of transracial, cross-class unity lies in taters. Still, there are various attributes shared by all the pots-rave subscenes. And the two elements of rave culture that are most radical and 'subversive' are also what make it nihilistic and anti-humanistic: namely, the intransitive nature of the rave experience, and the music's asexuality' (McRobbie, 1999: 86). But, these recognitions by authors do not mean that sexuality is not present at parties but it means a decrease in physical relationships among individuals. Moreover, it is also related to the use of Ecstasy at parties. It provides a kind of 'euphoric sense of communion' and 'feelings of interconnectedness' and also, 'drug is also known for inhibiting one's ability to reach orgasm: 'E androgynizes' (Tomlinson, 1998: 200-201). Primarily, dancing is a kind of mediation and spiritual orgasm for ravers. (McRobbie, 1995: 172) They

accept dancing as a kind of spiritual development. In a website of ravers, we can see interesting approaches to dancing,

Welcome to Inner Rave!

This site is dedicated to spiritual development by means of dancing at parties and clubs… In a nutshell, dance *is* meditation**!** It is possible to gain direct access to our own enlightened qualities: peace, love, openness, understanding, energy and joy. The popular notion of meditation is to withdraw from the senses and suppress our thoughts. This is hard to do and doesn' t last very long because it is an artificial state. It is also rather dull. Vivid dance experiences are the ideal time to practice real meditation. Real meditation is effortless and sparky. Effortless because we are simply opening up to what is already there, our natural awareness. Sparky because vividness is fun!
Dance and meditation come together in the experience of absolute spontaneity! When we are completely in tune with the music, not a thought in our mind, and no idea where the next beat will take us, then we are in touch with our own spontaneous perfection. This is dance as a spiritual path to enlightenment. (innerrave.org)

Because of music's features like repetitiveness, consisting of various sampling and multi-layering, individuals can transform into one to another mood forms in rave scene. According to Bennett, 'the nature of musical taste, as with music itself, is both a multi-faceted and distinctly fluid form of expression. Music generates a range of moods and experiences which individuals are able to move freely between. Urban dance music, because of the style mixing involved in its production, serves to provide a series of 'snapshot' images of such shifting sensibilities of musical taste being exercised by consumers" (Bennett, 1999: p. 611). And as music of rave culture, it is 'instead of the rock notion of resona nce (with its psychological/sociological connotations) about frequencies; it's music that's oriented toward impact rather than affect" (Redhead (ed.), 1999: 91).

Many subcultures have connection with dancing that is accepted as a kind of ritual. Actually, this is accepted as an expression style including body gestures and musical enthusiasm. From rave to hip hop, we find many examples based upon

dancing and youth culture. For example about hip hop culture, Douglas Kellner says:

> Hip-hop culture is intense body culture; it finds its expression in dance and gesture. Expressive, dynamic, and energetic, hip-hop gave rise to new forms of dance like break-dancing, while gesture, movement, and bodily rhythm is a key aspect of its cultural style as well as musical performance. Hip-hop is a highly vocal culture and rap music provides its voice and its sound. (Kellner: 1999: internet source in bibliography)

So, actually it appears to me that dancing forms the positive side of youth culture because, it diminishes the daily pressures of subjects in their life world. Also, dancing figures illustrated in clubs or concert halls give us some clues about that culture and musical genre. For example, we can ask a question about that why not fans of heavy metal dance but clubbers do? This kind of questions, I think, provides us also useful information about different cultures.

After 1980s, Turkey has begun to witness the appearances of many cultures and different cultural identities have become more visible. Actually, the effects of these changes are visible on youth culture via their dressing, musical tendencies or entertainment. Clubbing is a significant way of life especially today, because it involves in different social aspects like entertainment, drugs or consumption. So, following chapter will be related to clubbing in Turkey.

CHAPTER 6

CLUB CULTURE IN TURKEY

6.1 Historical Background of Diversified Cultures in Turkey

Initially, it is essential to remember the effects of post war period on individuals before starting to chapter, which is based on figuring out the club culture in Turkey. Also, the changes in Turkey after the war need to be explained in terms of local circumstances with the global connections. Clearly, most inhabitants of the world have been affected by War dramatically and they have experienced very tragic events like genocides, mega deaths or chemical attacks. Those negative impacts on individuals together with significant macro-level socio-political changes have been able to observe in almost every society, even in Turkey albeit not joining the war officially. The war clearly reflected the severity of struggles between states existing in different parts of the world that come together for getting much more power and market. Governmental collapses and separations of societies were experienced after the war like Germany. The most significant result of the war was "the cold war" waging without guns but its effects have been visible as much as Second World War had. The end of the Cold War has opened a new door for developments and transformations that supposedly we experience throughout cultural and social spheres even in today. We are witnessed to not just "mortal guns" but "cultural weapons" that have been kept increasingly to produce.

Obviously, those worldwide matters have been affecting individuals negatively and caused to occur different types of alienations not merely derived from the factory systems belonging to economical structures but sharp social transformations experienced in macro level structures but also in micro-level in which life worlds of subjects are present. Naturally, after the war, many individuals

have begun to search for ways resisting and struggling with the alienating-catastrophic lives surrounding them. So, these struggles have caused to appear many social movements for peace and freedom besides "against boredom". These movements were born as based upon either political or subjective reasons. This period, especially 1960s, involves some communities that had divergent social attitudes toward especially politics. They had independent political approaches from the center. For instance, instead of using art as politics, they preferred to make "politics as art" (Stephens, 1998: 97). According to Stephens, Herbert Marcuse defines this stage as "new sensibility" of the sixties,

> Marcuse argued that a historical stage of development had been reached where the 'aesthetic' embodied the only possible form of a 'free society'. He detected this liberating aesthetic in what he described as the 'mixture of the barricade and the dance floor, the mingling of love, play and heroism, and in the laughter of the young (Stephens, 1998: 98).

Sixties and early seventies can be defined as the hope and love years when social movements were wide spreading in the most parts of the world, but we cannot say the same thing about the eighties and post-eighties. We have begun to witness the births of pessimism, egoism and hedonism at the same time. It might be said that the sphere of eighties was precisely impotent for political subversive attitudes towards dominant culture but a potential for pure, narcissistic and hedonistic individualism. From now on, art, a powerful weapon of the sixties and seventies, has begun to be separated from politics and then, consumption driven tendencies entered into artistic "creations" without any constraint coming from the masses. Shortly, it indicates the period of unlocking of art from its ideological ties. Instead of political, constructive or "serious" artistic productions, depoliticized, purely based upon fun and hedonistic features have been contributed to art. However, it can be said that sixties carry importance for us because, as Manuel Castells suggests,

> The cultural movements of the 1960s and early 1970s, in their affirmation of individual autonomy against both capital and the state, placed a renewed stress on the politics of identity. These ideas paved the way for the building of cultural communes in the 1990s, when the legitimacy crisis of institutions of the industrial era blurred the meaning of

democratic politics… Their libertarian spirit considerably influenced the movement toward industrialized, decentralized uses of technology (Castells, 1996: 339-340).

Actually, positive effects of movements in sixties and seventies were observed also in Turkey until 1980 Military Coup d'état that can be felt even today in the socio-political-economic section of society with its so-called "transformative" effects. However, for this study, events occurring four years after the Coup d'état are more important than the militaristic period "powered" by Kenan Evren. In 1984, By Prime Minister Turgut Özal, it has started a new, transformative and effective economical era having prolonged effects in Turkey not socially but culturally. Actually, this new era can be described with market economy and consumption-driven production mentality. Summarizing briefly the Özal period was the time of placing the new perspectives in economical policies in either production or consumption. Their effects will be observed in the society as like "specialized consumption, market segmentation, lifestyle enclaves" (Redhead (ed.), 1999: 171). These new policies seem to pave the way to post-Fordist techniques, which implies an economical strategy based on mass consumption. According to Muggleton, "development of flexible forms of technology and the associated shift from Fordist to post-Fordist production techniques as responsible for an increasing acceleration in the emergence of new fashions; turnover time in consumption has speeded up correspondingly as consumers have eagerly availed themselves of this ever-expanding 'emporium of styles'" (Redhead (ed.), 1999: 171). The visibility of economical changes was visible as much as political ones. This period was the restructuration of the state, economy and so, the culture. As Adnan Akçay states,

> From the mid-1980's onwards, we witnessed an almost spontaneous dissolution of the bases upon which the Republic was erected…The main reaso ns for the transformation that the country has undergone since 1980 can be outlined as follows: First of all, we witnessed a restructuring of the state, both during and after 1980 military coup in the direction of the market economy. Turgut Özal, the Prime Minister after military rule and later President of the State, was actively instrumental in this process (Akçay, 1997: 282).

The process of economical transformations triggered by Özal has been discussed even today due to its visibility of deep impacts on social and cultural

91

spheres in Turkey. This is the visibility of rich consumption patterns, identities, and worldwide trademarks sold now in the stores and shopping malls of Turkey. Simply, as a typical example for the free market economy process that has created its own images, symbols and classes,

> The process of liberalization in the last two decades has undergone a striking shift, marked by an increase in the pace of public acceptance of Turkey's transition to an 'open' free market economy. Media images contributed increasingly to the reproduction of a hegemonic political culture and they constructed idealized images of the urban middle class and new patterns of commodity consumption (Kırca, 2002: 3).

Transformations in the economical structures were the important part of this period but as a matter of fact, it has surrounded most parts of social life besides with politics. Nurdan Gürbilek emphasizes that in the eighties we witnessed some dualities taking place in this period. They were related to power relations, culture policies or sphere of languages. It was an era of dominance and bans, but at the same time, also constructive besides to merely being prohibiting. Moreover, this era can be accepted as inclusive but also destructive, provocative, more modern, founder of renewals and widely diffused upon social life. This era has formed the roots of ideologies of locality that cultural identities can express themselves directly even without using politics. However, it has brought into existence the fact that political sphere lost its power. This sphere means a kind of capability for providing individuals social sphere to meet with each other for mutual affection or transformation. However, by Özal period, political sphere has become an indifference space of gatherings. Although, these gatherings do not demand political autonomy, they insist on their cultural autonomy immediately as much as quick. So, For Gürbilek, eighties can be defined as the years of demanding cultural autonomy by gatherings.

In terms of those cultural changes, as our main issue, subcultures -the mirror of autonomous local identities- did steal symbols of dominant culture and then, transform them into transverse symbolic systems, consumption society returns these symbols to market by purifying from their historical or class meanings. Market allows circulations of subversive symbols as much as principles of it

process (Gürbilek, 2001: 9-37). Opportunities for variation of cultural meanings are promoted by capitalism without any constraint that implies normalization or prohibition. Any movie or music clip may create images or identities, which are totally new for people. Actually, because of this, the two decades can be defined as dustbin of local and universal identities. Those identities have been visible through the surface of people's bodies, languages or images and even the clothes people chose to wear and the images they urge to catch are reflections of identities, which are waiting to be figured out by social sciences.

How does the market process in the transformation of subcultural aspects into commercial objects in economy? The following parts will be related to this process based upon appearance and development of club culture in Turkey.

6.2 Short History of the Appearance of Clubbing

As a dance culture, clubbing has been imported to Turkey from European countries like England, Holland and Germany. Actually, this is a culture of "color", dancing and drugs involving the electronic musical genres. However, clubbing has some significant features separating it from other dance-driven entertainments for example, the designs of clubs, appearance of individuals, or drug use. After mid-nineties, we have met "clubbers" who go to clubs for dancing or DJs' shows. They have looked "colorful" as they live. While seventies or eighties were the years of rockers, nineties have been the times of electronic music and clubbers until now on. Before we start to tell the brief history of clubbing in Turkey, it is better to take a glance at an article from a Turkish daily newspaper:

When we say Clubber (By Melis Danişmend)

> Why do not we ask some significant questions to ourselves in everyday like what are clubs? Who is clubber? Why dance or techno-music? Naturally, the communities which go to clubs, techno parties in every weekend and follows news about DJs do nor ask those questions. Namely, it is not in question that an individual wears red Puma and then asks him/herself that "Am I clubber right now?" We have fun together. Yet, there is a club culture fact in this life. At least, there are places in where DJs play some genres like techno,

93

trance or their derivatives and also, people go to these places to dance till mornings. It is clear that in these places, there are significant styles, codes, manners and ways for doing something as right. What are they? For example, there are comfortable clothes, laser lights and games, various toys in order to create a dream world, colorful glasses, and music to make people hypnotize. Moreover, there is a manner that breaking off in crowd as individual but as a whole. There is no alcohol that overthrows individuals from play and makes them heavy but they use abundantly "vitamin" (August 10, 2002: Radikal).

According to my impressions from clubs in Istanbul and Ankara, club's darkness atmosphere with laser lights and sound systems use the construction of free feelings for dancing, and the managers of there places endeavor to give individuals autonomy from outside. This different design of space has been effectively established by allowing the music to be as clear and much as the rules of the municipality allows and indeed, the level of sound (90db) is completely sufficient for feelings spread from DJ cabinet. This design technique coupled with alcohol and drugs and expressions of powerful rhythms of music, which need concentration and perception of the individuals.

Clubbers to whom I talked seemed to come from the comfortably complacent middle and upper classes, yet they feel the strongest discomfortness with catastrophe as the problems of metropolis generally derived from pressures of society. Ostensibly, the dominant values of society and matters caused by rapid socio-economical changes likely force them to find some solutions for escape from oppression of social realities and as well as numerous advances in entertainment sector allow, they try to have fun in clubs where no one can listen to the voice of inner self because of the loud music. Most of musical types played in clubs as a kind of popular music, has no political or social content and they offer individuals a huge level for pure entertainment. As Adorno says "popular art becomes the mere exponent of society, rather than a catalyst for change in society" (Adorno, 1973: 25). Also, Ünsal Oskay has some comments on music but not based on specific popular examples I mentioned before, but I think, these comments can be used to analyze the techno or some example from popular musical genres. According to

him, in reality, the reasons of alienation caused by socio-economic conditions are not matter of objectivist music type. It does not care about the actual roots of that social alienation or real world but it tries to make people forget them by using aesthetic totalities instead of social totalities. Moreover, that kind of music abstracts matter of alienation from its social character and replaces it with coping with alienation problems on merely aesthetic ground. In this way, actually a kind of relief can be provided by music but it fails to analyze the social roots of alienation (Oskay, 2001: 150-153). Under these circumstances, as a part of popular culture, clubbing has become visible in Turkey day to day and it is attracting our attentions due to its some different features.

Club culture in Turkey has begun to become widespread in the mid-nineties. There are three significant individuals who started the clubbing phenomena in Turkey: Şeniz Bengüer, Ceylan Çaplı and Mehmet Cavcı. At the beginnings of nineties, they were organizing large-scale techno parties in Club 2019[34]. These parties were usually organized for middle or upper classes. Actually, while individuals from working class show interest this entertainment style in England, it has been addressing an entertainment of middle and upper classes. A professional *DJ from Istanbul* to whom I talked *(30 years)* tells us the history of clubbing briefly,

> In 1989 and 1991, two places were opened by named. The name of first one was 19 and the latter one was 20. These places were side by side but different musical genres were played in those clubs. While Club 19 largely played dance music, the other one was reflecting diversified musical tendencies of individuals like soft rock or other popular music. These were prestigious places and even, owner of them was bringing foreign customers from upper classes and from other European countries for parties. Following days, the capacity of these places could handle sufficient for increasing number of customers. So, the wall between these two places was demolished and a gate was constructed for providing transition between these two clubs. Later, this club was moved to Maslak, Venue in where lots of parties and concerts are made even today and its name was Club 2019. In the past, even rich and famous customers were going there to have fun for example Zeki Müren[35]. Yet, we cannot say that 2019 was merely for this kind of people, on the contrary, different kind

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[34] It is a weird coincidence that as a futuristic movie Blade Runner tells us the year of 2019, but I think, the choice of Ceylan Çaplı is an accidental.
[35] He is a famous Turkish Art Music singer.

of people came 2019 to have fun. It can be said that this club was a homogeneous place. Club 2019 was very nice and authentic place. Individuals who were from different dressing styles like sport or classic were joining to parties. There was no any polarization among different styles. In spite, people were diversified and heterogeneous, in the sense of aims of individuals, this place was homogeneous, every one comes to have fun. This club provided people underground and mainstream entertainments at the same time. Due to customers who were members of upper classes, polices were not often visiting this place. So, this made 2019 more attractive and free place. Also, it is possible to talk about drug use in this club.

Although, DJ says that police was indifferent toward 2019, according to the owner, Ceylan Çaplı, "I was alone in this work. Police was controlling 2019 often, taking me to Gayrettepe... I have nothing, which is illegal, but as much as media attacks me, police feels to be obliged doing something"[36]. Actually, it seems as the entertainment style of upper class devoted to mainstream culture, according to DJ from Istanbul to whom I talked, it had divergent and underground features. However, today, while we talk about club culture, we should be careful about a significant shift from subcultural aspects of rave culture as alternative groups against dominant culture, to *club cultures*, which can be defined as consumerist and apolitical. About rave culture in Turkey, a DJ from Istanbul and journalist in a magazine suggest that,

> If we accept rave culture as innovator of clubbing and define rave as organization of illegal parties, it is hard to emphasize on rave culture in Turkey. Even though, its roots seem as illicit events, actually clubbing is totally apolitical culture. This is a music driven culture and most of people do not pay attention this fact. Also, these people do not follow electronic music and its events seriously but still, easy ways of making this music pull people to produce this kind of music. Individuals who have computer in their home can make this music as amateurs. To make this music as a professional DJ, individuals need 2500-5000$. Actually, as much as improvements in techniques increase, production of electronic music becomes easier. However, in Turkey, there is no useful magazine or publication about this.

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[36] http://www.iris.com.tr/arsiv/012000/soylesi/ceylan_capli.htm

We can mention a network among clubbers that is established in order to inform each other about parties, concerts, home parties or other events. They communicate with each other especially via Internet. There are many websites related to clubbing and they offer updated news from cultural events in big cities like *www.preclub.com*. Many clubbers can communicate with each other in this large-scale website. They can talk about DJs, parties or other issues. Also, in these websites, individuals can write each other about anything. Actually, when we look at what they write, we can get significant and important impressions about clubbers and their life styles. Meanwhile, clubs distribute their flyers to inform clubbers about events. The significant character of flyers is their design that created by mostly using computer and computerized picture. They are not simple invitation but they create digitalized faces of this entertainment. Every club creates its style. Flyers and Internet have significant roles in the network among individuals. In past, individuals could not reach Internet or mobile communication easily as much as people can do today but still among them, it is possible to talk about a close network. Generally, individuals experience similar difficulties and problems in social life come together in order to have fun and share something. From Ankara, a female clubber to whom I talked says:

> I was interested in clubbing intensively between 1996-1997 years. With my so many friends, I went to club called Pulse 8. Also, in order to give parties, we were gathering in houses whose someone was among us. There was a significant and tight network among friends and for every one; those parties and entertainments in clubs were ways for escaping from pressures derived from our families or society. As the same group, we came together for fun and parties. Let me say that clubbing was merely an entertainment for us not anything else. We have no any political attitude or activity. Also, I can say that nobody from us was working and we were members of middle and upper-middle class.

According to David Muggleton, "For a proponent of an 'optimistic' postmodernism, subcultures are just another form of depoliticized play in the postmodern pleasuredome, where emphasis is placed on the surface qualities of the spectacle at the expense of any underlying ideologies of resistance" (Redhead (ed.), 1999: 182). Parties are more attractive than political slogans or demonstrations anymore,

97

> Glen felt that you had to party, you had to party harder than ever. It was the only way. It was your duty to show that you were still alive. Political sloganeering and posturing meant nothing; you had to celebrate the joy of life in the face of all those gray forces and dead spirits who controlled everything, who screw up your head and livelihood anyway, if you weren' t one of them. You had to let them know that in spite of their best efforts to make you like them, to make you dead, you were still alive. Glen knew that this wasn' t the complete answer, because it would all still be there when you stopped, but it was the best show in town right now. (A piece from Ecstasy, Welsh, 2003: 40)

Since nineties, as an inhabitant of Ankara, I have been witnessing the invasion of clubs, pubs and techno music in the entertainment sector. Even in so-called rock bars, techno or popular music genres are commonly played. Faces of entertainment have begun to change widely in cities. Clubbing is a step in this stairs of change including variations in musical tendencies change and drugs. Drug use constitutes the big part of the clubbing, which is energy-required way of life and so, individuals generally obtain this energy from drugs or energy drinks. So, drug use is an essential issue for this culture. The following part will be related to drug use and clubbing in Turkey.

6.3 Clubbing and Drugs "Chemical Romances"[37]

> Club and drugs should not be accepted as if luxurious needs. They are definitely necessary ones... Because, we are social and collective animals and we need to have fun together. This is the basic situation of life. This is the most basic right of us. Because, officials in governments do not have skill for having fun and they are wanting just power, they want others to feel themselves as guilty (Welsh, 2003: 248).

As Scott J. Thompson quotes, "Dr. Ernst Joel, the psychopathologist who had initiated Benjamin into the world of hashish on December 18, 1927".[38] After some experiments were applied on Walter Benjamin (his friend Ernst Bloch also was a

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[37] Welsh, I. (2003) *Ecstasy (Olağanüstü): Üç Kimyasal Romans*, Stüdyo İmge: Istanbul

[38] http://www.cognitiveliberty.org/2jcl/2JCL21.htm

98

proband in these experiments), he wrote his thoughts on drugs. For Benjamin, "It was precisely to jar the post-industrial self loose from its de-humanized and well-adjusted mask that Walter Benjamin advocated rescuing the energies of the cosmic-rausch[39] of the ancient world for the proletarian revolution". He calls it as the concept of "Profane Illumination". By joining to these experiments, Walter Benjamin and his friend Ernst Bloch shown their positive attitudes toward drugs or *rausch*. In this part, drugs and their connections with clubbing will be main question. Every individual has different thoughts on drugs, as we will see.

Certainly, without a serious large-scale study designed via scientific methodology, it is seemingly hard to claim the direct relation between club culture and Ecstasy use in Turkey in spite we have some significant clues on this subject. However, when we benefit from studies designed by scientific methodology about the connections between clubs and drugs, we encounter with these connections between these two phenomena.

As I mentioned before, when a keyword related to rave is entered to search motors in the Internet, we can reach many articles about MDMA. For example, Erica Weir remarks, "a PubMed search combining the keywords "ecstasy" and "drug use" produced 247 articles published in the last 5 years" (Weir, 2000: Ebscohost). An example from studies of United Nations is useful to point out connections between clubs, ecstasy and youth. As an official establishment, UN has made many studies about ecstasy use in accordance with scientific rules with the international scales. Its official website illustrates a significant example from Italy that can be useful to see these relations between rave, clubbing or discotheques. This study from Italy is based on "a sample of 843 students aged 14-19 living in the province of Parma, Italy, and attending one of five secondary schools in the second half of 1998. The cohort was a stratified, randomized sample that included persons from all the areas of the province and the entire range of school grades and types of

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[39] According to John Maccole, "Rausch is far more suggestive than the English equivalent 'intoxication:' it quite naturally bears the connotations of such overwhelming feelings as exhilaration, ecstasy, euphoria, rapture, and passion" (Quoted by Scott J. Thompson) http://www.cognitiveliberty.org/2jcl/2JCL21.htm).

schools (focusing on a range of disciplines, including professional, technical and scientific fields and more traditional education)". Its results about ecstasy and entertainment is that,

> Unexpectedly, about 40 per cent of the students using marijuana and about 60 per cent of those using tablets reported that they used those substances when they were alone (that is, not together with their peers). Such a pattern of substance abuse could indicate a strategy of self-medication associated with social exposure anxiety, rather than a ritualized social behaviour. Discotheques and rave parties appear to be the main settings in which ecstasy was used, according to the self-reported data. Such settings are probably preferred subconsciously, because of the effect of fast music, which has been found to be able to influence brain monoamine release (Bulletin Narcotics, Volume LI, Nos.1 and 2, 1999)[40].

A male clubber (25) from Ankara to whom I talked expressed his thoughts on ecstasy as "*Eroin, kokoin bahane; ecstasy şahane*" (In English: "There is nothing outside the ecstasy neither Heroin nor cocaine"). However, he states that ecstasy is not generally used due to the addiction physically but rather, individuals prefer to use it because of psychological weaknesses. For him,

> After the use of ecstasy, you feel yourself very happy and good and then, you want much more. This situation is not the result of physical addiction but psychological weakness. Everybody wants to be happy with or without drugs.

He claims that clubs encourages the youth to use ecstasy and other synthetic drugs. About this issue, we can use an article from a website which includes treatment strategies for drugs and alcohol: "Although the actual drugs contained in this category have been around for quite sometime, they have not shared the popularity of other drugs until the last 10 years or so. The stimulus that launched their popularity, especially among the youth, was the onset of late night or all night dance parties, where synthesized music is played loud and the beat is heavy and intense, the parties are called "Rave Parties" (http://alcohol-drug-treatment.net/). Ecstasy's increasing popularity can be observed in Turkey according to some official statistics. When we look at these data on drug use in Turkey, we encounter with the similar results observed in European countries. According to a report of

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[40] http://www.unodc.org (United Nations' official site devoted to struggle with drugs)

Turkish National Police Department published in 2003, "In Recent years, an increase has been reported in ecstasy trafficking in Turkey"(Ministry of Interior, Turkish National Police, 2003: 31, 34). The State significantly pays attention the use of ecstasy besides with the media. The report of police department will be presented in more detailed.

When Acid House appeared as entertainment style in United Kingdom, media showed harsh reactions toward this culture due to the drug use, illegality and some deaths caused by "acid" (An Amphetamine derivative). Steve Redhead presents some specific headlines from English newspapers. Beside these examples, I present some news from Canadian and Turkish newspapers in which we can find similar headlines or articles about club culture, drug use, especially Ecstasy. Examples from three countries are presented below:

From England:

The Sun: Evil of Ecstasy (October 19)
The Post: Ban this killer music (October 24)
The Sun: Girl 21 drops dead at Acid Disco (October 31) (Redhead, 1990: 2).

From Canada:

"Several *rave*-related deaths in Canada in 1999 alerted health authorities, parents and police to the health risks of *rave* attendance. Family physicians, emergency physicians and pediatricians should have some understanding of *raves*, the drugs and the health risks so they can effectively counsel and treat patients. The *rave culture* in Canada and the drugs commonly used at *raves* are reviewed, and strategies and initiatives for harm reduction are discussed" (Weil, 2000: Ebscohost).

From Turkey:

Milliyet: Poison Trap "Zehir Kapanı (in Turkish) "Because, Ecstasy provides users incredible happiness feeling and energy, it is known a 'Night Club drug'. Thus, teenage people trapped in nightclubs are victims of this drug much more" (Milliyet, 2002: December 22).

> According to statistics of Istanbul Police, while the amount of ecstasy captured in 1995 was a thousand, this amount increased to a thousand five hundred in 1996, thirty five thousand in 2001, a hundred thousand in 2002. Merely in 2002, the police captured six million synthetic drugs… The average age for use of ecstasy is between seventeen and thirty and its price is between ten million and thirty million.(Milliyet, 20002, December 22: 5).

Hürriyet: *Ecstasy use exploded*: They do not like alcohol so much; they usually drink water, fruit juice, soda, coffee, cola but mostly energy drinks. There is no anger expression due to alcohol. This is a spectacle that makes us think "Turks have learnt having fun" but, this is ecstasy rooted in Germany and Holland. This was spread around the world from these countries. Turkey met this drug in mid-1990s. According to data of police department, in 1995, from three individuals, number of seizures by police was a totally of nine tablets for the first time in Turkey. Yet, it has not taken so much time to wide spreading the use of ecstasy and recently, there has been experienced a 1500 times increase in the proportion of usage. (November 24, 2002)

Radikal: News about seizure of 18.5 kg heroin and 3000 ecstasy (April 22, 2003).

NTV-MSN-NBC New Portal: The medium of age of ecstasy use is 13 years in Turkey.

NTV-MSN-NBC New Portal: The tragic increase in use of synthetic drugs. (http://www.ntvmsnbc.com)

These headlines from newspapers provide us valuable reflections about drugs in Turkey but, hence, they are secondary sources, it is hard to reach specific results without first hand research results on drugs. Let me say that to organize a study about drug and users is so difficult due to safety problems. Subjects may be distressful when we asked specific questions about drug use. When I was talking to a few

individuals for thesis, I experienced some difficulties while I was attempting to gain information about drugs. That's why, I have chosen to analyze secondary data from official organizations like Police Department. The report of the Department mentioned an increase in the ecstasy traffic in Turkey. According to report, "This increase parallels abuse of this substance in Turkey and worldwide. It has been determined that ecstasy pills seized in Turkey 2002, like previous years, were generally brought from the Western European Eastern Europe, as was the case for captagon" (Turkish Drug Report, 2003: 32). Turkish National Police's serious study on drug use in Turkey with international dimensions includes information gained from narcotic users. They provide informative report about drug use and its reasons via users. For this thesis, information on ecstasy seems so important. According to report of National Police Department, "The higher number of ecsta sy users in Istanbul, when compared with numbers from Turkey overall, results in a higher number of trafficking cases in this province... Based on seizures made, it has been identified that ecstasy pills have different colors and logos. This is an indication of the manufacturers' objective to increase their market share by influencing the users. Ecstasy pills seized in Turkey generally bear the logos of McDonalds, Mitsubishi (white and pink) and smiling face". In the past, according to Turkish National Poli ce Report, Balkan Route was more visible in recent years, but today "drug traffickers have begun to concentrate their activities on the Northern Black Sea Route rather than the Balkan Route, due to the secure route principle" (ibid, 2003: 18). According to the report, recently the increase in trafficking of ecstasy in Turkey, It has been determined that ecstasy pills seized in Turkey in 2002, like in previous years, were generally brought from Germany, Netherlands, Bulgaria, Albania, in particular from the Netherlands and Germany, concealed in vehicles and on people (ibid, 2003: 30).

In Turkey, according to information that I gained from a police officer, prices of ecstasy have changeable range between seven and thirty Euro. Hence, this information is unofficial and unpublished, I cannot write the source of information due to also another reasons. According to police report, the reasons that individuals prefer to use ecstasy are presented in the below. Together with reasons illustrated in report, I want to add the reasons of a female clubber from Ankara to whom I talked why clubbers prefer to use drugs:

103

Before we went to club, we were taking alcohol and *ephedrine* at home and then, it was better to go there. Because of being cheap and availability of *ephedrine*[41], we were taking it. Another reason was that in past, ecstasy was not available as today is and also, it was not cheap for us. Today, everyone can sell or buy ecstasy easily. Another reason for taking that drug was that drinks included alcohol caused to dry our throats. We were taking about twenty tablets from efedrin. Over them, I was drinking one beer. I did not prefer to drink more than twenty. Let me say that I have some suspicious about ecstasy and so, because of this; I do not prefer to take ecstasy. My some friends were increasing number of efedrin tablets. This drug could increase our perceptions significantly. For example, if there are brilliant lights in space, we can perceive it as a shining light waves.[42] Moreover, when someone or yourself touch you, you can feel it around whole body. Also, it causes hallucinations. Even, I witnessed paranoid effects on my friends.

A male clubber (25) from Ankara who graduated from a private university said about his past when he used to take ecstasy:

When I was twenty, I had a crazy life style. I was often using synthetic drugs like ecstasy. Sometimes, I used four or five ecstasy tablets at one night. I was wearing my colorful clothes and putting glasses and going to clubs like today's teenage clubbers. However, I recognized that those drugs were harming my body seriously. For example, I begun to lose weights, could not eat anything and even I could not piddle properly. Then, I decided to make my military service. I experienced a significant progress in there. When I returned, I gave up to use the drugs often, but when a famous DJ who I like I do not go to party without taking just one ecstasy tablet.

Surely, drugs in clubbing are big part of this life style and most of individuals are not against the use of it. However, due to its long-term effects, after they use it intensively, they prefer to give up or decrease the number of tablets.

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[41] Ephedrine was produced by permission of Ministry of Health but a pharmacologist said, its production was stopped, but she was not sure about the reason. She said that mainly young individuals were interested in buying this medicine. This medicine constricts the veins and was used to increase blood pressure of emergency situations (Türkiye İlaç Kılavuzu, 1999: 93).

[42] This kind of inrease in perceptions is called as *vibe* in rave culture.

According to Police Department, the reasons of the use of ecstasy are presented below:

Department of Anti-smuggling and Organized Crime, Turkish Drug Report 2002

The following are the main reasons for narcotics abusers to prefer ecstasy:

- People's perception of use of pills as natural,
- Ease of use,
- Ease of supply and concealment,
- Social and cultural interactions,
- Attractive appearance of the pills in terms of form and color,
- People's desire to be like others in the groups they are involved in.

(2003: 31-35)

Laws, prohibitions or organizations reflect approaches of the state toward drug. Ostensibly, every state has specific drug policies that demand either prohibition of drug use or putting it under control, like Holland State. These approaches may also give us some clues about the perspectives of official sources devoted to subcultures. So, these bans cause to reveal some prejudices toward different subcultures and their aspects like music or spaces. In an official web site of US that informs people about state's drug policies, there is a clause that:

> The War on Drugs has often been used to suppress music and lifestyles disliked by the political establishment. Local, state, and federal drug laws give the government enormous power and this power has been used to exert control over emerging subcultures: Jazz in the 1940s, Rock and Roll in the 1960s, Heavy metal and Rap in the 1980s, Electronic music and Hip Hop today.[43]

Briefly, we can say that in the club culture scene, it is possible to meet Ecstasy and other synthetic drug use. As we see above, different countries have serious restrictions and studies about drug use in clubs and discos. In this thesis, there is not any positive or negative approach devoted to drug use. This part is the

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[43] www.drupolicy.org/communities/raveact

presentation of specific data, thoughts and information about club scene and drugs. I want to continue this part with specific thoughts from two professional and famous DJs to whom I talked in different cities. The first one is from Istanbul and the latter is from Ankara:

DJ 1 from Istanbul: "In this entertainment, fans commonly use ecstasy. Actually, I do not use smoke or drink alcohol but I am not against use of ecstasy."

DJ 2 from Ankara: "There are some clubbers who follow parties, events or other things. These people are psychedelic. They have divergent moods. Eighty percentage of these individuals use ecstasy."

For Ben Malbon, there are two moments of ecstasy that reflect the psychological and physical effects of ecstasy use among clubbers. He calls the first as "oceanic experiences", which means, according to him , "these sensations of extraordinary and transitory euphoria, joy and empathy that can be experienced as a result of the intensive sensory stimulation of the dance floor" (Malbon, 1999: 105). The second one is called as "the ecstatic experience", which "is premised upon the use of so-called 'dance' or 'recreational' drugs such as ecstasy (MDMA). The use of ecstasy (MDMA) in particular appears symptomatic of many clubbers' quest for the fleeting moments of complete contentment that it is possible to experience while clubbing, particularly within the dancing crowd" (ibid: 106). For Malbon, the first one implies a cultural use of drugs that include some commonalities and interactions among individuals. For Paul Willis, the cultural meaning of drug use is,

> Though drugs were only key, they were still accorded a kind of sacred place in the head culture. Their use was surrounded by ritual and reverence. These rituals often increased the amount of the drug actually taken in, which provided a greater physiological response open to specific cultural interpretation (Hall & Jefferson, 1980: 108).

So, Drug use is not simply taking some tablets, which are related to pharmacology or having physiological effects but it has also diversified cultural meanings in every different social groups. For example, a journalist in a monthly journal and defines himself as clubber to whom I talked emphasized on his general

anxiety about ecstasy use in today because, according to him, even anyone who is not interested in clubbing uses Ecstasy. Before becoming a part of "mass culture", he had not any negative attitude toward ecstasy,

> I am currently uncomfortable due to the use of Ecstasy but, actually, I was not thinking like that before the wide spreading of clubbing and use of Ecstasy has been experienced. Today, everyone, even taxi drivers, use Ecstasy. Hence, I do not feel myself comfortable because of widespread Ecstasy use.

I think, subjects who involve in clubbing seem widely as not against ecstasy. A professional British DJ and writer, David Haslam says,

> One commentator has described how, in recent years, the cult of the DJ has achieved 'priestly proportions'. Whether DJ is a priest or prostitute, I don't know, but DJ-ing is certainly a great buzz. The significant chemistry of clubland isn't the ecstasy doing strange things inside people's brains. The important chemistry is the reaction between the music and the crowd; and DJ is somewhere at the center of it all, a catalyst. Ecstasy without music is a worthless thing; you're just running round hugging trees and grinning at bus drivers. ***But a drug-free dance floor still kicks***" (cited in Redhead, 1999: 160).

On the contrary, a famous DJ from Turkey does not agree with David Haslam. According to DJ Murat Uncuoğlu, "Actually, around the world, drug is the most significant feature of clubbing but in Turkey, music has priority to drugs". He says,

> **DJ Murat Uncuoğlu**: Especially, DJs who come to Turkey for concerts are so surprised.
>
> ***Interviewer:*** What is surprising for them?
>
> **DJ Murat Uncuoğlu:** Atmosphere and ambience. Mostly, in the other parts of the world, music has been connected with drugs. So, music is not most important, anymore; it comes later from drugs and atmosphere. In Turkey, music is still crucial. I hope, it will stay like this. European DJs find energy in here. Due to the lack of this kind of energy, numbers of clubs in abroad have been decreasing (Milliyet, 2003: March 1).

A male clubber (male, 28) from Ankara agrees with DJ Uncuoğlu and he says,

> Clubbing and ecstasy should not be connected to each other. May be, someone uses ecstasy in clubs, but connection of drugs with clubbing causes some prejudices that every clubber uses ecstasy when they have fun. I do not use ecstasy, but if I had used it, I would not say it to you. Clubbing can be criticized due to its consumption driven way of life, but drugs should not take the priority in the understanding of club culture.

Drugs have seemingly become the big part of clubbing as a contemporary entertainment style. As it seems that some individuals need drugs to have fun because, those narcotics demolishes the borders in their consciousness. So, they hear the music as more enthusiastic, feel the rhythm as more powerful. However, there are also some individuals who are against drugs. According to a female (25) who had an interest clubbing in the past,

> I have no need to drugs for fun. I do not like to use them when I was in clubs. But, before I went to forest for taking a walk, I took acid to see tiny bugs walking on earth or colors of flowers more clearly.

The need to use of ecstasy or other drugs causes some curiosities among social scientists. However, for users the urge or need for drugs are not the main problem rather, it is a part of fun. However, they need to gain information about synthetic drugs and their physical effects. According to a psychiatrist to whom I talked claims that they supposedly think to use "real ecstasy" but actually, some drugs do not have specific qualifications that are needed to involve in ecstasy. Actually, individuals seem to consume non-ecstatic drugs but they experience a kind of placebo effect which means that "a substance containing no medication and prescribed or given to reinforce a patient' s expectation to get well" (Microsoft© Bookshelf'94). So, to talk about drugs and abusers become more difficult due to this virtual effect of drugs.

Following chapter will be related to ties between clubbing and consumption in terms of strategies of market for obtaining profits by using this life style.

6.4 Consumption and Clubbing

> An ideology of personal consumption presents individuals as free to do their own thing, to construct their own little world in the private sphere… Indivi duals are also encouraged to enjoy freedom of association, not to be constrained by family obligations, religious ethics or *civitas*. The basic freedom within the culture is the freedom to consumer, yet the hedonistic lifestyle and ever-expanding needs ultimately depend upon permanent economic expansion (Featherstone, 1991: 176).

When Veblen analyses dressing styles of women, he dwells upon relationships with social practices like production and work. According to him, women's dressing signifies their social status as prestigious and rich men do. Actually, these signifiers are based upon their unproductive life styles. It means that they do not work but consume. It can be understood throughout their dresses clearly. Namely, clothes do not allow individuals to move physically free as much as they want. Even, they may harm subjects when individuals try to move totally free. Veblen suggests that these kind of dress "…is expensive and it hampers the wearer at every turn and incapacities her for all useful exertion (Veblen, 1957: 121). As we see, dressing is the mirror of unproductive or productive processes in Veblen's examples. So, it is useful to begin with the most acceptable and meaningful feature of alternative, counter or subcultures that have their own clothing style reflecting their life styles and physical moves in social life. I think, this fact is an important detail because members' distinctive appearance makes apparently possible a social distinction from mainstream culture. Of course, this does not mean that distinction is merely formed upon divergence of appearance or dressing. The other elements of alternative cultures emphasized above indicate also distance from mainstream in terms of political, artistic or social attitudes. Dressing is the most visible part of distinction and so-called separation. On the other hand, it might be said that separation does not imply a total breaking point with mainstream. It means that we can emphasize on visibility of intersections of those cultures with market and mainstream culture at the same time. These intersections have been discussed in the former chapter. So, this chapter will be just related to connections of clubbing with the market, consumption patterns like dressing or fashion

tendencies. Also, the marketing strategies of some trademarks by benefiting from way of life of clubbers and their tendencies will be also issue in this chapter.

Initially, I think, it is better to stress the diversifications of appearances that may carry either aesthetic or functional meanings. Punks might be example for this duality of meanings. For example, they were using safety pin to keep their tears on clothes together but later, this object gained a symbolic meaning and then, it was started to remember with punk culture in the course of time. Another example can be from clubbing as a youth culture rooted in England, it has significant connections with football in terms of appearance. When going to club, you can see people who wear forms of famous and big football teams. Also, individuals who join parties or clubs prefer to wear sport shoes due to being comfortable. This situation reflects the functional side of style but these shoes timely become objects of 'trend' or as their style of speech, "*trendy*". About what kinds of dresses are preferred in clubs, Inciardi and Mcelrath say,

> At raves, primary and Day-Glo colors, baggy pants, backpacks, pacifiers, pig-tails, and toys as accessories constitute "the fashion." T -shirts and pants that are two or three sizes too large are common attire. Some ravers carry pacifiers because using them helps the person avoid grinding his or her teeth after ingesting the drug ecstasy…Essentially, the norm for ravers is to purposely dress younger than one's actual age. To illustrate, Tomlinson quotes one 22-year old raver: "we dress this way because we want to look younger than I am because getting older in America is not much fun." (Inciardi & Mcelrath, 2003: 296)

According to Süheyla Kırca, "As the clubbing scene has been produced through the export of western commodities, values, and way of life generated in the Western metropolises, club culture is often perceived by Turkish youth as an identification with the Western culture" (Kırca, 2002: 3).

Clubbing is a typical example for youth cultures. It is based on physical moving, acting freely as much as possible, and enthusiasm as main emotion. These features can be observed throughout their colorful clothes. They like to look marginal, different and free. We can observe this fact either we joining parties

abroad or in Turkey. Marginal appearance is the keyword for young clubbers. However, it can be accepted as a conventional process that if they represent a different cultural understanding, normally, they reflect their unconventional thought by their dressing. About their appearance, an employee "biletçi" (age 32) from a club who is responsible from admissions to club in Ankara says:

> Most of the people who come to this clubs look like marginal individuals from night to night but in daytimes, they look more normal. On the contrary, in Istanbul, this situation is different because, clubbers wear same clothes in either nights or daytimes. Clubbing forms their style. In Ankara, because, this city is composed of officials and students mostly, average of age is younger than Istanbul. I can say that most of these individuals come to clubs because of affections derived from their social environment. They try to live as if European. They save their money and come to parties.

However, there is another side of marginal appearance. They have to buy their clothes from shops. Yet, if they want to look different, they cannot buy them from any shop in markets. So, market offers clubbers limitless choices in shopping malls. At this point, symbolic meanings of t-shirt, shoes or glasses become parts of marketing strategies. It means that t-shirts preferring by clubbers are not similar to any ones sold in every shops. So, according to consumption patterns and aesthetic choices of individuals shape the prices of so-called unconventional objects. Market produces its own fetish brands offered consumers as ideal dressing type. Most of people feel themselves to dress up or decorate with these fetish brands. In Ankara and Istanbul, there are some shops where you can find every kind of clothing materials or accessories related to clubbing culture. From these shops, flyers, party posters, fanzines or magazines can be provided easily. According to an employee working in a shop where goods related to clubbing are sold in Ankara, mostly individuals between 17-27 from upper classes show interest in those materials. There is a well-known trademark that produces this kind of materials. This trademark is *Diesel*. The price of products indicates that Diesel produces for mostly upper class. Moreover, clubbers promote an image consisting of sport shoes like Puma, Adidas or Nike, colorful hair and hedonistic point of view in their lives. These trademarks benefit from different lifestyles to form their marketing strategies. According to a shop assistant to whom I talked, "if you want to look like a clubbers,

111

you have to spend 350 million - 1 billion Turkish Liras. Just the sport shoes cost 150-200 million TL and the prices change according to trademarks". They use advertisements, sponsorship for fanzines or other organizations. Even hair jelly is presented individuals as valuable good for clubbing:

> *Advertisement:*
>
> Rub, Leave, it stays as you make…
>
> You have a new jelly: **Egos Clubber**... It is totally for you. How a power has it. Dance for hours. Jump, hop: Do whatever you want. Your hair will be same as you leave the house: Egos clubber jelly has three different colors and smells

We can give many more examples from marketing strategies due to so-called alternative urban culture[44] clubbing's direct connection with the market economy. Well-known trademarks produce goods on which individuals load many meanings. These marks put these goods on the market by using advertisement and sponsorship techniques. A professional DJ to whom I talked give us an example to embody this process,

> There are lots of commercial firm that have serious economic portions in market. Most of them and the news ones attempt to widen their portions or participate into market by benefiting from clubbing. For example, Carlsberg[45], as huge beer mark, came to Turkey. In order to be accepted, it initially tried to market its goods by presenting them as club drinks. This firm supported most parties or activities economically. Also, it provided concerts or fanzines with sponsorship. Yet, due to failure to take hue portion from market, in 2002, it decided to withdraw from those activities related to clubbing.

After withdrawing of *Carlsberg,* another huge beer mark, *Miller*, has begun to provide sponsorship for those kinds of activities, even for television programs. For example, in a Turkish music channel called Number One TV, there is a music

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[44] There are two magazine distributed as free in Istanbul called as *Urban Bug* and *Logar*. The first one, Urban Bug, is the name of a commercial establishment, which organizes concerts, parties and other activities. On the front page of that magazine, there is a headline written as "*Monthly Alternative Urban Culture Guide*". The latter one has a headline that "*the guide of urban that you do not know*".

[45] Carlsberg's well known slogan is 'turns on the music"

program named as "Club **beer** Chart", which just broadcasts club music. This program's sponsorship is Miller and so, its name is related to beer. About sponsorship and parties McRobbie says,

> As the venues grew bigger, so did the crowd and so also the takings at the door and behind the bar. Rave promoters have become wealthy businessman employing large numbers of people, including DJs, technicians, security staff, bar staff and professional dancers. This kind of level of organization put rave alongside the mainstream of club and concert promotion and removed it from the kind of small-scale entrepreneurialism associated with youth subcultures and with the level of cultural production which has allowed young people to play a more participative role in music (McRobbie, 1995: 170).

Featherstone gives us another example from USA, "In 1931, the manufacturers of "*Lucky Strike*" cigarettes spent 19 million dollars on advertising and successfully convinced many women that smoking was a vital aid to dieting. Today grapefruit juice, disco dancing, plankton and sex are marketed with similar conviction" (Featherstone, 1991: 184-5). In many volumes of magazines distributed free called *Urban Bug*, there are advertisements of Adidas that present itself as if trend which should be preferred by youth. Generally, individuals define the most fashionable things as "*trendy*". So, these features construct their life style, which unify them under one name. This style, as symbolic production pf consumption society, implies the decoration of body; reflection of character through commodities, and indeed, it can be accepted as so-called mirror of identity as Hebdige says, "Body becomes a sign-system and can be décorated, and enhanced like a cherished object" (Hebdige, 1988a: 31). Featherstone supports this thought by saying that "Body is a vehicle of pleasure and self-expression" (Featherstone, 1991: 170).

Like body, the representation of space, "which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge to signs, to codes and to 'frontal' relations" is useful to recognize the purposes of decoration and sign-systems (Lefebvre, 1996: 33). We cannot meet some codes in every space. For instance, there are no laser light or colorful posters in a rock bar but black and gloomy light is dominant. However, these are the psychical

113

representations of space. Culturally and apparently, there are also significant divisions between entertainment spaces,

> Party had effect on us that we felt as if in concert. There was nothing in the way of electronic music, orange glasses or Puma shoes in "2nd@Kemancı[46]" but there was motorbike, long hair, and tattoo (Radikal, 2002: September 14th).

As we emphasized above, mystified objects due to marginal life styles make possible distinctions between various cultural comprehensions. Obviously, this distinction is very recognizable from dressing to musical tendencies. However, there are some common tendencies in modern societies that lower classes want to become closer to middle class. This social fact may blur the visibility of distance between ways of life. This means that a taxi driver can wear puma shoes or listen to techno music. If that's so, then how do clubbers react to this situation? Recently, a radio station in Istanbul has brought techno music to the masses. On this event, professional DJ from Istanbul to whom I talked says:

> Decrease in age average caused to adopt prices of clubs according to young individuals' income. Among these young people, a social network has been established via technological improvements like the Internet. Between 1998-1999, young clubbers have commonly begun to communicate by the Internet to inform each other from parties or events. Today, clubber community meets in the Internet.
> Also, following days after Club 2019, a private radio station called Radio 2019[47] was established in Istanbul in 1994. This was an important event, because it has caused the spread of clubbing. Even taxi driver has begun to listen to electronic music. Also, the age average has slowly begun to decrease in clubbing. Mainly, it has become an entertainment of ages between 18-25. It has created a homogeneous culture and so, men with suits have not been allowed to enter clubs.

In clubs, there is an application, which is related to playing music by DJ. This application is called as "*warm up*", which means that the tempo of songs (BPM: Beat Per Minute) is increased from low to high, musical genres are played from soft to hard (i.e. house to techno). So, the moods of individuals in clubs are

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[46] A famous rock bar in Istanbul

[47] Also, Radio FG (Future Generation) is an important radio station in Istanbul and it widely broadcasts techno and electronic music.

prepared for songs systematically in order to make them feel the rhythm more effectively. This application illustrates us that the club music is the music of prepared moods. A professional DJ from Ankara to whom I talked emphasized transformations of club culture into mainstream one. This DJ is 35 years old and he has been professional DJ for a long time and well known in Ankara. What he said are significant to elaborate the music as moody. Also, he claims that clubbing can be accepted as the copying of Western way of life. According to him,

> Electronic music is a kind of "mood" music. Actually, in the past, this was forming an underground culture and way of life but, today, it was changed and transformed into simple consumption culture. I think, club culture is not convenient for Turkish culture.

We can coincide with a similar attitude emphasized by the DJ from Istanbul above in the admission practices of clubs both in Istanbul and Ankara. Due to being either new or imported life style, their spread processes has attracted and produce "*unwanted individuals*" to join clubbing. Generally, clubbers call those individuals as "*krobır*". According to them, "*krobır*" does not look like a clubber but a copy. Likewise, he does not really follow this way of life but his aims are different from others. Mostly, he attempts to find intimate friendships with opposite sex or he forms his identity by copying others. Clubs create their stereotypes devoted to being unwanted like man with ties and jacket. A professional DJ (age 32) from Istanbul,

> Actually, this was an underground life style. However, after the wide spreading of club culture, people joining parties that were given in Club 2019 have begun to be bothered by attitudes of "others". So, their tendencies have changed toward underground, alternative parties given in forests or far places from the city center because, their disturbance was increasing due to the lacking of convenient "qualifications" and social status of individuals, who chosen this entertainment. According to me, creation of spaces in the terms of social class was necessary.

So, in respect to similar thoughts of DJ above, managements or owners of clubs supposedly do not to say *others* "Welcome". For example, a ticket is given to customers for admission to clubs. On these tickets "***no ties or jacket allowed***" is written clearly. This note on tickets does not merely exclude individuals who wear jacket or ties but a stereotype schematized in the mind of clubbers. It is better to tell

an anecdote from a club in Ankara related to "*wanted*" and "*unwanted*" customers; while I was talking to the ticket seller "*biletçi*", four individuals came to club for having fun. Actually, they were not looking like "*clubbers*". Then, they paid the money for admission (15 million TL) and entered the club. When they came, the club was empty because, crowd usually comes to parties at late in the evenings. According to ticket seller, "because a new space was opened in Ankara, tonight many individuals went to there. So, the club would not be full tonight". Due to the emptiness of the club, ticket seller said, "Actually, I would not allow those four people to enter, but I have to collect money to pay the salary of employees". After a few minutes, bodyguard of the club came to desk of the ticket seller and he said, "I did not like these new comers. Shall I say them to turn back?" And then, ticket seller answered "Never mind…They leave in a hour". After one hour, they really left the club.

On the one hand, even if, clubbing is defined as a part of mainstream the popular culture, indeed members of this culture do not accept it as mainstream. Yet, even though, its past obtained an example for subcultures with marginal ways of life and styles, today clubbing has become a part of popular culture. However, clubbers are anxious due to becoming a part of mainstream culture. According to Ateş Tezer, who is the owner of *Switch Club* and *HİP Production* that organizes parties, DJ concerts or these kind of activities, says in his one interview in a newspaper:

> **Interviewer:** There are many individuals who are angry because, press is showing interest in clubbing?
>
> **Ateş Tezer:** Yes, there are even aggressively. The environment of clubbing was so weak at the beginnings of nineties. They were marginal and authentic community in this period. People who experienced that period in past have serious angers toward press because, according to them, media make clubbing culture become into mainstream one and also popularized. (Radikal, 2002: August 10th)

I want to finish this chapter after saying a few things about female DJs and reflections of clubbers in the mirror of media in Turkey. First of all, about imbalance between numbers of male and female DJs, Inciardi and McElrath say,

> Raves, according to most observers, are also a distinctively male dominated genre…Few rave groups and DJs are female, despite the fact that historically women and girls have always been more predominant in dance-related activities (Inciardi&McElrath, 2003: 295).

Seemingly, we have to agree with Inciardi and McElrath that few female DJ can be seen in the club scene. In Turkey, we can find many famous male DJs, but female except DJ Beyza. She is very famous female DJ among clubbers and she joins some events in which female DJs involve from different European countries. About this event, we can look at a specific newspaper:

> In F.A.N (Female Artist Night) activity that will start tonight, merely female DJs are going to play. It will be at Kilyos Beach and there are three from Turkey, two female DJs from Amsterdam will take to the lead (Milliyet, 2002: August 31).

Finally, in a few word, I want to present reflections of clubbers on media. In Turkey, media seem to have noticed the significance and growing of club culture in Turkey. We can recognize this fact by taking a glance at different newspapers, magazines or television shows in which we meet with subjects devoted to "clubbers". Sometimes, these can be critical, funny or informative. Life styles of clubbers cause to reveal various reactions by different parts of society and they are reflected in the media. When a part of society may accept clubbing as the part of popular culture driven by consumption, degeneration or corrosion, another side may see it as just an entertainment, which is a raising trend at the present. It might be possible to observe these reactions by looking at media, I think. For example, there are two talk shows that occur to memories. They are broadcasted on private televisions. In these programs, there are some parts in which different funny characters are presented to audiences. Names of these shows are *Zaga* and *Beyaz Show* broadcasted in *Kanal D* (Channel D). In *Beyaz Show*, we watch a character created devoted to features of clubber in Turkey. This character wears colorful glasses, sport shoes and uses a bad Turkish composed of many English words. In another show, *Zaga*, a dance teacher teaches dance figures of clubber by benefiting from objects like watermelons or balls.

117

Another example about clubbers in media is from an article written by Can Dündar, which might be an example for illustration the language use or jargon of clubbers in Turkey. It is important because, according to Sloan, "subcultural values, beliefs, and rituals are variations on general cultural themes that help members to make sense of society as experienced by them. Further, subgroups "protect" themselves by creating and reinforcing boundaries through unique language ("jargon"), rituals, clothing, and other signs of recognitions" (cited Inciardi & McElrath, 2003: 293).

> Recently, in *Aktüel* magazine, Onur Battürk wrote the new language of young individuals. For example, you are a "clubber" (namely, an individual who gad about from party to party). You call your friend and ask the first break in evening: "which event are we flowing? (Hangi event'e akıyoruz?) Your friend answers: "We would go to a pace but I forgot. (Bir yere gidecektik ama forgettim.-unuttum yani-) –I invented a marvelous place, we flow there (Dehşebilite bir yer keşfettim, oraya akalım.) –I know there, very free place to make love (Biliyorum orayı, çok sevişilable bi ortam!) –Well, tonight I would suggest to make love and you would accept it. (Ay ben bu gece sana verirmişim, sen de alırmışın...) (July 13, 2003: Milliyet)

Another example from *Milliyet* is the first sentence of Ece Temelkuran's article *Final Fantasy*[48]*: Teflon People:* "Techno music, Urban Bugs... They are bug humans of New Age that want to experience the illusion of mother uterus and pass through from borders of this life to the world of computer game and then escape" (August 16, 2001: Milliyet). Similar to Ece Temekuran's impressions, a clubber from Ankara (male, 25) defined their friendships as "synthetic" and relationships as "nylon". According to him,

> We are Turks. We are monogamous people but our life style and ecstasy has ruined this situation. For example, you like a woman in the club and want to come home together with her. After you come home together with other friends, you like another woman who have a relationship with your close friend. If you touch her or make love, does not matter for your friends. Nobody cares it. A Turkish man should protect his partner, I think. Our relationships have become nylon and friendships have become synthetic like ecstasy.

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[48] Final Fantasy is a computer game adopted into cinema by using hi-tech computer technologies. Drawings of Final Fantasy reflect the level of computerization technology.

Finally, as we see, there is a "clubber" p henomenon in Turkish cultural scene. From journalists to TV programmers, many people express their thought about this phenomenon negatively or positively. I think, this culture seems a temporary "trend". According to an employee (age 30) in a club in Ista nbul, "This trend was rising in the ends of 90s, but today it is falling day by day". Before it disappears from cultural scene, it is good to study clubbing. So, I attempted to present some arguments about this issue.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The effect of capitalism on the city has been nothing
than catastrophic (Bookchin, 1995: 182).

This thesis aimed to present the impressions of an inhabitant in an urban area by the support of sociological theories and approaches. Every step of the walking taking in the metropolis was attempted to connect with a specific social environment "club sphere". Also, it is possible to talk about a kind of interaction with the subjects who belong to this social environment. The moods of those subjects were analyzed by using theories and definitions based upon metropolis. By these definitions, the connections between culture and technology as the constructive parts of the metropolis have been attempted to make visible and understandable in the chapters related to techno-culture. In order to present these connections, club culture was taken as a cross-section including relations of culture with technology, metropolis, music and consumption. Actually, Rave or Clubbing culture can be accepted as new phenomena for Turkish culture scene. It has about ten years past, but people have begun to recognize clubbing as a specific phenomenon for a few years. Actually, many way of life and cultural variations have appeared due to circumstances created by 80s socio-economic sphere.

By Özal Period, two sides of "Türkiye" have appeared that one side involves the creation of identities by using import symbols due to new market strategies based on neo-liberal tendencies. This is the "official" and visible side of Türkiye reflecting replacement of customs with the new ones. Another side is "The Other Türkiye" accepted as an "outsider" that implies prohibited symbols that peasants or other non-West cultural aspects carry together with to urban areas. According to

Nabi Avcı, polices of Nevzat Tandoğan were trying to keep peasants far away from Ulus or Yenişehir. (Avcı, Derman, Kırca, Yumrul ((eds.), 2001: 33). For a while, 'the other" side was accepted as an obstacle on the way of Westernization. On the contrary, today, there is a valuable speech in popular scene, which is composed by combination of urban and rural jargons.

As we see that by those socio-political transformations, diversities in consumption patterns, import cultural aspects, winds of change in political faces were actually forerunners of appearances of new cultural faces also that will have been experienced in Turkey. Especially, by the end of Cold War, world seems to become one polarized order even though, it has still significant socio-economic and cultural localizations. While Turkey has turned its one face to the New World, another has been turned to Europe at the same time. This two-sided cultural atmosphere has caused affluence in cultural menus and choices of individuals. 'Locality ideologies" have begun to appear ma ny authentic cultures even in street corners. Forbidden cultures have become visible in every part of society. They are alternative sides of mainstream cultures and conventions. Alternative thinking in these present circumstances can bring richness of views toward either social or intellectual life.

During this transformation era, clubbing has been put on agenda of Turkish cultural life due to a few reasons. First of all, its formation process reflects the features and results of advanced capitalism like depolitization, standardization and *reversible alienation*[49] as emphasized above. Moreover, as a Western type entertainment, clubbing involves in Westernization process of entertainment styles and construction of identity by young individuals. It seems to me as a kind copying of West. Actually, in order to provide complete adaptation to subcultural aspects, young individuals claim to experience similar problems with European individuals. It is the process of copying "alienation" of West. According to psychiat rist to whom I talked, it can be defined as a kind of "*nylon alienation*" but not a 'real" one. Briefly, it is copying process of alienation to legitimize imported values from West. As a working class culture in Europe, seemingly clubbing is not the culture of

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[49] My term.

working class but middle and upper classes in Turkey. However, as it is emphasized in former chapters, clubbing in Europe also has begun to lose its diverse features coming from rave scene.

Because, its mutual connections with market, club culture cannot be defined as not a culture of scarcity but society of plenty. By the end of nineties, club scene has become a big business and also, a part of mainstream popular culture with its fashionable clothes, radio stations, musical tendencies and other events. So, it has lost its subcultural or counter-cultural features rooted in rave scene, which can be observed clearly in England. Although, there are significant effects of invisible hand of market, surely, clubbing as life style provides individuals with significant relief and relatively freedom. Also, it can be said for other life styles like rock or hip-hop. Being a clubber or follower of a rock star seemingly fills the emptiness in the moods of subjects due to social constraints and difficulties of metropolis life. Actually, by construction of network and production of common codes and objects, subjects protect themselves from the alienating character of dominant culture. This fact can be valid for most of subcultures in different societies.

Due to the lack of subversive character, standardized consumption patterns and imported values, we can classify club culture in the negative side of popular culture. Actually, this culture has experienced the same end as other subcultures, like punk or hippies. They are pulled into center by the capitalism in order to domesticate. So, they seemingly disappear and become a "marginal" part of popular culture not significantly but relatively. However, it is clear that among different subcultures there are visible differences, which are changeable in terms of countries, conditions or situations. We can claim about them to share same end but not the past. For example, if rave is accepted as the root of clubbing, it had shared some commonalities with punk. On the contrary, McRobbie claims "rave contains nothing like the aggressive political culture found in punk music. It is as though young "ravers" simply cannot bear the burden of the responsibility they are being expected to carry" like social, political and economic problems consisting of inequality, ecological problems or sexual violence and even rape but ravers chose a culture that can be defined as apolitical and "rave turns away from his heavy load

headlong into a culture of avoidance and almost pure abandonment" (McRobbie, 1999: 172). Both authors have rightful points on rave scene. Indeed, it is hard to even compare clubbing and punk culture. They have nothing to similar or common. But, although punk and rave are different from each other, by comparison between these two cultures, authors attempt to illuminate some ambivalent matters. Finally, it appears to me that rave lost its marginality and it has been replaced with club culture. Actually, these two approaches indirectly also stress on distinction between rave and club culture. In Turkey, it is hard to emphasize on the rave. According to DJs and journalist to whom I talked, there is no rave culture in Turkey but clubbing. The difference between rave and clubbing is significant that rave involves in illegal parties and subversive individuals on the contrast, clubbing has become a part of mainstream culture. Also, as I emphasized above, rave is the culture of working class in Europe.

The chapter in this thesis called "Digitalization of Music" attempted to render the relationships between moods and music. As we see that musical tendency of clubbing is based on totally electronic music and related to technological developments in music industry. Actually, this musical tendency reflects the dance-oriented feature of clubbing. Music with its hi-tech form and high BPM (Beat per minute) and dancing are rituals of individuals, who involve in this marginal culture. For them, dancing is becoming a partner of the body in a common practice with the soul. This practice is meant as going across the borders of individual and at the same time to create his/her own borderless. Yet, though it implies to become free, it includes different kinds of alienation, too. Likewise, as much as the individual dances he/she leaves behind his/her problems, he/she also increases distances from the "real world". Moreover, becoming a "hobbit" of dancing and searching for a life without problems intensively engulfs individuals into a kind of hedonistic psychology. At the same time, it is clear that hedonistic psychology and spectacular madness which the market attempts to create cause a paradox that includes reproduction of that kind of psychology and behaviors. That hedonistic point of view includes a potential for market and consumption. For example, people think, "clubs need Ecstasy available to provide a good atmosphere, so they encourage dealers on one hand while pretending to try to keep them out. Coupled with the

123

influence of the music, it seemed that, rather than feeling a direct effect from the drug, it seemed that the feelings were generated from my own being, merely triggered by the drug, making the experience seem more organic and less drug induced" (Saunders, 1995). So, without drugs, they cannot feel themselves totally relax or free or far from 'real world'. Causing to atrophy of perceptions and Establishment of hedonist or pleasure oriented individual causes with that Adorno and Horkheimer annotate "pleasure means not having to think about anything, to forget suffering even when it is shown. Basically it is helplessness. It is flight; not as it is asserted, flight from a wretched reality, but from the last remaining thought of resistance. The liberation of which amusement promises is freedom from thought and from negation" (Gilbert & Pe arson, 1999: 38). This flight can be seen as the process of capitalism but it is needed to accept that dancing and drugs provide individuals with a kind of peaceful way of life. I mean that clubbing has taken over it's the most important feature from the r ave scene which is PLUR (**P**eace-**L**ove-**U**nity-**R**espect) The club to where I went to observe, I asked people if there were fights in this place and they answered as "No". For five years, no fight or quarrel was seen in that club. They said that people come to that place to dance or have fun not to fight.

In any case, it is a fact that almost all subcultures formed in urban areas were subversive, resistance included and original but timely, they prefer to get closer to center and so, they may lose their subversive features. At the end, they merely become fields of marketing strategies and dominant culture. For example, in the past, punks were politically subversive in a degree of nihilistic, as anti-racists hip-hop or clubbers who were ravers before lost their whole originality. Punks became just so-called marginal images; members of hip-hop became conspicuous consumers or clubbers as the big part of urban culture. They were specialized on consumption since then and modernist styles become 'post modernist codes' (Jameson, 1991) and these are "available for the pleasure of the (apparently ironic, reflexive and knowing) postmodern consumer who wishes to construct his or her won identity through the wearing of stylistic 'masks' (Muggleton, 1998).

Most alternative culture arises from constraints of dominant culture as we emphasized above. These constraints and pressures by that culture may cause individuals to experience hard circumstances, confrontation with cultural or moral values, political pressures derived from governmental structures. These negative confrontations can be experienced or observed throughout "real" alienated moods. This means that subject may experience to keep living in prison, face to tortures or economical problems. These social realities seemingly cause to appear some marginal cultural attitudes and this social fact can be more acceptable than "nylon alienation" of individuals who experience relatively less serious events or confrontations with less hard social circumstances. In spite of involving a kind of "nylon alienation", this culture reflects the social transformations taken place in the social and cultural sphere. As an urban culture, clubbing also provides us specific information about the perception of social life by youth. This culture is the bridge of intersection of metropolis, techno-culture and contemporary musical genres and this subject needs to be developed by a large-scale study in the field.

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