

USTVARJALNA IGRA DOMNEVANJA IN NAPAČNEGA RAZUMEVANJA: ANTROPOLOŠKA TERENSKA RAZISKAVA PUNK ROCKA V DVEH SLOVENSKIH VASEH¹

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IZVLEČEK

Vsaka kulturna inovacija, ki dregne v dominantne (ljudske) kulturne vzorce, sproži javni odziv. Veriga mnenj posameznikov, ki so skupna določeni skupnosti, in delovanje skupin ter posameznikov, ki prinašajo novost, tvorijo povratne zanke "nesporazumov", katerih rezultat je povsem nova kulturna forma. Takšen proces lahko opazujemo na primeru prenosa punk rocka v (deloma) tradicionalen kontekst življenja v polruralnih vaseh v Slovenskih goricah. Napačno razumevanje situacije z obeh strani - dominantne in marginalne - sprošča nekatere nenadejane stranske učinke.

ABSTRACT

Every cultural novelty, which interrupts dominant (folk) cultural patterns, produces a public response. The chain of individual opinions shared by the community and the actions of groups and individuals who bring about the novelty, produces feedback loops of several misunderstandings which result in an essentially new cultural form. We can observe this kind of process in the case of the transfer of punk rock into the (partly) traditional context of life in the semi-rural villages of North-eastern Slovenia, called "Slovenske gorice". Misunderstandings of the situation from the both sides - dominant and marginal - produced some unintentional side-effects.

"Če ljudje opredelijo situacije kot resnične, so resnične v njihovih konsekvencah."

W. I. Thomas

Pojav kulturne novosti v zaprti tradicionalno usmerjeni družbi ponuja veliko zanimivih vidikov, ki zadevajo dinamične modele različnih kognitivnih iger v življenju določene skupnosti. Tako je bilo s punk rockom, ki se je v poznih sedemdesetih letih iz Anglije razširil po vsej Evropi in se pojavil tudi na slovenskem podeželju.

Predstavil bom nekaj vidikov te kulturne inovacije na primeru njenega soočenja s tradicionalno (lokalno) kulturo v vaseh Trate in Selnica ob Muri, ki ležita v polruralnem

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območju severovzhodne Slovenije, na gričevnatem vinogradniškem področju Slovenskih goric. Na Tratah živi približno 350, v Selnici ob Muri pa kakšnih 1000 prebivalcev, in v teh dveh krajih je delovalo 5 punk skupin. Glavna skupina je bila CZD (Center za dehumanizacijo), ki še zmeraj deluje in izvaja moderno underground glasbo. Na začetku osemdesetih let so imeli na Tratah tudi manjši rock klub, v katerem so se srečevali lokalni pankerji (kakšnih 50 jih je bilo). Klub, ki so ga uredili v starem mlinu, je bil odprt med letoma 1980 in 1994, ko so ga dokončno zaprli.

Glede na odnos med pankerji in lokalnim prebivalstvom je lahko antropologov pogled v bližnji preteklosti sledil dvema zelo zanimivima procesoma. Smiselno je predpostaviti, da je bilo veliko negativnih čustev na obeh straneh. Na eni strani vsaj strah pred kaljenjem ali celo uničenjem prejšnjega stabilnega stanja, na strani pankerjev pa strah pred represijo. Pri medsebojnem sprejemanju in vzajemnem razumevanju in obravnavanju - v dialaktiki med obema skupinama - je mogoče zaslediti neke vrste presežek védenja. Za začetek pa je treba pretresti "objektivna", observabilna dejstva.

Zavedati se moramo razlik med konstitucijskimi temelji obeh skupin na dveh ravneh. Prva raven zadeva moralno (notranjo, individualno ponotranjeno) plat samorazumevanja, druga je širša in bolj transparentna, lahko jo imenujemo kulturna (zunanja, eksternalizirana, kolektivna, družbena) raven. Na moralni ravni dejavnikov imamo opraviti z normami in vrednotami v obliki očitivnih (zavestnih) in prikritih predpostavk o "moralnem redu". Toda za zunanjega opazovalca se kulturna raven - centripetalne sile skupine - kaže v obliki dejanj. To so edina dejstva, ki jih lahko neposredno opazujemo. Da se stvar še bolj zaplete, dobi vsak element na moralni strani (torej na strani implicitne kulture) pozitivni ali negativni predznak. Vse moralne legitimacije so namreč globoko ambivalentne, medtem ko se v praksi lahko udejanijo le v eni smeri: katerakoli moralna legitimacija lahko dobi le eno od nasprotnih vrednosti.

Poleg tega lahko že na samem začetku opazovanja sledimo še enemu razcepu znotraj obeh skupin (skupin(e) pankerjev in vaše skupnosti). Na eni strani je dejansko samorazumevanje skupnosti (predstava o sebi), njen vrednostni sistem, moralni sistem, identifikacijsko polje, polje socialne kulture. Na drugi strani je predpostavljena (idealna) predstava, ki jo ima skupnost o sebi, mitološka slika tega, kar skupnost je, in tega, kar hoče biti. Na enak način je razcepljena tudi predstava podskupine pankerjev o sebi. Toda samoidentifikacija ni proces, ki bi zadeval zgolj skupnost samo. Nasprotno. Potrdi jo lahko samo transfer: točka samoidentifikacije je v samem bistvu odvisna od identifikacije prek "Drugih". In prav ta "transferni proces" je v jedru dinamike, ki jo nameravam opisati. Kadar gre za skupine ali skupnosti, to ni enosmerni proces, temveč v svojem bistvu vzajemen. Samovrednotenje in samorazumevanje pankerjev temelji na njihovih lastnih predpostavkah o stališču "dominantne kulture" (kot njihovega kulturnega okolja) do njih. Izraza "dominantna kultura" uporabljam za kulturo vaše skupnosti in "podkultura" za kulturo lokalnih pankerjev, čeprav med njima ne more biti govora o subordinacijskem odnosu.

Četudi se je dvoboj med pankerji in lokalno skupnostjo kazal na ravni dejanskih, resničnih vzajemnih interakcij v vsakdanjem življenju, se je v resnici udejanjal na simbolni ravni. Ta proces je bil v bistvu interaktiven, tako kot je vzajemno konstruirana narava človeškega življenja (Carrithers 1992: 31). "Resnični" dvoboj te vrste se torej, filozofsko rečeno, dogaja na imaginarni ravni. Predpostavke (predstave, ne pojmi) o drugih dejansko pripravljajo povratne zanke. Prav v tem leži bistvo tega sestavka. Gre za multiresonančno

dialektiko, ali bolj natančno, za procese povratnih zvez. Seveda pa antropološko razmišljanje v smislu povratnozveznih procesov ni nobena novost. Eden prvih antropologov, ki so uporabljali koncepte povratnih zvez, je bil Gregory Bateson. Termin "shizmogenez" (izvor shizme /cepitve, delitve/), ki ga je opredelil kot "progresivno diferenciacijo" med kulturnimi skupinami (po Richardson 1991: 85-87), je lahko primeren opis za proces ustvarjanja podkultur na lokalni ravni. Pri človeških vzajemnih odnosih je mogoče govoriti o obstoju posebne zmožnosti "branja misli", ki omogoča, da si predstavljamo (predpostavljamo) vzajemno usmerjenost do drugega in spoznavamo drug drugega. Za opis te zmožnosti uporablja filozof Daniel Dennett termin "intencionalna drža", nekateri drugi se sklicujejo na intencionalnost višjega reda (po Carrithers 1992: 44-59). Ljudje rutinsko uporabljamo intencionalnost tretjega reda; ne zavedamo se toliko samega sebe, kot se zavedamo sebe-in-drugih (60). Ta proces je dinamičen in v svojem bistvu družben, posredovan skozi kulturo.

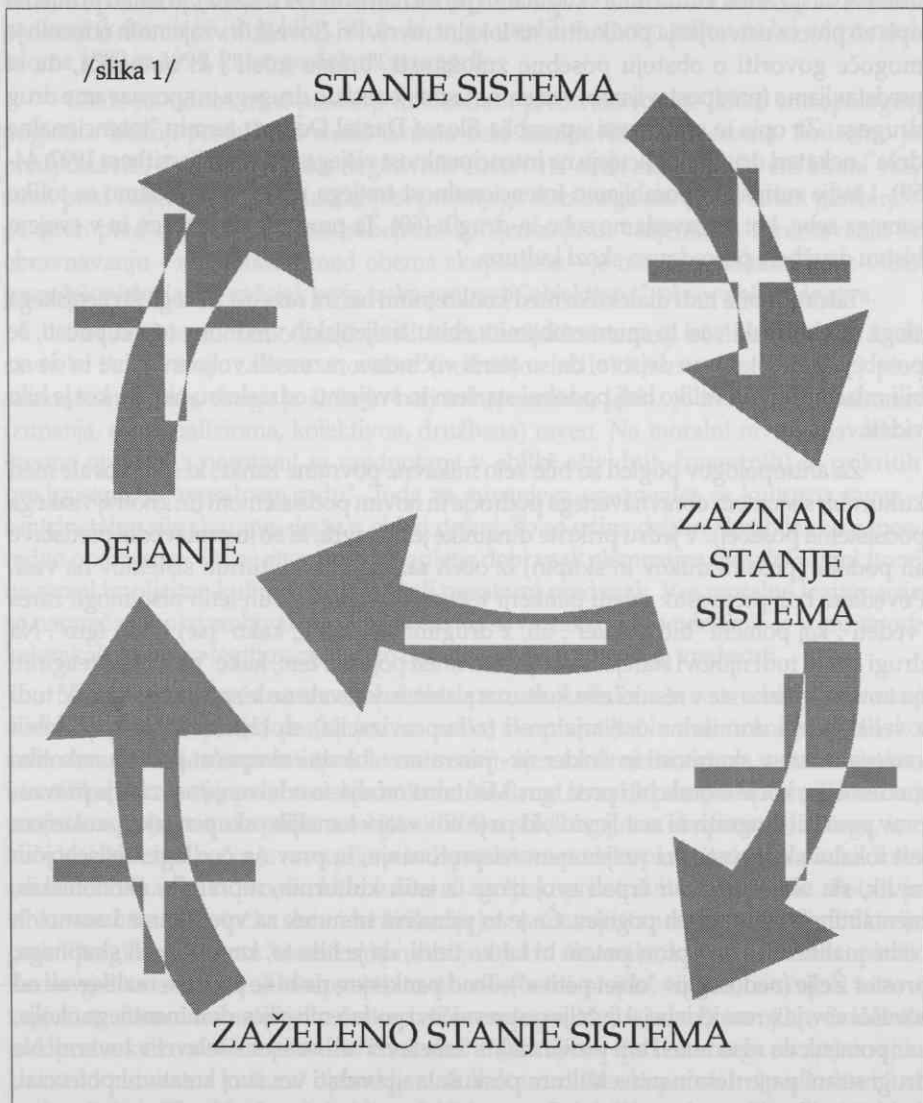
Takšna je bila tudi dialektika med konkretnimi načini razvoja novega življenjskega sloga na slovenski vasi in spremembami v zbiru življenjskih vrednot v tej skupnosti, še posebej če upoštevamo dejstvo, da so starši večinoma razumeli voljo mladine in da so bili mladi v resnici veliko bolj podobni staršem in svojemu odraslemu okolju, kot je bilo videti.

Za antropologov pogled so bile zelo mikavne povratne zanke, ki so delovale med kulturnim sistemom obravnavanega področja in novim podsistemom (in znotraj vsakega podsistema posebej). V jedru prikrita dinamike je bila igra, ki so jo proizvedle predstave ali podobe (posameznikov in skupin) iz obeh razdeljenih kulturnih sistemov na vasi. Povedano bolj preprosto: mladi pankerji v poznih sedemdesetih letih niso mogli zares "vedeti", kaj pomeni "biti panker", ali, z drugimi besedami, kako "(se) igrati igre". Na drugi strani tudi njihovi starejši sosedje niso imeli pojma o tem, kako "pravilno" reagirati na nov izziv. Tako sta v resnici oba kulturna sistema delovala ne le spontano, temveč tudi z veliko mero domiselne ustvarjalnosti (z improvizacijo), dokler niso pankerji dobili svojega mesta v skupnosti in dokler ni - povratno - lokalna skupnost postala nekoliko modernejša, kot je morala biti pred tem. Mentalna orodja za odzivanje na izziv je pravzaprav ponudil "kognitivni zemljevid", ki pa je bil - vsaj v temeljih - skupen tako pankerjem kot lokalni skupnosti. Pri vzajemnem nasprotovanju, in prav na podlagi medsebojnih razlik, sta obe skupnosti črpali svoj izraz iz istih kulturnih, moralnih, ekonomskih, mentalnih in materialnih pogojev. Če je to primerni trenutek za vpeljevanje Lacanovih psihoanalitičnih konceptov, potem bi lahko trdili, da je bilo to, kar sta imeli skupnega, prostor Želje (nedosegljiv "objekt petit a"). Trud pankerjev, da bi se povsem razlikovali od sovaščanov, je v resnici izhajal iz želje po uresničitvi potlačenih ciljev dominantnega okolja, kar pomeni, da niso hoteli biti provincialni "kmetavzi" ali omejeni delavci v tovarni. Na drugi strani pa je dominantna kultura poskušala uporabiti ves svoj kreativni potencial, da bi ustavila njihovo igro, tako da je morala delovati kot označevalec S2, označevalec-gospodar, ustvarjalec pomena. Vzajemna dinamika je prevajala "Diskurz gospodarja" (kontrola, obvladovanje) v "Diskurz univerze" (transferno vodenje) prek "Diskurza histerika" (presežni pomen). "Diskurz analitika" (presežna vednost) pa je ostal zunanjim opazovalcem.

Oglejmo si to dinamiko nekoliko поблиže. Uporabil bom nekaj konceptov iz sistemske teorije, pravzaprav koncepte iz servomehanične verzije povratnih zank, sledeč prikazom v Richardsonovi Feedback Thought in Social Science and System Theory. Zelo

uporabna je že slika elementarnega dinamičnega sistema z dvema povratnima zankama. To je skica "povratne zveze generične strukture", ki jo je narisala Donelle H. Meadows (po Richardson 1991: 305).

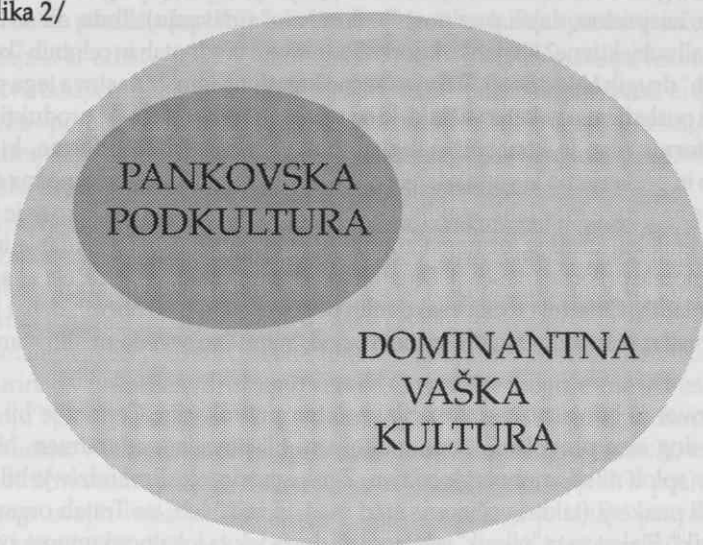
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Sistem majhnih skupin vaških pankerjev naj bo prvi odprti sistem, njegovo okolje, torej dominantna mikro-kultura območja, pa naj bo drugi sistem. Kulturni sistem pankerjev je bil v resnici zmeraj del tega dominantnega sistema, toda zaradi teoretičnih razlogov - zaradi našega antropološkega prevoda procesa - ju je smotrno ločevati. Tako lahko narišemo dve sliki:

Na prvi je pankovska podkultura majhen, deloma izoliran del "okolja", dominantne vaše kulture.

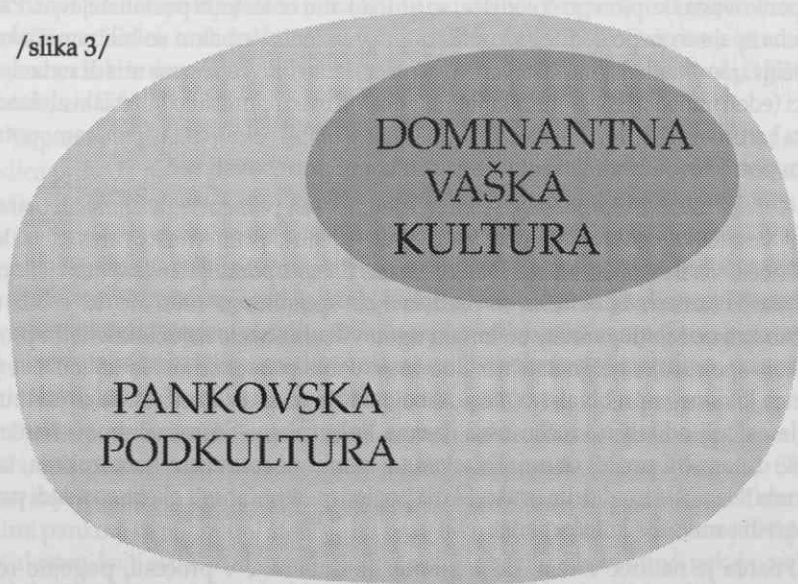
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Na drugi, ki je nekakšna inverzna slika prve, imamo (morda celo sliko znotraj slike, torej začetno točko neke vrste fraktalne diverzifikacije) "kulturo okolja" v jedru "novega, uvoženega kulturnega načina".

/slika 3/



Glede na prvo sliko gre povratna zanka od mišljenja in predpostavk pankerjev o dominantni kulturi. Za mlade pankerje je bil način življenja starejših "dolgočasen, neumen,

omejen" itd., glavni označevalec njihovih življenjskih vrednot pa je bilo, seveda, delo. Pankerji so, nasprotno, dajali prednost "hedonizmu" (uživanju). Toda, ali so te označbe objektivne ali subjektivne? Kaj lahko kdorkoli zares ve o vrednotah in celotnih "kognitivnih zemljevidih" drugih? Ne dovolj. Tukaj se začne kreativna igra iz naslova tega prispevka, igra, katere posledica so nekateri učinki, ki so v svojem bistvu stranski produkti. Kulturne norme in forme niso le koncepti duha, ampak so v resnici žive forme, ki jih lahko aktiviramo in preverjamo le v vsakdanji praksi. Avtopoetična zanka je možna samo prek naslavljanja na druge in se lahko zaključi samo z njihovim odzivom. Tako se je torej začel boj med dvema kulturnima formama znotraj iste skupnosti skozi vsakdanje interakcije. Ideje so se morale prikazati na sceni. Dinamična povratna zanka se je začela z vsakdanjimi pogovori mladih. Osrednja točka vsakdanjih pogovorov in neskončnih debat pankerjev so bile zamisli o tem, kako naj jih "zjebejo"; pod "njimi" so seveda mislili starejše, svoje okolje.

Odgovor je bil, jasno, provokacija, načrtna provokacija. Čeprav je bil že njihov življenjski slog sam provokacija, odziv okolja ni bil povsem nedvoumen. Na začetku pravzaprav sploh ni bilo nobenega odziva. Zgolj ignoriranje. Prvi odziv je bil leta 1980, ko so mladi pankerji (takrat večinoma stari med 15 in 20 leti) na Tratah organizirali t.i. "Punk piknik". Plakat za ta "piknik" je bil moteči dogodek za lokalno skupnost, pravzaprav pravi dinamit. Reakcija na vasi je bila ogorčenost, pomešana s presenečenjem in radovednostjo. Za pankerje je to bilo znamenje, da so bili na pravi poti. Dinamika se je začela. Kasneje so odprli klub (Mladinski klub Trate), v katerem so plesali na različno rock glasbo in pričeli organizirati koncerte. Lokalni moralisti so postajali vse bolj zaskrbljeni. Seveda je večina ostala tiho, toda "javno mnenje" na vasi je začelo delovati. Začele so se širiti govorice in na neki točki, ko so politične oblasti v prestolnici poslale neko pankovsko skupino pred sodišče, so tudi lokalni oblastniki postali dejavni. Pankerji so bili na to vrsto neposrednega konflikta pripravljeni. Verbalno so bili nepričakovano prepričljivi, še posebej če upoštevamo dejstvo, da so bili večinoma mladi neizobraženi delavci (eden izmed njih je bil celo kmet), le nekateri med njimi pa so bili dijaki ali študentje. Toda ta konfrontacija jim ni zadoščala. Zanje je to sicer bil neke vrste uspeh, samopotrditev, toda za potrditev njihovega kulturnega obstoja so potrebovali več.

Kot del lokalne skupnosti so se udeleževali vseh pomembnih domačih prireditev, posebej veselice in proslav. Te priložnosti so bile izjemno primerne za zares nevsakdanje provokacije, večinoma pa so provocirali s tem, da so uporabljali nekaj starejših oblačil svojih starih staršev. Ta oblačila so predstavljala spomine na revščino, ki je bila takrat politično zatrta. Mladi pankerji so kmalu ugotovili, da so bile najučinkovitejše provokacije tiste s spolnostjo, bolj natančno: homoseksualne provokacije. Na tej točki se je vsa toleranca lokalnega prebivalstva, še posebej mlajših moških, končala. Tako je dinamika dosegla najbolj oddaljeno točko med dvema kulturnima - in moralnima - sistemoma. Sedaj se dinamični proces obrne. To seveda v resnici ni časovna rekonstrukcija, temveč neke vrste teleološki model dinamike. Skozi pogled presenečenega okolja so mladi pankerji vzpostavili sami sebe kot skupnost.

Poanta je namreč v tem, da je smoter te dinamike v procesu, pogojno rečeno, terciarne ali celo kvartarne socializacije, ali - natančneje - inkulturacije mladih v obe, v globalno in lokalno kulturo. In nazadnje, če danes opazujemo odrasle bivše pankerje, vidimo, da so dokaj dobro socializirani/inkulturirani oz. prilagojeni modernemu načinu življenja v lokalni skupnosti. Z drugimi besedami: vse raznolike lokalne skupnosti

potrebujejo lastno gibanje tega tipa. To pomeni konfrontacijo s kulturno inovacijo, ki vodi v avtohton proces adaptacije lokalne skupnosti na izzive spreminjajočega se sveta.

Oglejmo si odzive lokalne skupnosti. Prva (temeljna) reakcija večine lokalnega prebivalstva izhaja iz njihovega habitusa, njihovega vedénjskega vzorca, ki ljudem - kot ptičja kletka - ponuja varnost, četudi s tem v resnici postanejo le ujetniki lastnega okolja. Tako je torej izguba norm in načinov vsakdanjega življenja za posameznike zelo frustracijska in jim pomeni malodane organsko nevarnost.

Razmerje med pankerji (alternativci) in vaško skupnostjo (posebej v vasi Trate) je bilo zelo zapleteno. Vaška skupnost se je, izzvana z "drugačnostjo", mobilizirala v reakciji proti "tujku". Toda tovrstne začetne reakcije še niso organizirane in povezane, kajti posamezniki v resnici ne morejo vedeti, kako ravnati "pravilno". Na začetku se pojavijo samo spontane reakcije, povsem osebne, toda te reakcije niso povsem anarhične. Postopno se strukturirajo v nekakšen (družbeni) vzorec. Govoriti je mogoče - ne le metaforično - o "resoniranju". Odzivi posameznikov postanejo del eksternaliziranega vzorca lokalnega javnega mnenja. V tem trenutku vstopijo v dinamiko t.i. mnenjski voditelji, to so osebe iz lokalne politične scene, policije, duhovščine, in drugi lokalni veljaki. V poanarhični fazi procesa so v svojih reakcijah že omejeni. Njihova naloga je iznajti pravilno reakcijo skupnosti kot celote, toda ta naloga ni povsem osebna, ampak (vsaj napol) javna. V resnici gre za to, da morajo poiskati ravnovesje med svojo osebno presojo dogodkov in predpostavkami o obliki "kolektivne sodbe". Z drugimi besedami: prisiljeni so ustvariti presežek pomena, presežek vednosti. To je seveda potrditev teze Roberta Kinga Mertona, da "družbeno dejanje zaplodi družbeno realnost", kar je bila inačica teorema sociologa W. I. Thomasa: "Če ljudje opredelijo situacije kot resnične, so resnične v njihovih posledicah" (po Richardson 1991: 83). Morda ni treba poudariti, da je Merton uporabljal svoj koncept "samoizpolnjujoče se prerokbe" predvsem kot ogrodje, v katerem je mogoče opazovati predsodek in diskriminacijo (po Richardson 1991: 85). Delovanje predsodkov in vzajemne diskriminacije je igralo pomembno vlogo v procesu "emancipiranja" pankerjev na Tratah in v Selnici ob Muri.

Ta proces je zapleten še zaradi nekega drugega razloga. Izzivalni dogodki niso bili posledica prihoda nekih prišlekov iz zunanjega sveta, ampak jih je v resnici spodbudila domača odraščajoča generacija. Tako je pred očmi lokalne skupnosti nastajal drugačen način življenja, nepravoverni življenjski slog dela mladih iz same lokalne skupnosti. Mnenjske dejavnosti so bile zatorej sprva neke vrste "kolektivne tipalke" in so vodile k prvim začasnim razumevanjem dogajanja. Videti je, da so te prve predpostavljene apriorne sodbe presegli že na samem začetku. Lokalno prebivalstvo na vasi namreč pojava panka sprva ni jemalo resno. Očitno so - kot posamezniki - potrebovali potrditev, da so njihovi odzivi takšni, kot bi jih zahtevali lokalni mnenjski centri.

Pankerji na vasi so se zmeraj imeli za večvredne, še celo danes so ponosni, da so nekoč imeli pomembno mesto v svoji lokalni skupnosti. Bili so "frajerji". Občutek spoštovanja in odpora jim je veliko pomenil. Zares so se čutili pomembne. Odnos med mladimi pankerji in njihovimi starši je bil prav tako zelo zanimiv. Ta odnos je bil posebej ambivalenten, kajti starši so si na neki način želeli, da bi bili njihovi otroci nekaj posebnega. To je bil očitno izraz želje, da bi se njihovi otroci lahko izvili iz njihovega nižjega (anonimnega) družbenega položaja.

Ambivalentnost, ki zadeva sprejemanje panka (pri njihovih fantih in dekletih) je ostala. Vsi (celo funkcionalni mnenjski voditelji) so bili deloma ponosni, da se v njihovi

skupnosti dogaja nekaj res modernega. Bistveno pa je, da se je v teh dvojnih povratnih zankah pokazala posebna vrsta dinamike notranjih odnosov. Celotna konfrontacija je ostala znotraj meja norm lokalne skupnosti, vsaj glede na vzajemno simbolno in dejansko soočenje. Nauk te zgodbe je v tem, da je bil sprejem dokončnih oblik obeh sociokulturnih vlog, ki so takrat zadevale udeležene posameznike in skupine, povezan z dvojnimi napačnim razumevanjem, dvojno napačno predstavo ali dvojnimi procesom nepoznavanja, ki so vodili v ustvarjalne odzive na obeh straneh. Panker iz slovenskogoriških vasi je imel zamegljeno podobo o nujnih atributih, zaradi katerih bo postal (bil) panker. Kako v resnici postati podoben - ali celo enak - tistim pankerjem, ki jih je videl na fotografijah v najstniških in glasbenih revijah? Predvsem ni mogel vedeti, kateri (in kakšen) kod vsakdanjega življenjskega sloga mora izbrati, da bi postal to, kar je želel biti. Moral je biti ustvarjalen in uporabiti vso svojo osebno domišljijo. Isto velja za pripadnike dominantne kulturne skupnosti, ki so vse prej kot zares vedeli, kaj se v resnici dogaja s to skupino oz. skupinami mladih. Te fante in dekleta so poznali razmeroma dobro, vedeli so, da ne morejo biti zares nevarni, vedeli so, da njihovo vedenje bržkone v resnici ne bo šlo predaleč (kaj šele onkraj zakona). Vse, kar je štel, je bila v resnici nevarnost sesutja tradicionalnega simbolnega reda in vedenjskega koda skupnosti. In ta izziv je narekoval odgovor.

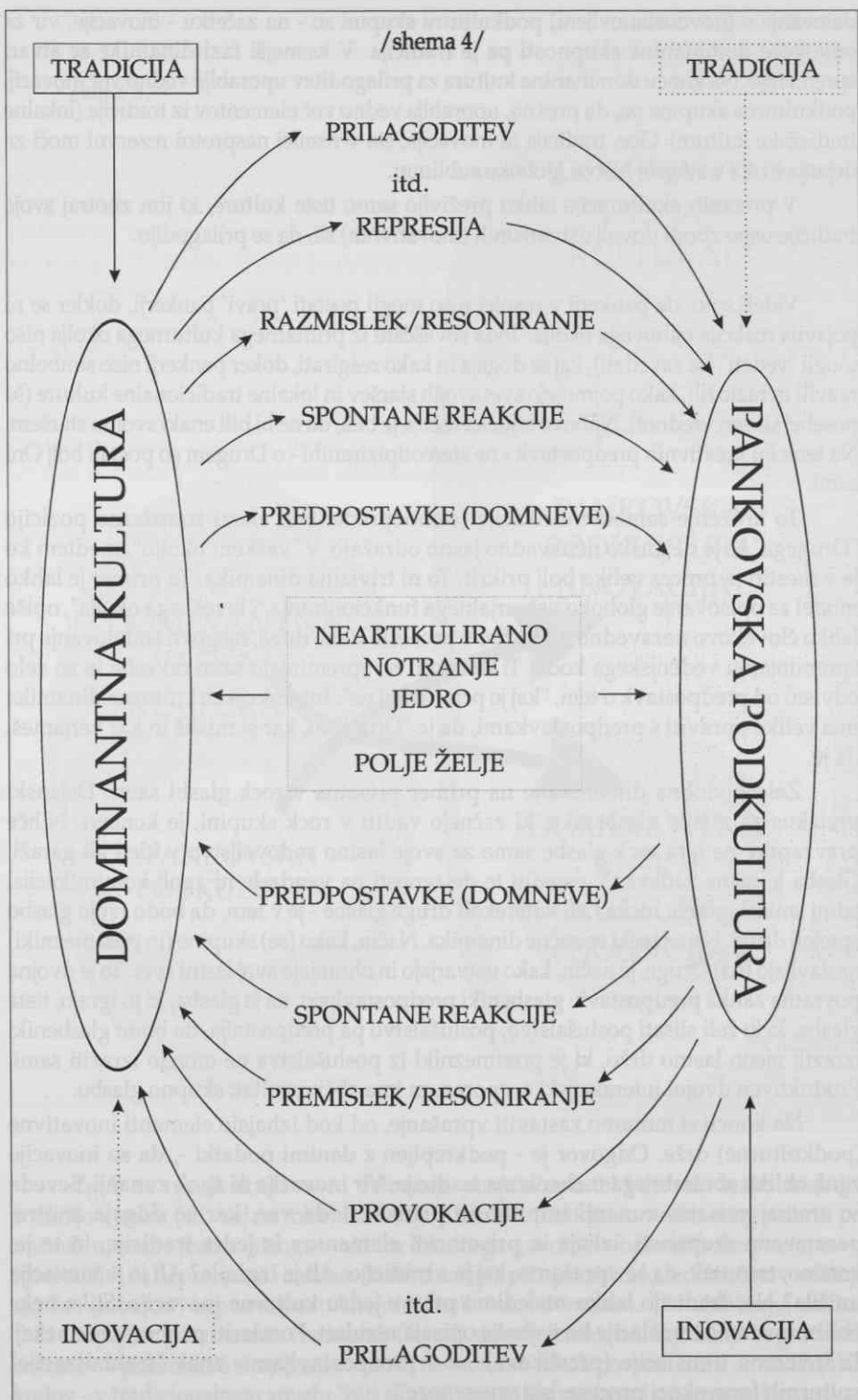
Vrnimo se k opazovanim dejstvom. V tem konkretnem primeru ni bilo mogoče opazovati pojavov v skupnosti kot zunanjih (eksternaliziranih) v pravem pomenu besede. Na temelju pogovorov s posamezniki sem bil prisiljen napraviti rekonstrukcijske modele glede na posamezne zgodbe o pojavih iz bližnje preteklosti. Tako se zastavlja vprašanje, če je smiselno ločevati odzive posameznikov na grožnjo kulturnih novotarij od predvidenih kolektivnih načinov življenja (ali kolektivne kognitivne mreže). Za kognitivno zaveso (antropologovo in "zaveso" skupnosti) se v resnici skriva dejstvo, da sociokulturne vloge, ki jih posamezniki igrajo znotraj družb, niso povsem fiksne. Nasprotno: posameznikova dejanja so odvisna od predpostavk o tem, "katero dejanje je individualno pravilno" v danem položaju. Kot posamezniki so morali (oboji!) (z)improvizirati svoje vedenje v okviru novega načina življenja. Očitno je - gledano iz oddaljene točke zrenja - da je vedenje v spremenjenih okoliščinah zmeraj odvisno od modusov tradicije, ne glede na to, če v odnosu do tradicije sprejme negativni ali pozitivni predznak. Ne le z uporabo starih oblačil, lokalnega narečja (pankerski govor se je razlikoval samo v nekaterih ključnih besedah, toda prav te besede so bile provokativne) in celo lokalnih navad ter psihičnih značilnosti, temveč lahko zasledimo tudi v samem načinu, kako so delovali pankerji, globoke korenine njihovega kulturnega okolja. Proces subtilnega vzajemnega odnosa opisujem kot "proces prelivanja" /shema 4/.

To shemo bom poimenoval kvalitativna funkcionalistična skica dinamike akulturacije/adaptacije.

Skupni motor vzajemne dinamike je "polje želje" (neartikulirano notranje jedro obeh skupin). Prvi odziv obeh skupin na iniciative mladine so bile spontane reakcije glede na predpostavke o "Drugih". Potem je sledil premislek (artikulirano razmišljanje o "dogodkih" ali "aferah"), ki se je končal s procesom, ki ga imenujem "resoniranje" (pridobivanje podobnih ali enakih "skupnih" mnenj). S strani dominantne vaše kulture je sledila represija, s strani vaških podkulturnih skupin pa provokacije. Bolj ali manj stabilen iztek dinamike je bila neka oblika stanja vzajemne tolerance na temelju vzajemne prilagoditve (adaptacije).

Poleg tega so zelo pomembni tudi viri vzajemne prilagoditve. Ključen vir za

/shema 4/



delovanje v (novoustanovljeni) podkulturni skupini so - na začetku - inovacije, vir za odgovore dominantne skupnosti pa je tradicija. V kasnejši fazi dinamike se stvari spremenijo. Na koncu dominantna kultura za prilagoditev uporablja vedno več inovacij, podkulturna skupina pa, da preživi, uporablja vedno več elementov iz tradicije (lokalne tradicijske kulture). Obe, tradicija in inovacija, sta v resnici nasprotni rezervni moči za dejanja in sta v svojem bistvu globoko sublimni.

V procesih akulturacije lahko preživijo samo tiste kulture, ki jim znotraj svoje tradicije uspe zbrati dovolj ustvarjalnih (inovativnih) sil, da se prilagodijo.

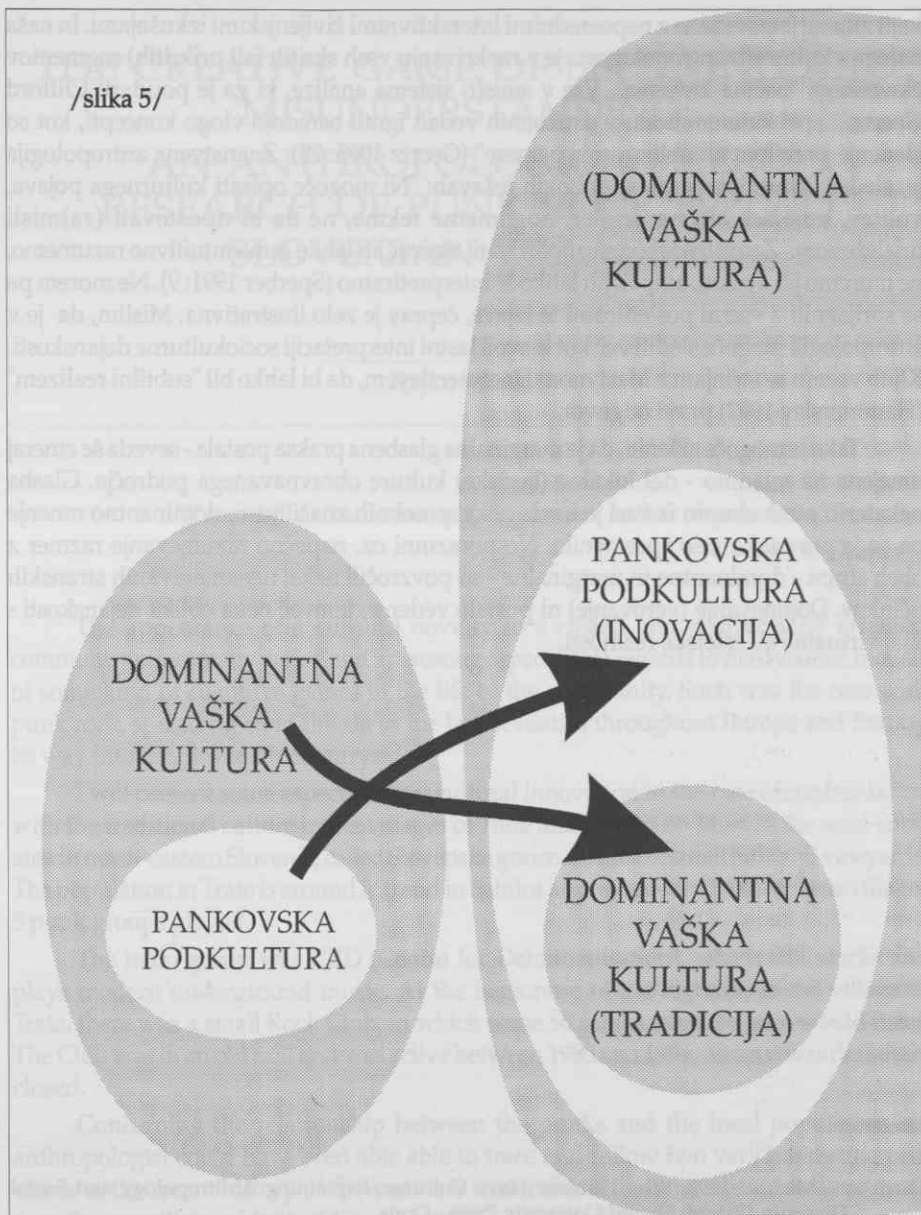
266 Videli smo, da pankerji v resnici niso mogli postati 'pravi' pankerji, dokler se ni pojavila reakcija njihovega okolja. Toda sovaščani iz primarnega kulturnega okolja niso mogli "vedeti" (se zavedati), kaj se dogaja in kako reagirati, doker pankerji niso simbolno razvili in razložili, kako pojmujejo svet svojih staršev in lokalne tradicionalne kulture (še posebej sistem vrednot). Njihova ključna težnja je bila, da ne bi bili enaki svojim staršem. Na temelju kreativnih predpostavk - ne stereotipiziranih! - o Drugem so postali bolj Oni sami.

To kroženje samoidentifikacije (samoopredelitve) skozi transferno pozicijo "Drugega" se je dejansko nenavadno jasno odražalo v "vaškem okolju", medtem ko je v mestih ta proces veliko bolj prikrit. To ni trivialna dinamika. Ta primer je lahko model za opisovanje globoko ustvarjalnega funkcioniranja "človeškega okolja", opiše lahko človekovo nezavedno udeležbo v procesih dane dobe, njegovo sodelovanje pri spreminjanju vedénjskega koda. Ti se nikoli ne spreminjajo sami od sebe in so zelo odvisni od predpostavk o tem, "kaj je prav in kaj ne". Interakcijska kulturna dinamika ima veliko opraviti s predpostavkami, da je "Drugi" to, kar si misliš in kar verjameš, da je.

Zelo podobna dinamika je na primer prisotna v rock glasbi sami. Dejanski preizkus za mlade glasbenike, ki začnejo vaditi v rock skupini, je koncert. Nihče pravzaprav ne igra rock glasbe samo za svoje lastno zadovoljstvo v kleti ali garaži. Glasba je javna zadeva. V osredju te dejavnosti pa vendarle ni zgolj komunikacija, edini smisel igranja rocka - ali katerekoli druge glasbe - je v tem, da bodo tvojo glasbo sprejeli drugi. Na tej točki se začne dinamika. Način, kako (se) skupine (in posamezniki) naslavlajo (na) Druge, je način, kako ustvarjajo in ohranjajo svoj lastni svet. To je dvojna povratna zanka predpostavk: glasbeniki predpostavljajo, da je glasba, ki jo igrajo, tista glasba, ki jo želi slišati poslušalstvo, poslušalstvo pa predpostavlja, da bodo glasbeniki izrazili njeno lastno držo, ki je posamezniki iz poslušalstva ne morejo izraziti sami. Produktiven dvojni interakcijski nesporazum ima obči rezultat: skupno glasbo.

Na koncu si moramo zastaviti vprašanje, od kod izhajajo elementi inovativne (podkulturne) drže. Odgovor je - podkrepljen z danimi podatki -, da so inovacije zgolj oblika obrambnega mehanizma tradicije. Vir inovacije ni zgolj zunanji. Seveda so zmeraj prisotni zunanji impulzi in pritiski, toda vse, kar se dogaja znotraj posamezne skupnosti, izhaja iz prisotnosti elementov iz jedra tradicije. In to je, končno, trenutek, da se vprašamo, kaj je s tradicijo. Ali je izginila? Ali jo je inovacija uničila? Ne. Tradicijo lahko zasledimo prav v jedru kulturne inovacije. Slika neke oblike inverzne translacije bo najbolje opisala rezultat. Poudariti pa moram še nekaj. Te inverzne translacije (preslikave) so - predpostavljam - znak "fraktalizacije" kulturnih form skozi procese "shizmogeneze".

/slika 5/



Zgolj na muzikološki ravni delovanja punk skupin bi bilo zelo težko zaslediti tradicijo v jedru (ali vsaj na robu) inovacije. Elementi tradicije so veliko manj prikriti pri načinih uporabe jezika (slenga v okviru lokalnega govora), v besedilih skupin (sprevrnjeni odzivi na neposredno - osebno - konfrontacijo), pri uporabi nekaterih načinov vedenja okolice (robotost, neposrednost, latentna nasilnost, odvrtnost...), v oblačenju, načinu "biti skupaj", v posameznih vrednotah (četudi sprevrnjenih), itd. Izgradnje kognitivnih sistemov v posamezni skupnosti v resnici ne moremo nikoli povsem ločiti od vedénjskih kodov - v tradicionalnem smislu "biti skupaj" - in to še posebej ni posameznikova stvar,

kajti zmeraj je povezana z neposrednimi interaktivnimi življenjskimi izkušnjami. In naša naloga - kulturnih antropologov - je v razkrivanju vseh skritih (ali prikritih) segmentov človeškega "načina življenja". Vse v smislu sistema analize, ki ga je poudaril Clifford Geertz, "...pri katerem bodo v družbenih vedah igrali osrednjo vlogo koncepti, kot so sledenje pravilom ali oblikovanje namere" (Geertz 1993: 23). Znanstvena antropologija je, sledeč Danu Sperberju, v globokih težavah: "Ni mogoče opisati kulturnega pojava, volitev, množice ali, na primer, nogometne tekme, ne da bi upoštevali (za)misli udeležencev." Zamisli ne moremo opazovati, temveč jih lahko samo intuitivno razumemo, ne moremo jih opisati, ampak jih lahko le interpretiramo (Sperber 1991: 9). Ne morem pa se sprijazniti z vsemi posledicami te izjave, čeprav je zelo ilustrativna. Mislim, da je v antropologiji mogoče slediti več kot le svoji lastni interpretaciji sociokulturne dejanskosti. Kljub vsemu se strinjam z Martynom Hammersleyem, da bi lahko bil "subtilni realizem" (Hammersley 1992) pravi odgovor.

Tako je mogoče skleniti, da je marginalna glasbena praksa postala - seveda še zmeraj omejena na mladino - del lokalne (ljudske) kulture obravnavanega področja. Glasba nekaterih punk skupin iz vasi je imela nekaj posebnih značilnosti, dominantno mnenje pa se je prav tako zelo spremenilo. Nesporazumi oz. napačno razumevanje razmer z obeh strani - dominantne in marginalne - so povzročili nekaj nenameranih stranskih učinkov. Domnevanje (verovanje) ni postalo védenje, temveč neka oblika dejanskosti - vsaj virtualne ali estetske realnosti.

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THE CREATIVE GAME OF BELIEVING AND MISUNDERSTANDING: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELD RESEARCH OF PUNK ROCK IN TWO SLOVENIAN VILLAGES¹

Rajko Muršič

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"If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

W. I. Thomas

The appearance of a cultural novelty in a closed and traditionally oriented community offers many varied and interesting aspects with regards to the dynamic models of some kind of cognitive games in the life of the community. Such was the case with punk rock, spreading from Britain in the late seventies throughout Europe and finding its way into the Slovenian countryside.

I will present some aspects of that cultural innovation in the case of confrontation with the traditional culture in the villages of Trate and Selnica ob Muri in the semi-rural area in north-eastern Slovenia, called Slovenske gorice, an area of small hills and vineyards. The population in Trate is around 350 and in Selnica approximately 1000. In these villages 5 punk groups played.

The main group was CZD (Centre for Dehumanisation), which still works and plays modern underground music. At the beginning of the eighties, in the village of Trate, there was a small Rock Club, in which some 50 punks from the area would meet. The Club was in an old mill and was active between 1980 and 1994, when it was definitely closed.

Concerning the relationship between the punks and the local population, an anthropologist could have been able to trace and follow two very interesting processes in the recent history of the area. It is reasonable to assume that there were many negative emotions on both sides. At least there was a fear of disturbance or even the destruction of the old stable state of affair from one side and a fear of repression from the side of the punks. But the relationship between the local community and the punks was not a trivial one. We will trace a kind of surplus of knowledge in the dialectics between both groups, in the acceptance of each other and mutual understanding and treatment.

To start, it is necessary to discuss the "objective", observable facts.

¹ This text was presented at the International Conference "Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folk Knowledge" at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow on the 23 March 1994.

It is important to be aware of the difference between the constitutional grounds of the groups on two levels. The first level concerns the moral (inner, individual, internalized) side of self-regard; the second one is wider and more transparent and may be called the cultural (external, externalized, collective or social) level. On the moral level of factors there are norms and values in the form of transparent (conscious) and hidden suppositions about the "moral order". But to the outside observer, the cultural level of the group's centripetal forces are as revealing as their actions - these are the only directly observable facts. Every element on the moral side (or on the side of implicit culture) has a positive or negative orientation. All the moral legitimations are deeply ambivalent, whereas in the practise they may appear in a particular way: any moral legitimation can take only one of the two opposite values.

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Within both the group(s) of punks and the village community, we can follow another split at the starting-point of observation. The first matter is the actual community's notion of itself (self-regard), its values system, the moral system, the field of identification, the field of social culture. The other is the presumed notion of the community about itself, the mythological picture of what the community is, of what it wants to be. In the same way, the sub-group of punks' idea of themselves is also split. But the self-identification is not a process, concerning only one community itself, on contrary, it can be confirmed only through transfer: The point of self-identification is essentially dependent on identification via Others. And that transfer process is at the heart of the dynamics I intend to describe. It is not - when groups or communities are in question - a one way process, but essentially mutual. Self-evaluation and self-understanding of the punks stood on the - by them alone - supposed attitude of the "dominant culture" (as their cultural environment) towards them. I use the term dominant culture for the culture of a village community and subculture for the culture of the local punks, although there can be no subordinate relationship between them.

Although the duel between the punks and the local community appeared on the factual level of real mutual interactions in everyday life, in fact it has been manifestly practised on the symbolic level. That process was in essence as interactive as a mutually constructive nature of human life (Carrithers 1992: 31). Philosophically speaking, the real duel of that kind is going on on the imaginary level. What, in reality, provides the feedback loops, are the presuppositions (images, not notions) about others. Herein lies the essence of this article. So, what it is all about, is multi-resonating dialectics, or more precisely, feedback processes.

Anthropological reasoning in terms of feedback processes is not a novelty. One of the first anthropologists to use feedback concepts was Gregory Bateson. His term "schismogenesis" (the generation of schism) was defined as "progressive differentiation" between cultural groups (in Richardson 1991: 85-87) and could be a proper description of the process of creating of subcultures on the local level. In human mutual relationships, there exist special abilities to read minds of each other, to represent mutual attitudes and mutual knowledge of each other. Philosopher Daniel Dennett uses the term "the intentional stance" to describe that possibility. Some others refer to higher-order intentionality (in Carrithers 1992: 44, 59). Humans use third-order intentionality routinely, we are not so much self-aware as self-and-other-aware (60). And that process is a dynamic process and is essentially social, mediated through culture.

Such was the dialectic between concrete modes of evolution of the new lifestyle in

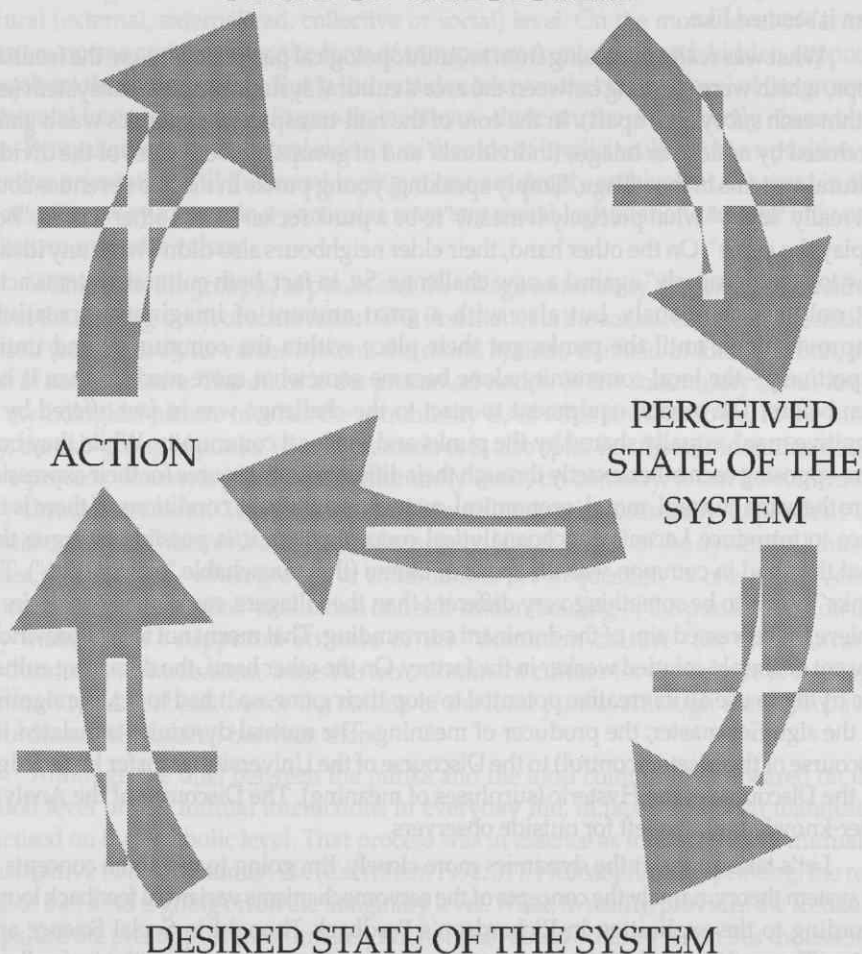
the Slovene village and the changes in the corpus of the life values within the community itself, especially concerning the fact that parents mostly understood the will of the youths, and that the youths were in fact much more similar to their parents and their surroundings than it seemed like.

What was really intriguing from an anthropological perspective, were the feedback loops, which were working between the area's cultural system and new subsystem (and within each subsystem apart). In the core of the non-transparent dynamics was a game, produced by notions or images (individuals' and of groups) on both sides of the divided cultural systems in the village. Simply speaking, young punks in the late seventies could not really "know" what precisely it meant "to be a punk rocker", or in other words, "how to play the game". On the other hand, their elder neighbours also didn't have any idea of how to react "properly" against a new challenge. So, in fact, both cultural systems acted not only spontaneously, but also with a great amount of imaginative creativity (improvisation), until the punks got their place within the community and until - respectively - the local community alone became somewhat more modern than it had been before. The mental equipment to react to the challenge was in fact offered by "a cognitive map", equally shared by the punks and the local community. While they both were opposing each other, exactly through their differences, the source for their expression were the same cultural, moral, economical, mental and material conditions. If there is the place to introduce Lacan's psychoanalytical concepts, then it is possible to argue that what they had in common was the space of Desire (the unreachable "objet petit a"). The punks' efforts to be something very different than the villagers, came out from desire to achieve the repressed aim of the dominant surrounding. That meant not to be a provincial peasant or simple-minded worker in the factory. On the other hand, the dominant culture was trying to use all its creative potential to stop their game, so it had to act like signifier S2, the signifier-master, the producer of meaning. The mutual dynamics translated the Discourse of the Master (control) to the Discourse of the University (transfer knowledge) via the Discourse of the Hysteric (surpluses of meaning). The Discourse of the Analytic (over-knowledge) was left for outside observers.

Let's take a look at the dynamics more closely. I'm going to use some concepts of the system theory, namely the concepts of the servomechanisms variant of feedback loops, according to the explication in Richardson's *Feedback Thought in Social Science and System Theory*. Very useful is the picture of elementary dynamic system with two feedback loops. It is the picture of "generic feedback structure" written by Donella H. Meadows (in Richardson 1991: 305). /picture 1/

/picture 1/

STATE OF THE SYSTEM

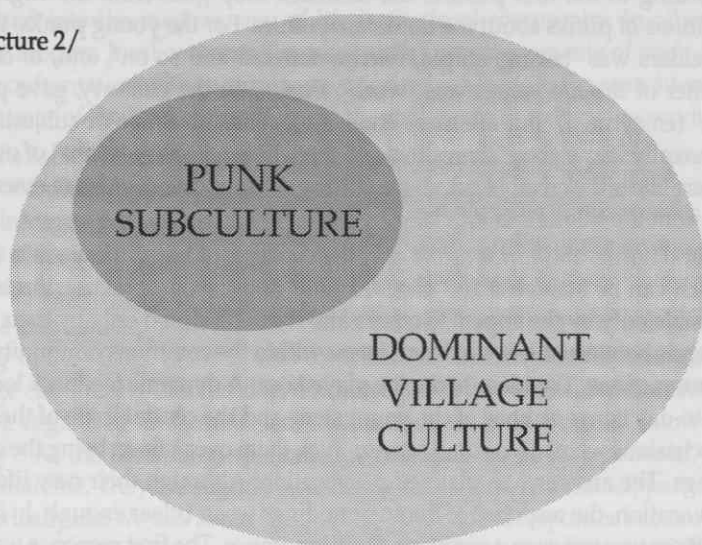


We may take the system of the small village punk groups as the first open system, and its environment, namely the dominant micro-culture of the region, as the other system. In fact, the cultural system of the punks was always a part of that dominant system, but for theoretical reasons, because of our anthropological translation of the processes, it is useful to consider them as separate.

So, we may draw two pictures:

In the first one, the punk subculture is the small, partly isolated part of the "environment", dominant village culture. /picture 2/

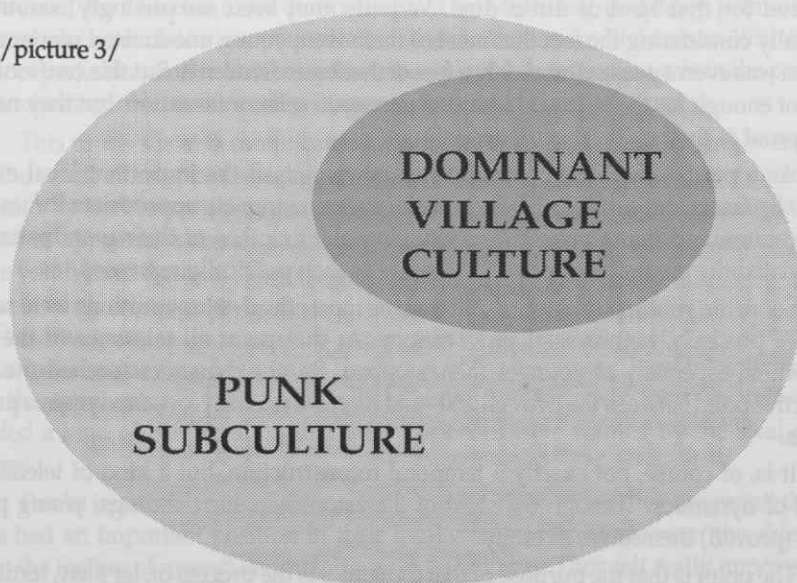
/picture 2/



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In the second one, which is a kind of inverse picture of the first one, we have got (perhaps even a picture within a picture, a starting point of a kind of a fractal diversification) the "environmental culture" in the core of the "new, imported cultural mode". /picture 3/

/picture 3/



According to the first picture, the feedback loop goes from the cognition and presuppositions of punks about the dominant culture. For the young punks, the way of life of the elders was "boring, stupid, narrow-minded and so on", and, of course, the main signifier of the life values was "work". Punks, on the contrary, gave priority to "hedonism" (enjoyment). But are these characterisations objective or subjective? What can anyone really know about the values and the whole "cognitive maps" of others? Not enough. Here starts the creative game - producing some effects, which are essentially by-products - from the title of this article.

Cultural norms and forms aren't only the concepts of mind. They are in fact living forms, which can be activated and checked only in everyday practise. An autopoietic loop is possible only by the appeal to others and it can be closed only by their response. So, the struggle between the two cultural forms within the common community began in everyday interactions. The ideas had to be played out. A dynamic feedback loop started in the day-to-day conversations of the youngsters, and the central issue of the talks and endless discussions were ideas about how to "fuck them over"; them being the elders, the surroundings. The answer was planned provocation. Although their new lifestyle was itself a provocation, the response of the surroundings wasn't clear enough. In fact, in the beginning there was not even a response. Only ignorance. The first response was in 1980, when young punks (then mostly at the age of 15 to 20) organised a so called "Punk Picnic" in the village of Trate. The poster for that event was dynamite, a disturbing event for the community. The reaction in the village was indignation, mixed with surprise and curiosity. That was a sign for the punks that they were right. The dynamics had begun. Later, they opened a club (The Youth Club), in which they danced to various kinds of rock music and started to prepare concerts. The local moralists became more and more concerned. Of course, the majority remained silent, but in the village, public opinion started to work.

Rumours started to spread and, at one point, when political authorities in the capital city put a punk group on trial, even the local authorities started to act. The punks were prepared for that kind of direct duel. Verbally, they were surprisingly convincing, especially considering the fact that most of them were young uneducated workers (one of them was even a peasant) and only a few of them were students. But this confrontation was not enough for them. It was a kind of success, a self-confirmation, but they needed more proof of their cultural existence.

As a part of the local community, they visited all the important local events, especially feasts and festivals. These occasions were extremely appropriate for unusual provocations, consisting primarily of utilizing older clothes of their grandparents. It represented the memories of poverty, which was then politically repressed.

Soon, the young punks found out that the most effective provocations were sexual, or more precisely, homosexual provocations. At that point all tolerance of the local population, especially of younger men, stopped. So, the dynamics reached the most distinctive point between the two cultural - and moral - systems. Now, the dynamic process returns.

It is, of course, not exactly a temporal reconstruction, but a kind of teleological model of dynamics. Through the sight of the astonished surroundings, young punks found (proved) themselves as entity.

The point is that the purpose of that dynamics is the process of, let's say, tertiary or even quaternary socialisation, or, more precisely, enculturation of the youth to both global

and local culture. Finally, if we look at the grown ex-punks, they are rather well socialised/enculturised into the modern way of life in the local community. In other words, all divergent modern local communities need their own movements of such a kind. This means a confrontation with cultural innovation, which leads to the autochthonous process of adaptation (of the local community) to the challenges of a changing world.

Let's look at the responses of the local community. The primal reaction of the majority of the local population is derived from its habitus, its behavioural pattern, which - like a birdcage - provides security for the people, although in fact it makes them only prisoners of their surroundings. The loss of the norms and the modes of ordinary life is very frustrating for individuals and almost organically dangerous.

The relationship between the punks (alternatives) and the village community, especially in the village of Trate, was complicated. Challenged with the "differentness", the village community mobilised in reaction against the "alien". But first such reactions cannot be organised and connected, for individuals in fact cannot know how to act "properly". At the beginning, spontaneous reactions are strictly personal, but are not entirely anarchic. They are slightly structuring into a kind of a (social) pattern. Not only metaphorically can we talk about "resonating". Individual responses become parts of the externalized pattern of local public opinion. Then opinion makers entered the dynamics, these being persons from the local political scene, the police, clergy and local men of distinction. But in the after-anarchic phase of the process, they are limited in their reactions. Their task is to imagine the proper reaction for the community as a whole, and their role isn't strictly personal, but at least semi-public. Their task is to find a balance between their personal judgment of the events and presumptions of the form of the "collective judgment". They are forced to produce a surplus of meaning, a surplus of knowledge. This is a confirmation of a Robert King Merton's thesis that "social belief fathers social reality", which was a version of the sociologist's W. I. Thomas' theorem: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (in Richardson 1991: 83). It should be stressed that Merton used the concept of self-fulfilling prophecy primarily as a framework in which to view prejudice and discrimination (in Richardson 1991: 85). The work of prejudices and mutual discrimination played an important role in the process of "emancipating" the punks in the villages of Trate and Selnica ob Muri.

This process is also complicated for another reason. The challenging events were not the result of an appearance of newcomers from the outside world; the events were initiated by their own rising generation. Now, in front of the local community's eyes there has appeared a rise of a different way of behaviour, an unorthodox life style of some youth from the local village community itself. Opinion activities were therefore, at first, a kind of "collective tentacles", and were leading to the first temporary understandings of what was going on. It seems that presupposed judgments a priori have already been transcended at the very beginning. The fact is, at the beginning, local inhabitants didn't take the appearance of punk in the village seriously. Obviously, they - as individuals - needed a kind of confirmation that their responses were wanted by the local opinion centres.

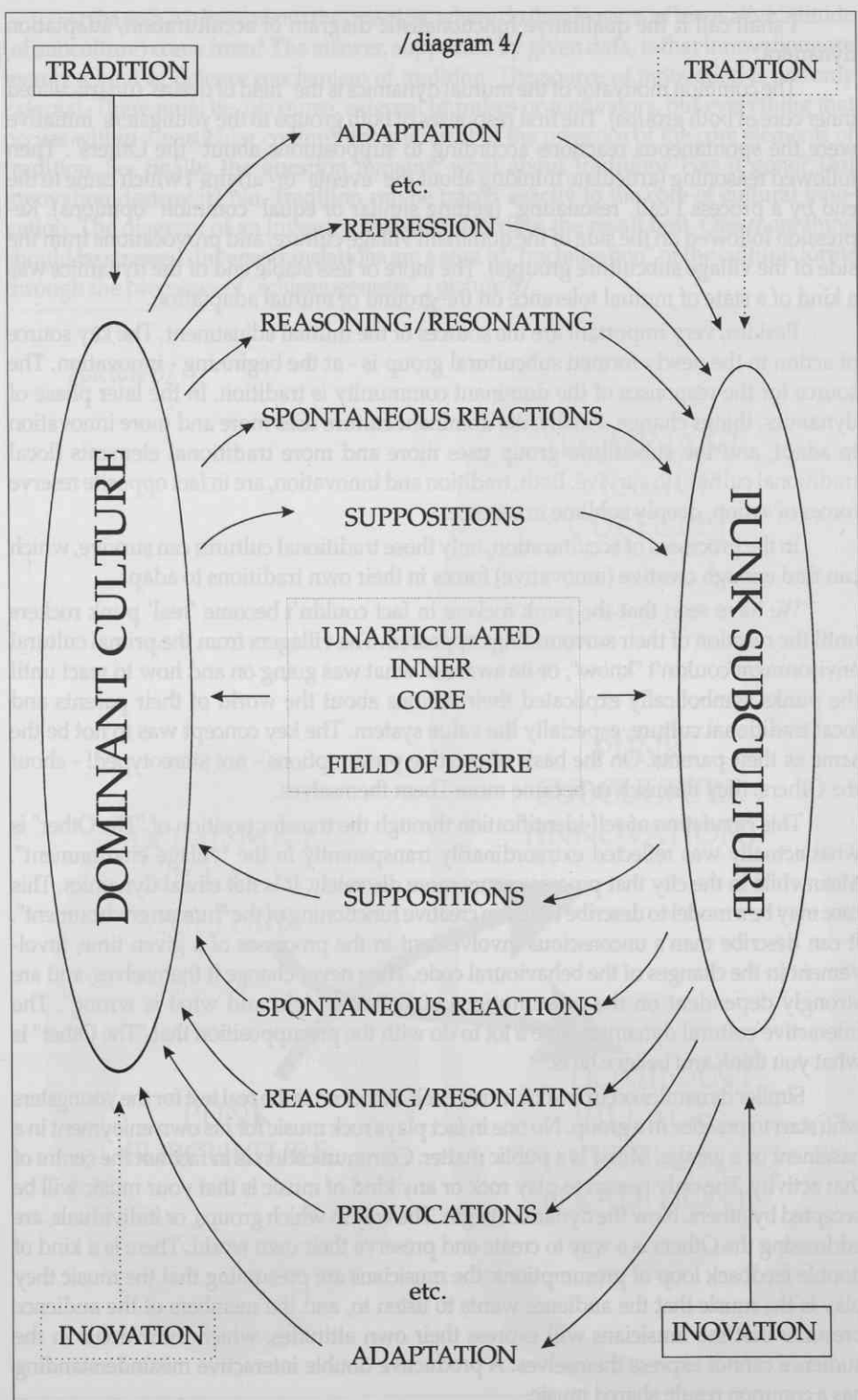
Punks in the village had always felt superior. Even today they are proud that they once had an important position in their local community. They were "the chiefs". For them the feeling of respect and revolt was extraordinary. They felt really important. The relationship of young punks with their parents was also very interesting. That relationship

was especially ambivalent, for the parents partly wanted their children to be something special. There were apparent hopes that their children might jump out from their low, anonymous social position.

Ambivalence, concerning the acceptance of punk values among their boys and girls, remained. All of them, even the functional opinion makers, were partly proud that something really modern was going on in their community. The key point is that in those double feedback loops, a kind of dynamic inter-relation appeared. All the confrontation remained within the borders of the local norms, concerning the mutual symbolic and factual confrontation. The lesson of that story is that the acceptance of the definite forms of both socio-cultural roles, then acted by the involved individuals and groups, was tied to a double misunderstanding, a double misconception, or a double process of ignorance, which has been leading to creative reactions on both sides. A punk rocker in the Slovenske gorice villages had an obscure picture of the necessary attributes which would make him a punk rocker. How to really become like - or even equal - to those punks he saw in the photographs in the teen or music magazines? Above all, he could not know which (and what sort of) code of everyday lifestyle he had to choose to be what he desired to be. He had to be creative, to use all his personal imagination. The same is true for the elders from the dominant cultural community, which was far from aware what exactly was going on with that group(s) of youths. They knew those young boys and girls quite well. They knew that they couldn't really be dangerous. They knew that their behaviour probably would not go too far, or beyond the law. All that mattered was the danger of the demolition of the traditional symbolic order and behavioural code of the community. And that challenge needed a response.

Let's return to the observed facts. In this case, it was impossible to observe the communal phenomena as communal (external, externalized) in the strict sense of the word. On the ground of the interviews with individuals, I was forced to reconstruct models according to individual stories of the phenomena from the recent past. So the question arises: Does it make sense to distinguish between the individual responses to the challenge of cultural novelties and the presupposed collective modes of life, or collective cognitive networks? What is really hidden behind the cognitive curtain, both the anthropologist's and the communities', is the fact that the socio-cultural roles that individuals play within the societies aren't completely fixed. On the contrary: an individual's actions depend on presuppositions about which act is individually proper at a given situation. As individuals, they both had to improvise their behaviour in the new mode of life. It is obvious - from a distant point of view - that behaviour in a changed situation always depends on the modes of tradition, whether it accepts the positive or negative connotation. We can trace deep roots in the background of their cultural environment not only with the using of old clothes, local dialect (argot of the punks differentiated only in some key words, but in these words lay the provocation), and even local manners and psychic characterisations, but also in the very way the village punks acted. Let me describe the process of subtle mutual relationship as "the process of transfusing" (diagram 4).

/diagram 4/



I shall call it the qualitative functionalistic diagram of acculturation/adaptation dynamics.

The common motivator of the mutual dynamics is the "field of desire" (unarticulated inner core of both groups). The first responses of both groups to the youngsters' initiative were the spontaneous reactions according to suppositions about "the Others". Then followed reasoning (articulate thinking about the "events" or "affairs") which came to the end by a process I call "resonating" (getting similar or equal "common" opinions). Repression followed on the side of the dominant village culture, and provocations from the side of the village subculture group(s). The more or less stable end of the dynamics was a kind of a state of mutual tolerance on the ground of mutual adaptation.

278 Besides, very important are the sources of the mutual adjustment. The key source of action in the newly formed subcultural group is - at the beginning - innovation. The source for the responses of the dominant community is tradition. In the later phase of dynamics, things change. Finally, the dominant culture uses more and more innovation to adapt, and the subculture group uses more and more traditional elements (local traditional culture) to survive. Both, tradition and innovation, are in fact opposite reserve forces of action, deeply sublime in essence.

In the processes of acculturation, only those traditional cultures can survive, which can find enough creative (innovative) forces in their own traditions to adapt.

We have seen that the punk rockers in fact couldn't become 'real' punk rockers until the reaction of their surroundings appeared. The villagers from the primal cultural environment couldn't "know", or be aware of what was going on and how to react until the punks symbolically explicated their notions about the world of their parents and local traditional culture, especially the value system. The key concept was to not be the same as their parents. On the basis of creative presumptions - not stereotyped! - about the Others, they themselves became more Them themselves.

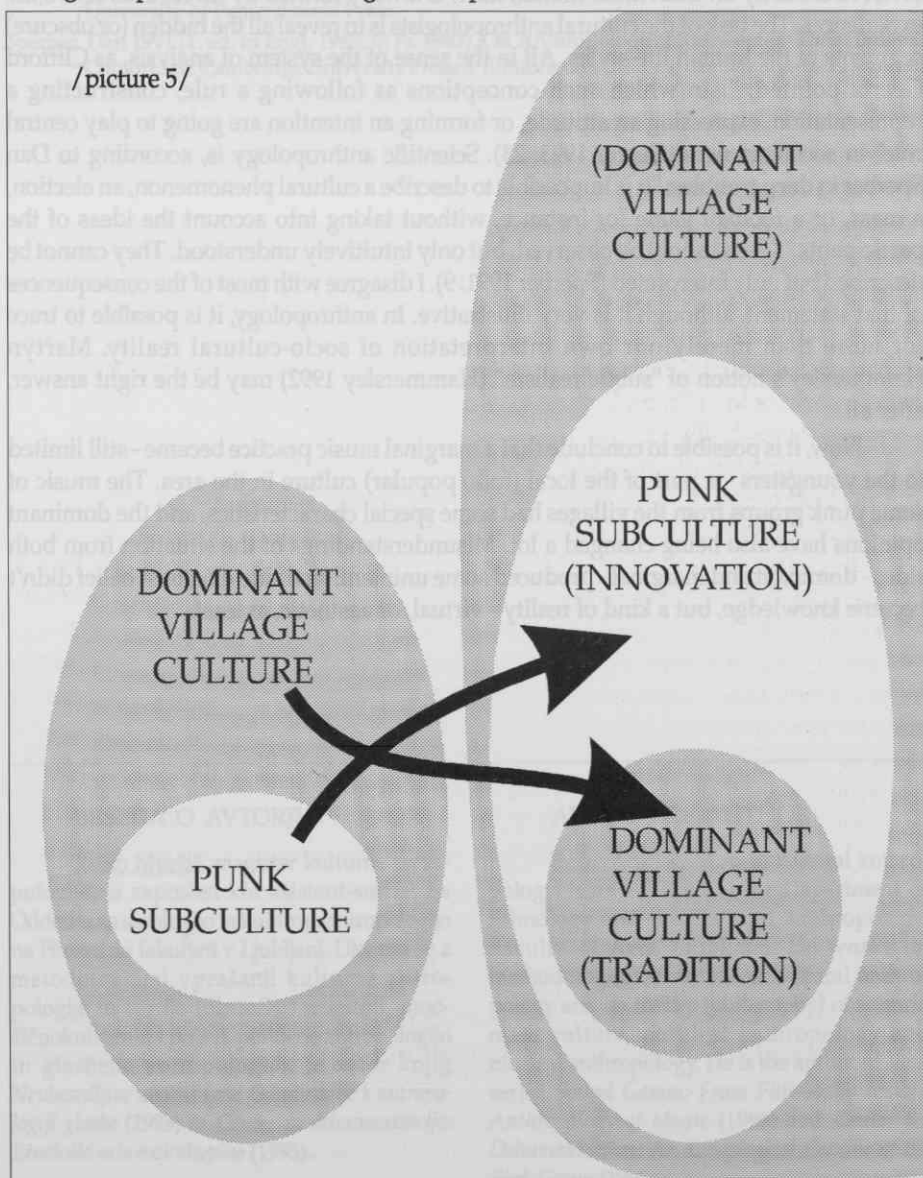
This circulation of self-identification through the transfer position of "The Other" is what actually was reflected extraordinarily transparently in the "village environment". Meanwhile in the city that process occurs more discretely. It is not trivial dynamics. This case may be a model to describe the deep creative functioning of the "human environment". It can describe man's unconscious involvement in the processes of a given time, involvement in the changes of the behavioural code. They never change it themselves, and are strongly dependent on the presumptions of "What is right and what is wrong". The interactive cultural dynamics have a lot to do with the presupposition that "The Other" is what you think and believe he is.

Similar dynamics occur in rock music itself. A concert is the real test for the youngsters who start to practice in a group. No one in fact plays rock music for his own enjoyment in a basement or a garage. Music is a public matter. Communication is in fact not the centre of that activity. The only reason to play rock or any kind of music is that your music will be accepted by others. Now the dynamics begin. The way in which groups, or individuals, are addressing the Others is a way to create and preserve their own world. There is a kind of double feedback loop of presumptions: the musicians are presuming that the music they play is the music that the audience wants to listen to, and the members of the audience presume that the musicians will express their own attitudes, which individuals in the audience cannot express themselves. A productive double interactive misunderstanding has a common result: shared music.

At the end, we have to put the question, where do the elements of innovative attitude (of subculture) come from? The answer, supported by given data, is that innovations are merely a kind of defence mechanism of tradition. The source of innovation is not only external. There must be, of course, external impulses or motivators, but everything that occurs within a particular community is a result of the presence of the core elements of tradition. So, finally, the question remains: what about tradition? Has it gone? Did innovation destroy it? No. Tradition can be traced exactly to the core of cultural innovation. The diagram of an inverse translation describes the result best. One more thing should be stressed. Inverse translations are a sign of "fractalisation" of the cultural forms through the processes of "schismogenesis" /picture 5/.

/picture 5/

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It is extremely difficult to trace the tradition at the core (or at least at the edge) of innovation on the musicological level of the works of punk groups, only. Much less obscured are the elements of tradition within the modes of using the language (slang within a local vernacular), in the lyrics of the groups (perverted responses on the direct - personal - confrontation), by using several modes of behaviour of surrounding (rudeness, directness, latent violence, disgust...), in the clothing, ways of making company, in particular values (even if perverted) and so on.

280 The building of cognitive systems in a particular community can never in fact be absolutely separated from behavioural codes. The traditional sense of "being in the world" is not necessarily an individual matter, for it is always formed by direct interactive life experiences. The task of the cultural anthropologists is to reveal all the hidden (or obscure) segments of the human life-styles. All in the sense of the system of analysis, as Clifford Geertz pointed, "...in which such conceptions as following a rule, constructing a representation, expressing an attitude, or forming an intention are going to play central role" in social sciences (Geertz 1993: 23). Scientific anthropology is, according to Dan Sperber in deep troubles: "It is impossible to describe a cultural phenomenon, an election, a mass, or a football game for instance, without taking into account the ideas of the participants." Ideas cannot be observed, but only intuitively understood. They cannot be described but only interpreted (Sperber 1991: 9). I disagree with most of the consequences of that statement, although it is very illustrative. In anthropology, it is possible to trace for more than merely our own interpretation of socio-cultural reality. Martyn Hammersley's notion of "subtle realism" (Hammersley 1992) may be the right answer, after all.

Now, it is possible to conclude that a marginal music practice became - still limited to the youngsters - a part of the local (folk/popular) culture in the area. The music of some punk groups from the villages had some special characteristics, and the dominant opinions have also being changed a lot. Misunderstandings of the situation from both sides - dominant and marginal - produced some unintentional side-effects. A belief didn't become knowledge, but a kind of reality - virtual, or aesthetic, at least.

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BESEDA O AVTORJU

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