"Life We Make": Identity, Memory and British Anarcho-Punk

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Abstract

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Partly taking its title from the song *Life We Make*, by British anarcho-punk band Flux of Pink Indians, this thesis investigates how participants of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene of the late 1970s to late 1980s, reflexively narrate their affiliation to, and engagement with, that subcultural scene, and the significance that has had on their later lives. Whilst most studies in the field of subcultural and post-subcultural studies tend to focus on 'active' adherents, little research has been conducted into how youthful affiliations with a music-driven subcultural scene continue to inform those who relinquish that affiliation, in later life. This thesis is concerned with the long tail of subcultural scene affiliation, where through their reflexive narratives my participants map their personal journey into and out of British anarcho-punk. In doing so it raises a number of questions. What happens to their sense of self and anarcho-punk identification, when they relinquish their affiliation? How long and in what ways does a sense of belonging and acquired ideologies, values and beliefs persist and reside in the self beyond that youthful affiliation? How do the notions of ageing and adult responsibilities constrain those ideologies, values and beliefs? What role does narrative memory and nostalgia play in how one understands that past affiliation and residual identity?

Data from 18 in-depth interviews with individuals that self-identified as anarcho-punks during their adolescence, shows that their youthful affiliation to British anarcho-punk has in some ways continued to influence and shape who they are and how their sense of self has been changed by that experience. My findings indicate that there are limitations to the way that subcultural and post-subcultural identity has been conceptualised. Revealing the relationship of ex-affiliation, ex-identities and residual identities can only help illuminate and add to a greater and more holistic understanding of subcultural,

post-subcultural and identity studies. Therefore, my findings indicate that there are opportunities to reconsider how subcultural and post-subcultural identity is investigated and conceptualised.

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Introduction

I still remember to this day hearing seminal British anarcho-punk band Crass for the first time in the summer of 1980. Stuart, who had introduced me to punk rock a few years earlier, had invited me to his house to listen to this record by a band that he had been introduced to by someone else. Stuart and I had been close friends since I met him through my Saturday job at the local Co-operative supermarket in Brighton. Stuart was a punk rocker, a couple of years older than me, leather jacket, spiky hair, bondage trousers, and attitude. I was already aware of punk rock and really liked the music but didn't consider myself at that point to be a 'real' punk. Our friendship developed through our shared love of music and we would spend hours discussing music in all its forms, bands we liked, disliked, lyrics and gigs we had attended.

Stuart was already involved in the local punk scene and as I hung out with him more often, I got to know other punks from Brighton and other places. Punk rock had already introduced me to a number of political ideas, but the day that I visited Stuart's house and heard Crass's album '*The Feeding of the 5000*' for the first time was an epiphany. The music was nothing like any of the punk rock I had heard before. This was different and exciting, there was seemingly no structure to the music, the drumming was staccato and the guitar discordant and distorted. Some lyrics were spoken rather than sung, and others screamed in vociferous anger. The punk music I was used to listening suddenly paled into insignificance. What that record brought to me was a new perspective on the world, one that I was never likely to learn at school. But it wasn't just the music, what also fascinated me was the record sleeve, a three-way fold-out sleeve that had collaged images and stencilled lettering and, once fully open, had the stark, disturbing and powerful image of a severed hand impaled on barbed wire with the slogan "Your Country Needs You" underneath it.

But most importantly all the lyrics of the songs were printed on the sleeve. I remember we played The *Feeding of the 5,000* over and over again, reading and following the lyrics and me realising that Crass were expressing what I was feeling, in a way that as an angry 15-year-old I was struggling to articulate. The lyrics spoke to me in a way that no other punk record had at that point. This was raw

truth, an exposition, an explanation: I am not exaggerating when I say that record changed my life. It was answering questions and ideas I had been wrestling with. How your parents, your teachers, the police were all colluding against you to try to control your life and get you to conform to theirs and society's expectations. Get qualifications, get a job, get married, get a house and become a slave to the system. Of course, those weren't the words I was using at that point; but that moment, that aural epiphany, suddenly started to put vague threads of thoughts, feelings and ideas into place; into some semblance of cohesive order and importance. The combination of stark imagery and powerful words were like gold dust to a young boy trying to find his place in all this madness of adolescence.

So began my lifelong relationship with a form of 'punk' that went beyond the attention grabbing, but empty, sloganeering of the Sex Pistols' *Anarchy in the UK* and made anarchism a central tenet of this developing subset of punk. Crass were far more overtly political than the other punk I had listened to and encapsulated an array of politics and ideologies that I could relate to. This style later became known as British anarcho-punk[1].This was the education that I would never get at school and it helped inform me of a whole set of ideologies that has served as a 'personal' guide and manifesto in my adolescence and to my life today. I was introduced to a number of political and cultural ideas that I had never considered before, new ways of thinking about my place in society and the world in general. Through British anarcho-punk I started to learn more about anarchism, feminism, gender politics, animal rights, squatting, third world poverty, class politics, police and state oppression and the state war machine. This 'education' was gleaned from the lyrics of the bands I listened to, and the proliferation of 'zines[2] and cassette tapes that were sold or traded at anarcho-punk gigs. Reading

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[1] British anarcho-punk is a retroactive term with some debate over who and when the term was first coined, and when it came into common parlance among its adherents. It is recognised as a subset of punk that existed in the UK between 1979 and 1987. I use the term British anarcho-punk in this thesis to differentiate it from other global anarcho-punk subcultural scenes. The literature supports the claim that anarcho-punk, in more general terms, originated in the UK in the late 1970s through the seminal anarcho-punk band Crass. However quite rapidly in its wake, other anarcho-punk subcultural scenes emerged in other localities around the globe. In this thesis, all my participants affiliated with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, between 1979 and 1987.

[2] In this thesis I use the term 'zine rather than fanzine. Although it is recognised that 'zine is a shortened form of the term fanzine, or fan magazine, the prefix 'fan' could imply that one is a fan of a particular form of music, art or culture. Many punks don't necessarily perceive themselves to be fans of punk rock, but rather members of a subculture, scene or movement, that for many is a lived experience or way of life. The term 'fan' is, for many punks associated with pop music and the commodified mainstream music industry is often explicitly rejected by punks

'zines was a great way to spend the journey home after a gig, finding out more about the bands I was seeing play live, forthcoming gigs, what was happening in other anarcho-punk subcultural scenes around the country, and most importantly the developing politics and ideologies that were being written about and discussed within the 'zines and amongst the people I met at anarcho-punk gigs.

I left school in the summer of 1981, into a decade of political and social upheaval at the hands of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government (Vinen, 2009; Harrison, 2010). Under her leadership, the government imposed a political model that further deindustrialised Britain, privatised many public owned businesses, created mass unemployment, quashed the trade union movement and increased the class divide in favour of the wealthy minority (Vinen, 2009; Jackson& Saunders, 2012). Her strong, but at times problematic alliance with the then US President, Ronald Reagan, heightened the Cold War standoff with the Soviet Union (Aldous, 2012) and with Thatcher agreeing to allow US nuclear missiles to be based on British soil created an overarching fear of the possibility of nuclear war in Europe (Cross, 2004; Worley, 2011). This militarised confidence led to Britain going to war with Argentina over the Falkland Islands, and in 'victory' Thatcher unleashed a militarised police force on the miners, black communities, peace activists, new age travellers and many other protest groups or cultures of resistance, resulting in violent tactics to suppress any political challenge to the government and its policies (McKay, 1996).

Informed by a new set of cultural ideologies, I became more politically militant and active. I started attending political rallies and demos with Class War, Anarchist Federation, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Animal Liberation Front. I went hunt sabbing, became a committed vegetarian, got involved in community projects, and spent the summers at music festivals such as Stonehenge Free Festival where I had my first contact with a 'tribe' of travelling people that would later form the next chapter of my life. I moved into a squat in Brighton with other like-minded people, and very much felt part of a 'community' that was seemingly actively challenging the existing political system. During that period, I was at times on the direct receiving end of the Government's policies, and saw first-hand the measures the state would go to deprive marginalised groups of people their civil liberties.

I'm not sure when it happened exactly, but at some point in the mid-1980s the mood of the anarcho-punk scene in Brighton shifted. It seemed to become more partisan, as did the politics and the people around it, and the music style became darker and aggressive. Squatting became more problematic and heroin started to become a regular feature of the Brighton punk and squatting scenes I was involved in. So, in 1986 I left the squat, bought a car, and spent the summer moving from music festival to music festival, working where and when I could to finance my nomadic lifestyle. It was following this period of being with new age travellers[3] that I met my partner of 27 years, who was a member of a travelling vegan café collective and co-operative. I joined the collective and we spent the next six years travelling together, providing an alternative food and music venue at music festivals and holistic camps. We soon became parents, and for a while my partner and I brought our children up in this environment but after a while, and a desire for our children to gain an education, we decided to move into a house at a time when our children were reaching school age. I got a job as a landscape gardener and art technician, which I did for 10 years until I decided that I needed to return to education. I was 37 and I wanted to prove to my schoolteachers that I was not the useless, lazy, no hoper that they had labelled me as all those years ago. I gained a first-class honours degree in Media and Communication Studies and am currently a senior lecturer at a university. My partner has retrained as a Naturopathic Nutritionist. Our children have grown up, left home and unsurprisingly are living alternative lifestyles, travelling, working at music festivals, squatting and being politically active.

From that day in 1980 that my mate Stuart played me that Crass album, anarcho-punk has been woven into my life, to some degree or another. At times it has been implicit and central to my daily life, but as I have aged and taken on adult responsibilities- family, work, mortgage- many of the ideologies, values and beliefs have remained but have become more tempered through maturity and experience, and perhaps a degree of cynicism. Many of those experiences continue to be joyous and liberating, but

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[3] New Age Traveller is a term used to loosely describe people who have chosen to live a nomadic lifestyle in marginal ways that transgress and, in some ways, resist modern capitalist societies norms and expectations. Living in caravans, converted trucks, buses, horse-drawn caravans, and other mobile live-in vehicles, their alternative nomadic lifestyle has been linked to the lifestyle and politics of the 1960s/1970s countercultural movements that were also affiliated with new age/hippy/esoteric philosophies and lifestyles, and free festival scenes. Later examples in the 1980s and 1990s have also been linked to urban punk emigres and the free party/acid house rave culture. See; Hetherington (1999); McKay(1996); Worthington (2005) for a more detailed discussion and analysis on New Age Traveller culture.

others sad and painful. But British anarcho-punk has always remained a constant, a touchstone for many of the decisions I have made and the way I have lived my life. It has contributed greatly to the type of person I have become. I still socialise with many of my punk and traveller friends, I love going to punk gigs, music festivals, techno parties and still consider myself to be politically active.

Am I an anarchist? I don't really know. I like to think I am, but at the same time I am not sure if I ever truly was. But my involvement in British anarcho-punk certainly exposed me to a set of politics and ideologies that I still feel strongly about and offer me some moral and political guidance despite, ironically, becoming part of the 'system' that I spent my youth rallying against. Anarcho-punk was, and still is, an important and significant period of my life, and was and is so for a large number of older punks and ex-punks that I have met and talked to. This led me to consider that if my past affiliation and engagement with British anarcho-punk had such a meaningful impact on my life, was it the same for other people who had also affiliated and engaged with British anarcho-punk in the 1970s and 1980s?

This study investigates how past participants of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene of the late 1970s to late 1980s, narrate their own historical accounts of their affiliations and engagements. For the purposes of this thesis I use the term subcultural scene when referring to British anarcho-punk. In chapter two, I argue for a hybridised approach to conceptualising British anarcho-punk because some of the conceptual frameworks offered up by subcultural, post-subcultural and new social movement studies are applicable. Additionally, this study investigates how past affiliation has continued to influence their lives and sense of self. Therefore, this phenomenological study examines the past experiences of my participants' involvement in, and engagement with, British anarcho-punk and considers the implications and impact that past experience may continue to have in their present lives.

In the introduction to *Crass Reflections* (2016), Gordon notes that there have been attempts to document the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene but these insider accounts tend to focus on the musicians and their personal narrative "while avoiding discussion of audience experience and practice" (Gordon, 2016: 39). Culton and Holtzman (2010), Haenfler (2004; 2006), Heffernan (2011),

Liptrot (2012), Moran (2011) and Propst (2012), do employ autobiographical accounts from fans and participants in their research. However, these studies come from a number of much wider contemporary D.I.Y and attendant punk subcultures, scenes and movements, rather than specifically British anarcho-punk. Crucially, they don't investigate the experience of ageing participants or former adherents which forms the focus of my research. There have been a number of academic studies of contemporary anarcho-punk that draw on autobiographical fan and participant narratives (Avery-Natale, 2012; Howarth, 2010; Nicholas, 2007), but none that are historically located in the past or contain narrative investigation of past affiliation. More recently a number of publications have been produced that capture vignettes of fan and participant narratives of the 1970s/1980s British anarcho-punk scene (Bull and Dines, 2014;2016;2017; Bull and Penguin, 2015). Whilst offering a useful insight into fan activities through participant narratives, they do not constitute a focussed academic study. Rather than write a participant history, I became more interested in whether that past engagement with British anarcho-punk had, some 35 plus years later, remained subjectively as significant in their lives as it had for me.

Because of the lack of investigation into the audience experience and practices highlighted by Gordon (2016), British anarcho-punk makes a particularly useful and distinctive object of academic study. It was an overtly politically radical subset of punk rock, that:

> served as a nexus for a range of political movements that included anarchism, feminism, anti-militarism, animal rights activism and the early 1980s Stop the City campaigns that fed into the anti-capitalism and anti-globalisation movements of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (Worley, 2012: 334-335).

British anarcho-punk resisted commodification by operating in an ethically ambitious sphere of DiY production and distribution. Crucially this was underpinned by its adherent's investment in, and commitment to, creating an alternative to the earlier punk that had, by the late 1970s, already been commodified by the popular culture industries. The important participation of its adherents in developing and affirming British anarcho-punk values, ideologies and aims, brings into focus the relevance of this study, in how its adherents' engagement can illuminate the residual influence of one's past affiliation with a subculture and post-subculture. This is something that has more generally been overlooked in previous subcultural and post-subcultural studies, wherein its members' 'active'

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engagement attracts the most interest.

As my research is located within a specific time frame. Participants who self-identified as being an anarcho-punk[4] in their adolescence are now over 45 years old. Academic studies of ageing popular music fans and studies around issues of identity, style and belonging, for those ageing within a music-driven subculture and post-subculture, have gained traction in the last decade (Bennett, 2013; Bennett and Hodkinson, 2012; Haenfler, 2012; Hodkinson, 2013). However, the literature tends to focus on the continuing affiliation and participation within the subculture or post-subculture and the impact this had on its ageing adherents. What is lacking in the literature around ageing and subcultural and post-subcultural affiliation is an awareness and understanding of post-affiliation. As this thesis will show, identification with a subculture and post-subculture can, for many, represent a significant part of the individuals' lives, and the impact of their affiliation may have an enduring impact on their subsequent lives. Whilst my study is located within these developments of ageing and the ongoing negotiation of ageing identity within subcultures and post-subcultures, it goes beyond those dimensions to consider what reflexive accounts of former affiliations say about ex-adherents in their later lives, where adulthood and its many and varied responsibilities likely feature.

My central argument is that my participants' past affiliation and engagement with British anarcho-punk has for many, but not all, had a continuing influence on and informed their subsequent lives and sense of self, long after they have relinquished that affiliation. I argue that this initial period of affiliation is linked to a specific period in their adolescence, where it is one of personal transitions that are emotionally, spiritually, culturally, and politically charged. During this transition, developing autonomous ideas and notions through 'exploration' and activity tends to shape the identities and sense of self of the individual. How does that continue beyond adolescence and their relinquished affiliation into adulthood? Is affiliation to, and engagement with, youth cultures as profound and transformative experience as we understand it to be? If so, in what ways does this challenge or support

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[4] My participants all self-identified as being an anarcho-punk during some part of their adolescence. What the term anarcho-punk meant to each of my participants then and now is subjective and only created through their personal narratives, rather than reaching a singular or unanimous definition.

orthodox thinking on people's affiliation with youth cultures, the longevity of that affiliation, and how that has continued to inform their current sense of self after that affiliation has been relinquished? For my participants this personal engagement was a significant part of the development of their longer-term sense of self. Although some of the values and ideologies within their lives have changed or broadened, the values and ideologies they developed during their affiliation with British anarcho-punk continue to inform some of their current values, ideologies and beliefs and manifest themselves in a number of different ways. In doing so, perhaps the data from this study can open up new lines of enquiry into the longevity and continuing influence of subcultural and post-subcultural engagement after that affiliation has been relinquished.

The literature that informs the theoretical frameworks that foreground my thesis are discussed in chapters one, two, and three. Chapter one contextualises British anarcho-punk by examining how it emerged from the existing punk milieu of the late 1970s. I discuss how British anarcho-punk reignited a relationship with some of the anarchistic and ideological values of the 1970s counterculture which members of the seminal band Crass were actively involved in. In the sanctioned canonical 'histories', Crass and more broadly British anarcho-punk are often overlooked or ignored (Capper, 2010; Cross, 2004; Sabin, 1999). However, I argue that Crass's involvement is significant and I discuss how, as a band and 'collective', Crass laid the foundations for the development of British anarcho-punk. With its roots very firmly set within notions of DiY practices, I discuss the development of a set of politics and ideologies, propagated by bands and participants, that to some degree defined British anarcho-punk, but subsequently contributed towards its cessation and fragmentation. I show that British anarcho-punk developed as a challenge to what could be perceived as the commodification of the first wave of punk rock by the mainstream popular music and culture industries. In doing so, I argue that British anarcho-punk challenged the political economy of the music industries through the promotion of DiY principles and practices and encouraged participants to reclaim the possibilities of a set of radical politics and ideologies as a potential manifesto for living.

Chapter two draws on subcultural and post-subcultural theory to locate British anarcho-punk and its adherents within notions of a hybridized culture (inhabited by its producers and consumers). In the 1970s and 1980s, British anarcho-punk was conceptualised in terms of a subculture, but any retrospective examination now presents the opportunity for it to be examined through a post-subcultural lens. By critiquing subcultural and post-subcultural theories and concepts, I argue that British anarcho-punk constitutes a hybridisation of a number of subcultural and post-subcultural elements and signifiers. In doing so I contend that British anarcho-punk is conceptualised as a subcultural scene. I also address some of the issues concerned with ageing and youth cultures, and how more recent studies have shown that for many people their attachment to youth cultures does extend into adulthood, and we need to consider the significance of this within subcultural and post-subcultural studies.

Chapter three explores the theoretical framework of the self and identity through the concepts of narrativity, the narrative self and narrative identity. I focus on how the participants in my research use narrative to construct notions of British anarcho-punk and their past and present sense of self. This process of historical reconstruction is impossible to detach from notions of identity, as self and identity are inextricably intertwined. Inevitably, they recount stories of their past selves and identities through the lens of their present selves and identities. Therefore, I draw on the field of memory studies to work symbiotically with these narrative constructions of the past as the research participants are recounting events from the past as well as from the present. Recalling past events requires individual and collective memories to construct or attach meaning to those events. This recounting and reconstruction of the past, in the present, is also impacted by nostalgia. At times this becomes not only a present 'lens' through which to view the past, but also a reflective and restorative tool (Boym, 2001) whilst creating continuity in one's present and future life (Davis, 1979). Therefore, the overarching frames of the narrative self and narrative identity incorporate conceptualisations of both memory and nostalgia.

In chapter four, I discuss my methodological approach. I begin by taking from Hobbs' position that ethnographic research can combine a "cocktail' of methodologies" (Hobbs 2006: 101). In doing so,

my methodology combines a 'cocktail' of interviewing approaches and techniques, from life history interviewing, oral history interviewing and narrative interviewing. I employed face-to-face in-depth interviewing, and other asynchronous computer mediated communication such as semi-structured VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) in-depth interviews and structured e-mail interviews as data gathering mechanisms. First, I discuss how past studies of music fans and more specifically ageing music fans or participants of music scenes tended to use an ethnographic approach and discuss some of the issues that this has presented in relation to situating my methodological approach in my research. Secondly, I discuss a methodological narrative approach to investigating relinquished and past music subcultural scene affiliation and the different approaches I took. This also considers some of the issues faced by the researcher when conducting narrative research that draws on people narrating their memories. Thirdly, I show how I applied my methodological approach to researching relinquished and past music subcultural scene affiliation. Lastly, I discuss the limitations of my methodological approach and the ethical issues I faced.

Chapters five, six and seven examine and discuss different aspects of my participants' engagement and affiliation with British anarcho-punk through their narratives. Chapter five considers their entrance narratives into punk and anarcho-punk. By examining their motivations, we gain a deeper understanding of what motivated or influenced them to adopt and maintain certain elements of British anarcho-punk culture, ideology, values and beliefs within, and beyond, their affiliation. I argue that this understanding is important if some of those sets of values and ideologies have remained with them through their subsequent lives.

Chapter six considers what it meant for my participants to 'be' an anarcho-punk. Through their narratives of engaging in anarcho-punk praxis, I demonstrate a number of key themes (cultural, political, ideological and musical) that made British anarcho-punk meaningful to them. I show that these themes were central to their engagement with and experience of British anarcho-punk, which helped them to articulate a set of values and beliefs and aided in the development and affirmation of their British anarcho-punk identities.

Chapter seven explores the factors that lead to my research participants' exit or disaffiliation from British anarcho-punk. I show that a number of common and interrelated themes around exiting emerge from their narratives. I argue that although they demonstrate a break with or disaffiliation, their narratives imply that their meaningful engagement with British anarcho-punk continues to reside in their current lives on a number of different levels.

Chapter eight investigates how for some participants their affiliation and engagement has continued to inform their current sense of self in a number of different ways. Through their narratives, I argue that memory and nostalgia allows them to connect with their past selves in relation to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, and the residual anarcho-punk ideologies, values and beliefs they continue to utilise in the present allows them to reflect on themselves, in the past and the present. I suggest that nostalgia is not a reflexive process of past longing or desire to return to the past, but is a rehabilitative and restorative connection to the past, that also allows for reflexivity of then and now.

Lastly, I conclude that for my participants their affiliation with British anarcho-punk in their adolescence has had a lasting impact and influence on their current identities and sense of self. My thesis reveals some of the limitations on how identity has been, and is, theorised, particularly in subcultural and post-subcultural studies. My data shows that for my participants their experience of British anarcho-punk was so powerful and transformative that, despite their disaffiliation, it has become and remained a part of who they are today. They have found ways of navigating their way through their lives whilst retaining some of those ideologies, values and beliefs, and adapting them to new circumstances. This work tells us about what goes on in terms of the becoming - moving in and out of, and through, subcultures, scenes and movements. This suggests that the impact of these connections are more powerful than scholars have previously thought about why people do or don't relinquish their affiliations. My thesis reveals a need to reconsider elements of subcultural and post-subcultural studies in light of the continuing impact and influence that past affiliation to and ageing within and out of a subculture and post-subculture has on the course of one's life[5]. Revealing the

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[5] Life course is a term used to denote the development of the life of the individual over time and space, whilst articulating their engagement with particular social, cultural and historical contexts of their development. See Thomas (1999).

relationship of ex-affiliation, ex-identities and residual identities can only illuminate and add to a

greater and more holistic understanding of subcultural, post-subcultural, and identity studies.

Chapter 1
The emergence of British anarcho-punk from the punk rock milieu

In the following three chapters, I establish a theoretical framework for the investigation of my participants' affiliation with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene and to what extent that affiliation has remained as an identarian element of their current lives over 30 years later. The purpose of this first chapter is to consider how previous studies have conceptualised punk and British anarcho-punk, and its emergence from the punk milieu of the 1970s. This sets a historical and contextual appraisal of British anarcho-punk, its culture, ideologies and practices. This informs much of my later analysis of my primary data. The second chapter investigates and questions the usefulness of the impasse that seems to exist between subcultural and post-subcultural studies and their various theoretical and analytical approaches. I attempt to bridge that impasse by demonstrating that British anarcho-punk demonstrates elements of both subcultural and post-subcultural theories and practices, whilst also using the terminologies that were common parlance to my participants. In chapter three I explore the various ways in which the self and identity has been conceptualised. With the nature of the fluidity of the self and identity, and the problematic issue of defining what the self and identity are, I set out my position on these two concepts for the purpose of this thesis.

Punk rock and the emergence of British anarcho-punk

Although my thesis does not specifically draw on or develop a history of punk *per se,* I think it is important to first contextualise it by historically locating British anarcho-punk in the wider punk milieu and the corpus of texts on punk and punk histories. In this chapter, I examine some of the key works around the historicising of punk and then draw on more recent work related to punk, and specifically British anarcho-punk, to show its emergence and development from the punk milieu.

The emergence and development of punk has been well documented both within and outside of the academy. Although at times there has been some consensus regarding key times, places and events, there seems to be many different ways that authors have laid out its historical, political and cultural

development. Liptrot (2012: 10) succinctly highlights that "the significance of the 1970s punk phenomena is marked by the large number of sources on the topic". She goes on to list the various ways in which punk has been analysed in academic contexts such as style, politics, class, cultural impact and also how it has been discussed in the wider media through magazines, films, autobiographies and memoirs. There is a consensus amongst many authors, such as Friedlander (1996); Laing (1985); Marcus (1989) and Sabin (1999), that the origins of punk lay in the underground music and art scene in America, notably in New York with bands such as New York Dolls, Iggy and the Stooges, The Ramones and others that performed at and frequented the underground music scene at the CBGB club. The ideas and energy of this scene were partly co-opted by Malcolm McLaren who spent time in New York and managed the New York Dolls. He then introduced these ideas to the UK by putting together The Sex Pistols, a vehicle for his political, social and cultural ideals (Friedlander, 1996; Laing, 1985; Marcus, 1989; Sabin, 1999).

Marcus (1989) raises several issues that surround an analysis of punk rock. Firstly, he attempts to trace its roots within the Situationist International movement of the 1950s and the student riots in Paris in 1968, a discussion that I will return to later in this chapter. He writes about how ancestry is implicit in the creation of histories and cites other past examples such as the 1930s Delta bluesman Robert Johnson as being the ancestor of 1960s rock 'n 'roll. "The question of ancestry in culture is spurious, every new manifestation in culture rewrites the past.............new authors scavenge the past for ancestors because ancestry is legitimacy...... " (Marcus, 1989: 21).

He follows this with the mythological status that punk has gained in many texts stating that "such a claim is not so much an argument about the way the past makes the present as it is a way of suggesting that the entanglement of now and then is fundamentally a mystery" (Marcus, 1989: 23). This is supported by *Vague* punk fanzine which stated: "There are *LOADS* of myths about punk, but *NONE* of them live up to what it was/is like" (Vague, 1984; Iss. 15, cited in Sabin, 1999:1). In *Punk* (2001) Colegrave and Sullivan (2001: 15) argue that "there is a nostalgia industry for punk, which continually re-invents myths, aggrandises the trivial and overestimates the legacy". In *England's Dreaming: Sex*

Pistols and Punk-Rock (1991), Savage (1991) offers up, at times, an uncritical view that is firmly linked to the Sex Pistols as being the main musical protagonists in punk's development in the UK. His analysis draws on the Situationist International movement and its influence on punk subculture. Likewise, as mentioned previously, Marcus (1989) also draws links between the Situationist International and other Dadaist movements as being influential on the emergence and development of punk rock, whereas Home's (1996) research *uses* a number of Neo-Dada groups as clear examples of the lack of connection between punk rock, the Sex Pistols and Situationist International[6], claiming the links made by others, such as Savage and Marcus, to be tenuous at best. As Cross (2010:3-4) points out:

> In *Lipstick Traces*, Greil Marcus famously argued that the Anarchy in the U.K rehearsed, in 'crudely poetic form, a critique of modern society' that had earlier been articulated by the Situationist International, and the surrealist and Dadaist movements before that. .... His contention has been dismissed by other authors, who see Marcus as attempting to ascribe a conscious political strategy to the Pistols' work where none existed, and to mimicking Malcolm McLaren's own efforts to invent an 'intentional' history of punk.

Other authors have linked the development of punk to class politics and white working-class youth. Henry (1989) and O'Hara (1999) tend to be over simplistic in their analysis claiming that "…punk in Britain was essentially a movement consisting of underprivileged working-class white youths" (1999: 120) who as a result of their class and social situation "…used the medium of punk to express their dissatisfaction" (1991; 121). Simonelli (2002: 121) argues that despite punk's appeal and its ability to reintroduce "working-class and youth values of rebellion into British culture …" and how similarly it "...articulated the frustrations of working-class British youth in an era of unemployment .. ", the cultural class rhetoric it developed to challenge mainstream British culture was soon assimilated and eventually watered down by a common knowledge of what it meant to be part of the punk subculture (Simonelli, 2002: 121). Worley (2012; 2017) successfully examines how punk as a new cultural form was appropriated and used by political organisations of both the far left and the far right in an attempt to politically mobilise a disaffected working-class youth of late 1970s Britain. By utilising some of the

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[6] The Situationist International (SI) was an international, social revolutionary organisation formed in 1957 and dissolved in 1972. It was made up of predominantly left-wing European intellectuals, political theorists, and avant-garde artists. See Plant (1992) for a cultural and political history of the SI movement.

cultural 'signifiers' of this subcultural movement, such as fanzines, music, live performances, Worley concludes that neither the far left or far right were able to provide "an effective political conduit through which the disaffections expressed by punk could be channelled" (2012: 1). Sabin (1999) also recognises that there are two different approaches to defining the issue of where and when punk began. He highlights the generally accepted view that it originated in America and was imported into Britain with help from Malcolm McClaren, future manager of the Sex Pistols. However, he also recognises that if one of the defining elements of punk is the emphasis on class politics, then it began in Britain in the late '70s at a time of political and social unrest and upheaval (1999: 3).

Frith, in his article *The Punk Bohemians* (1978), and Hebdige in *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979) both argue that although there was a strong association with class, punk was an "interesting sociological feature...." with a " firm place in radical British art" (Hebdige, 1979: 125). Both authors tend to highlight the complexities of the relationship between aesthetic expression, art and class, thus potentially making punk a complex thing to define and indeed analyse. This is further investigated by Frith and Horne in *Art into Pop* (1987) which argues that whilst punk rock was an art school movement it had two different histories. Firstly, that it "brought to a head fifteen years of questions about creativity in a mass medium" (1987: 127) and that it "tried to keep in play bohemian ideals of authenticity and pop art ideals of artifice" (1987: 128). They conclude by saying that "punk as art movement was always intertwined with a punk-as-pub-rock movement" (1987: 129). Liptrot (2012: 119) points out that, although some authors such as Marsh (1977) and Marshall (1991) suggest that punk was essentially working class, some of the early protagonists came from more middle-class bohemian backgrounds and that what united the different classes in early punk subculture was the continuation of the bohemian tradition of freedom that punk advocated.

What those authors' analysis does bring forth though is the heterogeneity, complexities and contradictions of punk and punk subculture. It also is useful in that it provides an analysis that helps in dealing with some of the complexities, as well as mythologies, of punk as a cultural, social and

political movement and scene. Dines (2004: 41) argues that Frith and Horne's (1987) analysis is useful in:

> that it becomes a useful framework in which to explore the later anarcho-punk scene. A way perhaps of illuminating how this later scene would encapsulate elements of the 'anger' supposedly found in the working-class aesthetic of O'Hara's punk scene, as well as the pacifist-almost bohemian- make up of a punk scene that would advocate vegetarianism and peace politics

"Yes That's Right, Punk Is Dead"; First wave / second wave punk rock

> Yes that's right, punk is dead, it's just another cheap product for the consumer's head. Bubblegum rock on plastic transistors, schoolboy sedition backed by big time promoters. CBS promote the Clash, but it ain't for revolution, it's just for cash. Punk became a fashion just like hippy used to be and it ain't got a thing to do with you or me" - 'Punk Is Dead', Crass (1978).

Crass released their first record '*The Feeding of the 5000*' in 1978. The EP's fifth track, *'Punk Is Dead'*, was penned as a searing critique of the process by which punk had become commodified by the music and culture industries, and the failures of the first wave of punk rock to harness and propagate the energy of punk into something that had the potential to challenge the hegemonic order. The notion that punk had already been declared dead by the music press, and a number of cultural critics and observers, missed the point that punk was not a homogenous phenomenon. In the wake of what has become termed as the first wave of punk, which 'existed' between 1975-1979 and any points in-between, depending on whose chronology one goes by, came a slew of post-punk (sub) cultures, each carving out its own identity and ideology within the fragmenting punk milieu (Colegrave and Sullivan, 2001).

In this section, I want to highlight the period of transition from first wave punk to second wave punk and some of the issues that have arisen from documenting this period. I also discuss how the literature surrounding Crass, and their influence on British anarcho-punk and its development, draws comparisons between 1960s and 1970s counterculture and the development of British anarcho-punk's ideological positioning.

Amongst the corpus of literature on punk there is a consensus about how punk's history and development is framed. These discourses centre around punk as developing in two distinct phases commonly referred to as first wave and second wave of punk, or as punk and post-punk, with the first wave existing for 18 months between 1976 to the middle of 1977 (Dines 2004; Gibbs 1996; Hebdige, 1979; Liptrot 2012; Reynolds 2006; Savage 1991). For many, this was defined by the emergence and break-up of the Sex Pistols (1978), the death of Sid Vicious (1979) or The Clash forgoing their punk credentials and signing to CBS Records Ltd in 1977 (Gibbs, 1996; Gray, 2005). Reddington (2007: 1) contends that "punk, by its anarchic nature, existed in many forms long before and long after this; it existed and continues to exist as a self-definition by certain people regardless of location". Crass founder member Penny Rimbaud saw in the latter part of 1977, the commercialisation of punk by the music industry and associated media responsible for its demise:

> Within six months the movement had been bought out. The capitalist counter-revolutionaries had killed with cash. Punk degenerated from being a force for change, to becoming just another element in the grand media circus. Sold out, sanitised and strangled, punk had become just another social commentary, a burnt-out memory of how it might have been (Rimbaud, 1998: 74).

Sabin (1999: 3) argues that most historical accounts take 1979 as the termination point. It is seen as the moment that new youth movements (some of which punk had helped spawn), such as Two Tone and the Mod revival, took over at a time when punk had seemingly lost its energy and been co-opted by the mainstream. Reynolds' (2006) extensive and insightful documentation of the post-punk era (1978-1984) considers how the demise of the first wave of punk, created an opportunity for many other bands to push sonic barriers and experiment with new sounds and styles mixed with the appropriation of old. It is as if punk had given these bands 'permission' to do and play what they liked. Indeed, Colegrave and Sullivan (2001: 270) state that:

Punk, in its demise had left behind an eclectic music scene, which, although not directly related to it, would probably not have blossomed without punk's assault on the '70s music establishment.

Reynolds (2006) also acknowledges that many of the bands that followed in the wake of the Sex

Pistols and The Clash also came from an art school background but seemed genuinely more political and avant-garde in their musical and lyrical output. Despite what is seemingly a comprehensive account of the post punk period, he tends to ignore many of the continuing or developing punk subcultures and scenes in that period such as Oi, Street Punk, UK82 and UK Hardcore (see Liptrot 2012: 14-19 for an explanation and analysis of these post punk scenes). Reynolds gives Crass and British anarcho-punk scant recognition for their place within the post-punk era, despite their political leanings and DiY influences on some of the industrial or post-punk funk bands he seems to favour.

Sabin (1999) addresses this lack of recognition for Crass in many post-punk discussions in his introduction to *Punk Rock: So What? The Cultural Legacy of Punk.* Noting the lack of any mention in the main body of the book he writes:

> But if punk stops in 1979, then it can be argued that that there is a great deal of the story left out… [and a lack of analysis in the influence of] ...the anarcho-punk movement, with bands such as Crass who took the anarchist message seriously and who on occasion inspired actions which were a real challenge to the 'Thatcher-Reagan axis' (Sabin, 1999: 4).

Since the disbanding of Crass in 1984 and the subsequent fracturing of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene in the late 1980's (Liptrot 2012), British anarcho punk had generally been poorly represented and documented not only in the corpus of popular punk histories, but also in the plethora of academic texts about punk and post-punk that followed in its wake. The earliest focussed academic study of Crass and British anarcho punk came about in the mid-1990s with the publication of Alastair Gordon's undergraduate thesis *Throwing the punk rock baby out with the dirty bathwater: Crass and punk rock: a critical appraisal* (1995), later republished with a forward by Penny Rimbaud and introduction by the author in 2016 under the title *Crass Reflections.*

This was followed a year later by the inclusion of a chapter in *Senseless Acts of Beauty* by George Mckay in his book about Crass and its links to the of the 1960s/1970s counterculture (McKay, 1996). As previously mentioned, Sabin (1999) noted the lack of recognition of Crass and British anarcho-punk in many post-punk discussions and likewise in 2004 Richard Cross, who had begun

to document the historical, cultural and political importance of Crass and British anarcho-punk within the punk and post-punk oeuvre (2004; 2010), states in his social and political historiography of Crass and British anarcho punk, that:

> The history of what can be claimed as the most intensely radical expression of punk's politics and aesthetic –anarcho-punk – remains almost entirely unrecorded. In the flood of publications addressing different aspects of the punk phenomenon that have appeared in the last few years, it's striking how often the experience of anarcho-punk is absent. Although a few short treatments of Crass have been published, most of the key debates currently animating both the academic and the popular literature on punk simply exclude anarcho-punk from their frame of reference. This is an all the more glaring omission given the sophistication of anarcho-punk's own critique of punk practice, and the profound significance which Crass and other artists invested in the medium of punk. (Cross, 2004: 26)

Cross continues by saying that, despite interventions from authors such as Rimbaud (1998), Glasper (2006) and Berger (2006) to address the exclusion of Crass and British anarcho-punk from punk narratives, publishers continue to reproduce "the history of commercial Pistols-authored punk" (Cross, 2007: n.p) and by doing so reinforce its omission. Gordon (1995) also questions the validity of these models of popular and canonical punk histories by arguing that there has been a failure in cultural studies to consider, in any real depth, the activities of Crass and other British anarcho-punk performers; British anarcho-punk culture and cultural productions and British anarcho-punk ideologies and politics. He further argues that leaving subversive social movements out of the discourses of punk serves the interests of the dominant groups who document those histories. Gordon suggests that a large number of authors may be guilty of cultural imperialism (2016: 76), writing outside of the 'lived experience' of punk, and are influenced by research funding and publishing interests (2016: 77). In doing so, Gordon argues that the literature presents a false picture of punk and gives the wrong impression by obscuring its more political aspects, and of it being couched in terms of it either being dead by 1978/79, or a simple expression of style and musical fashion.

In 2007, 12 years after Gordons 1995 thesis, Cross raises the issue again concerning the omission of Crass and British anarcho-punk from punk historiographies and the punk canon. Cross (2007: n.p online) states;

> The burying of the specifically anarchist strand of punk within the historiography of punk rock is not simply the outcome of a nefarious conspiracy amongst retired rock journalists – although that conspiracy does exist, as much fuelled by ignorance and arrogance as by malice….. Anarcho-punk opted instead for an autonomous existence and a life apart – making it easier for both malevolent and for myopic historians to try to write it out of the record (Cross, 2007: n.p online).

Cross' statement suggests that the very nature of British anarcho-punk's DiY approach to media, its anti-culture industries stance and its resistance to engaging with the 'mainstream' media could have a accounted for its omission in academic and historical texts. This notion is later supported by Gordon who notes that Crass's "voluntary exclusion from the culture industries may have acted as a motor and catalyst to British anarcho-punks' exclusion" (2016: 76) from the majority of literature on punk.

During the late 1990s and early to mid-2000s that 'burying' of anarcho-punk histories that Cross referred to, began to be unearthed. A number of publications, including academic theses, books, book chapters and journal articles. investigating either Crass or anarcho-punk more generally, began to bring this part of punk history into more focus and start to situate it within broader punk histories and the punk canon (Berger, 2006; Dines 2004; Cross 2004;2007; Glasper, 2006; McKay, 1996; Mitchell, 2006; Nicholas, 2007; Ogg, 2009; Rimbaud, 1998; Robb, 2006, Spencer, 2008; Thompson, 2004).

In 2010 and 2011 there was a resurgence in media interest around Crass and their apparent influential position within punk histories. An article in the Guardian claimed that Crass's political punk is as relevant now as it was when it was written and performed (Swash, 2010). In 2010 Vice magazine published an interview with band members Penny Rimbaud and Steve Ignorant about the re-mastering of Crass's back catalogue. In the introduction the author, Andy Capper, reaffirms Crass's lack of inclusion in punk histories by clearly stating:

If you pick up some crap book about the history of punk rock, chances are there will be about 90 pages dedicated to Joe Strummer's jackets but only two sentences about Crass. This is despite them selling millions of records, singlehandedly creating the DiY punk blueprint [...] But not a lot of people know their actual story [...]we feel that everybody with even a passing interest in punk rock

should hear it (Capper, 2010: n.p.).

In January 2011, Mojo magazine printed an article by Jon Savage based on unpublished interviews that he conducted with Crass in 1989, five years after they had disbanded, during the research for his book *England's Dreaming* (1991):

The idea was to interview the band and use the material as the basis for a long post-script, which would have continued the story of punk on to the mid-1980s. Unfortunately, it became clear that this lay beyond the scope of the book, so it remained unpublished until now (Savage, 2011: 69).

What is interesting here is not only the fact that the material has never previously found its way into the public domain but also the decision of the editors and the author to now include this particular interview 22 years later, not in a publication specifically associated with punk, but one predominantly associated with music nostalgia. Mojo's fascination with and documentation of musical history is apparent from front covers which lean towards a rock-centred subject matter and rock discoursespresent therein. From Mojo's 2011 perspective, the importance of Crass's influence on punk can only be appreciated by the band becoming or being an object of nostalgia. Returning to Colegrave and Sullivan's claim for the existence of a nostalgia industry for punk (2001), there has, unsurprisingly, been a resurgence in the reformation of 1980s British anarcho-punk bands embarking on tours and performing at punk festivals. Some have even going back into the studio to record new material.

When I first started my preliminary PhD investigation in 2010/2011 there were still a limited amount of texts to refer to, such as those above. However, over the last ten years more publications have been produced across a range subjects including fine art, fanzines, music, biographies, politics, sociology and cultural studies that have further cemented British anarcho-punk and global anarcho-punk's place within the canon of punk histories and contemporary punk studies (Avery-Natale, 2012; 2016; Bestley, 2016; Bestley and Binns, 2018; Bull and Dines,2014;2016;2017; Bull and Penguin, 2015; Dale, 2012; 2016; Dines and Worley, 2016; Dunn, 2016; Cross, 2010; Gordon, 2016; Grimes, 2015; 2016; Ignorant and Pottinger, 2010; Liptrot, 2012; Raposo, 2011; 2016; Webb, 2015; Worley, 2011; 2012; 2015; 2017; 2018; Worley and Lohman, 2018). This has further pointed to the importance of Crass and anarcho-punk within punk and wider cultural, political and

historical studies.

In much of the literature discussion generally begins with Crass and their important contribution to the beginning and development of British anarcho-punk. With a few exceptions, much of the literature ignores or gives scant recognition to other bands who were associated with British anarcho-punk, such as Conflict, Poison Girls, Subhumans, The Mob, or Flux of Pink Indians. Crass are recognised by many as the seminal British anarcho-punk band, unwilling leaders of a developing movement and catalysts of its cultural, political and ideological template (Berger, 2006; Cross 2004; 2010; Dines, 2004; Gibbs, 1996; Glasper, 2005; 2006; Gordon, 2016; Gosling, 2004; Laing 1985; Liptrot, 2012; McKay, 1996; O'Hara, 1999; Robb, 2006; Sabin, 1999; Savage, 1991., Worley 2017). Dines (2004) successfully documents the emergence of British anarcho-punk from what he refers to as *"first wave punk"* (2004: 42). He successfully draws out some of the key issues surrounding the period of transition from the first wave of punk to post-punk. He states:

> Rimbaud's views surrounding the birth and eventual demise of first wave punk are useful,
> in that the author highlights the way in which the initial vitality and freedom of
> expression that embodied punk in 1976, was finally dissipated through increasing
> commercialisation (2004: 116).

and further goes on to say that;

> The central concern of Crass therefore, was to move away from the rhetorical - almost
> nihilistic - notion of the anarchic, away from the Pistols' shouts of `anarchy' and chaotic'
> intent, towards the building of a new anarcho-framework; where a far more organised
> form of political agitation would come to the fore (2004: 119).

In his analysis Cross (2004; 2010) also successfully draws out some of the key issues surrounding the rejection of the commodification of early punk rock by the culture industries, and punk's failure to deliver on its authentic and original intent of anarchy, rebellion and freedom.

In other writings authors such as Gordon (1995; 2016), Dines (2004), Glasper (2004; 2006), Reynolds (2006) and Liptrot (2012) reinforce the first wave/second wave argument claiming that British anarcho-punk, and its protagonists such as Crass, came in the wake of this first wave of punk. Glasper (2006) and Liptrot (2012) further suggest that British anarcho-punk emerged alongside other developing punk movements as an alternative to and from the remnants and failings of the earlier

fashion-centred, commodified and 'mainstream' punk of the late 1970s. However, some argue that the band formed during the first wave. Richard Cross (2010: 5) states that:

> Although the band would not find public prominence until 1978-79, Crass were formed during the birth-pangs of British punk, taking to the stage of legendary London punk club The Roxy and playing numerous gigs, including several memorable outings at The White Lion pub in Putney with the UK Subs in the turbulent winter of 1977. It was not until the spring of 1978, and the release of Crass's first album *The Feeding of the 5000*, that anarcho-punk broke through to find an audience of its own, and inspire the creation of an entirely new current, which would exist both inside and outside the punk milieu.

As previously stated, much of the academic literature on British anarcho-punk has tended to focus on or around Crass whilst, with a few exceptions, ignoring or giving scant recognition to the other bands that were involved in the subcultural scene. One prominent exception is Ian Glasper's historiography *The Day The Country Died: A History of Anarcho Punk 1980-1984* (2006). Glasper locates the history of British anarcho-punk in a particular era that sits firmly between two specific dates: 1980 and 1984. Approached from a non-academic but historical perspective, his work is divided into geographical regions of the UK and identifies the British anarcho-punk bands that came from those regions. The historical accounts are predominantly from interviews Glasper (2006) conducted with members of those bands. The work does, at times, reveal some interesting ideas, notions and information about British anarcho-punk and its politics but focuses more on the bands and the experiences of being in a band. He states in his introduction that "In the beginning there was Crass... they were Year Zero, a very literal line in the sand that translated as 'Enough is enough!'" (2006: 8), yet in his first chapter he cites Penny Rimbaud as saying: "We sort of tail-ended that first wave", and he adds, of Crass themselves "We were playing through 77, playing a lot with the [UK] Subs, for example, and being talked about in the same breath" (Rimbaud, cited in Glasper, 2006: 11). This tends to suggest there is a paradox in the notion of British anarcho-punk beginning earlier than 1980, as Glasper's book title infers. As with many historical accounts there is usually some ambiguity and contradiction depending on the author, the memories of the participants, and what is being used as the defining historical moment.

Punk and British anarcho-punk's relationship with anarchism and 1970s counterculture

The inclusion of the prefix *anarcho,* which is rooted in anarchism*,* with the existing subcultural term

punk, suggests that there was a combinational development of a more politically and ideologically focussed form of punk emerging as a distinctive subset of punk (Avery-Natale 2012). Therefore, the very term anarcho-punk would suggest that there was a link between punk and the ideologies of anarchism. Whilst this dissertation does not seek to provide a historiography of anarchism (see Christie and Meltzer, 1970; Woodcock, 1975 and Marshall, 1993), it is worth noting that the first wave of punk, and its relationship to the approaches and methodologies of the Situationist International (SI) movement of the 1950s and 1960s (Marcus, 1989 and Savage,1991), adopted the sloganeering of anarchism for shock value. Dunn (2016: 197) notes that many of the first wave of punk bands on both sides of the Atlantic had little interest in the ideologies of anarchism much beyond the term being used as a way of signifying a broader anti-establishment rhetoric, or to provoke media and consumer attention. Ironically, Guy Debord who was seen as the SI's leading theorist, rejected anarchism and the anarchist tradition (Matthews, 2005). Cogan's (2007: 78) analysis of anarchy and radicalism in early punk rock supports this argument when he states:

> The Sex Pistols certainly were influenced by their Svengali-like manager Malcolm McLaren, who was indebted to the Situationists and earlier forms of radical politics. McLaren had been a spectator at the 1968 uprising in Paris, and the collage art work for the Sex Pistols' early singles was done by artist and Situationist Jamie Reid. Still, it is unclear to what extent members of major bands such as The Clash and Sex Pistols actually believed in the political statements they were making.

Savage (1991) suggests that when the Sex Pistols released their first single '*Anarchy in the U.K'*, a link between anarchism and punk was declared, though as noted by Rimbaud (1998) albeit perhaps by name rather than by intent. As Rimbaud (1998: 216) recounts after hearing the Sex Pistols song '*Anarchy in the U.K.'* (1976) for the first time:

> Although we both felt that the Pistols probably didn't mean it, to us it was a battle cry. When Johnny Rotten proclaimed that there was "no future", we saw it as a challenge. We both knew that there was a future if we were prepared to fight for it.

Gordon (1996; 2016), McKay (1996), Rimbaud (1998), Cross (2004; 2010), Dale (2012), Dines (2004), Glasper (2006), Liptrot (2012) and Worley (2017) all suggest that what British anarcho-punk did was to take some of the political and ideological sloganeering of earlier first wave punk, and politicise them in a more literal way. Dines (2004) further argues that the re-appropriation and transformation of certain features of first wave punk in the early 1980s, combined with notions of anarchist thought or action, provided a space where people could nurture a more informed identity

and lifestyle in articulating a resistance and aversion towards the hegemonic culture and the political and corporate structures of society.

Dines (2004:253) further states that:

> [Al]though anarchism was at first taken as a means of mere shock value and expression of political rhetoric encompassing an eclectic mix of symbols … it was soon transformed within certain fragments of the punk rock movement into a 'space' for a more organised form of dissent. Subsequently, anarchism was taken seriously by the newly emerging anarcho-punk scene as a means of interjecting a sense of fervent political 'self awareness' into the punk rock movement.

Glasper (2006:8) points to the notion that in the wake of the first wave of punk, the interpretation of anarchism manifested itself in two distinctive ways. Firstly, he identifies the 'anarchy and peace' punks, who had developed the '60s counterculture interpretation of anarchy and pacifism into a sense of the individual's personal responsibility to make changes in a non-violent manner that encompassed many political and ideological viewpoints and musical styles. This was to become understood as British anarcho-punk. Secondly, he identifies 'anarchy and chaos' punks (sometimes referred to as 'UK82' punks) who were predominantly working-class teenagers. Despite having some commonalities with the 'anarchy and peace punks' on issues such as the threat of nuclear war, state and police oppression (Liptrot, 2012: 15), their approach to music and politics was markedly different. Their political struggle and rebellion was centred more on working-class values, expressed musically in a hard, fast and furious version of '70s punk that became as generic as its visual style (Liptrot, 2012: 15).

As British anarcho-punk emerged and developed, it appropriated the theoretical definition of anarchy in the sense that "anarchy is the rejection of that state control and represents a demand by the individual to live a life of personal choice not one of political manipulation" (Crass Flipside #23 1981 cited in Dines, 2004: 244). Craig O' Hara's detailed and philosophical analysis of anarchism within the punk movement goes some way to supporting this by stating that:

> Anarchist punks view anarchy as a freedom from authority and rules; a place where people can live their lives without some form of external compulsion. Thus police and formalized laws would not be necessary (1999: 95).

This trajectory of the emergence of British anarcho-punk, and its interpretation of anarchism, is

important in defining the difference and distinctiveness between a number of subsets that came out of the first wave of punk. This interpretation and exposition of anarchism that developed within the subcultural scene led to a number of my participants identifying and affiliating with it. As I discuss in chapter five, some participants had already identified as being punk during that so-called first wave, however a number of British anarcho-punks developing distinctive ideological, political and cultural signifiers created an environment in which their identarian affiliation transitioned from punk to anarcho-punk.

Crass have come to be defined by many (Berger, 2006; Cross, 2004; 2010; Dale, 2012: Dines, 2004; Gibbs, 1996; Glasper, 2005; 2006; Gosling, 2004; Laing, 1985; Liptrot, 2012; McKay, 1996; O'Hara, 1999; Robb, 2006; Sabin, 1999; Savage, 1991; Worley, 2017) as the originators and "reluctant leaders of a British anarcho-punk movement that essentially eschewed all leadership" (Glasper 2006: 8). This reluctance comes despite them claiming that they were responsible for bringing the globally recognised circled 'A' for anarchy symbol back into cultural and subcultural circulation through their musical and artistic DiY productions (Crass, 1982).

Crass's ideological approach to anarchism was in many ways linked to the type of anarchism associated with 1960s and 1970s hippie counter culture. This connection is supported by Cross (2010: 2) in his brief analysis of the position of British anarchism during the 1960s and 1970s:

> Anarchist politics—both innate and formal—had remained a significant, if incoherent, presence on the UK political fringe, particularly since the watershed of 1968 had accelerated British anarchism's post-war revival. However, by the tail end of the1970s British anarchism's resurgence had faltered.

Crass's approach to anarchism was also a rebuttal of McLaren and the Pistols' attack against the counterculture with their 'Never trust a Hippie' and 'No Future' sloganeering as a way of defining themselves from everything they saw as wrong in early 1970s society and culture. As Cross (2010: 4) states:

> When Malcolm McLaren, the Pistols' Svengali, had mischievously urged punks to "call all hippies boring old farts, and set light to them," he was reflecting a contempt for the cosy dope-addled indulgence of hippy, and asserting punk's claim to be its own Year Zero, severing connections to a pre-1976 past.

Returning to earlier discussions around punk, the avant-garde, and links to the Situationist

International (SI) movement, it is also interesting to highlight and note the links between some of the ideas of the SI movement, 1960s and 1970s counterculture, and the emergence of British anarcho-punk. Despite punk's media-fuelled rejection of the counterculture in the mid-1970s, the relationship between punk and hippies has since become more accepted. Marcus (1989) argues that the connection between punk and the SI movement came about through Malcolm McLaren's Situationist background and through his friend and graphic designer Jamie Reid, who deployed Situationist strategies in his visual work for the Sex Pistols. Both McLaren and Reid were on the periphery of the SI movement and King Mob[7] (Marcus, 1989), a splinter group from the SI movement, who deployed Situationist tactics and aligned themselves with ideologies of cultural anarchism through their relationships with Ben Morea and the American anarchist group UAW/MF[8] (Kunzru, 2008).

As well as a number of political and cultural interventions, King Mob deployed the technique of graffiti to express their ideas, a technique that Crass also used to articulate their own version of anarchism around London in 1977 (Ashford, 2013: 147-150), thus drawing on similar and common approaches between British anarcho- punk and the counterculture.

Liptrot (2012) notes that both the hippies and punks' loathing of the establishment, large corporations and overt commercialisation, were shared commonalities. Gordon (1995; 2016) notes that the literature on the counterculture, and its resistance to and protest against hegemony and state structures, suggests it ended in 1973 due to it becoming commodified by the culture industries, and was unlikely to reoccur again (Foss and Larkin, 1976; Nelson, 1989). However, Gordon (2016) argues that contemporary literature fails to consider how the non-commodifiable practices of the counterculture were assimilated and redeveloped by later social movements. These social movements include British anarcho-punk and what McKay (1996) terms as cultures of resistance, such as New Age Travellers, rave culture and eco-warriors. I would also add Black Blocs and the more recent Occupy Movement to

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[7] King Mob was a 1960s/1970s radical group based in London. It was seen as a cultural and ideological variation of the Situationists and the American anarchist group UAW/MF. It sought to promote revolution, anarchy and disorder through art, particularly graffiti statements, and other forms of popular culture.

[8] Up Against the Wall Motherfucker, or UAW/MF, or The Motherfuckers, was a direct-action anarchist group that emerged from Black Mask, a Dada influenced art group formed by painter Ben Morea and poet Dan Georgakas, and based in New York City in the 1960s.

this list. Gordon (2016) goes on to demonstrate the links, albeit tentative, between some of the counterculture's ideologies and practices and those of British anarcho-punk.

McKay (1996) suggests that the relationship between punks, hippies and SI strategies became more apparent within Crass. Some members had their roots firmly in that earlier counterculture, and reinvigorated a number of countercultural and political practices:

> The anarchism [Crass] espoused was not the anarchy of the Pistols …but a lifestyle and worldview they developed through a combination of hippy idealism and resistance, punk energy and cheek, and some of the cultural strategies of the Situationists (McKay 1996: 75).

Penny Rimbaud (1998), co-founder and member of Crass, discusses at length his association with the avant-garde and hippie counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and how many of the philosophical ideas and ideologies that he propagated during that time, such as communal living, collectivism, pacifism, libertarianism, anarchism and anti-authoritarianism, were carried over into the discourses of Crass. For example, Rimbaud discusses setting up an open house commune, Dial House, in Essex in the 1970s, which was later to become the collective home of all of the members of Crass. Rimbaud also cites his involvement in the 1960s and 1970s countercultures and the avant-garde art/performance collective EXIT as an important element in the foundation and development of Crass (Berger, 2006). Authors such as Johnston (2014) discuss how the ideologies of the 1960s and 1970s countercultural movements developed an additional framing of social movements to new social movements. Where social movements are predominantly politically concerned with structural divisions in society, mostly based around class and labour, new social movements were more concerned with the politicisation of identity and lifestyles. By recognising that more movements occur outside of the class-based parties, new social movements developed around themes such as animal rights, women's rights, gay rights and countercultural lifestyles. In terms of British anarcho-punk emerging from the milieu of punk subculture, a number of Crass members were involved in the 1960s and 1970s countercultures, some of which embraced notions of anarchism. Crass's introduction of countercultural politics positioned British anarcho-punk as straddling both a subculture and a new social movement. I explore this issue of how this was perceived and positioned in terms of a subcultural scene in more detail in the next chapter.

Crass's relationship with the counterculture further highlighted commonalities between hippies and British anarcho-punks in their resistance to the establishment. However, in the booklet *'Series of Shock Slogans and Mindless Token Tantrums'* (Crass, 1982), which was included with Crass's '*Christ- The Album'*, Rimbaud talks at length about what he saw as the failings of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture in effecting any real change in society through their resistance. The inclusion of the booklet signified the important influence of that period on some of the ideological and philosophical positions espoused by Crass and their interpretation of anarchism as a political ideology they endeavoured to live by. Crass's relationship with more politically overt anarchist organisations was, to some degree, brief in that they staged a benefit gig to raise money for the Persons Unknown trial[9] and to help finance the Wapping Autonomy Centre[10], also known as The Anarchist Centre. Alongside this gig and with the band Poison Girls, Crass co-recorded a benefit single, '*Persons Unknown/Bloody Revolutions'*, at the suggestion of Ronan Bennett, one of the released defendants in the Persons Unknown conspiracy trial. The centre, which closed after a year, was a focal point for a number of informal anarchist support groups and provided a space for debates, workshops, and a venue for the increasing number of British anarcho-punk bands that were forming (Rimbaud 1998: 117-124). So, whilst the literature signifies relationships between British anarcho-punk, anarchism and the counterculture, the type of anarchism that developed was based less on 'traditional' political anarchist principles. Cross (2010: 2) argues that the relationship between anarchism and punk was not always cohesive in that "the punks who raised new anarchist banners of their own making were quickly revealed in pursuit of very different goals" to an anarchist tradition that focussed on political power, economic and personal exploitation, and class relationships. Donaghey's (2016) investigation of contemporary anarchist-punk scenes in the UK, Poland and Indonesia, demonstrates that the relationship between anarchism and punk remains complex, as punks in these contemporary scenes define and articulate anarchism and anarchist praxis in a number of different and distinctive ways.

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[9] The Persons Unknown trial was a trial of 6 alleged anarchists, and others unknown and not arrested, allegedly linked to the 1970s anarchist group The Angry Brigade and to Black Flag. They were accused of being part of an anarchist terrorist conspiracy, who were plotting to cause explosions and radically change society through violent means. After 18 months in custody during the length of the trial, all defendants were acquitted and immediately released. British anarcho-punk bands Crass and Poison Girls recorded and performed a benefit record and performance in support of the defendants which enabled the development of the Wapping Autonomy Centre, aka The Anarchist Centre.

So, whilst O'Hara (1999:71) suggests that most punks "share a belief formed around the anarchist principles of having no official government or rulers and valuing individual freedom and responsibility", the manifestation of those principles in tandem with other individual and personal principles varies greatly amongst them. Donaghey (2016:45) deftly summarises the relationship between punk and anarchism:

> So, while a connection between anarchism and punk (or even a 'punk-anarchism') is widely recognised, it is qualified as being somehow different from other anarchisms, and even then there is no unanimously shared understanding of anarchism that is shared by all punks [...] Anarchism and punk are amorphous, ill-defined entities. The challenge is not to identify a 'true' conception of either of these, or to isolate one aspect of their relationship as being definitive, but to embrace the complexity that surrounds them.

The ideologies and politics of British anarcho-punk

A number of authors discuss the politics and ideologies of British anarcho-punk placing emphasis on different elements of what defined or constituted it. Therefore, this process of political, cultural and ideological negotiation could be seen as an attempt to define and construct a cohesive identity for British anarcho-punk. As previously discussed, Glasper (2006: 8) and Liptrot (2012: 14-19) argue that the 'post-punk' or second wave of punk witnessed the emergence of a number of differing subcultures and scenes each with its own interpretation of and approaches to punk. Despite the fragmentation of the early 1980s, it is worth noting that not all punks acknowledged this and would continue to produce and consume various styles of what they considered to be punk (Liptrot 2012: 17). However, Cross (2004: 32) argues that there was no one cohesive political agenda or ideology within British anarcho-punk and that:

> Crass's own reading of anarchism retained hippy's concern with the freedom of the individual from the intrusion of the state, but infused it with militant opposition to the 'war machine', and an excoriating critique of the alienated social relations of capitalism.

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[10] The Wapping Autonomy Centre, also called The Anarchist Centre, was a social space set up in Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping, from late 1981 to 1982. The centre was the idea of anarchist Ronan Bennett and others initially funded by money raised by the Poison Girls/Crass benefit single '*Persons Unknown/Bloody Revolutions*', as well as benefit gigs by Poison Girls and Crass. It became a hub for the British anarcho-punk scene in London for a short period of time, with live gigs, book fairs, fanzine conventions, discussion groups, films, debates and political workshops, until the building was vacated in 1982.

In this way, Crass's own interpretation of anarchy and punk combined with 1960s and 1970s counterculture idealism set the cultural, ideological and political template that was often employed by many British anarcho-punk bands that came after them (see Glasper 2006; Cross 2004,). In his analysis Cross (2004) continues by saying that British anarcho-punk, around the rallying cry of 'anarchy, peace and freedom', engaged with other diverse politics. These included anti-militarism and opposition to the nuclear arms race, which remained as a defining concern, atheism, anti-capitalism, anti- globalisation, pacifism, anti-war, feminism, animal rights and animal liberation, vegetarianism and veganism, and squatting (Bestley, 2016; Bestley and Binns, 2018; Dines, 2004; Glasper, 2006; Gordon, 1996; Grimes, 2016; Liptrot, 2012; McKay, 1996; O'Hara, 1999, Worley, 2017). Crass and British anarcho-punk also engaged with a number of other radical militant groups to protest against the financial institutions of the City of London in a number of actions between 1983 and 1984. As Cross (2016: 119) states in his insightful analysis of the Stop The City[11] (STC) demonstrations:

> STC occupies a unique position in the history of British anarcho-punk and provides an illuminating illustration of the movement's attempts to project its political practice at a collective level: taking the messages of the culture's musical and printed output and mobilising around them (in an autonomous, confrontational way), in territory which the movement considered to be the 'belly of the beast'.

Rimbaud (1998) suggests that Crass were partly responsible for reinvigorating public interest in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which had dwindled in membership since its popularity and media coverage peak in the 1950s and 1960s. By displaying CND's peace symbol at their gigs, Rimbaud claims that Crass introduced CND to thousands of people who would later revive it as a prominent political group. Worley (2018) suggests that Crass and British anarcho-punk's relationship with CND also incorporated wider issues around their engagement with cold war politics and the pervading threat of nuclear war. Alongside the peace symbol, Crass also displayed the circled 'A' anarchy symbol. Whilst this could be seen as a direct alignment with the politics of anarchism, Rimbaud (1998) states that the band, who were by then attracting large audiences, were being put under pressure by the political left and political right to clarify their political affinities. The use of the anarchist symbol enabled Crass to disassociate themselves from either polarised political position and allowed them to continue with their message of anarchist self-determination (1998:108-109).

Engagement with the politics of pacifism was also central to Crass philosophy (Worley and Lohman 2018) and British anarcho-punk ideology. Cross (2004) argues that, for Crass, anarchism and pacifism were symbiot;ic. However, O'Hara (1999), in his discussion and analysis around anarchism and pacifism recognises that not all British anarcho-punk bands or their adherents were pacifist. Many that were pacifist in the early beginnings later rejected its usefulness, as they became more subject to personal physical abuse by the politically far right and the state (1999: 87-89). As British anarcho-punk gained momentum and a larger audience, organisations such as Class War[12], whose anarchistic ideologies were focussed on class division and direct action, started to gain traction (Bone, 2006; Dines 2004: 215-223, Worley, 2017). Similarly, the British anarcho-punk 'zine *Pigs For Slaughter,* which was representative of the Anarchist Youth Federation (AYF), took a more hard-line approach. The first issue contained a three-page searing critique of Crass and British anarcho-punk, highlighting their contradictions, the failure of its pacifist approach and lack of commitment to direct action and confrontation with the 'system' and all its agents (Bestley and Binns, 2018). Other anarcho- punk 'zines such as *Cardboard Theatre, Fight Back, Enigma,* and *Scum* also promoted and encouraged direct action against the state, owners of capital, the arms industry and animal laboratories (Bestley and Binns, 2018; Grimes 2016: 175-176).

Animal rights issues, such as animal experimentation and exploitation, the dairy and meat industry

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[11] Stop The City was primarily a number of demonstrations held in 1983 and 1984 in London, and spawned similar demonstrations in Birmingham, Glasgow, Bristol and Leeds in the same period. The purpose of the demonstrations was mainly to disrupt the financial organisations in the City of London who were seen to be profiteering from war and oppression. Stop The City has been cited as the forerunner to many of the anti-capitalism and anti-globalisation protests of the 1990s onwards. See Cross (2016) for a further analysis of the demonstrations and their background.

[12] Started in 1983 by Ian Bone, long time anarchist and class activist, and others, Class War is an anarchist newspaper that "would put (1) class and (2) violence back at the top of the anarchist agenda [.   ] It would hate the rich bastards and slag off CND and the Labour party" (Bone, 2006:121) and was
"for the street rioters, for the class struggle anarchists not the lifestylers" (Bone, 2006: 103). Class War soon became an anarchist organisation. See Bone (2006) and Bone et al (1991) for more details on Class War.

and the fur trade, were introduced into the milieu of British anarcho-punk ideologies through bands such as Flux of Pink Indians and their debut ep 'Neu Smell', soon followed by Conflict with their track 'Meat Means *Murder'*. Liptrot (2012) notes that although not all British anarcho-punks adopted or supported all of the issues around animal rights, it did become a core ideology within British anarcho- punk. Indeed, bands such as Conflict and Flux of Pink Indians heavily promoted and supported a number of animal rights groups, such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Hunt Saboteurs Association, who advocated direct action against anyone involved in the exploitation of animals.

Gender politics was another ideology brought to the fore by Crass, Poison Girls, Rubella Ballet and Hagar The Womb, bands which explicitly addressed feminist issues in the lyrical content of some of their songs. Poison Girls' first album '*Hex'* took an uncompromising approach to songs that explored gender roles, feminism and sexuality. As a response to British anarcho-punk becoming increasingly male dominated, Crass produced and released a feminist album, '*Penis Envy'*, which was entirely voiced by two of the female members of the band. Likewise, predominantly female British anarcho-punk band Hagar The Womb formed as a way to participate, have agency and a voice in response to this male domination within British anarcho-punk (Reddington, 2016). Reddington argues that British anarcho-punk created an arena that considered and engaged with feminism in a way that 'mainstream' and earlier punk had not done so well, though she strongly suggests that this was probably encouraged by its inter-generational protagonists. She further posits that key to this arena was a movement that embedded into its practice the mentoring of up and coming British anarcho-punk bands that importantly included female members, and a network of venues that those bands could perform at.British anarcho-punk made headway with feminism as an issue that demanded attention, however the number of bands that vigorously addressed feminism were few in what remained a male dominated movement.

British anarcho-punk's engagement with such a diverse range of collective and personal political ideologies became acutely complicated and open to criticism from hard line political anarchists (Bone,

2006; Cross, 2010), who saw this as a "confusion of revolutionary perspectives with the 'politics of lifestyle'" (Cross, 2004: 33). Cross goes on to highlight that what was important to British anarcho-punk's politics and ideologies was the encouragement of the freedom and responsibility of the individual, and the "adoption of radical practices in the personal lives of its adherents" (Cross, 2004: 33) for effecting personal, political and social change. This was achieved either by individual actions, or through the strength of collective action, determined and supported through a subcultural network of 'zines, gigs and records/tapes rather than "the diktats of any central organizing committee, or ultimately the pronouncements of Crass." (Cross, 2004:33) (see also Cross, 2010). Cross also recognizes that this in itself became problematic as many of its adherents looked to what it perceived as its leaders, such as Crass, for organizational, political and ideological direction (2010). Cross (2004: 33) goes on to state that "Anarcho-punk's politics remained a moving target. For critics and supporters alike, even as the movement's manifestos evolved, they remained frustratingly imprecise."

Rimbaud (1998) also notes that, at times, the ideologies of British anarcho-punk became limiting for a number of reasons. One, as stated by Cross (2004), was that Crass started to develop a cult-like status amongst its supporters who seemingly eschewed the freethinking, self–determined *be your own authority* approach to anarchy and libertarian thinking that the band encouraged. Secondly, a developing partisan approach to the ideologies that had become inherent within British anarcho-punk became the antithesis to some of its original aims and objectives (Grimes, 2016). This eventually became partly responsible for British anarcho-punk's fragmentation and demise (Cross, 2004: 2010).

British anarcho-punk music, culture and DiY practices

The music of British anarcho-punk was, and continues to be, difficult to pigeonhole. Crass's early forays took an innovative approach that utilised some elements of the standardised 4/4 verse/chorus structure of most popular music and 'commercial' punk rock, but at times moved beyond that. As Cross (2010: 5) notes, Crass developed:

> a signature sound that was unlike that of any other punk band ……Underpinned by the drive of militaristic snare-drum rhythms and prominent bass lines, were layers of overdriven guitar, and the impassioned vocals of a collection of different male and female singers. Crass's songs were short, intensive, aggressive and full-to-bursting with

polemical agit-prop lyrics. Intertwined with the songs were sounds sampled from TV and radio recordings, feedback and soundloops, which were often used to bridge the transfer between songs and emphasize the totality of the recorded experience. Crass began from an assumption that the music was a delivery mechanism for the ideas which motivated the band.

So, whilst encompassing the energy of early punk rock, many of Crass's musical production techniques drew on a more avant-garde approach to music making (Dale, 2016), arguably influenced by Rimbaud's involvement with 1970s performance art group Exit. Rimbaud claimed that Crass owed more to the avant-garde than any rock 'n' roll precedent (Rimbaud, 1998). Similarly, bands such as the Poison Girls, Cravats and Rudimentary Peni also took a more avant-garde approach. Conversely other bands associated with British anarcho-punk, such as Conflict, Icons of Filth, Anti-Sect, and Discharge drew on elements of earlier punk but often played at brutal break-neck speeds, thereby imbuing the lyrical content with a sense of anger and urgency. Whilst a large number of bands followed the music style of more traditional punk rock (4/4 timing, verse/chorus structure), others adopted an approach that veered towards a pop-sensibility, with bands such as Hagar and The Womb, Chumbawamba and Rubella Ballet fusing punk's energy with catchy rhythmic hooks. I would suggest that the album 'From The Cradle To The Grave' by Subhumans went so far as to represent a quasi 'concept' album, in so much as it documents the lifespan of a British anarcho-punk and his/her struggle with/against society and the system. This is somewhat supported in Dines (2004) musicological and lyrical analysis of Subhumans. Interestingly the 'concept' album was a familiar and popularised production approach favoured by the very 1970s artists such as Yes, Genesis and Pink Floyd that the first wave of punk professed to rally against.

Glasper (2006:9) notes that although these varied and often different music styles set a number of British anarcho-punk associated bands apart, they were "bound together more by their ethics than any unwritten musical doctrine" ... and… "they weren't afraid of setting their creative sights significantly higher" than many UK82 punk bands. These ethics, that reflected the DiY production values and lyrical content that attacked the state, religion and corporate capitalism, were expressed by some performers in a direct and brutal way and by others in more subtle and artistic ways. Glasper (2006:9) goes on to further say that this fluid unbounded creativity, and not being afraid to try new approaches

and push musical and sonic boundaries, brought together:

> ...bands as disparate as The Mob, Conflict, Chumbawamba and Poison Girls sharing stages, all for the common good, influences taken everywhere from meandering folk via raging hardcore to arty noise and back again.

Taking up the first wave punk adage that 'anyone can do it', many adherents felt empowered to make music and other media within a supportive network of like-minded people. As Liptrot (2012:13) states:

> Through a range of styles (including Crass's and later Dirt's scratchy, distorted guitars combined with simple drumming, to the more melodic folk style of bands such as The Mob, and Omega Tribe), anarcho bands returned punk music to its amateur-sounding roots.

Core to this was the reinvigoration of the principles of DiY (Dale, 2008), stimulated by Crass and their approach to producing cheap multimedia artefacts, by using whatever resources were available to those inspired to produce and perform. In her thesis on the longevity of DiY punk in Britain, Liptrot emphasises that "DiY principles are a persistent feature of punk music and culture" (2012: 20) and the cultural practices developed and contained within punk were key in the dissemination of punk and its ideologies amongst its participants and new audiences. Spencer (2008) traces back the origins of DiY culture and explores how various forms of DiY practice within fanzines, self-publishing and music helped shape the development of radical movements including punk and British anarcho-punk. Spencer discusses at length the influence of the DiY ethos in punk music and how fanzines and DiY independent record labels/music distributors contributed to and became central in punk's dissemination and cultural construct. Likewise, McKay (1996) explores Crass's engagement with DiY by using ideas of bricolage as "the classic modes of anarchic discourse, the structured improvisations of bricolage for a theory of spectacular subculture" (1996: 78), that were explored and developed in Hebdige's subcultural analysis of punk in 'Subculture: The Meaning of Style' (1979). McKay (1996) applies notions of bricolage to Crass by analysing a number of "devices they employed in their cultural and political practice" (1996: 78) including multimedia and intertextual forms, political campaigns, music, visual style and live performance. The same can be said of British anarcho-punk more generally with Liptrot stating that Crass were largely responsible for re-energising and extending the DiY ethic in punk (2012: 21).

For British anarcho-punk, this DiY ethos was core to it avoiding engagement with the mainstream

culture industries and, as a result, it avoided the commodification of earlier punk. Although DiY practices were core to British anarcho-punk, at times engagement with the culture industries had to take place. This often occurred through distribution and production networks sympathetic to those autonomous DiY ideologies and principles behind the often subversive products (Gordon, 1996; 2016). Crass set up their own label, Crass Records, as a way of having total control of the production and distribution of their music without going through the gatekeeping process they experienced with their first release on independent label Small Wonder Records. To add to this, they instigated a 'pay no more than' policy which stated on the record sleeve the price to pay clearly demonstrating that the cost of production, distribution was less than the price that high street record stores would charge.

As a result of Crass Records' success, they were able to release the music of like-minded bands from a number of musical styles, some of whom went on to create their own record labels and perpetuate the supportive DiY process. Cross (2004: 35) notes that some British anarcho-punks did little more than act the role of 'fans' and consumers of the genre however the majority of producers, organisers, promoters, printers, authors and composers of British anarcho-punk came from within the ranks of British anarcho-punk itself. This was premised on the notion that British anarcho-punk would sustain, develop and spread its ideological, cultural and musical influence through the self-determined and directed endeavours of its members. Encouraged by Crass's overt DiY practices and multi-media productions, and inspired by this DiY ethic, many British anarcho-punks continued or started to form bands, and organise and promote gigs, which usually included a variety of performers, poets and films. These events often occurred in places such as scout huts, village and church halls, youth clubs and squats, thus avoiding, where possible, profiteering music and venue promoters. Not only did this keep the entrance fees to a minimum but it also exposed the music and political ideologies to younger British anarcho-punks who were prohibited from entering traditional licensed venues due to their age. Often money raised from these events would support various causes and groups that British anarcho- punk aligned to or sympathised with.

The DiY principle also opened up opportunities for musicians of any ability to record their music on the most basic equipment, often shared amongst British anarcho-punks, without having to incur large

studio costs or fear judgement of the production values, thus also circumnavigating the capitalist, corporate music and cultural industries. Often at gigs and through 'adverts' in 'zines, a network and culture of tape exchange/trading developed where music and lyrical information from bands across the country, and later Europe and the globe, was shared at little or no cost. Live performances also created a communal space where the continual development, contestation and negotiation of what constituted British anarcho-punk would take place.

Self-produced pamphlets, treatises, artwork, audio tapes and 'zines would be handed out at gigs for free or sold at production cost. I have argued elsewhere (Grimes, 2015; 2016) that 'zines were integral to the construction, development and dissemination of the musical, cultural, and political ideas of British anarcho-punk. They also served to critique British anarcho-punk, often accusing its adherents of unreflectively adopting a less autonomous approach to politics and ideology, and even down to critiquing how the adoption of all black clothing became a uniform rather than an expression of the individuality encouraged in British anarcho-punk's rhetoric (Cross, 2004). However, some adherents were attracted only to specific elements of the subcultural scene such as its music, political ideology or cultural activities, and could also be fans of other non-anarcho punk acts. As a result, not as many of them were involved or committed to the manifestation of British anarcho-punk's political and cultural goals. Although some were exposed to a number of new radical and anarchistic principles, for others anarcho-punk was a momentary phase and manifestation of the wider punk milieu.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how British anarcho-punk emerged from the punk milieu that existed in the mid-to-late 1970s. I began by showing how authors have discussed and framed the emergence of and the histories of punk rock in their attempts at defining it. I suggested that although there has been some consensus regarding key times, places and events, authors have discussed punk's historical, political and cultural development in a number of subtly different ways. I found that amongst the cited authors, there have been a number of different approaches as to its origins and these discussions highlight the contradictions, complexities, heterogeneity and mythologies associated with punk rock. By exploring the academic work on punk rock, I found that there is no obvious definition thus

highlighting the multi-faceted and complex nature of punk rock and the historicising of punk rock.

In the corpus of literature on punk there emerges a common discourse or consensus about how the history of punk rock's development is framed. Such discourses see punk as developing in two distinct phases, commonly referred to as first wave and second wave or punk and post-punk. I found that British anarcho-punk seems to have been excluded from punk histories that document this period of transition. However, over the past 15 years, an academic and cultural interest has developed in investigating and documenting British anarcho-punk's place during this period. As with the emergence of punk rock in the 1970s, there has also been a degree of contradiction, complexity and mythologising around the emergence of British anarcho-punk as a subcultural scene. However, Crass generally feature heavily in most of those discussions. Crass are recognised as being the band that saw the Sex Pistols' sloganeering cry for 'Anarchy in the U.K.' as an opportunity for invigorating an ideological approach to a libertarian form of anarchism, that was linked to the 1960s and 1970s counterculture and SI groups such as King Mob. This was partly enabled through the relationship with the counterculture that members of Crass had in the 1960s and 1970s. In doing so, Crass came to be recognised as the originators of British anarcho-punk.

As British anarcho-punk developed, so did its politics, ideologies and praxis that encompassed notions around anarchism, animal rights, pacifism, vegetarianism/veganism, anti-authoritarianism, anti-globalisation and anti-capitalism. Many of the developing and self-interpretive ideologies and positions were distributed through a number of DiY practices, including the production of texts by the participants of the movement. In this sense, a collective identity of British anarcho-punk developed and this is critical to understanding my later discussions around my research focus and thesis. I will now explore in what ways my research participants engagement with British anarcho-punk helped to construct their British anarcho-punk identities; and in what ways does that feature in their current identities 40 plus years later.

Chapter 2

British anarcho-punk: Subculture? Scene? Milieu? Social Movement?

In the previous chapter, I discussed the emergence of British anarcho-punk from the punk milieu of the 1970s. In doing so, I began to contextualise my study by discussing British anarcho-punk's relationship with the 1960s/70s counterculture, its politics and ideologies, its music, culture and DiY practices. In this chapter, I discuss the various ways that youth driven (musical) cultures have been conceptualised in terms of subcultural, post-subcultural and new social movement (NSM) theories. I propose that a more hybridised approach and theoretical framework that includes subcultural, post-subcultural and NSM theories is needed in examining British anarcho-punk. I will show how this hybridised approach contextualises the subtle nuances of a subcultural scene such as British anarcho-punk as it encapsulates and demonstrates elements of subcultural, post-subcultural and NSM theories and concepts. In turn this will allow me to contextualise the narratives of my participants, their affiliation to British anarcho-punk and its continuing significance in their lives after that affiliation has been relinquished.

There have been many approaches to how youth driven musical cultures have been conceptualised and discussed both in academia and within popular culture. Theoretical concepts such as subculture (Blackman, 2005; Clarke et al., 1976; Hebdige, 1979; Hodgkinson, 2002; Muggleton, 2000; MacDonald and Marsh, 2001; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006), and post-subcultural concepts such as tribe (Maffesoli, 1996), neo-tribe (Bennett, 1999), scene (Bennett and Peterson, 2004; Irwin, 1977; Kahn-Harris, 2001;2004; 2007; Shank, 1994; Straw, 1991) and milieu cultures (Webb, 2007), have been deployed as frameworks or models in which to investigate youth and music cultures and as a way of attempting to define, or categorise and document those youth cultures, their practices and behaviours.

Such authors as listed above have each offered up a defence of their theoretical positions however as Furlong et al. (2012), Woodman and Wyn (2015) and Hodgkinson (2016) suggest, the theoretical

discussions around subcultures and post-subcultures seem to have now reached a theoretical impasse and they have begun to question the usefulness of this continuing stalemate. To add to the different theoretical approaches discussed above, terms such as milieu, social movement (Tilly, 1978) and new social movement (Melucci, 1980) have also been deployed in examining the relationship between subcultures and post-subcultures, particularly in terms of their political and ideological functions (della Porta and Diani, 2006; Haunss and Leach, 2004; Johnston, 2014). More generally, some of the terms and theoretical concepts have been imposed on these particular groups by academics and cultural commentators, seemingly depriving the group of their own agency in how they are represented. In my own research, the participants sometimes referred to themselves as being part of a subculture, which would have been the terminology employed in the study of youth musical cultures during the period of my participants' engagement with British anarcho-punk. However, they also sometimes used the term scene and movement[13] which post-dates the period in which they engaged with British anarcho-punk. So, it could be argued that when retrospectively examining a subculture, we are provided with an additional set of analytical approaches with which to examine and position that particular subcultural group. Historically, British anarcho-punk would have been understood as a subculture, however, retrospectively, it demonstrates elements of post-subcultural and new social movements. Therefore, I suggest that these terminologies, whilst providing a conceptual framework to study these groupings, are at the same time perhaps trying to impose a sense of order and an illusion of cohesion onto something chaotic.

Huq (2006: 165) argues for the development of theoretically mixed models to investigate youth cultures rather than one overarching grand theory as there is no one singular experience of youth. Similarly, Hesmondhalgh (2005: 32) argues that "we need an eclectic array of theoretical tools to investigate the difficult questions towards which the terms subcultures, scenes and tribes direct our attention." Authors such as Haunss and Leach (2004), argue that in their investigation of social movements, "subcultures, countercultures, milieus, scenes and social movements cannot be neatly separated but overlap in various ways. They can only be distinguished analytically as the different

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[13] Used in terms of New Social Movement (NSM) theory which I discuss later in this chapter.

terms refer to different levels of commonality" (Haunss and Leach 2004: 10). This suggests that a mixed approach to investigating youth cultures is required to tease out the subtle nuances of that culture. In this chapter, I argue that British anarcho-punk demonstrates some of the characteristics of each of those individual theoretical conceptualisations, as well as a challenge to some of them, and therefore occupies a space that considers a mixed or hybridised conceptualisation of this particular grouping. As I will show later in this thesis, the recognition and understanding of the dynamics, behaviours and practices of the cultural group is important in how my participants developed their individual anarcho-punk identities. How British anarcho-punk as a cultural grouping is understood and conceptualised is important in how the sense of self and identity is partly negotiated and developed through affiliation with cultural group.

Whilst many previous discussions centre on the relationship between youth cultures and their affiliation with music, or the relationship between music, the social and its social function (Middleton, 1990; Toynbee, 2000), some of the terminologies deployed in post-subcultural studies, such as scene (Bennett and Peterson, 2004; Kahn-Harris, 2001; 2004; 2007; Shank, 1994; Straw, 1991) and genre (Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Toynbee, 2000) allow for the consideration of the implications of association or affiliation with youth cultures and music outside of youth. As one ages, what is the relationship to these concepts that have been traditionally couched in notions of youth? Where many studies of ageing and youth cultures tend to focus on one's continuing participation in that culture beyond youth and into older age (Bennett, 2012; 2013; Davis, 2012; Haenfler, 2012; Tsitsos, 2012), this study is more concerned with past affiliation rather than continued participation. My participants are recounting their youthful experiences of their affiliation with British anarcho-punk through notions of memory, nostalgia, and the connectivity to that previous affiliation in the present. Simultaneously they are assessing the impact that this previous affiliation has had on their subsequent and current lives.

Subcultural theory - a traditional approach
Early post-war studies of youth cultures developed within the Chicago School, which often took a social interactionist approach, examining youth cultures through notions of deviancy.

Researchers such as Howard Becker (1963), who further developed Tennenbaum's (1938) earlier ideas of labelling theory, argued that deviancy is created by social groups who see others' behaviour as transgressing the rules and regulations made by those social groups. In that way, as (Becker, 1963: 9) states:

> deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by other of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label"

This early social interactionist approach to studying deviancy and subcultures provided a foundation for the use of the term 'subculture' as a theoretical framework by the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies (CCCS). Where the CCCS mirrored the work of the Chicago School, albeit in a British context (Bennett & Kahn-Harris, 2004: 4), their theoretical frameworks were overtly political. Employing Louis Althusser's (1970) concepts of ideology and Antonio Gramsci's (1929-1935/1971) notions of hegemony, the CCCS took a neo-Marxist theoretical approach, which was popular in European cultural studies at the time of the development of the CCCS. These neo-Marxist approaches were deployed in investigating working-class youth cultures that were experiencing and coping with a set of unique tensions created by the social and economic transformations of a post war Britain (Clarke et al., 1976; Cohen, 1972; Corrigan and Frith, 1976). Influenced by the works of Richard Hoggart (1957), Raymond Williams (1958) and E.P Thompson (1963), the CCCS interpreted youth culture as a response to class position and thus a subculture was seen as an attempt to resolve the issues presented to them by "their material and social class position and experience" (Clarke et al., 1976: 15). At the centre of the CCCS' argument was the theory of cultural hegemony, derived from Gramsci's (1929-1935/1971) theories of hegemony, in that the domination of the subordinate classes by the ruling classes is maintained by gaining consent by producing prevailing discourses and through persuasion, negotiation, and manipulation, rather than force alone. Therein the ideological world view of the ruling classes becomes the perceived natural order or normative view for the subordinate classes, who thereby acquiesce their own subordination.

The CCCS saw culture as an expressive form of the social, in terms of how social groups made meaning from the social experience. As Clarke et al. state (1976, 10):

The "culture" of a particular group or class is the peculiar and distinctive "way of life" of the group or class, the meanings values and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems of belief, in customs and mores, in the uses of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shapes in which this material and social organization of life expresses itself"

Willis (1990) argues that within society there is a dominant hegemonic culture and a common culture where the former is created by those groups who possess the greatest power and the latter is an articulation of the day-to-day lives of the other classes and social groups. The various classes in society will express themselves culturally in quite different and specific ways and make up what the CCCS referred to as 'parent culture', the class based cultural choices that are available for utilisation by particular groups. This is then expressed in class-aligned responses to the dominant hegemonic culture. For subcultures to emerge there has to be a sense of discord with both the hegemonic culture and parent culture, and must be identifiably different from the parent culture, though the values and actions of the subculture may either affirm or reject the class culture from which it emerged.

In investigating subcultures, the CCCS drew from Gramsci's posit that class relations in a late capitalist society are based around hegemonic struggle. Clarke et al. (1976) adopted Gramsci's (1929-1935/1971) concept of counter-hegemony, and argued that the subcultural differentiation is demonstrated through resistance to the hegemonic culture through counter hegemonic activities, whilst still remaining connected to it through wider processes. This form of resistance was often demonstrated through the rhetoric of spectacular youth cultures, who functioned to resolve the conflicting position between the values of a working-class parent culture and a modern hegemonic culture of mass consumption dominated by media, commerce and consumerism (Clarke et al., 1977: 16; Cohen, 1972: 23, Hebdige 1979). So, whilst subcultures did not provide a resolution to class subordination, as Webb (2015: 100) states:

the CCCS suggested the class tensions and relations were played out in the imagination and displaced by an emphasis on symbolic goods, style, violence and knowledge of particular fields of activity (e.g. popular music).

This resistance was often achieved through the appropriation of material goods of mass culture but the détournement of these everyday objects would alter their meaning and in doing so they would acquire a new symbolic meaning for the subculture. The use of these 'repurposed' goods would symbolically fit aspects of the subculture in what was termed a 'homology' (Willis, 1978)

Hebdige (1979) best exemplified this theoretical position of resistance within a spectacular youth culture through his research into punk style. In his book *'Subculture: The Meaning of Style'* (1979), Hebdige cogently integrated theories of semiotics, structuralism and modernist literature. Drawing on anthropologist and structuralist Claude Lévi- Strauss' (1962) concept of bricolage and homology, Hebdige showed how punks, through the semiotic reconfiguration of commodities of the dominant culture, took everyday items such as dog collars and safety pins and adapted them to create new meanings that further strengthened the subculture through symbolic gestures. Bright garish clothes were combined with second-hand jumble sale or thrift store clothes and in some cases fetish wear. Hairstyles were subverted by using bright coloured hair dye often spiked up with Vaseline, hairspray or even glue. These practices of resistance through style by the repurposing, adaptation and reconstruction of are akin to cultural do-it yourself (DiY) practices and became synonymous with punk culture. I discuss later in this thesis (chapter 6) the importance of DiY practices and the emergence of a visual and musical style within British anarcho-punk.

Through their symbolic, stylistic and subversive acts these punk 'bricoleurs' created a set of signifying practices for the subcultural group. These subcultural signifiers, such as clothes, music and behaviour could be understood as being homologous with one another and anchored the signs of a subculture to its collective or group image Hebdige (1979), and in doing so set the subculture apart from the parent culture and dominant culture. However, Hebdige (1979) argues that resistant aspects of subcultures and their signifiers are eventually incorporated back into the dominant culture, thus creating problems for the notion of subcultures as cultures of resistance.

Whilst the work of the CCCS formalized a theoretical space for the social study of marginalized groups and their cultural practices, and the impact on youth of the uneven power and class dynamics

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in post war Britain, a number of their theories have been questioned in terms of their relevance in a seemingly more class fluid contemporary society.

Webb (2015:104) notes that Hebdige's explanation of the relationship between "the symbolic nature of the subculture and actual working class-ness" is somewhat unconvincing, in that Hebdige attempts to connect the two positions, with Webb (2015: 104) suggesting that:

> Punk, instead of reflecting the position of its class background to reconcile and recreate a sense of traditional class community, dislocates itself from its class position to reform meanings to the extent that it moves outside of the knowledge of ordinary people.

The CCCS' focus on class raises a number of additional criticisms. Cohen (1972) argues that all members of a certain class enter into the same subculture and in turn all members of that subculture come from the same class background. This rather narrow and reductive view suggests that subcultures have a clear and coherent (class) identity and negates any sense of class fluidity. As Webb (2015) points out, one only has to look into the socio-economic backgrounds of a number of punk's key protagonists to see that their class origins and identities were mixed, no more so than in the members of Crass. Their make-up was a mixture of class, age and subcultural backgrounds: the hippy counterculture of the 60s and 70s for the older middle-class member Penny Rimbaud , and at the other extreme, the young working-class member and singer Steve (Williams) Ignorant, who was moving into young adulthood in the then developing punk subculture. Webb (2015 :105) states that "Crass, as a band and an idea, grew within this hybrid culture, reflecting the mixed-class origins of its members while also breaking clear from the more fixed identities of previous subcultures."

In his analysis of DiY punk, Webb (2015) utilises the term 'milieu' as a conceptual tool that provides a way in which the anarcho-punk that was associated with Crass, could be understood in terms of a break from the structural class based subcultural theory developed by the CCCS. By utilising the circled 'A' anarchy symbol to demonstrate their non-political alignment to either the right or left, Crass unwittingly created a space for notions of anarchism to be explored and developed. Furthermore, Webb argues that the milieu that Crass created and developed attempted "to get people to think beyond the confines of the socio-economic and cultural positions they had grown up inhabiting" (2015: 114). Crass's milieu enabled individuals, groups and collectives "to engage with

different ideas and explore different practices that led to a change in perception of their class outlook" (Webb, 2015: 101). Most useful to my research is Webb's (2015: 101) notion that:

> replacing the CCCS version of subculture with the more dynamic concept of milieu, we can understand the social trajectory of individuals through their biographical narratives, stocks of knowledge and typifications as well as their historical class position.

Furthermore, the CCCS focus on class also doesn't consider the fluid classless groupings that are present in post-modern society, and by emphasising class it risks excluding or marginalising other dynamics such as gender, age and ethnicity (Stahl, 1999) which play an important role in understanding subcultures. McRobbie and Garber (1976) criticised the CCCS' failure to account for the involvement of females in subcultural groups, suggesting that the predominantly male researchers focussed on male involvement or predominantly male subcultural groupings. This fails to ascribe any sense of agency to women and their impact on the behaviours and practices of the group. Although my research does not have a specific female or indeed feminist focus, a number of my respondents were female, as I felt the need to document their experiences as a way of addressing that absence from some of the CCCS' previous studies. Furthermore, as Martin (2004) points out, the CCCS' structural approach brought with it problems associated with earlier structural perspectives, particularly in regard to subcultures being clearly defined groups wherein the activities of its members were organised around a distinct set of values and beliefs. Although researchers have understood that subcultural participation can be transitory, fluid, nebulous and not involve the adoption of an all-encompassing lifestyle, "there has been a tendency to treat them as identifiable, more or less coherent social groups" (Martin, 2004: 31). I suggest that within British anarcho-punk there were a number of shared sets of political and cultural values and beliefs. However, these shared values and beliefs were not held by all members of the group, as my research bears out, and I further suggest that the personal interpretation and exercising of those values and beliefs differed somewhat with each individual.

The interaction of media and commerce within punk were implicit in the marketing of subcultural style, selling the style to the general public and thus stripping it of any of its subversive values and meanings. Drawing on Hebdige's (1979) developed ideas of style as *bricolage*, McKay (1996:78-79)

points to British anarcho-punk, and specifically Crass, as bricoleurs. Translating bricolage as DiY, or the practice of 'do it yourself' that is often associated with the 1960s/1970s counterculture and punk rock, McKay shows how Crass "extended the act of *bricolage* to cover multimedia and inter-textual forms" (1996: 78) and used political campaigns, visual styles and live performance alongside their recorded music as a set of "devices they employed in their cultural and political practice" (1996: 78). This political practice within British anarcho-punk could be considered to be counter hegemonic and a form of resistance against the dominant culture that featured in a number of subcultural studies emanating from the CCCS. However, for McKay, this form of bricolage had a longer history in the social movements of the 60s and 70s counterculture. I will return to these ideas later in this chapter due to their significant bearing on the conceptualisation of British anarcho-punk.

Indeed before Hebdige had written *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* (1979), Penny Rimbaud stated in his autobiography that one of the reasons for the formation of Crass in 1977 was an attempt to reclaim punk for the people, as it had been 'bought out' by the media and specifically the record corporations.

> Punk degenerated from being a force for change, to becoming just another element in the media circus. Sold out, sanitised and strangled, punk had become just another social commodity, a burnt out memory of how it might have been (Rimbaud, 1998: 74).

This was further amplified by the release of Crass's 1978 debut album '*The Feeding of the 5000*' that includes the foretelling song '*Punk Is Dead*'. *"Yes that's right punk is dead, it's just another cheap product for the consumers head."* The opening two lines served as a critique of how punk had been co-opted and commodified by the commerce and culture industries. Rimbaud's book continues in this vein with a critique of bands such as the Sex Pistols and The Clash for signing deals with major record labels, thus defeating the subversive nature of punk.

The CCCS overly criticised the role of the media in the demonization of the subcultural 'other' wherein the CCCS saw the media as fundamental to the success of the dominant hegemony by being responsible for creating and distributing sounds, images and ideologies that bind societies and cultures together. The CCCS argued that, in doing so, the media constructs subcultures as others and outsiders. This rules out any sense of choice, agency and diversity on the part of the subculturalist and

undervalues the positive role media, commerce and consumerism have in the development of such groupings (Stahl, 1999; Thornton, 1995: 119, cited in Hodkinson, 2002: 12). Placing media and commerce in a conflicting relationship to subcultures is a problematic component of most subcultural theory (Thornton, 1995: 116 and McRobbie 1994: 161, cited in Hodkinson, 2002: 12). Thornton suggests that media (and in the particular case of punk, 'zines and pamphlets) is vital to, and can play a significant role in, the formation and continuity of subcultures. Indeed, the production of 'zines, records, cassette tapes and other visual and aural artefacts was prevalent within British anarcho-punk culture. I have argued elsewhere (Grimes, 2016) that DiY media, specifically 'zines, played an important role in the cultural, political and ideological development, and further dissemination of British anarcho-punk.

British anarcho-punk has been credited with further developing the DiY ethic of early punk by placing more emphasis on those DiY activities and collectivism, in a mostly successful attempt to remain autonomous from the mainstream cultural and commercial industries (Liptrot, 2012; 2015). Liptrot further argues that this autonomy positions contemporary DiY punk as being counter–hegemonic and therefore reflects one of the features of subcultures. Whilst the relationship between British anarcho-punk and DiY punk is well founded within and beyond the position of counter-hegemony, its relationship with some of the other subcultural signifiers Liptrot discusses, such as endurance and distinction, begins to look less connected. In terms of endurance Liptrot (2012) argues that the notion of longevity of a particular subcultural movement such as DiY punk is often overlooked as those subcultures are often portrayed as being past subcultures. Likewise, she argues that when longevity is recognised it is couched in terms of nostalgia rather than continuity. For my participants the particular subcultural group they were part of eventually dissipated or became subsumed into a number of sub-genres of punk and hardcore music and cultures. Whilst I don't disagree with Liptrot's argument about longevity within continuing subcultures, especially for older subcultural members, I choose to support the usefulness of the notion of nostalgia that she critiques, as this is one of the ways in which my research participants connect with their past membership of a cultural grouping that no longer exists.

Dimou (2016: 33), taking a subcultural position, also argues that "the 'subcultural imagination' of the CCCS set out to show the interconnectedness of the everyday life experiences of youth subcultures to the socio-historical context in which they found themselves". She suggests that we should bring back the history-biography dynamic and context-intuitive approach posited by Mills (2000 [1959]). Dimou (2016; 33-34) argues that to maintain:

> the concept of subcultures a better understanding of the history-biography nexus can be achieved through a "double sidedness" (Hall and Jefferson, 2006: xii) perspective. This involves combining the useful elements of both theories by "acknowledging the new without losing what is serviceable in the old" (Hall and Jefferson, 2006: xii) the "double sidedness" approach argues that by combining the useful insights of both theories we can we can gain a better understanding of young people's practices and affiliations in relation to wider structural and cultural changes. Hence through the "double sidedness" perspective a reworked notion of subcultures, adjusted to contemporary times, can be achieved.

Dimou draws further on the work of Mills (2000 [1959]), which suggests that we should understand notions and concepts in relation to the historical context in which they gain popularity. Dimou argues that the concept of subcultures is still the most effective way of understanding and depicting the relationship between biography and history in young people's lives. The double sidedness approach, she argues, is the best strategy to be followed in order to make sense of subcultural biographies in relation to specific historical context. As I previously stated, British anarcho-punk pre-dates post-subcultural theories and, as a substitute for subcultures and post-subcultural theories, obscures the "history-biography" dynamic rather than illuminates it (Nilsen and Brannen, 2013, cited in Dimou, 2016). In terms of my research participants, they are narrating their biographies of engagement with British anarcho-punk from a historical perspective. So, in extending this argument I suggest that for my participants, their experiences of subcultural affiliation (historical) are being narrated (biographical) within the context of a post-subcultural period (the present).

As my research will bear out later, this raises a number of contradictory issues regarding the distinctiveness of British anarcho-punk. For example, in its earlier inception bands associated with British anarcho-punk played across a number of different and varying styles, but over time a common and somewhat distinctive musical style emerged. Similarly, where the freedom to be and express oneself was a central tenet to British anarcho-punk ideology, over time there developed a set of

signifying ideological and political beliefs. Where punk fashion was espoused by British anarcho-punk, in time a British anarcho-punk style or dress code emerged copied/developed from Crass's all in black anti-fashion 'uniform'. Similarly, where some anarcho-punk 'zines experimented with discussions around existential philosophy, poetry and art, over time a large number developed a relatively homogeneous style, with the inclusion of a number of common tropes that attempted to define British anarcho-punk (Grimes, 2016). So contrary to what British anarcho-punk originally claimed to allow in terms of personal freedom and openness to all without boundaries and distinctiveness, over time a set of dominant approaches emerged which most tended to conform to.

Post-subcultural theory

Whilst the concept of subcultures has been applied to a large number of studies of youth cultures, there have been a number of criticisms around the typology of subcultural theory. The issues and weaknesses identified within subcultural theory has led to a number of differing ways of capturing and theorising what could be seen to be an ongoing fragmentation of youth cultures. Work by Muggleton (1997), Bennett and Kahn-Harris (2004), Davis (2006) and Huq (2006) all suggesting that the traditional concept of subculture is no longer relevant and useful in studying the more classless and fluid cultural groupings that are seen to typify postmodern society (Liptrot, 2012, 37). Post-subcultural terms such as 'tribes' (Maffesoli, 1996, Hetherington, 1998; Malbon, 1998/1999), 'neo-tribes' (Bennett, 1999), scenes (Straw, 1991; Bennett and Peterson, 2004; Kahn-Harris, 2004) and milieu cultures (Webb, 2007) have been more recently applied in the study of postmodern cultures as they seemingly accommodate the fluidity and diversity of involvement and interaction of postmodern cultures. A number of challenges to the seeming rigidity of the CCCS's concept of subculture have emerged. As Bennett (1999) argues, the fluidity and multiplicity of cultural belonging alongside the importance of affective affinities, was underestimated by the subculturalists of the 1970s as their model was based on a binary of subculture and dominant culture. Additionally, Woodman and Wyn (2015) argue that youth culture was never as class based as the CCCS suggest and that the structural impact of social positioning was overplayed and forefronted at the expense of other considerations of youth culture activity. However, as Shildrick and Macdonald (2006) point out, post-subculturalists overemphasise the fluidity of post-subcultures whilst simultaneously downplaying social positioning

such as class, gender and ethnicity and the structural impact that has on young people's opportunities to engage in specific social practices. It seems the dialectic between subculturalists and post-subculturalists creates an unresolvable conceptual and analytical impasse.

Maffesoli (1996) argues that within a post-modern society there is a return to a sense of community and togetherness "engendered by one's direct involvement with the social group" (cited in Sweetman, 2004: 85) that one has an empathic association with or to. This form of neo-tribal sociality suggests that these particular groupings of people are temporary, dynamic and centre around the shared lifestyles and tastes of their members (Shields,1996). Therein the sense of community is also demonstrated through the expression of shared feelings and experiences that do not necessarily require a "formalised membership criteria, or a commitment to particular ideological beliefs" (Sweetman, 2004: 86). Hetherington (1998) argues that although tribes and neo-tribes can be understood in terms of a collective or community, the lack of need for formal membership allows for a sense of fluidity in that one can choose whenever to belong and to leave.

For Maffesoli (1996) the tribal society heralds the loss of the individual and ideological identity and a move towards the loss of the self into a collective subject. Hetherington (1998: 68) argues that individual identity is subsumed by the "logic of identification" where neo-tribal forms of sociality "act to promote individuality as well as provide an intense experience of communion into which that individuality is subsumed" (1998: 95). This intense experience of communion and loss of self in the group is manifested through what Maffesoli terms an 'affective warmth' where a sense of 'collective effervescence' and 'immanent transcendence' reinforces the 'social bond' (1996: 43, cited in Sweetman, 2004: 86). The emergence of rave and club culture in the late 1980s and early 1990s brought about a number of studies that demonstrated links to Maffesoli's concept of tribus (Bennett, 1999; Malbon, 1998; Redhead, 1990; 1993; Rietveld, 1997). Herein the sense of community, immanent transcendence, social bond and affective warmth were manifest through the movements of the body; the seemingly tribal repetitive beat of house and techno music; and for many the imbibing of drugs, such as MDMA (Ecstasy), that created a sense of empathic togetherness and transcendence of the self in the present. As Liptrot (2012: 39) argues, the nature of the temporary spatial environments

in which raves were held, such as squatted empty warehouses, fields and clubs, and the "temporal gatherings characterised by fluid boundaries and floating memberships" (Bennett, 1999: 600, cited in Liptrot, 2012: 36) called into question the temporality of the identities created within those temporary environments.

Whilst the practices of British anarcho-punk (such as the notion of community and collectivism, and the fluidity of 'membership') draw some similarities with neo-tribes, other aspects, such as the apolitical element, loss of ideological identities and commitment to ideological beliefs, don't fit with the experiences of my participants. Indeed, Hetherington (1998: 53) suggests that Maffesoli's underplaying of social factors such as ethnicity, gender and class is remiss and should be able to be discussed alongside notions of neo-tribalism. Sweetman (2004) argues that Maffesoli's (1996) work on neo-tribalism can help in understanding the continuing fragmentation of youth and/or subcultural styles, whilst rectifying the overly symbolic, textual and semiotic approach of some of the classic subcultural studies, that I have highlighted above. However, as Liptrot (2012: 39) states, "where the concept of subculture tends to be seen as too rigid in that it demands a high level of commitment and stability the terms 'tribe' or 'neo-tribe' have been recognised as too focussed on instability and fluidity". This notion of fluidity has come under some criticism from Hesmondhalgh (2005) and Huq (2006) who both argue that the concept of tribalism and neo-tribalism is so fluid it can mean both everything and nothing. Huq (2006, 165) calls for consideration of a new set of theoretical tools to investigate youth cultures rather than one over-arching grand theory as there is no one singular experience of youth. She suggests that there is a need to develop theoretically mixed models which "…are capable of bending to local realities, nuances and differences" (165). In this respect, she argues that the term scene is more appropriate for replacing subculture as it considers and supports socio-spatial dimension.

The term 'scene' has been around since as early as the 1940's through its association with the music cultures of jazz (Bennett and Petersen, 2004: 2, cited in Liptrot, 2012: 39) and later lifestyles and subcultural scenes (Irwin, 1977). However, it rose to prominence through the work of Will Straw (1991) and Barry Shank (1994), who Straw cites as being influential in his conceptualisation of music

scenes. Both Straw and Shank's examinations of the changing musical cultural landscape in the early 1990s offered up a number of concepts, ideas and frameworks that took into account the importance of the geographies of music practice, "especially so with the advent of online digital media, a phenomena that atomized traditional and linear ideas of geographically fixed music communities" (Bennett and Rogers, 2016: 12). Straw (1997: 494) defines a scene as a:

> cultural space in which a range of musical practices co-exist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross fertilisation.

Straw's 'cultural space' doesn't relate to the traditions of one geographic locality but a broader national and international music culture, making it conceivable that an individual isolated from a specific geographic locality can still be part of a wider scene as easily as a community of music makers (Wall, 2003: 215). Since Straw and Shank's early work on scenes, a number of academics have extended their initial ideas (Bennett and Peterson, 2004; Hodkinson, 2004; Kahn-Harris, 2000; 2001; 2004; 2007; Kruse, 1993; 2003; O'Connor, 2002; Schilt, 2004; Tsitsos, 1999).

Firstly, as Kahn-Harris' (2007) work suggests, the term 'scene' recognises relationships between music cultures and the diversity of musical genres within a particular music culture. Whilst British anarcho-punk drew on some of the generic codes and conventions of earlier punk rock, it also accommodated a number of expositions of punk rock that included more avant-garde and experimental approaches to music making. As I previously stated in this chapter, bands associated with British anarcho-punk played across a number of different and varying styles. However, it is worth noting that for some bands the association was ideological rather than musical. Kahn-Harris (2007) argues that the use of the term 'scene' recognises and allows for diversity within one particular genre of music. It was not uncommon for British anarcho-punk bands to share the same stage with bands from other musical forms. Secondly, Kahn-Harris (2007) points to the fact that the term 'scene' is vernacular and oft used by participants of scenes., In his critique *'Subcultures, Scenes or Tribes? None of the Above'* (2005), Hesmondhalgh argues that 'scene' is disadvantageous in examining music cultures as it creates added confusion around an overly polysemic word. Whilst from the perspective of an academic researcher this might seem problematic in not being able to capture the distinctiveness

of musical groupings, I suggest that this matters little to the members of a scene, as they are not considering any polysemic inference the term might have when they are using it. As Liptrot (2012: 41) notes in her study of DiY punk, 'scene' was a familiar term to her participants and allowed for the inclusion of those "casually involved" in DiY punk rather than being committed to a particular subcultural group. Likewise, terms like 'scene' and 'movement' were recognised and understood by my participants in a similar way, so although they were engaged in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, they also had affiliations with other loosely associated scenes and movements.

What also comes out of a number of discussions around scenes which is useful to my research is the notion of community. Straw (1991) argues that this comes from the interaction of musical activity and the heritage of place, rather than the community creating the scene. Shank (1994) very much couches his understanding and experience of community in his investigation of the local Rock 'n' Roll scene in Austin Texas, in a 'stable community' that is not without complexity (cited in Bennett and Rogers, 2016: 16 and 23). In Culton and Hultzman's (2010) analysis of the Long Island DiY (punk) scene, the spaces in which a number of gigs were performed, such as living rooms and basements of houses, became the foci for the further development of the Long Island DiY punk community. As Culton and Hultzman note, "participants consistently described how the move to basement shows furthered the sense of "community" of the scene" (2010: 273). For the participants in Culton and Hultzman's research, the building of a community based around shared counter-hegemonic values had long been the goal for those involved in that scene, and for some it was their first experience of being part of a community. Here the notion of the socio-spatial that features heavily in early scene theory comes to the fore, where the spaces and the shared social values of the participants coalesced. Likewise, for my research participants, the notion of community featured in many of their narratives and the sense of community felt among them was fostered in spaces where performances, rehearsals and meetings took place.

As with some of its links with subcultural theory, there are a number of links between British anarcho-punk and the concept of scenes. Bennett and Peterson (2004) extended, developed and added to Straw's early conceptualisations of scenes by developing a useful typology of music scenes which

identifies three ways in which scenes can be understood; 'Local', a scene that is grouped around a particular geographic focus; 'Translocal', a number of widely scattered local scenes that are connected through a distinctive form of music and lifestyle; and finally 'Virtual', the creation of a sense of a scene through the production and distribution of media. Bennett and Peterson's (2004) formalization , 59,of the term *virtual scene* was developed with the online digital space of Web 2.0 very much in mind. The increase in user generated material via the web created newfound spaces for researchers to investigate online musical activity (Bennett and Rogers, 2016). Although British anarcho-punk emerged and concluded before the development of the internet, I suggest that the production and distribution of printed media such as 'zines, pamphlets, treatises and leaflets provided a sense of a virtual scene.

Taking each of Bennett and Peterson's (2004) typologies individually I argue that British anarcho-punk, in its inception, was geographically a 'local' scene, as it very much focussed around Crass, their commune Dial House in Essex, and their early gigs in and around London. However, I assert that British anarcho-punk very rapidly became a translocal scene as a number of bands were loosely connected to and through members of Crass via the British free festival scene and the London counter-culture and squatting scene, such as Poison Girls (Brighton), Zounds (Reading) and The Mob (Yeovil). These bands performed with Crass and released records on Crass's own record label. This further developed as these bands and others toured the UK performing with, or supporting, local anarcho-punk bands. As a result, British anarcho-punk developed a number of localised scenes that had subtle local nuances that were connected through a network of bands, fans, performance and social spaces, and DiY media. Bennett and Peterson (2004, 6) assert that translocal scenes include a diversity of "widely scattered local scenes drawn into regular communication around a distinctive form of music or lifestyle."

The publishing and distribution of DiY media especially fanzines became a regular feature of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, along with leaflets and treatises handed out at gigs and independent record stores and venues. In a previous analysis of British anarcho-punk 'zines produced in the 1980s (Grimes, 2016), I discussed the importance of 'zines and how they disseminated

information. Drawing on the Gramscian concept of the "organic intellectual" (1971), I argue that 'zine producers/editors acted as 'cultural agents' and set about developing and shaping the cultural, political and ideological boundaries of British anarcho-punk through their editorial decisions. In doing so, a sense of homogeneity and shared common ideologies and practices emerged within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene on a national level whilst also considering the subtle nuances of its exposition in differing geographical locations. The distribution of DiY media in turn further developed a 'virtual' scene where people who were interested in engaging with that scene could do so without the necessity of physical interaction. The shared politics and ideologies that were reified in DiY media, 'zines, treatises and song lyrics, are linked to Leach and Haunss (2009) and Haunss and Leach's (2004) ideas around 'movement scenes' where elements of both a scene and a movement overlap and coalesce.

Social Movements and Scene Movements

The two previous sections of this chapter have looked at the relationships between youth cultures and how they are conceptualised within subcultural and post-subcultural theories and concepts. However, it would be remiss to ignore that many youth cultures have affiliations with other cultures that are focussed on politics and ideologies. As Huq (2006: 21) suggests, the anarcho-punks of the 1980s and the countercultures of the 1990s are "examples of non-music centred (although sometimes musically linked), highly politicised groupings" that once would have been termed "subcultures..", [as was the common theoretical framework to investigate them at that time], "...but are difficult to conceive of as such today", in a post-subcultural setting. Huq likens their political and ideological structures as more akin to new social movements (Melucci, 1980) that form around social and cultural objectives and create a new type of politics. The notion of new social movements arose during the 1960s with a departure from more traditional social movements that tended to focus on labour and economic concerns. Though as della Porta & Diani (2006: 61-62) point out, this departure is not a clean break from traditional social movements, because new social movements are part of a cyclical manifestation of the nature of political process, and on close examination, they contain a mix of new and old conflicts, new and old actors as well as new and old repertoires of action.

Haunss and Leach (2004: 7) state:

> Attempts to use the concept of subculture to explain the dynamics of social movements have thus far proven inadequate, either because they have ended up proceeding as if all movements are subcultures (and failing to distinguish between subcultures and countercultures) (e.g. Schwendter, 1982) or because they have over-extended the concept

of subculture so that it covers not only subcultures, but movements and milieus as well (e.g. Zwick, 1990).

Indeed, where , Hebdige (1979) suggested that subcultures expressed resistance to hegemonic norms, this was only on a symbolic level through notions of style. The CCCS positioned subcultures as being rooted in class, where subcultures are seen as being working class expressions of resistance and countercultures as being middle class expressions of resistance (Haunss and Leach, 2004). As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, it could be argued that the mix of middle-class and working-class backgrounds of the members of Crass enabled them to mobilise both groups through countercultural ideologies and expressions of resistance. In chapter six I explore notions of class and its relationship to my participants as it features in some of their narratives.

Koopmans (1995) defines subcultures as being "distinct from the dominant culture but not necessarily antagonistic to it. Countercultures, however, are not just different, they are a negation of the dominant culture" (1995: 18, cited in Haunss and Leach, 2004: 8). Haunss and Leach (2004: 8) further argue that:

> When a political movement develops out of a subculture, it is generally for the purpose of gaining recognition and legal rights for its members. In contrast, countercultures actively oppose the dominant culture and arise out of a fundamental rejection of one or more of its basic principles – a counterculture is understood by its members to represent a challenge to the larger society and its hegemonic cultural codes. Movements that emerge out of countercultures or that have a countercultural core may or may not also have more revolutionary goals in a political sense; the counterculture itself first of all poses a cultural threat to the dominant culture and often a political one as well.

This is a useful distinction in terms of British anarcho-punk, as there were a number of political and ideological standpoints, which I have discussed in the previous chapter, that emerged within that subcultural scene. Here the countercultural dimension seems to take prominence over the subcultural, however not all of those who engaged with British anarcho-punk in the 1970s/80s were sympathetic to all of those ideologies or politics, if indeed any at all. For some, it was all about the music and symbolic style.

In Haunss and Leach's (2004) study of the relationship between scenes and social movements they map out how scenes, subcultures, countercultures, milieus and movements are not isolated but overlap

at different junctures. In keeping with many of the previous definitions they argue that:

> A scene is a network of people who identify as part of a group and share a certain belief system or set of convictions…' which " .....also has a shared culture of one kind or another. Its members share a certain life-style, adhering to their own set of social norms, traditions, linguistic patterns and dress codes, and communicating through a distinctive set of signs and symbols (2004: 3).

Locality also plays an important role in post-subcultural theory. Within a network of local and translocal places and spaces, people who associate or affiliate with a particular subculture, counterculture or movement, can live out and express their identity. This can be achieved within a network of people who identify with a counterculture, movement or subculture and feel at home in those places and spaces (Haunss and Leach, 2004: 9).

Haunss and Leach (2004) also identify three types of scenes: "subcultural non-movement scenes, subcultural movement scenes, and countercultural movement scenes. Any kind of subculture may develop a scene, but only some subcultures develop a political agenda, leading the scene to attach itself to a movement" (2009:259). This attachment and interconnectivity between a movement and a scene they term as a 'movement scene' and argue that where countercultural scenes are engaged in a political struggle out of necessity, subcultural scenes are sometimes political and sometimes orientated around lifestyles (Leach and Haunss, 2009: 259). They further posit that scenes are more likely to develop around movements that are creating, preserving and promoting a specific countercultural or subcultural lifestyle, and the more that subcultural lifestyle is repressed or stigmatized by the dominant culture, the more likely it is to take on a political orientation characteristic of a movement (Leach and Haunss, 2009: 269).

Whilst I agree with Huq (2006) that the British anarcho-punk movement of the 1980s was not wholly music centred, I argue that music was one of the more prolific textual artefacts of British anarcho-punk. Johnston (2014: 75) asserts that for a number of social movements, including anarchist punk scenes, music has been key in its function not only to build a collective identity and collective resistance, but also as a means for motivating, developing and documenting those movements. Similarly, Eyerman and Jamison (1998) argue that music forms are often seen to be the defining

feature of a scene, and have, since the 1960s, played an important role in the expression of the ideologies and aims of new social movements. This is often enabled through the lyrics of songs that specifically refer to the objectives and aims of the movements they represented. As we will see later lyrics played an important role in the dissemination of British anarcho-punk's politics, ideologies and culture, and in the formation and maintenance of my participants' anarcho-punk identities.

To extend this discussion further, Liptrot (2012) draws on McKay's (1996) notion that punk is part of a tradition of subcultural movements that are part of a wider counter-cultural movement made up of 'cultures of resistance' (McKay, 1996). These cultures of resistance could be conceptualised in terms of displaying elements of new social movements where the sense of unity, community and resistance is around a set of common politics, ideologies and practices. So, whilst British anarcho-punk may have been previously understood in terms of a subculture I would suggest that McKay's terminology 'cultures of resistance' would be equally applicable to British anarcho-punk as would the term 'movement scenes' (Haunss and Leach, 2004). Here connections between cultures of resistance, new social movements and British anarcho-punk are more apparent. Indeed, McKay's (1996) analysis of Crass shows a clear lineage between the counterculture of the 1970s and its subsequent influence on British anarcho-punk. This is further demonstrated by Penny Rimbaud's involvement with the 1960s/1970s counterculture and free festival movement. Rimbaud (1998) himself discusses how Crass provided a vehicle for the continuation of some of the politics and idealism that were propagated in this period.

Chambers (1985) and Nelson (1989) argue that the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s contributed to the further development of a varied body of ideas and experiences that reside within the anarchist tradition of being anti-state and anti-authoritarian. Gordon (2016), in his insightful assessment of Crass's relationship to the counter-culture, argues that although academic literature relating to the counterculture of the 1960s and early 1970s (Foss and Larkin, 1976; Nelson, 1989) suggests that this culture was all but finished and unlikely to manifest again, little attention has been paid to anti-state and anti-authoritarian activities post 1973. Gordon (2016: 68-71) points to a number of links between the counterculture, Crass and British anarcho-punk. Firstly, he argues that Crass's merging of punk

and aspects of the counterculture could be viewed as being emblematic of a new social movement and ergo British anarcho-punk as the assembling of groups of people antagonistic to dominant groups and anti-authoritarian and anti-state in nature. Secondly Crass employed a number of similar counter-cultural tactics and techniques such as demonstrating, squatting, pamphleting and leafleting, creating information networks, 'zines, and music in pushing for a similar agenda for change. Thirdly, where the counterculture in some ways maintained some anarchist tradition, Crass, and ergo British anarcho-punk, mobilised anarchy as a framework to challenge the hegemony. Where the counterculture consciousness was grounded in peace and love, Crass employed anarchy as their philosophical foundation, as a way of distancing themselves from traditional left/right politics, and also employed (countercultural) notions of peace and love as a means to non-violent challenge in opposition to the state and hegemonic order. So the relationship and interconnectedness between British anarcho-punk and a movement scene is made clearer by Leach and Haunss' (2009) investigation of scenes, subcultures, countercultures, movements and milieus, wherein adherents to British anarcho-punk who were less politically and ideologically inclined or active could coalesce within a movement scene with those who were more politically inclined. The concept 'movement scene' embraces the complexities of British anarcho-punk which allowed for a different range of political and ideological standpoints to exist simultaneously, some of which were adopted to various degrees, whilst others were not. Leach and Haunss (2009: 22-23) state:

> Movement scenes only require a low level of commitment and therefore attract a larger number of people than a movement would…" [and that] "... Scenes offer a 'soft' way of joining a movement, where subcultural identification with the movement is the first step, but the decision to make a more demanding commitment to the movement can be left open for a relatively long time.

This suggests that the fluid nature of scenes, that is common in post-subcultural scene theory, allows people to identify with, move between and support and perhaps later unsupport the ideologies, politics and culture of that movement scene, without having to fully commit to or leave that movement scene.

Ageing, memory and music-driven 'youth' cultures

Extending the discussion around the usefulness of a hybridised conceptualisation of British anarcho-punk as a music-driven youth culture, I will conclude this chapter by looking at how notions of ageing have been accommodated into subcultural and predominantly post-subcultural studies. Whilst my research participants have not strictly aged 'within' the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, due to its cessation and later development and absorption into other music genres and styles (Liptrot, 2012), their attachment to it through notions of memory, nostalgia and affectivity requires some contextualisation.

The CCCS approach to subcultures didn't address the issue of what happens to those who identify with subcultures and music-driven youth cultures as they aged. The CCCS saw those memberships as a transient association before passaging into the responsibilities of adulthood. For the CCCS, subcultural belonging was often viewed as mere exhibitions of youthful rebellion (Liptrot, 2012: 37) and a bridge between the school and early employment in adolescence to settling down to the responsibilities of maturation into adulthood. Group solidarity and commitment to the group were seen as important features of youth subcultures and membership to that subculture is assumed to be brief. This reductive view underestimates or ignores the complications of subcultural membership or affiliation. Other studies of ageing in youth cultures attest to the fact that for many participants their involvement in music cultures in their youth is not, as sometimes portrayed, a passing adolescent phase that diminishes with the transition into adulthood (Brake, 1980: 23), but can be significant beyond adolescence (Bennett, 2006; Bennett, 2013; Bennett and Hodkinson, 2012; Davies, 2006; Haenfler, 2006; Hodkinson, 2002; Hodkinson, 2011; Liptrot, 2012; Smith, 2009).

Often, the idea of this transition from youth and adolescence into adulthood is signified by certain life stages such as leaving home, partnership and parenthood. However, evidence has shown that in Western society these stages are often delayed, leading to a redefinition of youth that has less in common with notions of youth as a transitional period (Buchmann, 1989; Wyn and Woodman, 2006,

cited in Strong 2011: 143). Weinstein (1995; 1999) has suggested that youth and notions of youth have become less connected to age or a period of one's life, but rather youth has been co-opted into leisure cultures as a lifestyle device or signifier. Strong (2011) argues that the lifestyles and leisure activities that have widely been associated with youth have become more widely accepted in society, with the pursuance of youthful passions continuing into middle age and beyond. Strong goes on to posit that the continuation of youthful activities such as playing and creating music and attending gigs could be partly attributed to the activities of some of the bands that those people grew up listening to. I would also add to this the significance of the reformation of some of those bands and artists later in life, who have benefited financially and culturally from the nostalgia industries that have developed around popular music and the wider culture industries. I argue that reformation allows older people to reconnect with their youth and youthful activities. Bennett (2013) suggests that the cultural significance of music is not exclusively connected to notions of youth, but for many people the music that mattered in their youth continues to play an important role in their adult lives. He further argues that this goes beyond mere nostalgic longing of wanting to return to one's youth but often manifests itself in a dynamic relationship to music, its relevance to their everyday lives and its broader socio-cultural significance. For many, the cultural, and I would add to that the political, values and beliefs that they acquired as members of music-driven youth cultures have remained with them, shaping their life courses, and have become ingrained in their biographical trajectories and associated lifestyles. For many, the music and associated lifestyle traits and ideologies that go with it have continued to matter, often in substantial ways (for others not so much), and may have had a considerable impact on the direction of their lives in the intervening years since their youth (Bennett, 2013: 2-3).

Bennett's (2013) argument is that music audiences manage and articulate identities through the appropriation, inscription and representation of musical texts and related resources into lifestyle projects that bond and cohere into collective forms of cultural practice. As Huq (2006) argues, disassociation or withdrawal from subcultural affiliations does not "disappear in an uncomplicated way. Features of these identifications continue in certain ways as they become merged with other sources of identity" (2006; 18). This suggests that continuation, either through membership, affiliation

or peripheral engagement, continues to influence the ongoing development of one's identity. Davis (2006) argues that the notions of scene and ageing identity are dialectically related theoretical tools which further highlights their fluidity, and that the use of scene theory "illustrates how identity forms over time as a cumulative process, synthesized in the relationship between changing self and other" (2006: 63). I suggest that this connection and continuation may even be as a result of past group membership, where practices, behaviours, values and beliefs gained and experienced within the group may continue beyond the life or membership of the group. Many authors suggest that this ageing attraction or connection to certain musical genres is often accountable to familiarity and notions of nostalgia (Graham, 1984; Haslam, 2005; Hollows and Milestone, 1998, cited in Liptrot, 2012), retromania (Reynolds, 2011) and/or through memory, heritage and legacy - the shaping and influence of specific attitudes, behaviours and understandings over a period of time.

Building on his earlier work with Peterson, Bennett (2013: 6) argues that a new category "affective scene" needs adding to their three-tier typology of scenes. Bennett notes that all scenes hold some level of affectivity, but for ageing audiences he argues that their investment in and engagement with a scene may manifest itself in more individualistic, introspective and private ways where ageing audiences use various media, such as retro music magazines or privately listening to music, to "affectively situate themselves within a community of like-minded people" (Bennett, 2013: 60). He draws particular attention to Vroomen's (2004) study of Kate Bush fans where, Bennett argues, those *affective scene* members associated themselves with Kate Bush and her music on an individualised basis, without the need to engage in conventional fan practices. What comes from Bennett's argument of affective scenes that is particularly useful to my research, is his suggestion that affective bonds that individuals share in the present may be grounded in a physical sense of collectivity that existed in the past, such as previous affiliations to scenes. In this Bennett argues that "their affective sense of belonging is grounded in a memory of having "been there"" (2013: 61), and that this may allow for individual reflection on the biographical development of the ageing self. He further argues that this reflexive process may be "enacted with an ongoing sense of affective attachment to a generationally informed cultural milieu" (2013: 62). Similarly, Webb's (2007) concept of milieu suggests that

individuals develop stocks of knowledge, in relation to their specific class and family background, and they assess how these develop and change through interaction with other individuals and groups. More importantly, and pertinent to my research, Webb also argues that the term milieu allows for the mapping of the individual's social trajectory through the process of biographical narratives.

Part of my thesis considers my research participants' memories of their introduction to, engagement with and disassociation from British anarcho-punk and its subcultural scene. In terms of memory, Strong (2011: 133) argues that "age can be an element of collective memory and that specific circumstances in which a group of people grow up will inevitably give rise to habituses peculiar to that point in time." Schuman and Scott (1989) note that the collective memory of each generation will be based around diverse happenings or events and how they might be framed within those memories. Bennett and Rogers' (2016) work here is particularly pertinent as they draw attention to the intersection between memory, space and place where music scenes are both spaces of physical and affective belonging. Bennett and Rogers (2016) highlight the position that individual and personal memory is situated within a much broader arena of cultural memory scholarship. Here individuals position their own memory "within pools of collective experience that are produced through common patterns of cultural consumption - for example in relation to music…" (2016: 39), wherein specific texts and objects are rearticulated as being representative of a shared past. I suggest that collective and shared cultural memory is connected to a past collective identity, where particular objects, for example 'zines, bands, records and live events, are the collectively recognisable and accepted symbolic signifiers of the collective past and therefore the collective identity of the group. Additionally, as Bennett and Rogers (2016: 56) state:

> that memory represents a pivotal glue that bonds and preserves the notion of scene while at the same time supplying individuals with a critical sense of purpose and belonging" […] "where a sense of scene membership over time is one of the key ways by which individuals are able to anchor themselves and create what they consider to be a cohesive biographical narrative.

Returning to my earlier discussion in this chapter around scenes, the work of Bennett (2006), Haenfler (2006), Liptrot (2012) and Smith (2012) shows how ageing scene members assume the role of mentors for new members based on their knowledge of and longevity within the scene. As Bennett

and Rogers (2016: 57) astutely point out, the work of memory cannot be ignored here as "newer fans' introduction to the scene invariably involves the absorption of an element of received memory" from the older scene members. In terms of post scene participants, the notion of an affective scene then allows those participants to engage with that past scene through their memories. So, although the scene no longer exists, the memorial reconstruction of that scene, both individually and collectively, can take place and continue for the ageing post-scene participants.

As my research bears out, memory work allows and facilitates this connection to the past, stimulated in part by particular objects and practices, such as the sharing of cultural artefacts like 'zines, gig flyers, photographs; the same objects that connect them to their individual and collective and past and their individual and collective identities. This notion of identity plays a key role in this thesis. The various conceptualisations of British anarcho-punk as a subculture, scene, milieu or movement that I have discussed above, allow for a cultural and ideological space for the formation, development and performance of identities, both individual and collective, through the discourses, interactions and production of artefacts of its members and adherents. The subject of the self and identity is what the following chapter investigates in more detail.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed and highlighted some of the ways in which music-driven youth cultures have been examined and conceptualised. I began by suggesting that an approach that encompasses a theoretically mixed or hybridised model is far more appropriate for investigating British anarcho-punk than a singular and perhaps more rigid concept offered up by other models or conceptualisations. The authors discussed each present, to varying degrees, a solid case for how youth cultures should or could be investigated including some (Hodkinson, 2002; Liptrot, 2012) demonstrating the continuation of the use of the term subcultures albeit in a revised way, where distinction, endurance and counter hegemonic resistance still prevail in both contemporary Goth and DiY punk subcultures. As I showed, Dimou (2016) proposes a solid rationale for the updating of subcultural theory. She argues that we should bring back the history-biography dynamic and context-

intuitive approach posited by (Mills, (2000 [1959]). Mills suggests that we should understand notions and concepts in relation to the historical context in which they gain popularity. This poses an interesting position for my investigation, as British anarcho-punk is historically located in a pre-post-subcultural world. Dimou (2016) argues that post-subcultural theory centres more on the agency/biographical side of the history-biography dynamic, where in post-modernity biographies, descriptions or narratives of people's lives are increasingly unpredictable and have been replaced by "choice" biographies.

So, in extending this argument, I argued that for my participants their experiences of subcultural affiliation (historical) are being narrated (biographical) within the context of a post-subcultural period (the present). This further supports my argument for a more theoretically mixed or hybridised approach to investigating historically located music-driven cultures, when the past is being narrated in the present by its previous participants' identarian affiliation to that culture. As Haunss and Leach (2004:10) argue:

> Subcultures, countercultures, milieus, scenes and social movements can not be neatly separated but overlap in various ways. They can only be distinguished analytically as the different terms refer to different levels of commonalities. Milieu define groups on the level of social structure. Subculture and counterculture define groups through shared cultural elements. Participants of a social movement share a common goal and/or project. And those who participate in a scene act together and share common places.

Bennet and Peterson's (2004) typology of scenes acts as an investigative gateway into British anarcho-punk culture, whilst the "elasticity" (Bennett and Rogers, 2016: 27) of scene theory also allows me to draw on supporting subcultural, new social movement, scene movement and milieu theories. Additionally, whilst I have discussed notions of memory elsewhere, Bennett and Rogers (2016) specific work on music scenes and memory also allows for a more nuanced investigation into the central focus of my thesis. They argue that one of the more recent and important advancements in scene theory is the capturing of elements of the emotional and affective and how by connecting these to memory, they inform the individual's sense of association and belonging to a scene either in the present or the past.

In this sense, I return to the idea of a range of different tools and concepts being used to investigate youth driven cultures as suggested by Huq (2006) and Hesmondhalgh (2005). As previously highlighted in the introduction to this study and in light of my discussions above, for the purposes of this study I have chosen to adopt the term 'subcultural scene' when referring to British anarcho-punk. As I have argued, some of the frameworks offered up by studies of subcultures, scenes and new social movements are applicable to conceptualising some elements of British anarcho-punk. Whilst my study is not singularly focussed on an investigation of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, it is useful that a holistic term is applied to my discussions, one that was predominantly led by the vernacular usage and understanding of the terms subculture, scene and movement by my research participants.

Chapter 3
Towards an anarcho-punk identity

In the previous chapter, I discussed some of the ways in which music-driven youth cultures have been examined and conceptualised. I began by proposing that an approach that encompasses a theoretically mixed or hybridised model is far more appropriate for investigating British anarcho-punk than a singular and perhaps more rigid concept offered up by other models of subcultural and post-subcultural studies. In doing so I positioned British anarcho-punk as a subcultural scene.

In this chapter, I explore conceptualisations of identity, and how they relate to my thesis. Lawler (2014: 7) argues that one should not try to define what identity is and how it works "because what identity *means* depends on how it is being thought *about."* When I use the term identity, I am referring to the complex ways in which people come to understand who they are and where they fit into the world, both psychologically and socially. An anarcho-punk identity, as I see it, comes from being part of a specific subcultural scene, of feeling connected to its values, ideologies, practices and commitments, and defined by its music and aesthetic. It also refers to how people act in certain situations, what they say to each other, and how they make sense of their lives. Goffman's (1990[1959]) Social Identity Theory (SIT) approach to self and identity is useful here as it is concerned with how individuals perform their identities in terms of their social interactions with others and how identity and the self is presented to others. Similar to this approach is the notion that identities are also developed and reaffirmed through actions that link the personal to the social, where "the individual is more likely to exercise agency (both individually and relationally)" (Flum, 2015: 115). I explore this idea further in chapter six when I discuss (anarcho-punk) praxis where identity is developed and reaffirmed through the embodiment, practical application and exercising of political, ideological and cultural ideas. This is achieved through the processes of participation, engagement, cultural production and dissemination within the subcultural scene. Widdicombe and Wooffitt's (1995) approach to identity and the self is particularly useful in this regard, in that they argue that Social Identity Theory, whilst useful in some instances, focusses too much on the agency of the group.

They propose that "identities are produced in and through the organisation of everyday discursive practices" and that individuals deploy "a range of discursive procedures through which individuals produce, negotiate, modify and use their social identities in social interaction" (1995: 73). Here Widdicombe and Wooffitt's (1995) approach does not isolate the self as a wholly independent individual but understands it in the context of interactions with others. For the people I interviewed, identity has many different meanings depending on their situation. As a result, I have attempted a degree of flexibility in how I have applied the concept, using a range of theories about how identity works, but without imposing any single definition on what my respondents were saying.

What follows is an exploration of how identity has been conceptualised, drawing on work from sociological and psychological fields of inquiry. Firstly, I theorise identity and the self, through the concept of Social Identity Theory (SIT). Secondly, I link the field of Social Identity Theory to concepts of group and collective identity as they are in many ways inextricably linked. Next, I discuss the nature of identity formation in adolescence and then narrative identity. I then link the concept of narrative identity, through a further review of literature, to memory; nostalgia; life-cycle transitions and ageing. In doing so I discuss how we draw on memory to discuss the self and identity, and how that can be viewed through a nostalgic lens. Finally, I draw together ideas around identity, memory, nostalgia and ageing and look at the relationship this has to popular music. Whilst my respondents' affiliation, experience, and memories of British anarcho-punk were not limited to just music, music played a central role in the subcultural scene, as it was one of the vehicles for disseminating its politics, ideology and cultural practices.

So, in considering identity, I argue for an approach that recognises individual and personal experience combined with the value and emotional significance of group membership. This approach to identity considers both the individual experiences of my research respondents but also connects to their wider social experiences within a subcultural scene. It also considers the elements of identity that are taken up by the individual as a result of their affiliation with a subcultural scene and its practices, values and ideologies whilst considering those aspects that are perhaps inherent and individual.

Whilst I exercise a degree of flexibility in how the concept of identity is applied in this thesis, I wish to draw attention to the concept of narrative identity as an overarching theoretical concept that relates to my study. My research approach draws on methodologies of investigation connected to how people narrate their past and present lives. This process of *historical* reconstruction, through narratives of the self, is impossible to detach from notions of identity, as the respondents are recounting stories of their past identities through the lens of their present identities. Therefore, when I use the term narrative identity I draw on McAdams' (2001) and Ricœur's (1991b) conceptualisations. Here, I am referring to the evolving story of the self that integrates one's reconstructed past, perceived present and imagined future. In this process of 'storifying', identity is formed and developed and provides the individual with a sense of unity and purpose in life (McAdams, 2001). This narrative and evolving story has characters, episodes and plots. The process of bringing together various events or episodes into a narrative, what Ricœur terms "a synthesis of heterogeneous elements" (1991b: 21), is called 'emplotment'. I explore narrative identity in more detail later in this chapter.

Social Identity

Early work on identity and the self by Mead (1934) casts the notion of identity as being a process that is both social and reflexive. He distinguishes between two aspects of the self; firstly the 'me' who exists in a world of social relations, and the 'I' which is the reflexive account of the actions, perceptions and understandings of the 'me'. As Lawler (2014: 6) states, "without the concept of an 'I' there would be no way to explain the reflexive, self-scrutinizing aspect of the self: persons would be reducible to a series of roles." Mead's development of the 'social self' moves to demonstrate that identity is borne out of our relationship with others and simultaneously a process that is produced through living and reflection on our existence and the re-interpretation of experience (Williams, 2000; Jackson, 2010). This reflexive process carries within it a sense of the possibilities of difference and change; the potential to be different and to make a difference and for changing the self and changing society (SEM@s, n.d). This is quite pertinent to my study as within the narratives of many of my respondents was the expression of wanting to, or sensing the possibility of being able to, make a difference and a desire to change society through their affiliation with British anarcho-punk.

This notion of identity being a process linked to social relationships is contained within Goffman's (1968) work. He argues that identity is differentiated in three distinct forms; firstly, he suggests that *personal identity* is the unique characteristics of the individual, both in themselves and in terms of their relationships with others. Secondly, Goffman suggests that our identity is also inextricably linked to membership of particular social groupings organized around gender, race, class, and nation and so on; what Goffman calls *social identity*. Lastly *ego identity* or *felt identity* is, Goffman suggests, how we think of ourselves as a person, our subjective sense of who we believe we are or believe ourselves to be. Whilst these three forms are distinct, they are inextricably linked to an overall sense of our identity as we draw on all three elements simultaneously to construct our identity, our sense of self. Goffman argues that identity then is constructed through a set of processes that draws on the resources around us, such as race, gender and class, our own unique characteristics and our own perceptions of ourselves.

Drawing from Goffman's notion of social identity, Lawler (2014) argues we share our identities with others, some of those are common identities such as race, gender and class, but within that there is another aspect to our identity which suggests our differences and uniqueness from others (Lawler, 2014: 10). We have identity categories, such as race, gender, and ethnicity, that don't define us but inform our sense of self and how we see others, and that these multiple categories cannot exist in isolation. However, as Lawler argues, some forms of identity are mutually constitutive and others mutually exclusive (2014: 11). Andrews (1991: 25) goes further by stating:

> The guiding premise of social identity theory is that 'People derive their identity (their sense of self, their self concept) in great part from the social categories to which they belong' (Hogg & Abrams, 1988: 19). Whereas traditional social psychology has emphasized the individual in the group, the social identity approach 'turns the traditional perspective on its head and focuses on the group in the individual.

This important distinction reflects on my respondents being part of, or members of a group (subcultural scene) that like all social groups had its own set of practices, values, ideologies and ethics that helped define the boundaries of the group. These practices, values, ideologies and ethics were implicit in many (though not exclusively all) of my respondent's identity narratives. Tajfel (1978: 63) defines social identity as a specific part of an individual's concept of self, which stems from their knowledge of their membership of a particular

social group (or groups). This is combined with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership. Returning to Andrews (1991), she notes that while Tajfel (1978) acknowledges the fact that people have multiple group memberships he does not address the complex psychological dynamics that multiple group memberships contain. Whilst my respondents identified with a particular group (British anarcho-punk), they would have also been part of other social groups, either through choice or circumstance or biological factors such as gender and ethnicity. Whilst my focus is on their affiliation with British anarcho-punk, I cannot ignore that their anarcho-punk identities that were being developed during that period would have been impacted by their relationships within other groups or categories of identity. This notion of social identity is foregrounded in the dominant approach that suggests that people have various social identities (which necessitates continual negotiation) and organise their relationships with both individuals and groups. What does get somewhat overshadowed with this approach is the awareness that our individual and life experiences form and reconstruct new dimensions of our identity (SEM@s, n.d). This interaction and engagement with people and 'objects' also contribute towards our sense of who we were, who we are and who we are yet to become.

Collective Identity

As I discussed in the previous chapter, the notion of British anarcho-punk as a subcultural scene (a hybridisation of a subculture, scene, and movement) suggests that there is a collective or grouping that is operating within the field. In this section, I will examine conceptualisations of collective identity in relation to how those identities are shaped by the internal and external interactions between the individual and the collective. The impact that has on identity formation returns to the ongoing subculture/post-subculture paradigm and theoretical impasse I discussed in chapter two. Urry (1995) has argued that associations with post-subcultural groupings such as tribes, neo-tribes and scenes provide spaces for making meaning and identity formation. Conversely, Melluci (1992) argues that the very nature of the fluidity associated with post-subcultures, and the fleeting multiple associations individuals have with them, creates a barrier to identity making. Subcultural studies have tended to focus on a singular and distinctive relationship with, and membership of, a subculture. In this sense, identity is ingrained and fixed within that subculture whilst not exploring the multiplicity of identifications that one may also have outside of it. Liptrot (2012) and

Hodkinson (2002) both argue that this distinction has been ignored because the significance of subcultural boundaries and identities has been neglected (Liptrot, 2012: 44). Liptrot suggests that although individuals may move between subcultural groups and partake in temporary identities, others retain a distinctive identity to one subcultural grouping. So, whilst someone might identify with the values, ideologies, symbolic artefacts and cultural practices of a subcultural scene, such as British anarcho-punk, they would also be identifying with other groupings and elements within their lives. This correlates with the notion that people construct multiple identities from which they position themselves, dependent on the given situation they are in. By drawing on McDonald-Walker's (2000) study of bikers, Liptrot (2012: 44) further goes on to argue that:

> subcultural identity is not necessarily something that can be separated from one's general identity" … [and] … "that even if an individual disengages from direct subcultural involvement, that person may continue to identify with it whether that be as a punk, a hippie or some other group.

This draws some useful comparisons to my respondents' experiences of being affiliated to a subcultural scene and their later disaffiliation, and whether they continue to identify with those experiences. It can be argued that although members of specific groups will share a common or collective identity, individuals may also have other identities associated with other groups they are a part of. Whilst it may seem counterintuitive, the performance of one's identity is also central to a sense of collective identity or belonging to a collective group. As Johnston (2009) suggests, these identity performances are symbolic because they are interpreted by those present. The performance of identity is tested among the group and modified based on the reactions of others and thus negotiated in terms of behaviour within set and mutually understood 'rules' and 'boundaries'.

Social Identity Theory suggests that identity performances are social as well as individual and assists the individual in fashioning one's group identity in the light of those interactions with others in the group. The group collectively approve or disapprove parts of those performances depending on the aesthetics, politics and ideologies of the group. Johnston (2014) points to the work of Rupp and Taylor (2003) as an example of how "collective identity is *performed* into existence" (Johnstone, 2014: 89). In this instance, Rupp and Taylor's (2003) examination and analysis of the performances of drag artists argues that the audience, who

are made up of other drag artists and the paying audience, coalesce their individual and diverse identities "around a central hub of collective identity. It occurs through centripetal processes of in-group identity coalescence, and out-group processes of social definitions and constraints as imposed by others" (Johnston, 2014: 89). Therefore, the collective identity is shaped by internal and external dynamics that are performed and adjusted and negotiated, wherein the identity performances within the grouping exist as a reaffirmation of collectivity, togetherness and belonging. This concept of collective identity is prevalent in many discussions around identity and subcultures, scenes and movements. They constitute some form of collective grouping that is, in a sense, policed by the group based on the performances of the individuals within the group, and how the individual adjusts their performances to gain acceptance by the group. Here the identity performances within the group are there as a reaffirmation of collectivity, togetherness and belonging.

The decision to engage with or join a particular group which differs from what an individual has done up to that point often results in a transformation. Sometimes this is so radical that it will affect their political and ideological leanings as well as the organisation of their daily lives and global life choices (della Porta and Diani, 2006: 97). One also has to be aware though of the fluidity and instability associated with identities. As Tilley (2006: 10) suggests, we are faced with constant change and uncertainty, where the resources around us that we draw on, the communities and groups we associate with, are not fixed, static and stable. Those groupings are continuously undergoing an active process of change, and within these groupings identities are also responding to change, constantly reappraising and reformulating and therefore unstable and impermanent. As we move through our lives, we adopt and adapt a number of identities; some characteristics remain, some that don't.

Identity and adolescence

As discussed above, the idea that we adopt a number of identities as we move through the life course plays an important role in how we construct our sense of self. Erikson's (1950; 1968) theories on identity proposed that the formation of identity is the key developmental task of adolescence. The identities that we develop in our adolescence are understood as being quite significant in terms of forming distinctive identities, as it is a period of considerable psychosocial development (Erikson, 1950; 1968; Kroger et al., 2010; Meeus et al.,

1999, cited in Decker et al., 2014). As Conway (1997) argues, particular events and interactions, both individual and collective, that occur during late adolescence where identity consolidation takes place are seen as more significant and being more important, and as a result are generally remembered more. Damon and Hart (1991) argue that adolescence is the transitional shift from physical characteristics to more psychological judgements involving feelings, emotions and participation/non-participation with other people and things around us. This notion of participation relates to my earlier discussions concerning Social Identity Theory (SIT) and how group membership and interaction with others also contribute to identity development.

Marcia (1966) developed an identity *status paradigm* in an attempt to classify the various statuses of an adolescence identity at certain points in adolescent development. Refining and extending Erikson's (1950) work, he concluded that two dimensions are attributable to identity development in adolescence; firstly exploration, where one explores various alternative identities and roles in a variety of life domains, when one's choices and values are being re-evaluated; and secondly commitment, where after the process of exploration this leads to one committing to a certain value or role. Marcia's conceptualisations focus on identity as shifting from one point of development to another during an identity crisis. Waterman (1982; 1999) argues that Erikson's (1950; 1968) hypothesis on identity formation and transition from adolescence to adulthood "involves changes in identity that can be characterized as progressive developmental shifts" (Waterman, 1982: 335).

Côté (2009: 290) also suggests that adolescence is a shift, but from an early-adolescent concept of the self to one of identity in late adolescence. As he argues:

> the literature surrounding the self is best applied to early adolescence, the age period when most changes in self-esteem and self-concept appear to take place, and the identity literature is best applied mainly to late adolescence (and beyond) the age periods during which most identity explorations, commitment formations and other types of identity consolidations appear to take place" [...] "the research consistently shows that self-concepts become consolidated during early to mid-adolescence providing the foundation for identity formation in which these are further consolidated with more abstract beliefs, values, and commitments.

For many adolescents, their association with music scenes and subcultures provides a relatively stable identity during what is seen to be a significant transitional period (Strong, 2011). Van Hoof (1999) suggests

that, despite the notion that identity formation in adolescence is characterized by progressive changes and shifts, stability in adolescent identity occurred more often than progressive shifts and changes. It could be argued then that affiliation and membership to particular groups, scenes and subcultures, such as British anarcho-punk, provides the stability that Van Hoof suggests enables identity development.

For the majority of my research respondents, their initial engagement with British anarcho-punk took place during their adolescence. So, for them, this period of adolescence and first engagement played an important role in forming a distinctive identity (Hodkinson, 2002; Liptrot, 2012) for them. This anarcho-punk identity, although individual, would have also been impacted by group affiliation and membership in those early stages of development. The role of the peer group is also important, as "Adolescence research has long acknowledged the role of the social context in identity formation and has shown how adolescents rely increasingly on others in their peer network when forming self-evaluations" (Tarrant et al., 2002: 136).

I have established from the discussions above that adolescence plays an important and significant part in identity formation, development and consolidation. It is often impacted by group membership and interaction, where some stability is experienced. This forms an identity that is likely to have the most influential and lasting impact on our subsequent identity development and identities and is likely to be remembered more. For my respondents, their affiliation with British anarcho-punk happened during this period. Therefore, my research seeks to understand what impact that affiliation has had on their subsequent lives, and whether identities consolidated during adolescence are indeed those that have had an influential and lasting impact. In determining this lasting impact, my respondents need to reflect on and remember that period of adolescent engagement with British anarcho-punk, and how it constituted for them an anarcho-punk identity. To do this, they will have to draw upon their memory and reconstruct that period through the narratives they now recount. In the next section of this literature review, I show the importance of narrative in the reconstruction and construction and of one's past and present identities and discuss how social and individual identity relates to narrative identity.

Narrative identity

Narrative identity plays an important role in my study as I am seeking to determine how people's affiliation with a subcultural scene has impacted on their subsequent lives and therefore on their identities. Eakin (2008: 2) states that there is:

> an extremely close and dynamic relation between narrative and identity, for narrative is not only a literary form but part of the fabric of our lived experience. When it comes to our identities, narrative is not merely about self, but is rather in some profound way a constituent part of self.

Somers (1994: 606) argues that the older interpretations of narrative were limited to a representational form where it was seen as a form that historians and analysts superimposed over the chaos of reality to give it coherence (see White, 1981). However, she suggests there was a switch to a reconceptualisation of narrative in the 1980s and 1990s through the work of Ricœur (1979; 1981; 1984-88; 1991a;1991b), Bruner (1986; 1987) and others from the fields of psychology such as McAdams (1993) and sociology such as Maines (1993) and Somers (1994). This reconfiguration of the concept of narrative, define narrative and narrativity as social epistemological and social ontological concepts (Somers 1994: 606). Therefore, these new conceptualisations posit that through narrativity we come to know, understand and make sense of the social world and it is through narratives and narrativity that we create and organise our social identities. We come to be who we are by locating ourselves or being located in social narratives (Somers, 1994: 606). Narrativity and the process of 'telling stories' then plays a central role in how we understand ourselves and others. In this sense, the story we tell is the chronology of events within the narrative that we narrate through a set of discourses, wherein the particular discourses we employ refer to the manipulation of that specific story in the presentation of the narrative.

Drawing on the work of French philosopher Paul Ricœur (1991a;1991b), Lawler (2014) argues that identities are constructed and creatively produced through narratives. The identity is constructed through the assemblage of various memories, experiences, and how we make sense of those narratives through interpretation of the episodes within the narrative (Lawler, 2014: 24-26). In this context, the narratives we produce are stories of how we have arrived at who we are now. The narratives we produce are constructed from stocks of knowledge, such as values, beliefs, memories, ideas, images and sounds that are reflexively embedded in social constructions and which make them meaningful to the individual's sense of self (Schütz,

1964). Therefore, we make use of these stocks of knowledge to meaningfully frame who we are and utilise them in the processes of constructing the self and identity.

In his work on narrative identity, Ricœur (1991a) presents a thesis based around literary forms of narrative that are useful ways of thinking about how individuals narrate their own identities through their stories. Ricœur argues that the durable properties of one's character, which one could call their narrative identity, are constructed through narrative (1991a). This is the identity that is revealed to us through the given narrative. Ricœur further argues that the character's identity can only be constructed within a plot and that the plot is produced in or constructs the narrative. So, through the telling of the narrative, the character comes into existence as the narrator produces the character at the point of narration. Ricœur argues that narrative accounts must contain characters, action and plots, and the bringing together of all these events and episodes into a coherent and meaningful whole is what constructs the narrative. As previously mentioned, this process of bringing together these various events or episodes, or what Ricœur terms "a synthesis of heterogeneous elements" (1991b: 21), is called 'emplotment', a process where the plot becomes a plot through the active work of emplotment. Avery-Natale (2012: 26) further posits this constitutes a set of 'happenings' that only become meaningful 'events' to the person's narrative life story as they are organized to the plot. Ezzy (1998: 251) supports the value of narratives to articulate the developmental details of identity, suggesting that "the plots of narrative identities are formed in complex interaction between events, imagination, significant others, routines and habits, and the structure of the soliloquy that forms a person's self-narrative". However, as individuals, we don't narrate from one character but from a multiplicity of characters; we use emplotment as a way of bringing those narratives together to "construct the appearance of a singular self" (Avery-Natale, 2012: 25).

As Lawler (2014: 24) proposes, this process is conducted between narrator and audience through shared cultural understandings that these events have a place in the narrative, and that the narrative cannot stand alone but must draw upon and refer to wider cultural understandings. My own involvement with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene in the 1980's enables me to have a shared cultural understanding with my

research respondents of particular events within the subcultural scene such as live concerts, protest marches and networks.

Similar to Widdicombe and Wooffit's (1995) discursive approach to identity, Avery-Natale (2012: 31) posits that "discourses produce certain subject positions with which people can identify" and that as any individual might be exposed to a number of discourses "it is only some individuals who will invest identarian meaning into these discourses". In doing so, the individual sees themselves going through a number of narrative processes in creating or developing their identity. I will explore these processes later in this dissertation when I examine what attracted my respondents to identify with punk and/or subsequently British anarcho-punk through their 'entrance narratives and entrance/practices'.

As discussed earlier, collective identity is a space where our individual identities are performed and adapted depending on the reactions of others. In terms of narrative identity, Hunt and Benford (1994) argue that "collective identities are *talked* into existence" (cited in Johnston, 2014: 88). This suggests that the discursive conversations that take place between group members or people with a common or shared interest construct notions of what constitutes the collective identity of the group. Johnstone (2014: 88) states that:

> In these exchanges, they offer up, test, and modify - according to the reactions of others - personal versions of what it means to be a group member. This is the process by which disparate meanings of movement membership and participation are brought under a broadly (and mostly) shared understanding.

But it is not only in the shared discourses and vocabularies that collective identity is constructed and reaffirmed. Johnstone (2014) also argues that strong collective identities exist where identity performances are apparent and frequent. These performances are also based on the sharing of songs, music, style and aesthetics, and common experiences that are discussed and reminisced.

Narrative Identity and Memory

The narrative accounts of our life stories are dependent on memory, and the ways in which memories are reconstructed in our narratives is bound up in notions of self-identity. Our identity is constructed through the assembling of various memories and experiences and how we interpret them and reconstruct them (Lawler,

2014). This process of reconstruction takes place in the present, and through our relationship with those continually reproduced memories, our identity is maintained (Halbwachs, 1992 [1942]). As King (2000: 2) argues, a sense of continuity between past events, actions and present experiences is essential to a sense of personal identity. However, the notion of self which is constructed within those narratives is also dependent on assumptions about how memory functions and the type of access it gives us to the past. Therefore, it is not only based on the content of those experiences, stories and memories because as King (2000: 175) states; "'remembering the self' is not a case of restoring an original identity, but a continuous process of '*re-membering*', of putting together moment by moment, of provisional and partial reconstruction". This process of memory is not without its problems though, as the time between the event or action and the recalling or reconstruction of the event, has an impact on what we choose to remember, what we choose to forget, and subsequently what then gets narrated. This is particularly pertinent in my study as my respondents are constructing narratives through the reconstruction of memories from actions and events 30 or more years ago. Niemeyer (2014) argues that the past is enacted in the present and what has passed can only be reconstructed, re-enacted and re-thought through an artificial act, what Ricœur (1984-88) refers to as *mimesis*-a copy or representation of an original, the imitation of an action. What is past is accompanied by the present, a present that reduces parts of the past in its realisation and can also contain imaginations of the future, a non-linear social understanding of time interrelated with memory (Callender, 2011, cited in Niemeyer, 2014: 3). "Our ability to remember the past and actualise it must include the imperfections of the human mind and endorses embellished or falsified memories on an individual and collective level" (Ricœur, 2000 and Candau 2005; cited in Niemeyer 2014, 3)

As Strong (2011) suggests, rather than seeking out a *'truth'* or *'validity'* within the recounted memories and narratives of individuals, one has to be aware that other subsequent events and experiences are contributing to, and impacting on, that narrative, what I term as post-memory narrative, from a present positionality of the narrator. This proposes the notion that when we recount past memories, we 'add' to the narrative elements of ourselves in the present. This notion of addition as a psychoanalytic approach was first explored, though not completed, by Sigmund Freud (2001 [1896]). He termed this approach Nachträglichkeit, translated as *afterwardsness*. Benjamin (1992) proposed that Nachträglichkeit "can be articulated in relation to the

presentation, deferral and subsequent re-presentation of narrative" (cited in King, 2000: 21); the articulation of time through repetition. King (2000: 21) argues that this repetition can be clearly demonstrated in the case of autobiographical narrative, "where we have, first, the event; second the memory of the event; and third the writing of (the memory of) the event." Therefore, the afterwardsness that gets added to the narrative will be based on subsequent life experiences and events, a re-reading of those events.

Laplanche and Pontilas (1973 [1967]) argue that, "[E]xperiences, impressions and memory-traces may be revised at a later date to fit in with fresh circumstances or to fit in with a new stage of development." As King (2000:22) states, "Autobiographical narratives reconstruct the events of a life in the light of 'what wasn't known then', highlighting the events which are now, with hindsight, seen to be significant" and "the idea that events might have turned out differently, and if interpreted differently, might still be capable of changing the subject's understanding of her life and herself" (King, 2000: 23). In this sense, the identities that we construct through our narrative memories are in a state of constant flux. We add the afterwardsness to our narratives and in doing so adjust those narrative discourses to fit in with or reinforce our present identities.

Halbwachs (1992[1942]: 47) moves the debate of memory beyond the frame of a personal and individual aspect, to one of a social aspect. He suggests that memory must be taken as a social or group phenomenon-or what he terms as *collective memory*, similar to notions of social identity theory and collective identity that I discussed earlier in this chapter. Halbwachs (1992 [1942]) argues that although memories are personal, they also have a social character because individuals remember as part of groups or communities, therefore memories are reproduced and understood within sets of social frameworks. Mistzal (2003) suggests that Halbwachs' (1992 [1942]) work is useful for demonstrating the meaningful relationship between memory and identity, as his theory posits that group identities, which have a significant impact on the content of memories, are stable. Halbwachs (1992 [1942]) argues that this sense of stability within group identities is aided by memory that is utilised as a device for maintaining order. As Strong (2011: 32) argues:

> people do not see themselves only as part of the group they are currently in, but also still part of groups they have previously been in. These earlier groups are now complete and no longer restrict action but help to contribute to a stable sense of identity

In terms of my respondents, their past engagement and affiliation with British anarcho-punk in their adolescence and early adulthood positioned them as being part of a group that may have helped contribute to a stable sense of identity, subsequent to them exiting the scene.

What Halbwachs' (1992 [1942]) approach doesn't consider is the subtler relationship between individual and collective memories and it doesn't give a great deal of agency to people to contest dominant memories or create their own understandings of the past (Van Der Hoeven, 2014: 13). Therefore, collective memory cannot only be understood as monolithic and stable but as fluid and variable, influenced by class, gender, ethnicity, religion and other characteristics, which allow a diversity of memories and identities within the group or community. So, whilst Halbwachs' theories of collective memory are useful, my respondents were not always directly connected socially. Similar to Strong's (2011) investigation into people's memories of their association with grunge, I will show later that my respondents' autobiographical memories of British anarcho-punk were very similar in a number of instances. This suggests that there is a form of collective remembering taking place. However, as Van Dijck (2007) argues, although the individual is the one that remembers, the processes of recollection is dependent on the social and cultural practices in which memory narratives are called upon and recounted. This individualism also takes into account that not everybody's memory of a specific event is identical, and that "each individual attaches personal feelings and meanings to common experiences" (Van der Hoeven, 2014:13) and to this I further add individual and personal interpretations of those common experiences. The process of remembering, then, might be understood as both a mediated act that connects the human mind and process and the available social frameworks and sociocultural settings within which it is experienced and constructed.

Another feature of the process of remembering is the act of forgetting (Ricœur, 2004) to which narratives are inherently interlinked (Brockmeier, 2002). Forgetting is connected to the limitations that the mind has on remembering every experience from the past and is also connected to recalling and expressing past experiences that are significant or valued as important and worth remembering (Van Der Hoeven, 2014). In some cases, memory is actually defined by the process of forgetting the past. Brockmeier (2002: 22)

suggests that because remembering is a selective process, it also creates gaps, contradictions, omissions and incoherencies to our narratives. As well as a process of selecting, it also restructures by ignoring or closing the gaps and creating consistency and coherence whilst downplaying or ignoring unfavourable and painful experiences (Van Der Hoeven, 2014). Returning to Ricœur's notion of plots and the act of emplotment, Wertsch (2000) suggests that emplotment places limitations on one's perspective which results in the inclusion or exclusion of information within narrative accounts. This inclusion and exclusion within these narratives, accounts for a relationship between narrative, memory and the past. As Little (2008: n.p.) states; "We use narratives to connect the dots of things that have happened; to identify causes and meanings within this series of events, and to select the "important" events and processes out from the ordinary and inconsequential." It could be argued then that within those narratives we select what to include and exclude, and how we reconstruct our past identities in collaboration with our present identities.

Narrative Identity and Nostalgia

Nostalgia serves many functions, such as accepting the loss of an idealized childhood (Kaplan, 1984); accomplishing individuation (Peters, 1985); assessing and adapting to personal change over time (Cavanaugh, 1989); the maintenance of a sense of self-identity and connectedness to others (Mills and Coleman, 1994; Wilson, 1999); an adaptive function (Batcho et al., 2008); and "an emotional force that that enables certain types of reminiscence to serve distinct psychological functions" (Batcho, 2007: 362). Stern (1992) argues nostalgia manifests itself in two ways: historical nostalgia, being a past that is superior to the present, and personal nostalgia, which is a longingly and wistfully remembered personal past. Holbrook and Schindler (1991) define nostalgia as a preference towards objects and things that were more popular when one was younger, particularly around adolescence and early adulthood. Boym (2001) posits nostalgia as being both restorative and reflective. Boym argues that restorative nostalgia is about one's yearning to restore "or rebuild the lost home and patch up the memory gaps" (2001: 41). Whereas reflective nostalgia is about understanding there is no 'home' to return to, so one reflects and grieves over what has gone.

Whilst nostalgia can be conceptualised in a number of ways, my focus is to investigate how nostalgia is linked to identity and, to some extent memory, too. As Wilson (2005: 35) argues, "Thus memory, the actual

recall of the past, *and* nostalgia the emotional component of remembering and longing, are instrumental in one's quest to know who one is", and I would further add - who one will become. Connected to this is the issue of time and how transitions from adolescence into adulthood (past narratives) and transitions into later adulthood (present narratives) also impact on these identities. As I have shown, narratives that recount past events are centred around what we remember as well as what we forget (Ricœur, 2004). In terms of our identity and its continuation, the memories we select to narrate are also impacted on by feelings of nostalgia and nostalgic memories. Therefore, there are a number of similarities between how nostalgia and memory relate to identity and its continuity. Davis (1979) argues that the primary purpose of nostalgia is the continuity of identity. In this, he offers up a useful way to think about nostalgia and identity as he argues that nostalgia is implicated in the sense of who we are, and what we are about. As Wilson (2005) suggests, although continuity of identity might infer identity as being static, she contends that "within the fluidity of identities there are probably some elements of identity that remain quite consistent across time" (2005, 35).

Davis (1979) argues that nostalgia is one of the psychological lenses we use in the construction, maintenance and reconstruction of our identities. Similar to memory, nostalgic reconstructions also have the capacity to filter out and mute the unpleasant, painful and elements of our former selves about which we may feel some guilt and shame. Conversely, it also has the potential for depicting a romanticised ideal of a time that might have been quite ordinary and also a romanticised version of ourselves, especially in our later life, where we might convey that it was better in the past, when in fact it may not have been. We tend to think positively of ourselves as a strategy for continuation because, as Davis (1979) suggests, within our positive nostalgic evocations of the past, if it tells us we were worthy then, despite the worries and concerns of the present, we are likely to be worthy now. Therefore, nostalgia gives us a sense of self-worth by propagating positive attitudes towards our former selves; screening the unpleasant, shameful and painful from our memory and; normalizing and rehabilitating unusual and marginal features of earlier selves.

Davis (1979) agrees with many of the authors previously discussed in the section on identity and adolescence, in that the most significant part of identity formation is during adolescence in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. These are the parts of our identity that are more likely to remain with us as

they underpin the major elements of the self. As our identities develop as we move through, nostalgia has the powerful potential to benchmark those life and role transitions. Nostalgia has the capacity to locate in memory an earlier version of the self to which we measure to advantage some current condition of the self. This is aided by nostalgia's ability to simplify and romanticise the past to a point of patronising our former self. With this comes the encouragement that we have grown and matured and are able to cope with the challenging demands of the present (Davis, 1979). Therefore, where nostalgia is a means for the continuity of identity, it also is a lens through which to look back at one's identity, benchmarking periods of those life transitions. This is not about what has been but more to do with coping with the inevitable changes and challenges to our role and relationships as we move through the life course, especially the work and family roles that are deeply involved in our core concept, understanding and construction of self. Fear of the challenges that we might face ahead is what brings forth discontinuity. In this instance, nostalgia manages at one and the same time to celebrate the past, diminish it and then transform it into a means for engaging in the present (Davis, 1979).

Returning to previous discussions around memory and identity, Bluck et al. (2005) and Wilson and Ross (2003) argue that autobiographical memories play an important role in the construction and preservation of a consistent and coherent identity across changes over time, during transitions into new stages of our lives and identity development, and adaptation into new roles. However, Davis (1979) argues that we try to convince the self and those around us that underneath the exterior of our social roles and conventional appearances (or indeed vice versa-outwardly punk- inwardly 'conventional') we are more complex and set apart from all the others. We put an appealing and attractive façade on ourselves based around the unique and strange elements of our past selves, when in fact they may not have been that appealing or attractive at the time. I extend Davis' argument to suggest that whilst punk is often cast as being different, outside, rebellious and strange, underneath the unconventional exterior often associated with its look or image, some punks may well have been inwardly conventional.

Batcho (2007) argues that nostalgia is associated with identity and belonging through a sense of affiliation to or connectedness to others. In doing so, she suggests that these things strengthen our connectedness and

define our self in reference to others whilst enhancing and sustaining our continuity across changes over time. Therefore, we also attach nostalgic feelings with things that we commonly share with others, such as experiences that signify or symbolize what was and is our generation or era (Davis, 1979: 40). For my research respondents, this connectedness could be experienced through a number of shared experiences. This sharing is a way of connecting to others or deepening our already established relationships with others, and some reassurance that as we get older, we were not that strange after all or others were equally as strange as us which enhances the sense of our own normalcy.

Narrative identity, ageing and the life course

Another important element in the narratives of my research respondents is time, i.e. when they are narrating their memories, they do so in the present. This has implications on how those memories are reflected through their sense of identity in the present. When recounting experiences relating to their past identity, this will be narrated in relation to and through their present identity. Erikson (1950; 1963; 1968) proposed that identity construction is an ongoing process that moves across the life course. Whilst some elements remain consistent, a number of those will change or shift as one experiences more of life and include those experiences into the constructive process of one's identity. Erikson (1950; 1963; 1968) argues that identity is shaped by the interaction of psychological, social and biological factors. This interaction is what shapes one's identity in response to the challenges faced during our life experiences (Leadbetter, 2014; cited in Kroger, 2002). Erikson (1950; 1968) proposed that to enable successful identity development, three specific domains of identity; subjective, personal and social had to evenly merge together at the same time. This in turn provides a positive and healthy sense of identity that enables the individual to effectively deal with life's challenges (Leadbetter, 2014: 31). This is further supported by Westerhoff (2010) and Harrington et al. (2011), who suggest that the self-narratives of older adults are crucial to their successful negotiation of migration in and through time.

Influenced by Freud's (2001[1923[) theory on the structure and topography of personality development, Erikson (1950) proposes eight distinctive psychosocial (*psycho*-the needs of the self; conflicting with *social*-the needs of society) self-developmental stages from infancy to old age (65 years +). Erikson (1968) argues

that adolescence is a critical period for identity development. He argues that the primary objective of the adolescent 'self' is to achieve a "coherent sense of identity and self-definition after having explored a number of alternatives and then committed themselves to their sense of identity" (Leadbetter, 2014: 30). By achieving this sense of identity, they were more able to cope with the psychosocial demands of adolescence and beyond (Kroger and Marcia, 2011). Erikson's positions are useful in my research, as I will show that for a number of my respondents, their introduction into punk and subsequently British anarcho-punk was during a period of adolescence and late adolescence. However, critics of Erikson (1950; 1968) such as Levine (1988), Meeus et al., (1999) and Côté (2002) raise some concerns over the concentration of his research on the adolescence stage and overstressing the importance of it, whilst focussing less on the others. Erikson's (1950) own lifecycle[14] model suggests an unfolding and developing of the individual's identity as it grows and adapts to the numerous challenges over the lifecycle. These adaptations and influences on the individual's identity are, as Kroger (2002) suggests, impacted upon by the ageing process and the relevant challenges brought about during people's lives. Whilst Erikson's (1950; 1968) work is useful in positioning my participants' identities during their adolescence and late adolescence, through their mediated narratives, I have to be aware of how the ageing process or passing of time has constructed their identities, their memories and their present narratives of the past.

As we move through the life course, we can take on a number of roles and responsibilities, such as family, career, mortgage that may have a psychosocial impact on our identities as we age. However, the ageing process does not necessarily distance one from youthful associations and activities. Many people have remained closely connected to their youthful cultural practices by remaining connected to the subcultures and scenes they engaged with in their youth. In this, they have accommodated their youthful cultural practices into their life course and retained elements of their adolescent identity into their present adult identity (Bennett, 2012; 2013).

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[14] The terms life cycle and life course are related but not interchangeable. The term life-cycle is understood as a series of developmental stages across the span of one's life such as infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, middle age. Whereas the life course can be understood as: (1) events marking transitions and trajectories of roles across one's life; (2) the changing environment of the individual and its developmental implications; (3) an approach that offers a way of linking early life experiences to later life outcomes (see Alwin, 2013).

Bennett (2013: 156) found in his investigation around music ageing and politics, for some of his respondents music becomes "locked within a particular time and place where it has become symbolically enshrined." Here, the emotive energy invested in a piece of music, culture and identity creates an assumed bond between others who shared in those same musical and cultural experiences. My research respondents shared musical, cultural and ideological experiences of British anarcho-punk which have created a bond between them, and which are later reaffirmed through the narrating of their memories of those experiences.

Similar studies into ageing within a scene or subculture and the relationship between ageing, youth cultures identity and belonging have been conducted by a number of academics (Davis, 2006; Gregory, 2009, 2012; Haenfler, 2006; 2012; Hodkinson, 2012; Spracklen, 2012), with the majority of the research suggesting that individuals adapt their behaviours and practices to accommodate both their adult responsibilities and the physical limitations of the ageing body.However, this connection to a subculture and scene for ageing participants does not always manifest itself in active face-to-face participation. For some, this connection is manifest in what Bennett (2013) terms as an *affective scene,* through their engagement with and consumption of various media that are representative of that scene. This may be through their engagement with personal artefacts such as records, 'zines, clothing, and other stylistic devices, and engagement with online forums, social media groups and websites specific to that scene. Whilst Bennett's notion of an affective scene draws attention to continuing engagement with a current scene, I argue there are parallels in terms of the use of affective scenes in investigating one's past affiliation with a scene when that scene no longer exists. Therefore, this notion of affective scene may continue to resonate for many of my research respondents, and how they connect to their past affiliation with British anarcho-punk. I will investigate how my respondents engage with personal artefacts in chapter eight of this thesis.

Narrative identity, popular music, memory and nostalgia

Whilst my thesis does not specifically focus on the musical elements of British anarcho-punk, it was a music-driven subcultural scene, so it is important to highlight the relationship between music and identity. My participants' initial engagement with British anarcho-punk music happened during their adolescence and I will later in this section discuss the important relationship between music heard during one's adolescence

and identity formation. As I will be asking my research respondents to narrate their past experiences of British anarcho-punk, I will also show the relationship between music and memory, where music has been used as a mnemonic device to stimulate memory, but also through the process of reminiscence, and how that can stimulate nostalgic feelings.

The relationship between music and identity has been well documented (Bennett, 2000; 2013; DeNora, 2000; Frith,1996; Laughey, 2006; Middleton, 1990; Wall, 2003). Music can be utilised as a vehicle for exploration and entry into a particular social and cultural group. Here, identity is developed in relation to others who hold a similar set of shared interests and values, who identify with the codes and conventions of that particular grouping, and in doing so create a sense of belonging. This is no more prevalent than in people's relationship with music in terms of music fandom, music subcultures and music scenes. As Williams (2006: 174) notes:

> there is a dialectic relationship between music and identity, wherein music is seen as consequential in the creation of subcultures as well as a consequence of them [… where….] subculture was the predominant sociological concept used to characterize the relationship among music, culture, and identity.

Early forays into music and identity (Hebdige, 1978; Willis, 1978) suggested that music represented or reflected particular kinds of people and particular social and cultural groups. Vila (2014: 19) states that, "according to subcultural theory, specific musical styles connect, necessarily, with specific social actors, and the connection is the product of a sort of "structural resonance" or "homology" among social position, musical expression and practice." This homological and structuralist approach to popular music and identity, which early subcultural theory proposed, didn't explain or resolve the issues around changes in musical tastes within subcultures and scenes, and the musical overlap and ambiguity that often occurs as subcultures and scenes develop (Vila, 2014). Moving away from the problematic reading of the subcultural approach, Frith (1996: 109) argues that:

> the issue is not how a particular piece of music or performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience-a musical experience, an aesthetic experience- that we can only make sense of by *taking on both* a subjective and a collective identity.

Frith's (1996) proposition begins to consider that the same piece of music or musical experience can mean different things to different people, or indeed mean different things to the same person, as the meaning is dependent on a number of variables external to the music such as location, mood, gender, ethnicity. Even within a collective identity, such as anarcho-punk, what meanings the individual takes from that music may indeed resonate with other members of the collective but also may remain individual. Frith's (1996) notion that music *produces* people rather than *reflects them* resonates with the post-structuralist approach to discourse, where the "continuous and precarious construction of meaning" ... [is achieved through] "... constant discursive struggle" (Vila, 2014: 21). People interpret their lives through the cultural narratives that are available to them, however this isn't just a matter of telling a story, that narrative will be constructed with reference to wider socio-cultural discourses that are also available to them. Gubrium and Holstein (2009: 16) argue that narrative is a communicative act based on shared socio-cultural practices and resources where "stories aren't simply conveyed but they are given shape in the course of social interaction." Gennette (1980), on the other hand, argues that narrative is a discursive act, where the socio-cultural constructs that discourse offers are found in the construction of the narrative. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, within narrative and discourse, a process of construction is taking place. Returning to Vila's (2014) notion that the construction of meaning is a constant discursive struggle, I would further add that the construction of identities and narrative identities is also a constant discursive struggle. Bruner (1990) argues that we construct or create our identities through the autobiographical narratives we tell ourselves and others. This is further supported by Hargreaves et al. (2002: 10) who state that:

> music is a fundamental channel of communication, and we argue that it can act as a medium through which people can construct new identities and shift existing ones in the same way as spoken language. The continual construction and reconstruction of the self through autobiographical narratives can occur in music as well as in language.

However, within that narrative construction of the self, music is only one element of the socio-cultural milieu that constructs our identities. Popular music, as Middleton (1990: 249) states:

> has been centrally involved in the production and manipulation of subjectivity [...] popular music has always been concerned, not so much with reflecting social reality, as with offering ways in which people could enjoy and valorize identities they yearned for or believed themselves to possess.

With the ubiquity of music, it is no surprise that we associate particular pieces of music with particular

moments in our lives. Most of my respondents encountered and identified with British anarcho-punk during their adolescence, which is understood as a period of cognitive development in terms of identity construction. Lippman and Greenwood (2012) found that music plays an important role in the development and articulation of identities for those in late adolescence. Tarrant et al. (2002: 135) argue that "the appeal of music during adolescence stems from its ability to address salient developmental issues", some of which include "acquiring a set of values and beliefs, performing socially responsible behaviour, developing emotional independence from parents and achieving mature relationships with peers". They further go on to suggest that addressing these developmental issues is necessary for successful identity development. Additionally, Schulkind et al. (1999) argue that the music that one encounters during the period of late adolescence and early adulthood is likely to have the greatest lifelong impact.

Working within the framework of Social Identity Theory, Tarrant et al. (2002) further go on to suggest that "the major appeal of music to adolescents lies in its ability to help them form positive social identities" (139), and that "the benefits to identity and self-esteem that are derived from interactions with peers, seem in part to be realized through intergroup behaviour" (144) where "musical behaviour is guided not only by individual identity needs but also by group identity needs" (146). These interactions with peers occupy a shared social space, and within that shared social space narratives are engendered and shared- narratives that are useful for identity formation and maintenance. These shared social spaces and narratives allow for the sharing of values and beliefs that Holt (2007: 21, cited in Vitale, 2013:27) suggests reveal the "interconnected processes of music and social specialization have crystallized in various kinds of group affiliations for which we have the concept of *collectivities…*" which encompasses "everything from the intimate relation between a couple of fans or a band to communities and scenes" (Holt, 2007: 21, cited in Vitale, 2013: 27). Vitale (2013: 28) notes that in:

> the negotiation of identities through music affiliation [......] the performance of musical affiliation becomes inextricably linked to social practices, and through greater symbolic understandings of what it means to participate in a culture, or subcultures.

So, it can be seen that music can play an important role in identity construction, both individually and as a group, and be utilised as a tool to enable us to form and maintain a number of identities as we move through the life course. As Vitale (2013: 42) states "identities may be fluid and unpredictable, but they are

identifiable [italics in original] and negotiable in "real time"-thus identities provide space for development and change over the life course".

However, whilst the dominant narrative within the literature on music and identity tends to portray people's identarian experiences of music as being positive (Vitale, 2013), Hesmondhalgh (2013: 41) warns against this narrow view and approach to understand the relationship between modern music and the self. He argues that the literature tends to:

> risk downplaying various ways in which music has been implicated in less pleasant and even disturbing features of modern life. There is a proper emphasis on the social nature of music and of self identity, but if music is as imbricated with social processes as these writers suggest, then it is hard to see how people's engagement with music can be so consistently positive in their effects, when we live in societies that are marked by inequality, exploitation and suffering. [...] And, turning to self-identity, might not people's projects of self-creation (to use DeNora's term), *and therefore their uses of music as part of these projects,* [italics in original] have some more difficult and troubling dimensions than emerges in such accounts?

Hesmondhalgh addresses an important and often overlooked issue about people's relationship with music and identity and further the relationship to music, memory and nostalgia. As autobiographical memory and nostalgic memory tends to focus on a sense of a better time in the past, where things were seemingly more positive, what of those autobiographical memories that place the role of music in more negative terms? Do we, through the process of nostalgic memory, choose to consciously or subconsciously selectively forget those times where music doesn't play such a positive role in our identity formation projects?

Over the life course, our engagement with music will vary from the transient and temporary encounters that pass by and through us, to a process of collecting or owning music via physical or digital formats. It could be argued that these 'collections' of musical artefacts, can serve as an autobiographical representation of how one has produced the self over time. The notion that music can soundtrack our lives seems to ring true, in that particular pieces of music act as musical timestamps, markers or a 'timepiece' (Kortaba, 2002, cited in Bennett and Rogers, 2016). This concept has been advanced in the work of Istvandity (2014; 2017; 2019) has developed the concept of the 'lifetime soundtrack'. Through this concept, she reveals the link between the assemblage of an emblematic collection of music, and how that works alongside the visual nature of autobiographical memories. She further goes on to argue that this 'lifetime soundtrack', whilst being

uniquely individual, is also influenced by others around us and "accounts for the interlocking connections between music, memory and emotion, and finds alignment with peak periods of music consumption and identity development" (2018: 202). These musical timestamps are subconsciously created when particularly important events or moments in our lives occur simultaneously, as we often associate a specific piece of music to a person, place, event or time. As we move through life, we create and develop these musical timestamps through, as Pickering (2018) argues, sets of musical resources that we intentionally create, such as record collections, posters of our favourite musicians, photos from concerts, band t-shirts. These musical timestamps can also help us situate and create some sense of order to our memories of the past, where we can consciously map the who, what, and where, to the when. Bennett and Rogers (2016) argue that a long-term investment in a specific genre of music, such as punk, is typically associated with a personal history and, I would argue, associated with identity. They further argue, this is not only an individual history, but is often linked to a collective history through shared experiences of a particular time and place. Therefore, membership or affiliation with a music-driven subculture and scene may involve members sharing experiences of particular events or happenings such as live gigs. Within that shared history will be a set of shared memories, though not all identical, but with some commonalities that constitute a collective memory.

Music has often been considered as a mnemonic device for accessing memories and our remembered experiences (Istvandity, 2014; 2017; Janata et al., 2007; Krumhansl and Zupnick, 2013; Schulkind et al., 1999; Smith, 1994). It has the ability to evoke powerful memories. Hearing a specific piece of music that has particular significance or meaning for us, or has a symbolic association, can metaphorically return us to that moment or moments in time, and in doing so can stimulate emotional feelings. As Smith (1994) argues, music is a very powerful tool for retrieving autobiographical memories. A study of older adults by Schulkind et al. (1999) showed that music from their participants' youth evoked stronger emotions and more specific autobiographical memories more often than music from later life. In their study, they found that the more emotion a song produced, the more likely it would generate associated memories. This phenomenon of remembering things from our adolescence is often referred to as the 'reminiscence bump' (Rubin et al., 1986; Krumhansl and Zupnick, 2013) because memory encoding most often takes place during adolescence and early adulthood (Rubin et al., 1998).

The reminiscence bump has also been linked to social identity, where individuals recognise that they are not only forming an individual identity but also an identity linked to a particular social group or subgroup (Holmes and Conway, 1999). Holmes and Conway (1999) suggest that members of the group or subgroup are likely to have memories of similar sorts of experiences, and the reminiscence bump has been attributed to this phenomenon. My respondents may also have memories of similar types of experiences or shared experiences, such as particular live music events, or the impact and influence of certain bands and pieces of music, through their affiliation with British anarcho-punk and their anarcho-punk identities. As van der Hoeven (2014) suggests, popular music has the ability to bring to mind memories that constitute a sense of community. This sense of community can be further related to a sense of belonging to a subcultural scene such as British anarcho-punk, where notions of community were important.

As Carr (2010) notes, research from Barrett et al., (2010) has attempted to understand how, and in what ways music can evoke memories, and the circumstances through which nostalgic responses occur. Carr (2010) goes on to highlight how research by academics such as Schulkind et al. (1999) suggest that engagement with music, particularly during adolescence, can have a strong impact in terms of nostalgic feeling, and stimulate both general and specific memories of life events. This is supported by Pickering (2018: 193) who states:

> for many people, the period of most intense musical listening, most active seeking out of certain forms of popular music and most ardent identification with it occurs in late adolescence (itself a variable time in individual lives) [...] Little surprise, then, that the music we associate with this time becomes a source of nostalgia in later life, as we look back to our youth, often enough with some combination in play of the components of loss, lack and longing.

However, Bennett (2013: 2) argues that "for many people, the music that "mattered" in their youth continues to play an important role in their adult lives", further suggesting that this importance goes beyond mere nostalgic longing of wanting to return to one's youth, but often manifests itself in a dynamic relationship to music, its relevance to their everyday lives and its broader socio-cultural significance. As Smith (1994) contends, music preferences are also linked to political preferences, ideologies and values, which further reflects the link between music and the wider social context of the time in which it was listened to. Bennett (2013: 2) argues that for many, the cultural, and I would add political and ideological, sensibilities that "they

acquired as members of music-driven youth cultures have remained with them, shaping their life courses and becoming ingrained in their biographical trajectories and associated lifestyle sensibilities."

Conclusion

In this chapter, I established how identity has been conceptualised in academic studies. I began by discussing identity in broader terms and from there I explored how various academic fields such as psychology and sociology have conceptualised identity. I found that whilst there are some commonalities in how identity is conceptualised, there is no obvious or singular definition for identity, highlighting its multifaceted nature. In doing so, I argued for an approach to identity formation that recognised the individual and personal experience combined with the value and emotional significance of group membership such as experienced in a subcultural scene. I therefore asserted that when I use the term identity in this thesis, I'm referring to the complex ways in which people come to understand who they are and where they fit into the world, both psychologically and socially. This approach to identity will allow me to show not only how my research respondents considered the narrative construction of their individual anarcho-punk identities and sense of self, but how being part of a subcultural scene had an impact on the development of their anarcho-punk identities through the shared ideologies, politics and cultural practices of the subcultural scene. I have therefore strived for a degree of flexibility in how I have applied the concept, using a range of theories about how identity works, but without imposing any single definition on what my respondents were saying.

Through the concept of Social Identity Theory (SIT), I established that identity is a social and reflexive process that involves notions of the self, formed through a set of resources around us, our own sense of self and our unique characteristics. Therefore, our identities are fluid and shaped by various social interactions and relationships that influence and impact on not only how we see ourselves, but also how we see others, and this requires continual negotiation. Through the literature, I established that adolescence plays an important and significant part in identity formation and is likely to have the most influential and lasting impact on our identity development and subsequent identities (Côté, 1996; 2009; Meeus at al., 1999; Van Hoof, 1999). For my respondents, their affiliation with British anarcho-punk happened during their adolescence and my research interest seeks to understand what impact that affiliation has had on their

subsequent lives, and whether that anarcho-punk identity formed during adolescence has an influential and lasting impact as suggested by the literature.

In determining this lasting impact, my respondents would need to reflect on and remember that period of adolescent affiliation with British anarcho-punk and how it constituted for them an anarcho-punk identity. Their reflective accounts are enabled through the interviews I conducted with them, where they narrated memories of their past and present identities. The literature suggests that the construction and creative production of one's identity is produced through narratives, or the telling of stories. Here, identity is constructed through the assemblage of various stocks of knowledge, memories, experiences, ideas, images and sounds that are reflexively embedded in social constructions, which make them meaningful to the individual's sense of self through the narratives they tell (Lawler, 2014; Schütz 1964). Ricœur's work on narrative and identity (1991a; 1991b) argues that the construction of identity relies on characters, actions and plots that come together in a coherent whole that constructs the narrative- a term he calls emplotment. Using Avery-Natale (2012), I showed how we narrate from a number of characters and use emplotment as a way of corralling those narratives to present a singular self, a process that is conducted between narrator and audience through shared cultural understandings of the content of the narrative. This I argued was of importance, as my own involvement with British anarcho-punk in my adolescence and early adulthood allowed me to connect with my research respondents in terms of shared cultural understandings within the narratives they share with me.

Because their narratives were reflective, I considered the roles of memory, nostalgia, ageing and the life course in terms of narrative identity and identity construction and development. As one ages, self-narratives become crucial to one's successful negotiation and migration in and through time (Harrington, Bielby et al., 2011; Westerhoff, 2010). I showed that identity is constructed through the combination of various memories and experiences that are pieced together, interpreted and reconstructed through our narratives. However, this process is not without its problems as remembering also involves forgetting and is a selective process where within those narratives we select the important and significant events from the ordinary and inconsequential (Little, 2008) and reconstruct our past identities in collaboration with our present identities. Here, past and

present are brought together and in the recounting of past memories we add to the narrative elements of ourselves in the present- what I call post memory narrative.

I established that nostalgia plays a part in how one reflects on the past as a means of continuation with the development of the self and one's identity. Nostalgia becomes a means for the continuity of identity by locating in our memory an earlier version of the self, which we can measure to positively enhance some current condition of the self. Our connectedness to youthful associations and activities are often supported by remaining connected to the subcultures and scenes we engaged with in our youth and retain elements of our adolescent identity in our present identity. Therefore, ageing does not necessarily exclude us from our past activities and memories of those periods.

Lastly, I looked at the relationship between popular music and identity, where popular music plays an important role in identity development, both individually and as a collective group, especially in adolescence, and is likely to have the greatest lifelong impact. As Bennett (2013) contends, the values we acquired as adolescent members of subcultures and scenes that were predominantly driven by music, have remained with us and shaped our lives to varying degrees of importance and influence. Therefore, this dissertation offers a deeper interrogation into the lasting impact of one's past affiliation with a subcultural scene with regard to one's current life and identity. This interrogation moves beyond the vast corpus of work on subcultural and post-subcultural affiliation and identity into the relatively uncharted field of disaffiliation and identity. In the next chapter, I discuss my methodological approach to data gathering and analysis.

Chapter 4
Methodology

This chapter builds on the theoretical frameworks established in the previous three chapters to outline how I approached the research that would address the limitations of previous studies of subcultural and post-subcultural affiliation, ageing and identity. Although the studies I discussed in chapter three are informative and serve to underpin the development of research into ageing fans and ageing within youth cultures of popular music, they tend to focus on the fans or participants' continuing relationship with music or their continuing participation in an existing subculture or post-subculture. What happens to those people when they exit a subculture or post-subculture, or when it ceases to exist? What becomes of their subcultural or post-subcultural identities? What continuing influence or impact does their previous participation have on their subsequent lives and identities? Thus, revisiting and re-examining a subcultural scene from over 30 years ago creates a retrospective account, which as Strong (2011: 13) argues "adds a new perspective to the literature on music, which mostly studies movements as they occur, or presents historical accounts that do not involve the recollections of fans". To that I would also add participants of music subcultural scenes that do not consider themselves to be fans. One of the issues I faced with my research was the omission of an existing subcultural scene as British anarcho-punk no longer existed in its original form. Whereas ethnographic research relies on the present, this raises the issue of how one conducts a study of something that no longer exists?

To enable me to investigate these issues and answer these questions, I employed a methodological approach that draws on narrative research and employs face-to-face in-depth semi structured interviewing; asynchronous computer mediated VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) in-depth semi structured interviewing; and semi structured e-mail interviews, as data gathering mechanisms, of which I will discuss later in this chapter. Whilst this is perhaps not understood as a traditional ethnographic approach, Hobbs (2006: 101) argues that ethnography is the "product of a cocktail of methodologies" citing observational analysis, participant observation, interviews, conversational analysis and life histories as useable methodologies in an ethnography.

Taking from Hobb's (2006) descriptor of ethnography, my method combines a 'cocktail' of interviewing approaches and techniques which are all focussed around a biographic-narrative interview (Fischer-Rosenthal, 2000; Wengraf 2001) These include approaches such as life history interviewing, which is a form of individual interview directed to documenting the respondent's life, or an aspect of it that has developed over the life course (Jupp, 2006); oral history interviewing which involves interviewing people about their historical lived experience, (Smith 2001); and narrative interviewing where a set of semi structured questions provide an opportunity for the participant to narrate their life experiences (Allen, 2017). This 'cocktail' of interviewing approaches enabled me to fully consider how people, through their previous affiliation and engagement with a musical subcultural scene, form their identities through narratives constructed from their personal memories. I am not suggesting that these methodological cocktail ingredients are to be understood and deployed in this research as three separate elements of investigation and analysis, but three combined levels that orientate and guide the interviewing process, data gathering and finally the interpretation of the data.

First, I discuss how past studies of music fans, and more specifically ageing music fans or ageing participants of music scenes, have tended to use an ethnographic approach, and I discuss some of the issues that this has presented in relation to situating my methodological approach in my research. Secondly, I discuss a methodological narrative approach to investigating relinquished and past music subcultural scene affiliation and the different methodological narrative approaches I took in my research. This also considers some of the issues faced by the researcher when conducting narrative research that draws on people narrating their memories. Thirdly, I show how I applied my methodological approach to researching relinquished and past music subcultural scene affiliation. Lastly, I discuss the limitations of my methodological approach and the ethical issues I faced while conducting the research.

Situating my methodology within previous studies

When I first embarked on this research, I questioned whether what I was doing was ethnography in the

true anthropological sense of the term. The very nature of ethnographic study invites the researcher to immerse themselves in the daily lives of the people or culture they are studying. This, more often than not, follows the process of observational study: interviews, participating in cultural practices, looking at cultural artefacts and ephemera in relation to the object/culture of study (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3). In late modernity, and within cultural and sociological studies, influences from the Chicago School and later the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) have resulted in ethnography becoming less fixed in its approaches compared to the field of anthropology from which it emerged. Taking a less scientific approach to ethnography, scholars from the CCCS conducted ethnographies on a number of British subcultures such as punks (Hebdige, 1979), skinheads (Clarke et al., 1976) and motorcycle gangs and hippies (Willis, 1978). However, these early ethnographic studies of youth (sub)cultures were not without later criticism. Bennett (2002) argues that there are a number of issues with the approaches deployed by the CCCS in the way that they utilised inappropriate analytical frameworks, such as homology (Willis, 1978) and polysemy (Hebdige, 1979) in their analyses. Bennett further argues that the purpose of ethnography in giving the actors involved a 'voice' was subsumed by the imposition of theoretical frameworks and empirical data gathered was being made to fit "a bigger picture which has already been fashioned at the level of theoretical abstraction" (2002: 455). Bennett further suggests that due to the problematic nature of how ethnography is interpreted and applied, discussions around the identification and application of ethnography in the study of music cultures has seemingly been avoided or ignored. This is also supported by Evans and Stasi (2014: 5) who also note that within fan studies the discourse of methodology or "explicit reference to methodology or research methods was often missing" or at best, scant.

This is a familiar issue in a number of 'ethnographic' studies of music cultures, such as with the work of Thornton (1995), where, in her study of club cultures, the "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) often associated with ethnography is relegated to a five page description of a night out with a few clubbers. Additionally, where ethnography seeks to give the actors a 'voice', very little primary material from her ethnography is utilised in her analysis. The remaining data gathered from her ethnography comes

from a selection of secondary sources. Bennett's (2013) study of ageing popular music fans offers the reader a useful set of theoretical models in which to examine and interpret the relationship with ageing and popular music, linked to Chaney's (1996) concept of lifestyle sites and strategies. However, his discussions around methodology, and the potential issues the ethnographer faces when observing and interviewing research participants, is similarly relegated to a few pages in the appendices of the book.

As chapter three demonstrated, there is a developing corpus of work focussing on ageing fans of popular music and ageing within youth cultures, focussed around lifestyle, identity and ageing fans' relationship with music (Bennett, 2006; 2013; Davis, 2006; Haenfler, 2012; Herrmann, 2012; Schilt and Giffort 2012). This interest has raised a number of paradigms, such as the perception that popular music's cultural significance is not always unquestionably connected to notions of youth and similarly not a phase in one's life that that necessarily diminishes as one transitions into adulthood. A number of those ethnographic studies of older music fans, or people ageing within youth cultures, often discuss how their participants are reflective about their past and their relationship with that particular music subculture, scene or fandom. These reflective elements of the research are important in gaining a deeper understanding of how those individuals position themselves now as older fans or scene participants, and how that has informed their current identities, aesthetic style in the way of clothing or body modifications, and their negotiated sense of other responsibilities associated with adulthood. Bennett's (2013) ethnography on self-identified ageing hippies, Hodkinson's (2011) ethnography on ageing goths, and Smith and Inglis' (2013) ethnography on ageing Grateful Dead 'fans', contain large elements of the research participants reflecting on their past and continuing relationship with their fandom. In that process of reflection, Bennett (2013), Hodkinson (2011) and Smith and Inglis (2013) fail to address what I consider a vital element of discussion, and that is of the complex issues of memory which includes individual, collective and cultural memory, memory recall and narrative memory, which I discussed in chapter three.

The relationship between memory and history, or documenting the past, is important if we are concerned with understanding how the past shapes or impacts on the present. I argue that to ignore the

complexities of how one deals with memory when asking people to reflect on the past ignores a number of issues for both the interviewer and interviewee that impact on how that data is communicated, perceived, analysed and then presented. As Stacey (1994: 63) argues, a critical analysis of how memory operates and is perceived is relevant to all ethnographic studies of audiences. She argues that the representing of that past is not a simple process of retelling but a set of complex cultural processes that become retrospective reconstructions of the past in the present, and therefore need to be considered within a critical framework which highlights the processes of memory.

One of the constituents common within ethnography is an observational study. Sara Cohen (1993: 127) argues that popular music ethnographies haven't always followed the traditional anthropological approach and at times focus on text which, she argues, distances the subject and their discourses from their day to day activities which raises issues regarding the validity of those discourses. Drawing on her own studies of music making in Liverpool, and Ruth Finnegan's (1989) study of music making in Milton Keynes, she argues that immersion in the 'culture' and participation in, and observation of, the social and cultural activities of the group under study, can bring a richer and more contextualised understanding of the group and its practices. As previously mentioned, one of the issues I faced in my research was that the scene I was investigating no longer existed, so it was not possible to observe the cultural and social activities of the 'group' or scene. Whilst I recognise this as a potential limitation to my methodological approach, I had to place this within the context of my research which draws on historical recollections rather than current activities. Whilst part of the focus of the research was an interest in how that affiliation and engagement with British anarcho-punk had impacted on their subsequent lives, including the present, I argue this could be explored through the interview process as their narratives document their own history. Stacey (1994) argues these stories are a narrativisation of themselves in relation to past ideals where their 'history' is constructed through forms of storytelling that is given validation through the research process. The studies I have so far discussed demonstrate a broad range of approaches to ethnography and the utilisation of a number of tools that an ethnographer can deploy.

A narrative approach to investigating relinquished and past subcultural scene affiliation

A number of ethnographic approaches to investigating scenes and subcultures (Hebdige, 1979; Thornton, 1995; Willis, 1978) relegate the 'voice' of the research participant over the application of a predetermined set of theoretical frameworks. Taking note of the limitations of such studies it was important that those 'voices' were central to my research and analysis.

Smith and Inglis (2013: 307) state that:

> Despite an increase in ethnographic approaches to fan studies, it still remains true that the authentic voices of fans themselves have not always been heard, or, when they have been, they have been subject to the imposition of meaning by external agencies.

To redress this imbalance, I have made every effort to bring their voices to the fore rather than 'silencing' them with complex explanatory frameworks or models that attest to explain in totality what the participants are 'really' saying. Similar to Cavicchi's approach to studying fandom, I wish to recognise my participants not as "problems or theories or data but real people trying to make sense of their lives" (1998: 10). To enable me to understand both the past events of my research participants' involvement in British anarcho-punk and the impact this has had on their subsequent lives, I conducted a set of in-depth semi-structured and open interviews to 'collect' their personally voiced experiences. There are a range of narrative forms and research practices that informed and helped me conceptualise the type of interviewing I conducted which I will now discuss.

Chase (2005) suggests that narrative may be ascribed to any discourse or text or a text used in qualitative research within the context of a mode of investigation that has a particular emphasis on the stories articulated by individuals. Through the interview process, I am collecting stories of events, happenings and specific phenomenological or 'lived experiences' of my research participants' lives in the form of biographical snapshots. Ellis (2004) argues that a biographical study is a form of narrative study where the experiences of another person's life are written and recorded by the researcher conducting the study. This particular practice closely follows my interview approach to collecting and

documenting specific phenomenological or 'lived experiences' of my research participants' lives. Through this process, my research participants actualize their interpretation of the past, but restructures it through the present, which becomes the dominant order for restructuring the past. This raises a number of issues of how the past is remembered, presented and then interpreted which I will discuss later in this chapter.

Another narrative approach is an oral history study, which Plummer (1983) suggests comprises collecting an individual or a number of individual's personal reflections on an event and its causes and effects. Although Plummer's approach may focus on a specific historical event and how that was experienced, perceived and recounted by a number of people, it doesn't necessarily have to focus on one event or approach. It can also involve interviewing a person or group of people to gain an inside perspective into what it was like to live in a particular time or is like to live as a member of a particular group within a society. My research seeks to gain a historical perspective from the individuals I interview, but as a number of the research participants were involved in a specific scene, there were a number of events or shared experiences that connected them. This raises some interesting issues regarding how my research interfaces with phenomenological research. Where narrative study seeks to report the life of an individual, a phenomenological study seeks to describe the meaning for several individuals of their personal lived experiences of an event, happening or phenomenon. Phenomenologists focus on describing what all participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon. Creswell (2007: 58) argues that a phenomenological study identifies an *a priori* object of human experience, and then develops a merged description of the essence of the experience for all of the individuals. In essence British anarcho-punk was a national cultural phenomenon that had a number of regional scenes. It was experienced by all of my research participants though in different localities, at different times and with varying degrees of engagement. I argue that their individual narratives contribute to a combined description of that subcultural scene, and the essence of the experience for all of them contributes to a richer understanding of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene.

Lastly, another narrative approach is a life-history study which is a methodological approach that gathers data to describe an individual's whole life. Denzin (1989) suggests that life history can be understood as the recounting or telling of a string of events, which speak to turning points or significant moments in people's lives. He further posits that a personal experience story is based on single or multiple episodes in an individual's personal experience. Whilst my research is not looking to document the experiences of my participants' entire life course, for the purposes of this research, I will be relating this theory to documenting their personal experiences as a set of multiple episodes extracted from their life course. Rubin and Rubin (1995: 27) argue interviews that seek to explore life histories can provide a window to social and personal transformations as they focus more on the individual and what they have felt and experienced as they have passed through the different stages of life. As Helling (1988) and Watson & Watson-Franke (1985) suggest, life histories interpret the past and make it understandable, acceptable and important to both the researcher and the participant through a combination of narratives and stories.

My interviews were conducted with participants who self-identified as being British anarcho-punks at some point between the years 1979-1985, wherein I sought to collect their oral histories using biographical narratives based on personal memory to describe moments in their life course. A life course approach, which is often associated with life histories, also examines an individual's life history and sees, for example, how early events influence future decisions and events. A life course approach usually involves a longitudinal study, however for the purposes of this research, where the term life course is used it will be employed to denote specific social, cultural and political transitions for my research participants from their youth to the present.

The nature of my interview questions encouraged participants to embark on a form of narrative memory where they were narrating stories of the past to construct their memories in the present, and to explain how they make sense of their/the world. In conducting the interviews, I was also faced with a number of issues that required consideration and addressing. I was faced with the issue of how you get people to talk about the past honestly and accurately and the factuality of what people say. As I

discussed earlier, the nature of what my respondents revealed when recollecting memories and how they spoke about themselves in the present could be impacted upon by a number of factors. These might include the setting of the interviews, the line of questioning, their feelings about their past, present and future selves, and how their lives have changed and developed over time. One of the foundational elements is creating an environment in which interviewees felt able to express themselves openly, honestly and truthfully. The settings for the interviews were determined by the respondents, as I wanted them to select a place where they felt relaxed, comfortable and free from distraction. Building up a rapport with the respondents was also crucial. As Kvale and Brinkman (2009) point out, the establishment of a good rapport with interviewees is key to successful qualitative research interviewing, especially when later in the process it may involve questions that may be of a sensitive nature. Informing the respondents of my own involvement with British anarcho-punk in my youth at the beginning of the process also helped in developing this rapport.

However, this doesn't address the issue of whether what the interviewee is saying, or narrating is 'truthful'. We as interviewers desire a level of trust with our participants, hoping that through this trust their responses will be truthful. Of course, this involves the philosophical question about what constitutes the 'truth' and whether that 'truth' is authentic. Hine argues that seeking out truly authentic knowledge about people or phenomena is irresolvable (2000; 49). As researchers, we have no real way of knowing that what we are being told is the truth or de facto. I would suggest that as the respondents were aware that I had my own knowledge and experiences of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, and may have been party to specific incidences and events or familiar with specific ideological positions, they would be inclined to be more truthful in their responses. Answers to specific questions regarding, for example, a specific historical event, can be triangulated using other approaches to build up a valid picture. However, people's personal experiences, interpretations and recollections of that same event can be very different.

My focus is on the subjective experiences of the respondents and I am not dismissing that my own involvement in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene and presence in the interview process has some impact on the respondents' narrative. With this sort of research, it is prudent to achieve a

detached and objective 'outside' view of the subject, but this is never possible. Because of my own

previous engagement with, and knowledge of, the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene in the

1980s, I had to be aware of my position as being a previous 'insider' of that scene. As there is the

potential for the researcher's own tastes, values and perspectives to influence the research in hand, this

required me to be highly self-reflexive. However, as Hodkinson argues (2004: 146), there are some

potential benefits from being an insider in that it can help develop a rapport with the research

participants and can also enrich the quality of the understandings produced through the research.

There were, for example, instances in the interviews where I would share my thoughts and knowledge

with the participants based around their narratives. In this way, it could be seen that I am taking a

more active role than remaining neutral as is more common in traditional approaches to interviewing

where there is a focus on minimising bias and contamination. This more active role drew on

approaches from feminist researchers who argue that the interviewer should not be neutral but to some

degree be a 'partner' engaged in a more open, loosely structured interview process. Within this

approach, the interviewer needs to consider their own beliefs, values and interests, therefore the

pursuit of neutrality becomes less important (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 35-38). This would sometimes

stimulate a richer narrative from the interviewee but also reaffirmed with the interviewee my

knowledge and previous engagement with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. As previously

mentioned, the researcher is always present in the research both at the point of gathering data but also

interpreting and writing up of that data. So, the position I took in trying to seek validity in my

respondents' narratives concurs with Avery-Natale (2012: 17) in that "the only truth in this work is the

participant's experiences and narratives.' Drawing on standpoint epistemology (Denzin, 1997) or

standpoint theory, Avery-Natale (2012; 17-18) argues that:

> Anyone we interview inevitably speaks to us from a specific 'position' in society, referred
> to as their standpoint, and that we too are coming from a specific standpoint in conducting
> the research. What we are getting is not "reality", but ones specific and unique perception
> and experiences based on their standpoint and our own.

I argue that my research does not seek to uncover or pursue an objective truth that does not exist, but

seeks to understand the individual's subjective experiences through a dialogic process where at times

my insider knowledge and experience of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene is shared to

encourage more honest responses and narratives.

Another issue I faced was the how my research participants created their narratives. I was mindful that the narrative memories my participants were sharing were impacted by their past ideals whilst also impacted upon by their present ideals. Therefore, I argue that when people reflect on their own past and recount it, they are constructing and assembling a reality that is being reinterpreted and mediated through the present so there is no accurate capturing of the past and no absolutist truth. Their ways of understanding and giving meaning to their experiences and actions are constructed within a reality that is created through social construction and dialogue (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 35). Within this process, the interviewee actively constructs and assembles answers and the interviewer's role is to provoke or stimulate answers or "attempts to activate the respondent's stock of knowledge (Schütz, 1967) and bring it to bear on the discussion at hand in ways that are appropriate to the research agenda" (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997: 123). So, whilst my participants are recounting their pasts in interviews, they are engaging in an exchange between them and me, where that exchange is a social interaction and these narratives of the self are products of culture in their practice and content (Linde, 1993). As Strong (2011) suggests, active interviewing (Holstein and Gubrium, 2001) addresses some of the issues faced by dealing with people's memories where "conventional notions of validity and reliability become less relevant when the subject is seen as actively taking part in knowledge production" [...] "in which experiences are always reported differently but (hopefully) not less accurately or honestly" (2011: 11). Therefore, as previously discussed, a more interpretive approach (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) to interviewing was adopted, as the interpretive researcher examines meanings that have been socially constructed whilst eliciting the views of the interviewees of their worlds and events they have experienced or witnessed. Through this interpretive approach, the analytical themes that formed the subsequent chapters of my thesis emerged from the material that came out of the interviews. Therefore, with each follow up interview with the respondents, particular common themes were investigated through the line of questioning and conversation. This 'bottom up' approach, is one that moves from the particular to the general where the theory is informed by the data (Cohen, 1993).

Recruiting research participants

In a number of previous studies of musical scenes, the researcher has tended to favour an ethnographic approach where the subjects of the study were a present and identifiable group or cluster and tended to involve some form of observational or participatory research. As previously discussed, one of the main issues I faced with recruiting participants was that this particular scene no longer existed, therefore it was problematic to locate a place or space where they might congregate as an identifiable or cohesive group or subcultural scene. I began my recruitment process by searching the internet for forums or message boards that were related to British anarcho-punk music and/or culture. After identifying a number of forums an announcement was placed on them, explaining the purpose of my research, my intentions, and inviting willing participants who self-identified as previously being British anarcho-punks at some point between the years 1979-1985, to contact me. It was important for my research that the respondents self-identified as previously being an anarcho-punk, as I did not want to assume that they were or for me to identify them as being so based on my own experiences and interpretations. On a number of forums, there was a certain degree of animosity towards my role as a researcher. This animosity manifested itself in comments that seemed to reinforce punk's associated anti-system and anti-institutional stance. Comments from forum members included not wanting to be scrutinised and examined and then more than likely negatively portrayed by 'outsiders' of that community. Also, there were concerns from some with regards to the 'real' purpose and outcomes of the research, as if there was a hidden agenda behind it despite making them aware of my academic credentials. This attempt at participant recruitment lead to either no or negative responses to my initial enquiries and, in some cases, lead to me being expelled from or refused access to forums by administrators and/or moderators of those forums. Similar issues around the negative impact and responses to recruiting research participants have been highlighted by others researching into subcultures, fan cultures and scenes (Avery-Natale 2012; Carter 2013; Liptrot 2012; Willis 1978).

Whilst researching online sites for other potential recruitment opportunities, I discovered a Facebook group page, "Pay No More Than Nowt-The Anarcho-Punk Years" (PNMTNTAPY) that, through closer inspection hosted a large number of conversations around British anarcho-punk from the period

of time my research focused on. To some degree the page followed the definitions of an online community suggested by Denzin (1989: 99-100) in that it had its own 'rules' (netiquette), guidelines for posting, acceptable and non-acceptable subjects, its own norms, regular users and a circulation of newcomers. In January 2014, I posted a request to the PNMTNTAPY Facebook page for participants to take part in a series of multiple in-depth interviews based on their involvement with the anarcho-punk scene in the 1980s. The post clearly stated who I was, my academic profile and affiliation, as well as my own relationship to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene in the 1980s.

Originally, 25 people responded but after some initial emails explaining the research project in more detail, seven decided not to take part for a number of personal reasons such as commitment, timescales and not thinking the research was of any deeper interest or value to them. 18 participants agreed to start the research interview process and were made fully aware that they could withdraw from it at any time during the research. They consisted of 14 males and four females between the ages of 43 and 58 years old. The initial lack of female respondents seems to echo some of the issues faced by Bennett (2006), Gibson (2010) and Liptrot (2012) in recruiting female participants for research on popular music scenes that are not specifically female focussed.

This raises a number of interesting issues such as some men's continuing engagement with and position within, subcultural scenes and wider society. Holland's (2012) study alludes to ageing women 'toning down' their outward appearance as they get older, due to pressures of being socialized into gendered roles, parenthood, work and images of ageing women in the media, especially celebrities who have undergone youth enhancing surgery. However, it would be dismissive to suggest that women, in general, disassociate themselves from subcultural scenes and practices as they age, which some of Bennett's (2006) participants seem to infer. I was keen to have gender balance in the quantity of respondents I recruited. Despite the increase in the number of academic studies that focus on women and ageing within subcultures (Gregory, 2012; Holland, 2012; Vroomen, 2004), I still had problems recruiting women to my research project. The responses to my initial request for participants

came predominantly from men so after the interviews with my first set of respondents, I posted a second request to the PNMTNTAPY Facebook page asking specifically for female respondents as I felt it was important to hear from a variety of voices. Sadly, this did not bring forward any further female participants.

Traditionally, research interviews have, where possible, taken place in an immediate face to face setting where verbal and non-verbal reactions and interactions can be documented. Whilst there is a corpus of literature examining the application and efficacy of the face-to-face interview (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009; Rubin and Rubin, 1995; Wengraf, 2001), there are fewer studies of synchronous and asynchronous online interviews such as e-interviews and VOIP interviews (Bampton and Cowton, 2002; Curasi, 2001). In their reflections of using VOIP as an interviewing tool for data gathering, Deakin and Wakefield (2013) point to the fact that there is scant research conducted around the use of online synchronous interviews, especially concerning the utilisation of multiple interview techniques within the same research project.

Interview approach: Face to Face and VOIP in-depth interviews

Taking a qualitative approach, I conducted a series of semi structured in-depth interviews with 18 participants to ascertain their engagement with British anarcho-punk and how that had impacted on their subsequent lives. The verbally interactive interviews involved 2 different approaches to data gathering. One approach employed in person face to face interviews (nine participants), where geographically possible. This approach to data gathering involves the interviewer and the participants arranging to meet face to face in a mutually agreed location at a mutually agreed time, for the purpose of the interview. The second approach employed VOIP (Voice Over Internet Protocol) interviews utilising Skype as the VOIP platform (nine participants). This approach involves organising a mutually convenient date and time for interviewer and participant to connect online using a VOIP platform to conduct the interview. The in-depth interviews, both face to face and VOIP consisted of two to three interviews with each participant over a period of 17 months. All of the verbal interviews

were scheduled to last for no more than 90 minutes, primarily for reasons of physical and emotional fatigue, though at times they did overrun. Each interview was recorded for audio only using a digital recorder for the face to face interviews and a recorder embedded within the VOIP platform for the online interviews.

The interviews with each participant were months apart which allowed me to create phased gaps between each interview for a number of purposes. Firstly, it allowed me time to reflect on the interview content and identify any emerging themes that would inform my next round of interviews. Secondly, I had offered up to each participant the audio recording of the interview so they could reflect on what had been discussed. Many of the participants later commented that the recordings were very useful in stimulating memories as points of discussion for the next interview(s), as being asked to remember historical moments in interview was sometimes problematic, mostly due to issues of immediate memory recall. In the process of arranging the interviews, I had provided the participants with some knowledge of myself, such as age, my personal background and research interests. I had already made clear to the participants my research credentials, the purpose of the research, what the data would be used for and reassurance of confidentiality and anonymity. Also, I requested that they had all completed a research consent form (see appendix 2) before the interviews could commence in line with Birmingham City University's research ethics protocol.

At each of the first face-to-face in-person and VOIP interviews I once again reminded the participants of the purpose of the research to re-familiarise them with it. Mishler (1986, cited in Gibson, 2010) suggests that introductory statements about the research purpose can have a significant impact on the way in which the interviewee understands the research. As a consequence, this can frame their interpretation and formulation of questions and the overall research process; therefore, it was important that the participants were again clear as to the purpose of the research. It was also important that I recognised that the participants' understanding of the purpose of the research could have a potential impact on the research process.

As previously mentioned, both face-to-face in-person interviews and the VOIP interviews were recorded digitally with none of the participants refusing to be recorded. The use of the recorder allowed me to focus on the participant, what they were saying, and my responses to those answers in the way of formulating follow-on questions. I tried to keep note taking down to a minimum as to remain focussed on the participant as this seemed to engender a more relaxed, open and trusting environment. Once the interviews had been concluded, they were transcribed from the recorder. The transcriptions then allowed me to start identifying common themes within and across the interview data. Those themes then contributed towards the final structure of the analysis chapters (Chapters 5-8).

Criticisms of online interviewing tend to centre around issues of building rapport, ethical problems and the idea that subtle visual, non-verbal clues that can help add context are lost to the disembodied interview (Chen and Hinton, 1999; O'Connor et al, 2008). Nine of my interviews were conducted using Skype and where all respondents were given the opportunity to utilise the video option, all the respondents declined, preferring to use audio interaction only, for either personal or technical reasons. As I would have no visual clues from these interviews, I chose to remain consistent in both my approaches to interviewing. Even though I conducted face to face interviews with five respondents, I chose not to make 'in interview' notes to log visual clues such as facial expressions, and other body language. Again, this did not necessarily follow the established procedure for some types of interviews and in retrospect could be seen as a flaw in my research methodology.

Despite these initial setbacks, a strong rapport between myself and the interviewees developed as quickly as it did with the face-to-face in person interviews which echoes the findings of Deakin and Wakefield (2013) who found that rapport with some of their VOIP interviewees developed quicker than in a number of their face-to-face interviews, with them suggesting that issues associated with building rapport is more likely due to the personality of the interviewee rather than the medium of communication.

Limitations and ethical considerations

In the process of conducting this research, I faced a number of ethical dilemmas, some of which I have already discussed and addressed. Cohen (1993), Gibson (2012) and Strong (2011) note that the ethnographic study of music audiences or music-driven cultures requires a high degree of reflexivity on behalf of the researcher. Strong argues that one of the problems researchers in the field of popular music studies face "is that it can sometimes be easy for the researchers' tastes and perspectives to become central to their work (either deliberately or inadvertently)" (10). One aspect Rubin and Rubin (1995) highlight, as a contested topic in the process of qualitative interviewing, is that of the researcher's position of objectivity and neutrality. Where some academics and researchers support the notion of neutrality and objectivity (Hammersley, 2005), others argue that this is a difficult paradigm to successfully achieve and can be a restrictive barrier to developing the interviewer/interviewee relationship. For example, Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest trying to attain a level of balance rather than neutrality. However, one must also recognise that this approach may create problems that the researcher may need to attend to.

As I previously discussed, I was engaged in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, a fan of anarcho-punk music and politically active in a number of protest groups associated with the anarcho-punk movement, both as a teenager and into my twenties. This raises the issue of the researcher as insider or outsider. These issues are particularly pertinent when conducting observational analysis or immersing oneself into the culture from which the study arises as a participant or participant/observer. Although I was not studying an existing contemporary scene or culture that I could immerse myself in and observe that culture's activities, I still came to the research with a number of ethical concerns. My previous engagement with British-anarcho punk meant that I had six years previous experience and insider knowledge of this culture, albeit 30 years previously. In those six years I developed an understanding of that scene such as its political ideologies, bands, record labels, protest groups, fanzines, styles of clothing and acquired a degree of "subcultural capital" (Thornton, 1995) through that engagement. So, I was already bringing with me some prior knowledge and experience that could potentially impact on the research. For example, my previous involvement with the anarcho-punk

scene and my a priori knowledge on occasions led me to not fully explore certain issues or historical moments arising from interviews as I may have been aware of the moment or been a witness to it. However, this did not allow the participant to discuss it from their perspective - which is what I wanted to achieve. Another issue I found was that by seeking clarification on some points, I was at risk of 'filling in the gaps' or articulating their ideas for them as a stimulus to an answer or expansion on an idea or theme. So, whilst conducting the research and interpreting the data, I was having to be constantly mindful of my own knowledge, experiences of British anarcho-punk and musical tastes to ensure that they did not privilege those of the research participants. I followed Strong's (2011) approach to reflexivity concerning the inclusion of biographical details of the researcher's own life experiences that have led to the research they are conducting. To this end, at the beginning of the interview process, I made clear to the participants my own involvement with British anarcho punk, my personal 'investment' in the research and rationale for the research.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 210) draw attention to the issue that research can be undermined by a lack of openness, honesty and trust, especially where it is undertaken in a covert manner. My research was conducted overtly, with informed consent sought and given at all points of interaction. Evidence of this in the way of signed consent forms, e-mail exchanges or audio recordings are in the appendix. Although ethnographers seek to build a rapport with their participants to limit reactivity, it can also be problematic in that the participants may soon forget they are being 'researched' and 'documented' as they get to know the researcher as a person (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 210). Returning to my earlier point about my own knowledge and experiences of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, with many of my participants, a positive and productive rapport developed with them rapidly, due to shared knowledge, experience and musical taste. As a result, a number of the participants and I developed an acquaintanceship outside of the research project, with social media and email exchanges taking place around subjects unrelated to the research itself. However, I was always mindful of maintaining the 'critical distance' required by the researcher in relation to the research project being undertaken and the interpretation and writing up of the research data.

As is common with interviews, text directly taken from conversations is reproduced in the writing up

of the research. With this comes the issue of participant identification, so I followed the advice of Seidman (2006). He argues that for researchers working with interview material, the confidentiality of participants' identities cannot be absolutely guaranteed, however some steps can be taken to reduce exposure by anonymising the participants' names with the use of pseudonyms, or initials in the final report, which I did. He also suggests that the listing of names of websites should be avoided in case of participant identification, however in my case I had utilised a specific social media site to recruit participants, so my research project was already public knowledge within that group. Respondents to the recruitment advert were specifically instructed to register their interest in participating by email only to me, therefore further protecting their identities. I also provided the participants with the right to withdraw from the research at any given time and all material pertaining to them would be destroyed upon completion of the research.

Chapter 5

Becoming anarcho-punk; Entrance narratives of anarcho-punks

In the previous chapter, I discussed my methodological approach to investigate to what extent residual affiliation and identity remains with an individual once they have disaffiliated from a subculture and scene. In this specific case, the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene of the 1970s and 1980s. The following four chapters chart the identarian journey of my research participants' entrance into, affiliation with, exit from and residual affiliation to British anarcho-punk. I examine the narratives of my participants in relation to these four areas of investigation utilising primary data from the interviews I conducted with them and secondary academic literature.[15] The primary interview data can be identified in the forthcoming chapters by the first names of the interviewees, who have been assigned pseudonyms for ethical reasons discussed in my methodology.

In this chapter, I investigate how my participants became aware of and entered into their affiliation with British anarcho-punk during their adolescence. I will consider such issues as their awareness of and exposure to punk rock; predisposition; age; significant others such as peers and family and who or what facilitated their entrance into British anarcho-punk. This also includes associated values, politics and ideologies that were already part of their own sense of self before entrance took place, some of which will direct my discussions throughout this chapter.

Studies of scenes and subcultural groups tend to focus on the person or persons relationship with that scene or subculture, through their practices and activities within it. In doing so, the investigations and examinations of those scenes and subcultures tend to be rooted within (past or) ongoing participation. Considering the vast corpus of work on music-based subcultures and post-subcultures, little work seems to have been directed towards a fundamental set of questions based on subcultural or scene

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[15] See Appendix 1 for a list of the interviewees and the dates of the interviews.

entrance; how people first became aware of, or were exposed to, a subcultural or scene grouping and what motivations and choices led them to affiliate with that?

As Gordon (2014: 155) notes, previous subcultural research carried out by the Birmingham Centre For Contemporary Cultural Study (CCCS), including seminal studies of punks, teddy boys, mods and skinheads (Hebdige, 1979); Hippies and Bikers (Willis, 1978), tended to either neglect discussions of, or skirt around the question of, subcultural entrance. Given that the CCCS approach was to investigate young people's resistance to the parent culture, by the establishing of youth subcultures or involvement with youth subcultures, it is surprising that entrance into, and affiliation with these youth subcultures was not examined or discussed. Later post-subcultural studies (Thornton, 1995) also fail to address how people enter into subcultures and scenes. Davies (2006) and Bennett's (2006) investigation of ageing punks examines how they continue to negotiate their relationship with punk. However, their work offers little or no insight into how and why their research participants became punk or entered into punk, which I argue plays a significant part in why they have remained affiliated with punk.

That said, a number of academics have recognised the significance of people's initial motivations for engaging with subcultures and scenes, in this case specifically those around punk rock (Andes, 1998; Avery-Natale, 2012; Gordon, 2014; Leblanc, 1999; Liptrot, 2012; Moran, 2011; Strong, 2011). From these studies, a number of common themes emerge as to the motivations for affiliating with punk. Drawing on a number of those themes, this chapter will, through the narrative discourses of my participants, examine and consider how and why they chose to affiliate with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene.

In my study, the concept of entrance is important in understanding the influences and motivations for my research participants' involvement with a specific subgrouping of punk in their adolescence and beyond, and how that informed their identities. As Avery-Natale (2010) states:

The process of becoming a part of a subculture is itself an important part of the study of subcultures and social movements (Brake, 1985) and relates to identification, as social movement theories tell us that participation in movements results in long-lasting changes in the self (Bobel, 2007: u.p/n.p conference paper)

This notion of long-lasting changes in the self is particularly pertinent as I want to extend the argument beyond the few previous investigations of entrance narratives and practices into investigations of 'exit' narratives. What particular set of circumstances led them to disaffiliate from the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene? In particular, I seek to extend that disaffiliation and examine to what extent the values, ideologies and politics experienced and developed during their affiliation with British anarcho-punk, have been retained in their subsequent lives.

As my participants were narrating from a position of the present regarding past events, I have to also be mindful of how their memories of the past and how they narrate it is impacted by their current sense of self and notions of nostalgia. As discussed in chapter three, the relationship between the narrative self and identity, and the reconstruction of past identities through memory, is problematic. Strong (2011) suggests that there is a degree of malleability in memory and how that is articulated and that there are issues around objectivity in the recounting of past memories. Strong (2011: 62) posits that "memories are often related to more subjective events and contain sensations, emotions and less tangible elements." She further suggests that in the recounting of memories, they are constructed on the basis of their meaning to the individual. In this way when memories take on a narrative form, there is the opportunity to reshape those memories and, as Strong (2011) argues, we are more likely to do so and narrate them in a way that will be less likely to conflict with our current identities.

Leblanc's (1999) investigation into the lives of 40 female punks details the motivations for their entrance into punk or 'becoming' punk, which include exposure to punk rock through the media, peers and family members; a rejection of parents and/or school; feelings of alienation and difference and an interest or connection with the politics of punk. Similarly, Andes' (1998) study of punks and their

commitment to that subculture identifies what she refers to as a three-stage model of the punk career.[16]

These stages consist of: *rebellion*, where the individuals identify themselves as being punk through opposition to the 'normal others' such as parents peers teachers etc.; *affiliation,* where the individuals define themselves in the same manner as the others in that subculture through dress, acquisition and display of knowledge, rules and notions of punk authenticity; and *transcendence,* where the individuals define punk as a set of values and beliefs that are expressed as an ideological commitment to the subculture, rather than through the importance of being a member of a punk community. Andes also identifies an additional stage that precedes the other three; a stage she refers to as *predisposition-difference*, where she argues that some individuals, who prior to getting involved in punk had a sense of being 'different' (what I call an 'outsider') and were therefore more likely to be attracted to punk.

Gordon (2014) argues that entrance into the punk subculture is delineated in terms of a model of investigation that encompasses both primary and secondary stages. In the primary stage, the 'subculturalist' has to move through progressive stages of investigation to a "knowing position before they can participate; this entails participants finding things out through a process of trial and error" […] "against a backdrop of resistance to wider social constraints such as age, school and parental regulation" (Gordon, 2012: 157). The secondary stage of investigation is based around participants' choices and formations of peer groupings, and the cultivation of subcultural knowledge through experience and activism.

Moran (2011) also offers some useful insights into people's initial attraction and exposure to punk subculture, suggesting that peer influence, particular bands and self-differentiation combined with their discovery of punk during early adolescence, a time where self-identity was being sought and established, were contributing factors to their entrance into and affiliation with punk subculture. Similarly, Liptrot's (2012) investigation into the longevity of UK DiY punk subcultural movement exposes similar patterns of entrance. In her work, Liptrot draws on Andes' model of becoming punk

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[16] LeBlanc's use of the term 'punk career' is utilised in the sense of a period of punk subcultural affiliation and fandom where people pass through a number of stages within that punk subcultural group.

but also considers a number of additional categories such as an alternate subcultural affiliation and listening to other music than punk before 'becoming punk'.

Whilst my focus is on entrance into British anarcho-punk, it became quite clear that the majority of my research participants, prior to engaging with anarcho-punk, had already had some knowledge of or involvement with punk rock in more general terms. To enable me to get an understanding of the ways in which some of my participants narrate their attraction to and entrance into anarcho-punk, I consider it useful to get their reflective perspective on how they first became aware of punk rock in more general terms. Whilst there is the potential for a nostalgic retelling of this particular period or set of past events, it will point to a number of motivations for their transition from punk to British anarcho-punk.

Adolescence

As discussed in chapter three, adolescence is a period of nascent identity development where young people work through processes of developing their own sense of self and self-identity (Côté, 2009; Decker et al., 2014; Erikson, 1950; 1968; 1972; Kroger et al., 2010; Marcia, 1966; Meeus et al., 1999; Van Hoof, 1999; Waterman, 1982). Marcia (1966) concluded that two dimensions are attributable to identity development in adolescence; firstly exploration, where one explores various alternative identities and roles in a variety of life domains, when one's choices and values are being re-evaluated; and secondly, commitment, where after the process of exploration this leads to one committing to a certain value or role. As noted in other studies (Andes, 1998; Gordon, 2014; Leblanc, 1999; Liptrot, 2012; Moran, 2011), the introduction and entrance into punk subculture for most individuals occurred in their teens or adolescence. Moran (2011: 5) states that all but one of his research participants "were introduced to the punk subculture from ages 11 to 13" with the author stating that "One can see why the punk subculture might be attractive to a child in search of himself or herself, especially due to its accepting nature" (2011: 5). For a large number of my participants, their awareness or introduction into punk rock also occurred during adolescence. For example, Russ recounted that there came a point

in about 1978/79, at the age of 13/14, when he was beginning to experience a sense of and desire for self-autonomy. Autonomy plays a very important role in adolescent development with adolescents experimenting with various characters and identities in the quest for a self-identity (McElhaney et al., 2009). For my respondents, their awareness of punk came at a point during their adolescence where they were beginning to develop their self-identities:

> For me, probably those first couple of years at senior school, that growing sense of self, sense of awareness, probably about '79. I would think that would be a definite moment that I need to go out and do my own stuff [……] I was naturally antagonistic and trying to make sense of my environment, at school, what the expectations of my parents were, you know, and my natural emotional response was I wanna do all this myself, this is what I want to do. I think looking back on it that was an organic thing going on at the same time as punk for me. (Russ)

The idea that Russ wanted to 'do his own stuff' points to another level of autonomy where he felt the need to break away from other people's expectations and authority to further develop his sense of self. Alongside this, he suggests that it was an organic process for him where punk created the context for him to develop his autonomous ideas into an identity that better fit his plot. As well as his own personal experiences of punk helping develop his identity, Russ also remembered that punk seemingly enabled others to do the same:

> A lot of kids very early on, I think you know there were big environments ready for punk, they were ready for a change. We were so ready for it ……Tearing your shirt up or getting your dad's car spray-paint on your jacket, you know it made a statement and that's my statement, that's what I made, and you get into school and somebody would say "that's cool". You wouldn't get that with another scene, I mean that really inspired me and I look around and it inspired a lot of people. It made 8 or 10 boys jump up and down at the same time and run around, it felt exciting, it was edgy. You could tell the teachers at school, your parents didn't really want you to listen to it, that was a sense I got.

Russ' account of being so ready for change and that others of a similar age were too, suggests that the idea of autonomy linked to the period of adolescence is in some ways a normative experience for the majority of adolescents (McElhaney et al, 2009). In the case of my participants, it seems that punk provided a catalyst and context for developing ideas of autonomy and self-identity development. We see examples of this later in this chapter when I discuss notions of teenage rebellion, mostly directed at parents and other figures of authority.

Prior musical and subcultural affiliations

For the majority of my respondents it was a musical encounter that first raised their awareness of punk. Gracyk (2007: 188) argues that adolescent attraction to music is fulfilled by "an innate disposition to recognize musical objects in advance of the adolescent challenge of constructing a self-identity." Therefore, I suggest that an attraction to a subculture or scene such as punk or anarcho-punk, that is in many ways expressed through its '*musicking*' (Small, 1998), becomes a process through which participants can explore and recognise the relationships that develop and establish their social identity. Tarrant et al. (2002: 135) show that previous research in this field suggests "the appeal of music during adolescence stems from its ability to address salient developmental issues" some of which include "acquiring a set of values and beliefs." Gracyk (2007: 188) further posits that adolescents might be attracted to music "for the opportunity to practice the mental task of integrating successive experiences into a coherent object." This might suggest then that music is a way of experimenting with different elements of the self in a quest to create a coherent sense of self or self-identity.

As Hargreaves et al (2002; 10) state, "music is a fundamental channel of communication, and we argue that it can act as a medium through which people can construct new identities and shift existing ones in the same way as spoken language." The trying out of different elements of the self and new identities during adolescence often manifests itself in one's affiliation to and becoming a 'member' of a particular music-driven subculture, music scene, or fan of a particular style of music. As was also found in the work of Liptrot (2012), several of my participants discussed their interests in, or affiliation to, other music-driven subcultures, music scenes and music fandom, before their affiliation with punk. They had been somewhat led to punk through those other subcultural and music scene affiliations. Pete discussed how his engagement with Rockabilly, at the age of 12 drew him towards punk through a sense of musical similarities:

> Before punk I was really into Rockabilly, I liked Little Richard, the kind of rawer end
> [...] so I was getting constantly exposed to these fantastically raw songs and when I heard

that Skids' single the production on it sounded exactly the same, short song very basically done, and had this rumble to it that made me think "this the same but for now".

Many of the participants had interests in other musical forms as young teenagers, many citing the music their older siblings or parents played. They also cited popular music they had come across themselves at a young age, which is probably not unusual among many young children who may have listened to 'pop' music at the time. For Mary and Kate, that transition from listening to pop music to listening to punk was in some sense epiphanous.

> I was listening to David Cassidy, The Osmonds and that when I was at school, and then the Bay City Rollers came along and I was a complete and utter Bay City Rollers fan, and that changed to punk overnight. In school, Roger Smith who used to sit next to me said "have you heard of this band called The Damned?" and I said "no" and he just started playing this stuff on this little cassette recorder, and I said "oh yeah, that's different", there was an energy to it and it was just quite instant, it was almost like, I wanna find out what that's all about. (Mary)

Similarly, Kate recounted the massive impact hearing punk for the first time had on her:

> As a youngster I had sort of gone with the flow, I liked the Bay City Rollers, like everybody else did. [...] But yeah, I went around to a mate's house when I was 11 and he played *'Oh Bondage! Up Yours!'* (X-Ray Spex) and I never looked back. Once that opening line was said, the music hadn't even started, "that little girls should be seen and not heard", that was it, I was never the same again...I became a punk rocker at that moment. (Kate)

Both their narratives suggest that they had little, if any, awareness of punk at this point. Each of their individual epiphanous moments created a sense of wanting to be a punk or indeed become a punk and they both narrate a moment that had an impactful shift from one existing character that they were to this new character that they 'became'. This epiphanous moment for both Mary and Kate points to the notion that this encounter with punk rock seemed to resonate with, or trigger something within, their existing sense of self. For Mary, it seemed to be the energy behind the music, whereas interestingly for Kate, the lyrics resonated with her sense of self even before the music started. These particular lyrics spoke to her in a way that she could identify with. In those moments, they both took on identarian meanings that suited their existing plots. The recounting of their epiphanous moments creates a narrative that organizes the happening into an event that takes on a greater sense of significance much later after the event. As Avery-Natale (2012: 26) states, "a shift in the plot of an individual's life can turn past "happenings" into events when they were not before."

Russ' early memories and experiences of music were mostly centred around his liking of 70s music such as David Bowie, T Rex and The Sweet. He liked the energy, the weirdness, the androgyny of glam rock and that the music was "catchy". This was accompanied by a lack of interest in a lot of the 'pop' music that was going on at that time, and a rejection of the music that his sister was listening to, such as the Bay City Rollers, which he considered to be "rubbish", and was reserved for her and her female friends' interests. This distinction between two 'types' of music was something that Russ had acquired at an early age. This suggests that at this point he was developing a sense of his own musical tastes, but setting this and his sense of self, against a rejection of the popular. Although Russ could retrospectively articulate that distinction, there may have been a number of other influences from parents, peers and older siblings on his musical choices, as Liptrot (2012) found in her research on DiY punks. For Adam, his musical interests and subcultural affiliations prior to punk was hard rock and heavy metal.

> At first, I didn't really like it, everyone at that time was into rock music, Black Sabbath and stuff like that so I didn't like punk rock at first. When I first listened to the Sex Pistols, I thought "what's that rubbish?" But gradually the exposure to more and more punk music [...] there were a couple of friends in our street who started to like it, so I was just listening to more and more punk music. It was that time as well, late '77 early '78, I was like 12 coming 13 and you wanted to form your own identity for yourself so err... (pause) punk rock it was for me. Everyone around me was into rock music and I wanted to be different. I don't really know why but I just felt this need to not be like them. For me, everyone was the same and I wanted to be a little bit different. I wanted to find my own little bit of identity. It all made so much sense, so that was it, I went out and started buying records and then became addicted (to punk). (Adam)

His account suggests that peer pressure and not wanting to step outside of the expectations and conformity of his then current peer group became an initial barrier to exploring punk rock further. Newman and Newman (2008) argue that peer pressure demands compliance with the peer group, and that fear of rejection can lead to individuals remaining compliant and loyal to that group, even when it may conflict with their sense of self and current identity. Adam states that at that point he wanted to be different to those in his peer group and his exposure to more punk came at a time where he was wanting to form his own identity outside of the peer group. Having other people around him that also liked punk enable him to explore punk more without the initial concerns of being isolated and left out of a peer group. So, at this point, punk presented an opportunity to explore and develop a new identity that fitted better with his plot and introduced him to a new social circle and peer group that also shared

similar ideas and values. Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995) highlight how the existence of relevant others can have some influence in the nature of identarian change, however they warn against these changes purely being down to the influence of others, as this could "imply that affiliation to a subculture was not a true expression of self, nor the consequence of a deep personal commitment" (1995: 147). This suggests that there has to be a sense of the self wanting to investigate and commit to identarian change at that particular time.

Difference and self-differentiation

Adam's previous narrative points to a need to distance himself from his peer group (rock fans) through a desire to be different from them, and affiliate himself with a different peer group (punks). Much of the literature on identity development and relationships with peers and peer groups, suggests that it has a positive relation to identity development (Doumen et al., 2012; Meeus et al., 2002; Nawaz, 2011, cited in Rageliene, 2016) I suggest that his further exposure to punk resonated more with his sense of self and self-identity, and he then chose to associate himself with a peer group that had similar values. The notion of difference or self-differentiation (Liptrot, 2012; Moran, 2011) featured in the accounts of some of my other participants. Andes' (1998) study points to a stage of affiliating with punk as *predisposition-difference,* where she argues that some of her participants "consistently perceived themselves as being 'different' from those in their reference group: 'normal others', i.e. their peers, parents and mainstream society in general" (1998: 221). Similarly, other punk studies allude to early punk affiliation based on a predisposition towards punk that was situated in some feelings of dissatisfaction within the lives of their research participants life experiences prior to affiliating with punk (Fox, 1987). For example, Kate remembered that from an early age that she sensed that things around her in the world were not right but didn't have the language to articulate those feelings. "The X-Ray Spex song [*Oh Bondage Up Yours*] really spoke to me and said a lot of what I was already feeling about the world." This seemingly helped her articulate a number those adolescent feelings of dissatisfaction, that might indicate a predisposition to punk. Similarly, Pete stated:

> ...that punk in its first thing, the first way in which I really noticed it I suppose, in a way that spoke to me, was through late '78/79 [...] so I would have been about 11 or 12 at that sort of point. It spoke to me in an incoherent rage if you like, and it had that sort of fuck you, you know, those people that tell you to do stuff are all wankers, that sort of level. You know teachers, don't listen to them they're fucking idiots, your parents, they're fucking idiots, it was stuff I was feeling but I hadn't kind of quite managed to articulate it in my own mind. It's like *FINALLY* somebody was saying what I was feeling. (Pete)

These particular narratives from Kate and Pete suggest that a set of ideas and values were already an existing part of their identity that had not yet taken on 'meaning' for them. This notion that punk 'spoke' to them suggests a calling, or in Althusserian terms, a 'hailing' (Avery-Natale, 2012) to punk that is connected with their existing plots and characters. As Avery-Natale's (2012) work argues, a successful hailing to a subcultural group can be because the values incumbent in that subcultural group become a 'good fit' for the existing plot and characters of the individual being hailed (Avery-Natale, 2012: 95). The narrative discourses Kate and Pete employ in their narration of this 'hailing' suggests that their engagement with punk had enabled them to locate meaning in those existing plots and characters and therefore presented an identity for them they could relate to and invest in.

Teenage Rebellion

Subcultural affiliation and entrance are often framed through the lens of disenchantment with, or rebellion against, the parent or hegemonic culture. The development of the individual's identity is often set within a frame of conflict with, or rebellion against parents and other perceived figures of authority. Some studies suggest that shocking and rebellious imagery made the punk subculture appealing to young people (Andes, 1998; Avery-Natale, 2010; Gordon, 2014; Liptrot, 2012; Moran, 2011). In these studies, young people took on a rebellious approach and adopted a style and behavioural attitude to shock, offend, antagonise and evoke disapproval from their parents; or their personal choices to become punk were not understood or accepted by their parents; or the rebellious approach was understood as a rejection of their parent's values and morals (Andes,1998; Leblanc,1999; Liptrot, 2012). This can be a direct conflict with those perceived to be authoritarian or as Gordon (n.d) insightfully points out, rebellion as a catalyst for punk subcultural entrance can be the attraction to an existing group of rebellious peers with similar values. The notion of a rebellious stage

also features in the work of Andes (1998), Liptrot (2012) and featured in some of the narrative discourses of my participants. For many of them, it was associated with dissatisfaction with their home life and or school and their relationship with their parents and/or teachers.

> I was living at home with my dad and step-mum, but ...yeah if I didn't annoy them they just kept out of my way, or I kept out of their way. It wasn't a good relationship, you know (laughs). I was just angry all the time, partly because of just being ignored and that they didn't care what I did as long as I didn't give them any shit. I remember playing Crass's '*Feeding of the 5000*' at home really loudly and it got taken off immediately and a big row ensued which was probably a good effect. Definitely the effect I was after. (Bob)

It seems from Bob's comments that for him, an already problematic parental relationship could only be impacted on in the way of engaging in disruptive or rebellious behaviour to garner some attention, even if it was negative. Further discussions with Bob on this relationship seemed to point to teenage neglect and issues with his anger as a result of a problematic childhood. This led to him leaving home at 16:

> I sort of knew a few people who were living in squats in Stockwell (London), so it was just like I didn't really have any other option. I had to get out of Somerset; I had to get out of home, as far away as possible and the chance of a squat came up so I took it. (Bob)

This discourse of rebelliousness, followed by the exit from the family home, came up in a number of my participants' narratives: Seiffe-Krenke's (2006) study found that adolescent autonomy, and parent-adolescent conflict were found to be important predictors of the timing of leaving home.

> I was a rebellious teenager in a good sense because I started skateboarding when I was like 13 and kind of gave that up and kind of got into music [...] and I ran away from home and I met all these punks and that kind of changed me, cos I kind of went away looking one way and came back (home) looking completely different. (Sarah)

Interestingly, the idea that Sarah considered herself rebellious in a 'good sense' suggests that skateboarding was seen by her as being rebellious (perhaps due to it being a more masculine focussed activity at that time) but not as rebellious as punk. It also suggests that for her being rebellious was a positive act, and having this existing rebellious nature made the transition into punk culture and a punk identity seemingly a natural process for her. However, she later revealed that once she returned home looking like a punk, her relationship with her dad very rapidly declined as she started to assert herself as an individual. She continued to run away from home, finally leaving at 15 years-old to live

with other anarcho-punks. In doing so, she could be among people that were similar to her and non-judgemental about how she chose to present herself and her punk identity. Of course, this might not be the only or main reason for her leaving home, but I would argue that her new punk identity may have been the catalyst for leaving. For Sarah, she revealed that she was developing independent and autonomous ideas that clashed with her father's ideas of how she should be and act.

In contrast, Mary adopted the punk identity whilst being under the care of her older sister when her parents were away on holiday:

> I went from being a little pop person into getting out my mums sewing kit, ripping up my brother's school trousers, getting my mum's nail varnish and just destroying my clothes. I just had this mad transformation and I can't really say why. I didn't fit in with all the girly girls at school, I didn't do the whole fashion thing, but I wasn't a tomboy.

This transformative moment was also combined with a notion of what Andes (1998) terms as the 'pre-disposition difference' stage, where the individual is attracted to punk through the notion of feeling different from those in their reference group. In Mary's case, she saw herself as not conforming to her immediate gender peer group at school as a feminine "girly girl" but wasn't a "tomboy" either. The punk identity fitted with an existing character and plot and subsequently provided the context in which to express herself and, like Sarah, become part of a grouping that she felt that she fitted in with and could invest identarian meaning into.

What seems to be absent or understated in a number of previous academic studies highlighted above, is the way in which some parents were not at all challenged by their children's entrance into and engagement with punk subculture and, at times, were supportive of their children:

> Later on, when I wanted to get my hair dyed purple, my dad said "get the dye and I will do it for you". He was more supporting than my mum, though he did point out to me that I was singling myself out and not blending in it would bring me trouble-which at times it did. (Mary)

> My mum didn't mind punk rock at all. A few years down the line when I was 15/16, because she was a hairdresser she would cut my mohicans, she would cut my hair so I could spike it up properly. She'd dye my hair for me when I wanted different colours, she even made me punk-style clothes. (John)

Punk has often been cast as rebellious, anti-authoritarian and a means to shock (Gordon, 2014; Liptrot, 2012; Moran 2011). For Mary and John, their developing punk identities were accepted by their parents quite readily. This was aided by a particularly pro-active engagement from one of their parents in the development of their punk identity. The narratives of a number of my participants contradicts this and challenges some of the assumptions that rebellion is a way of striving towards independence and autonomous identity as an adolescent. Their accounts correlate with O'Connor's (2008) study of punks where the parents of the majority of the punks he interviewed were very supportive of their children's affiliation to punk subculture. This further suggests that there are notable exceptions to the common discourse of punk being a rebellious challenge to parental /child relationships as highlighted by some previous studies.

From punk to anarcho-punk

In this forthcoming section, I explore my respondents narrative accounts that map out or account for their transition from a position of punk identity to one of an anarcho-punk identity. What were the circumstances that led them to self-identify as an anarcho-punk? For the majority of my participants, an earlier engagement with punk rock, or introductions to punk rock had created for them a particular set of experiences or offered an incentive or number of incentives to investigate punk further. These experiences and incentives were partly influential in their transition from the wider/more general punk subculture and scene and subsequent entrance into the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, which for some seemed a natural and obvious transition. There were some commonalities between acquiring their punk identities and then what led them to transitioning into their anarcho-punk identities, some of which I have previously discussed such as values and pre-disposition-difference. Within those commonalities were a number of subtle variations for that transition. Punk values and ideologies that were already present were either reinforced, articulated in a more nuanced way, or rejected in favour of other values and ideologies present in British anarcho-punk that chimed with their sense of self. Steve describes how that transition manifested itself for him:

Earlier punk epitomised by The Sex Pistols [for example] didn't really strike a chord with me politically. It was more nihilistic, didn't really offer any solutions and struck me as purely having a shock value. I think the earlier punk movement was more about rejecting adult values rather than anything else. Whereas the lyrics of the anarcho-bands were much more clearly defined as protest songs which highlighted the problems within the "system" and offered solutions. (Steve)

His reference to rejecting adult values correlates with the notion that adolescent identity partly developed by rejecting the parental control via a set of values associated with adulthood. The rejection of parental values is a common adolescent process towards a more autonomous and self-determined sense of growing up or maturity and an early move towards adulthood (Noller, 1995). So, whilst early punk may have allowed Steve to reject parental values in developing his sense of self, interestingly and paradoxically it was less important to him than anarcho-punk. He suggests that anarcho-punk offered up to him an avenue for exploration of politics and ideologies that created a middle or transitional space between adolescence and adulthood that he could occupy. In this way, anarcho-punk offered up an alternative that was focussed on a set of politics and ideologies that resonated with his then self-identity beyond the 'shock value' of earlier punk. Additionally, he states how the lyrics of the anarcho-punk bands played an important role in his becoming an anarcho-punk. This theme of the importance of lyrics is writ large in a number of my respondent's discussions around their transition from an existing punk identity to the development of an anarcho-punk identity, as I will show below.

For many of my participants, their initial exposure to British anarcho-punk was upon being aware of and/or hearing seminal anarcho-punk band Crass. Although this was not the main or only reason for developing an anarcho-punk identity, it was for many their point of reference for their transition from their punk identity towards their anarcho-punk identity. Some heard Crass for the first time through their exploration of other available punk music and or from peers or siblings. This transition is best exemplified by the narratives of Kate and Pete, both of whom cited anarcho-punk band Crass as their first musical introduction to British anarcho-punk:

I already knew inside, even as early as a child, that the way the world worked was wrong, but I couldn't quite understand how and why. When I first heard Crass it made me realize I wasn't alone, that I wasn't the only person who thought the world was wrong and that it was alright to feel that way. Crass and anarcho-punk helped me be aware of that. Without that, my life wouldn't have been the same- without sounding clichéd, it made me who I am today. (Kate)

> At school I felt that everything was against me and trying to push me into being a particular thing. It was all linked, school, teachers, my parents, coppers all in it together to fuck up my life. Stuff I was feeling but hadn't quite managed to articulate in my own mind. When I first heard Crass, it was a revelatory moment because they were actually articulating what I actually felt. Before that moment I knew the world wasn't fucking right but there wasn't a political language for me that expressed what I wanted it to change to. Where early punk was broad and a general fuck you, Crass and anarcho punk was 'fuck you because…list reasons why 1 to 10' it was just pure rage. (Pete)

Kate and Pete's narratives reaffirm the notion that hearing Crass for the first time spoke to their sense of self, a set of feelings and beliefs that were inherent in them, but they couldn't articulate. Here the music and lyrics that they heard through their exposure to Crass spoke to them in particular ways that resonated with existing feelings. Hesmondhalgh's (2013) insightful investigation and critical defence of the social value of music offers up a number of convincing arguments on the value of music in people's lives. He builds on Martha Nussbaum's (2001) work on emotion, and how music is "well-suited to express parts of the personality that lie beneath its conscious self-understanding" (Nussbaum, 2001: 269, cited in Hesmondhalgh 2013).

What is of particular significance in Kate's account above, is how it points to a process of narrative identity where she is creating and telling an evolving story about herself that creates a sense of unity and purpose in her life (McAdams, 2001). This is achieved through a narrative that reconstructs the past through the event of hearing Crass and draws it into the perceived present firmly asserting that her affiliation with British anarcho-punk made her who she is today and that her life wouldn't have been the same without it. What stands out here is rather than a sense of the quest of asking 'who am I?', she uses the narrative to say 'this is who I am', formed partly through her affiliation with British anarcho-punk. Although she recognises that her comment sounded clichéd, it points to what will later emerge from this thesis about the lasting and significant influence that affiliating with British anarcho-punk in adolescence continues to have with many of my respondents.

Their accounts also seem to suggest that the music held value beyond its sonic expression in that it introduced them to a new set of politics, ideologies and values, and in that sense their introduction to British anarcho-punk created a space to subsequently contextualise and coalesce those feelings in a more coherent and constructive manner. Their accounts point to the notion that these feelings and

beliefs were already present within an existing narrative plot and that the lyrics gave their plots a more coherent reason to invest identarian meanings into an anarcho-punk identity.

Returning to Steve's earlier narrative about how the lyrics of the anarcho-punk bands played an important role in his transition from punk identity to an anarcho-punk identity, many of my respondents expressed that where earlier punk songs had covered a number of political points, there was something about the lyrical content of early anarcho-punk bands such as Crass that resonated with my participants to a point that they invested identarian meaning into transitioning to an anarcho-punk identity. As John states:

> Prior to Crass, in terms of lyrics [...] I was never aware of listening to the lyrics to, you know, UK Subs '*Stranglehold*' the way you would with Crass records. The lyrics were kind of like an afterthought, it was more about the energy of the music. Up to that point the lyrics in punk songs didn't really count until Crass. (John)

A number of my respondents echoed similar opinions regarding the importance of the lyrics in Crass songs in enabling an identarian transition from a punk identity to an anarcho-punk identity:

> I did have a key moment reading Crass's lyrics [...] something struck me about it. It was expressing how I felt about my position in life. I was 14/15 years old at the time and the lyrics were articulating how I was feeling. Yeah. explicit ideas I suppose and also just that possibility and that idea to look to yourself and look at what's inside yourself [...] and reading those Crass lyrics and saying "you are your own authority, what you feel inside is valid you can look to that, you can work with that". That was the key thing that appealed to me. (Robin)

Crass made a point of having the lyrics to their songs printed on the gatefold record sleeves as a part of an overall design aesthetic, but also as a way of informing and educating listeners as to their political and ideological standpoints. This particular approach of printing and including the song lyrics set a template for the majority of anarcho-punk bands that followed. Having access to the lyrics was quite important, as Adam, along with many of my other participants, said that at first Crass were quite difficult to listen to sonically and in terms of hearing what was being lyrically delivered:

> I bought this Crass album on the recommendation from a local record shop owner who knew I liked punk, and I took it home and listened to it and, you know, my first thought was "what the fuck is this?" It was just complete noise. I was 16, I think punk at the time was ...you know, a lot of it was getting a bit more poppy [....]. Then I listened to it over and over again and just read the lyrics and just kept listening to it and reading the lyrics and it was then it all made sense to me. You know you are just starting to discover politics at 16 and you start forming your own political identity and everything Crass were saying

made sense [...] it just made a big impression on me. I suppose it was a *big big* turning point in my life. (Adam)

The notion of music helping construct a sense of self is an important process in identity development. Gracyk (2007) argues that listening to the same song again and again involves a process that is easily repeatable and, is a general exercise of the mental process involved in constructing a sense of self. Therein the repetitive process of listening to a particular song or style of music helps to secure a sense of stability in the construction of the self. This sense of self is also informed and reinforced by being able to relate to the lyrical content of the songs, finding a set of standpoints, politics and ideologies that resonate with developing a sense of self. It seemed that for many of my respondents, their exposure to Crass and the lyrical subject matter that Crass sang about in terms of politics and ideology, created a new set, or cemented some previously acquired set of political or ideological values and beliefs. This is best demonstrated through Russ' narrative:

> I mean my memories of sitting there unfolding (record gatefold sleeve) and listening to Crass and there was an expectation that you sit there, and you would read through the lyrics and you'd look at the images [...] And you would punctuate that music with your own reflections on what the lyric was about and reference that more broadly. I was more conscious of that more so than the first wave of punk…Anarcho punk, that seemed to be the template for me [...] And that formed an attitude within myself that was my expectation of what stimulated me, what was relevant, what was real. (Russ)

From anarchist to anarcho-punk

> … at this stage (19)78, 79 there was no anarcho-punk, but because I already identified as an anarchist, I'd already read lots of literature. When anarcho-punk did come along then it was, kind of, just like made for me really…Well, I think for me anarcho-punk was like the icing on the cake. It wasn't the cake. I already had my anarchist views and I already liked punk music and I already wanted to change the world. What anarcho-punk did was it kind of guided me along and it made me feel here's other people that feel the same… anarcho-punk when it came round I just adopted it because that was where I guess my love of punk met my love of politics, so it was an obvious one for me. (Liz)

Liz's narrative is interesting in that for her, and a number of my respondents, there was already an existing knowledge of, or deep founded interest in anarchist principles, values and ideologies prior to their engagement with punk and subsequently British anarcho-punk. Her narrative further reveals that she was already self-identified as an anarchist. She had also developed a punk identity through her love of punk music. Where a number of my participants had come from a punk identity and had been

introduced to an awareness of anarchism through their interaction with other anarcho-punks, Liz had both an established punk identity and an anarchist identity. Her narrative suggests that these two identities were not mutually exclusive as she describes how she had a love for both, but when anarcho-punk came along it was 'made for her' as it combined her love of punk music and politics. Here she was able to comfortably coalesce her punk and anarchist identities, seemingly without any internal identarian conflict.

Her transition was into punk, which was somewhat enabled by a sense of punk being a place where she could freely express and further develop her anarchist principles and values. In contrast to many of my respondents, for Simon his anarcho-punk identity was more focussed at the point of his introduction to punk rather than having the punk identity first:

> The fact that the Soviet Union was not a worker's paradise, I think I'd picked up on that and then thought "if I'm not a communist what's the next stage?" And I'd read this book about anarchism and thought, "ah, that's it, I must be an anarchist" and that's where I got to with it. It fitted my views… So that would have been about 1974 /'75. I was definitely identifying myself as an anarchist and tracking down books about Anarchism. I wasn't really conscious in say 1976 that *Anarchy in the U.K* (Sex Pistols debut single} had *actually* started to influence Punk towards Anarchism. I think that's something I was more conscious of in about say 1979 at the time of the Person's Unknown trial[17] and when I was going to proper anarchist meetings in London. (Simon)

Simon's narrative suggests that he was already politically left leaning in his views as he had explored communist ideologies with a nod to the issue of people working communally for the greater equal good. However, in his exploration of communism and the lack of a "worker's paradise" suggested a shift from identifying with communism, anarchism and an anarchist identity, as it seemed to fit his own personal values and beliefs better, it fitted his existing plot better. His anarchist identity was further reaffirmed by his self-identity as an anarchist, reading up on anarchist ideology and philosophy, and attendance at what he termed as "proper anarchist meetings". His narrative suggests that, to his knowledge, the Sex Pistols rallying cry of anarchy in the U.K was, as Rimbaud (1998) and Dunn (2016) claim, more of a slogan to shock and gain media attention than to directly politically influence punk. However, a number of my participants said that they were unfamiliar, or vaguely

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[17] See Chapter 1, page 29 for more details of the Persons Unknown trial

familiar, with the term anarchy, and when they heard the Sex Pistols using the term, along with the media attention it engendered, it encouraged them to investigate the term and its meanings.

Similarly, to Simon, Guy's introduction to anarcho-punk was through his acquired interest in anarchism in his adolescence:

> I came across the Freedom Bookshop when I was about 14. It was an anarchist bookshop in London and I remember buying Kropotkin's *An Appeal To The Young,* Berkman's *ABC of Anarchism* and I bought another book by a guy called GF White who wrote an anti-war book, and after reading them I really felt like this was my calling. Nobody's ever spoken to me about politics like those books spoke to me. I used to go there every Sunday and buy the *Freedom Press* magazine and other books on anarchism. A lot of it went over my head but I educated myself through reading and working out what I liked. (Guy)

So, where Simon, Liz and Guy had made a point of seeking out and reading political and philosophical anarchist literature, this suggests a commitment to, and an investment of identarian meaning into, an anarchist identity prior to developing an anarcho-punk identity.

Both Guy and Simon said that they had attended a number of meetings and discussions organised by anarchist organisations, such as Black Flag, The Anarchist Black Cross and the Persons Unknown Trial support group in London. Whilst these meetings were useful in terms of gaining a deeper understanding of anarchist politics and ideologies, both of them expressed frustration at the lack of action that arose from these types of meetings:

> I went to these meetings and they went on for hours. There were anarchists talking about theoretical things. They believed in it but it was more theoretical than practical [...] no one was practically doing anything, there was no, "let's set this up, let's get a space working, let's live this way". It was all just talk and no action. In the end I got so disillusioned with it all because no one was actually doing anything. Then I started hanging out with the anarcho-punks at the Anarchy Centre in Wapping[18], after seeing an ad about the centre in Kill Your Pet Puppy fanzine I bought in Freedom Books. I went down there, and it was like brilliant-at last people doing stuff and organising stuff, so I got involved in it. (Guy)

> And then there was the crossover with Crass doing their benefit single (raising and donating money towards the court costs of the Persons Unknown trial and the Anarchy Centre), erm, but again I was quite comfortable with that and in fact my alignment moved more from the older anarchist group to the punk anarchist group who were creating things and actively trying to effect change and that was definitely something I was more comfortable with. (Simon)

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[18] See chapter 1, page 30 for more detail on the Wapping Autonomy Centre

Their narratives suggest that this association with punk anarchists drew them away from what they considered to be serious or traditional anarchist politics to a group of people expressing anarchism in a way that fitted with their existing plot. Already having anarchist ideologies, values and beliefs prior to affiliating with British anarcho-punk would suggest that this coalescence of their two separate identities would seem to be without any internal identarian conflict. With the traditional anarchists that Simon and Guy were involved with, there seemed to be a lot of meetings and discussions but little anarchist-based action. This suggests that they both wanted to put some of their own anarchist ideals and values into practice to reaffirm what they considered to be an authentic anarchist self, and that these groups of punk anarchists presented them with that opportunity. So, in many ways this presented a better fit to their already established anarchist identities. For Simon, his political journey took him through a number of different manifestations and experiences of political ideologies that fed into the construction of his anarcho-punk identity. However, this should not be seen in a deterministic way, because as I have stated before in this thesis identity is not fixed and singular. The self-identity constructed from multiple standpoints and identities is dependent on situation, available discourses and the narration of those discourses.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown the narratological ways in which my participants constructed their entrance into the wider punk milieu and then subsequently into an anarcho-punk identity. As noted by Gordon (2014) at the beginning of this chapter, investigations into entrance practices and narratives in subcultural and post-subcultural studies is relatively limited. I argue that attraction to, entrance in, and affiliation with, a subcultural and post-subcultural grouping is fundamental in developing a holistic picture of one's subcultural and post-subcultural identity. This entrance into punk, and then further transitions into anarcho-punk, came about through a number of different situations, happenings and events. They represent a common set of themes, many of which echo those of previous studies of people's entrance into and initial engagement with punk (Andes, 1998; Avery-Natale, 2012; Gordon, 2014; Leblanc, 1999; Liptrot, 2012; Moran, 2011; Strong, 2011). It shows that there are a set of commonalities in narratives regarding entrance into punk subcultural scenes. These commonalities

may be based around a set of psychosocial development stages within adolescence, that could manifest themselves in similar entrance practices and narratives across a variety of subcultural and post-subcultural groupings and fandoms.

For my participants, their attraction to and affiliation with British anarcho-punk was because it spoke to their sense of self in a more meaningful and deeper way that resonated with their existing plots and characters. This also echoes Avery-Natale's (2012) investigation of anarcho-punks in Philadelphia where he argues that likewise his respondents invested meaning into their first encounters or awareness of punk, because that particular happening fitted with their existing plot and it "becomes a meaningful event in their life narrative" (2012: 97). British anarcho-punk offered up a context in which to further explore their sense of self and develop their anarcho-punk identity. This presented them with an opportunity to relate their sense of self with that of an anarcho-punk identity through affiliation with that subcultural scene.

What links my respondents various entrance narratives together is that these transitions came about during their adolescence. Here the idea of adolescents trying out different identities, seeking differentiation from others in their peer groups, and developing autonomous ideas is writ large. What was interesting to find was that despite punk being cast as rebellious and anti-authoritarian, a number of my respondents' sense of rebellion was accommodated by their perceived first line of authority-their parents. In those narratives, their parents didn't seem to think of their children's affiliation with punk, and subsequently British anarcho-punk as being particularly rebellious, and in some cases actively encouraged their child's punk and anarcho-punk identities. This challenges the generally accepted notions of punk as rebellious and anti-authoritarian. In more recent studies of ageing within scenes, sometimes parents encourage and indeed pass on some of their acquired cultural capital to their children and congregate and share experiences together (Smith, 2012).

I then went on to demonstrate that whilst already having punk identities, a number of events led to my

participants transitioning from being a punk to becoming an anarcho punk. A common theme that arose from their narratives was how British anarcho-punk better fitted their existing plots. What British anarcho-punk presented to them was the context in which to position their existing adolescent feelings, values and beliefs that they already held.

Having discussed their initial transition and affiliation with British anarcho-punk, in the next chapter I show how their anarcho-punk identities were developed and reaffirmed through the concept of anarcho-punk praxis. I argue that praxis, the embodiment and application of a set of ideas, principles and ideologies, plays an important role in the construction, development and reaffirmation of my respondents' anarcho-punk identities.

Chapter 6
Being anarcho-punk.

> I guess I was looking for something more during that original (punk) scene. For me, it (British anarcho- punk) was about being active, about actively making those changes. I had to start a band, I had to start a 'zine, I had to produce tapes, I had to find other bands that had tracks that we could put on these tapes so that I could go to a gig and I had something in my bag and sell it for 20p or give out a leaflet. (Russ)

Russ' narrative above serves as a useful and poignant introduction to this chapter which investigates the narratives my respondents deploy in talking about their engagement with 1970s/80s British anarcho-punk in their adolescence and into early adulthood. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how they narrated their entrance into British anarcho-punk, and the early stages of becoming an anarcho-punk. Their entrance narratives showed how they had invested identarian meanings into the discourses they employed at that time, and in doing so produced a particular position from which they could begin to identify as being anarcho-punk. Their present narratives of remembering the process of self-identification as an anarcho-punk in their adolescence seemed to follow one of two different routes that coalesced the identities of anarchist and punk together. Either they had self-identified as being anarchists or empathised with anarchist ideology before identifying with punk, and subsequently anarcho-punk; or they had an earlier engagement with punk rock, or introductions to punk rock that had created for them a particular set of experiences, or offered a number of incentives to investigate and engage with notions of anarchist politics, ideology, and discourse.

In this chapter, I take the next logical and developmental step relating to my research participants' involvement in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. I will show how their anarcho-punk identities were constructed, developed and maintained. This is demonstrated in the shift from becoming, to being, to maintaining an anarcho-punk identity. I will show that British anarcho-punk's broadly DiY (Do it Yourself) culture, and approach to production and distribution (Cross, 2010; Dale, 2008; Gordon, 2012) presented a space wherein my research participants could develop and reaffirm their individual and collective anarcho-punk identities through my conceptual framework of anarcho-punk praxis.

This theoretical framework positions anarcho-punk praxis as the embodiment, practical application and exercising of political, ideological and cultural ideas. This is achieved through the processes of participation, engagement, cultural production and dissemination amongst the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. Therefore, this enables me to build on the idea that the adherents of anarcho-punk created their own meanings through praxis rather than having those meanings imposed on them or applied to them from outside of the subcultural scene. I argue that anarcho-punk praxis reaffirms one's commitment to the subcultural scene and subsequently reaffirms one's anarcho-punk identity. Indeed, as Avery-Natale (2012) argues, the presentation of the self, in terms of actively doing and creating things, is central to an authentic anarcho-punk identity. Therefore, the very nature of British anarcho-punk's DiY culture provided an opportunity for people in the subcultural scene to participate and actively engage in various expositions of anarcho-punk praxis.

Gramsci's (1929-1935/1971) notion of the organic intellectual provides a useful starting point in how we might understand the role of cultural and ideological producers and activists within a subcultural scene. In doing so, I extend Gramsci's theory about counter-hegemonic intellectuals[19] to show how it works in a different context, that of anarcho-punk praxis. During the 1960s and 1970s, authors and thinkers such as Chomsky (1967) and Anderson (1976), whose politics were rooted in Marxism, started to draw on Gramscian theory as a way of influencing the thinking within the new left and its break away from the old left, rethinking the position of the working class as 'organic intellectuals' within the hegemonic order. This suggests that a connection developed between the left wing and libertarian politics that were being discussed at that time and the 1960s/1970s counterculture, and subsequently the extension of that into British anarcho-punk through members of Crass, Poison Girls and Zounds who were around when those debates were taking place.

In Gramscian terms, these anarcho-punk cultural producers and activists become 'organic intellectuals'. They take on leadership roles, become authoritative representatives and cultural agents,

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[19] See O'Neill, D. and Wayne, M. (2017) *On Intellectuals* for a more detailed analysis of Gramsci's theories on intellectuals.

setting the cultural and ideological boundaries of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. They engage in the construction and development of British anarcho-punk as a subcultural scene and in many ways contribute to what constitutes an anarcho-punk identity, both individual and collective.

I will show in this chapter how, through anarcho-punk praxis, my participants' active engagement with British anarcho-punk made it meaningful to them, which helped them articulate a set of feelings, beliefs and values that subsequently contributed to the ongoing development and reaffirming of their anarcho-punk identities. This meaningful engagement and these meaningful experiences occurred during a period of late adolescence and early adulthood. As I will show later in this thesis, elements of this period of important and significant identity development have remained with my participants throughout their life course, and in many cases inform their current identities.

The narrative memories of my respondents revealed a number of musical, political, and ideological themes that were common to most of them. Such themes included; being in an anarcho-punk band; producing, distributing and writing for British anarcho-punk and punk 'zines; animal rights; protests and demonstrations; practical anarchism; squatting; song lyrics as conduit for expression and education; community; and class politics. Other individual themes arose in the interviews with them, however whilst I do not have the space here to cover every theme, I have selected those that were the most common within my respondents narratives and central to their engagement with, and experience of, British anarcho-punk. Those themes best demonstrate how anarcho-punk praxis contributed to the development and reaffirmation of their anarcho-punk identities.

Anarcho-punk praxis and anarchism

Before I explore how my participants remember and narrate their anarcho-punk identities, it would be useful to further contextualise how the term anarcho-punk and anarcho-punk culture has been and is perceived amongst academics and its adherents. This is important in enabling me to gain an understanding of how my participants also perceived anarchism, British anarcho-punk and their subsequent anarcho-punk identities. In the previous chapter, I showed that for a number of my

respondents, their knowledge or interest in anarchism was either non-existent or in some ways limited, understood as a broad anti-establishment rhetoric as identified by Dunn (2012; 2016). The inclusion of the political and ideological prefix *anarcho,* which is rooted in anarchism*,* with the existing subcultural term *punk*, suggests that there was a combinational development of a more politically and ideologically focussed form of punk emerging as a distinctive subset of punk. As Avery-Natale (2012), Donaghey (2013; 2016) and Dunn (2016) note, one cannot be too deterministic in this relationship between punk rock and anarchism because not all punks are anarchists and not all anarchists are punks. Cross (2010: 2) argues that the relationship between anarchism and punk was not always cohesive in that "the punks who raised new anarchist banners of their own making were quickly revealed in pursuit of very different goals" to an anarchist tradition that focussed on political power, economic and personal exploitation, and class relationships.

Dines (2004: 253) argues that from 1980 onwards there was a noticeable and important shift in how anarchism started to gain traction amongst punk audiences:

> [A]lthough anarchism was at first taken as a means of mere shock value and expression of political rhetoric encompassing an eclectic mix of symbols … it was soon transformed within certain fragments of the punk rock movement into a 'space' for a more organised form of dissent. Subsequently, anarchism was taken seriously by the newly emerging anarcho-punk scene as a means of interjecting a sense of fervent political 'self awareness' into the punk rock movement.

Donaghey (2016) argues that the relationship between anarchism and punk is complex, as punks define and articulate anarchism in a number of different and distinctive ways. So, whilst O'Hara (1999:71) argues that most punks "share a belief formed around the anarchist principles of having no official government, or rulers and valuing individual freedom and responsibility", the manifestation of those principles, in tandem with other individual and personal principles, varies greatly amongst them. Donaghey (2016: 45) deftly summarises the relationship between punk and anarchism:

> So, while a connection between anarchism and punk (or even a 'punk-anarchism') is widely recognised, [...] Anarchism and punk are amorphous, ill-defined entities. The challenge is not to identify a 'true' conception of either of these, or to isolate one aspect of their relationship as being definitive, but to embrace the complexity that surrounds them.

Some of my interviewees described their early involvement in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene as just being punk, or another manifestation of punk. Bands such as Crass and Poison Girls introduced notions of anarchist and libertarian ideologies into their early productions, and to some degree both reinvigorated an interest in anarchism and redefined it on a number of levels (Rimbaud, 1998). However, several of my participants stated that the term *anarcho* was not present, discussed, or used as a way of describing the subcultural scene in its earliest conception. They suggested that it was only later around the years 1982 to 1983 when the word *anarcho* appeared in a number of punk 'zines and flyers that the term anarcho-punk gained some traction in its usage amongst the participants of the developing British anarcho-punk subcultural scene (Grimes, 2016; Worley, 2017) .

Their memories of what anarchism meant to them, as adolescent self-identified anarcho-punks, had a number of variants and commonalities. For some, anarchism was "a life and a self-governing society without rules" (Liz); "a society without privilege and where everybody had equal opportunities" (Adam); "autonomy and self-determination but with mutual respect for others, a way of living without the authority and just being a good person. Not the anarchy and chaos that the general public think of are told might happen" (Kate), and "living your life without the rules of others but being responsible for your own actions, it's about having mutual respect for others too" (Colin). As noted above by Donaghey (2016) and Cross (2010), anarcho-punks' interpretation and exposition of anarchism is problematic and complicated. It didn't necessarily follow the tenets of traditional anarchist thinking and ideologies, and therein a different set of values, outside of traditional anarchism, developed within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. My respondents' narratives suggest that some of those ideologies and values were more pertinent and important to them than some of the others, and they engaged with them to varying degrees. Therefore, it is worth noting that it should not be overstated the degree to which self-identified British anarcho-punks, or indeed those who interacted with the subcultural scene, fully embraced its ideologies and values. Instead, this should be seen in more generalised terms. For example, one of my interviewees, John, stated that through his engagement with British anarcho-punk he became a committed vegetarian. However, animal rights were not as important to him as class politics, as we will see later in this chapter. In terms of an anarcho-punk

identity, it could be suggested that there was a duality in the manifestation of that anarcho-punk identity, and when people narrate their identities, they are not necessarily coming from a singular position, but from a set of multiple identities that they can draw from.

As I discussed in chapter five, some of my respondents had previously identified as anarchists or having anarchist beliefs and sympathies prior to identifying as British anarcho-punks. For them, there was already an existing knowledge of, or deep founded interest in anarchist principles, values and ideologies prior to their engagement with punk and British anarcho-punk culture. Their perception and understanding of anarchism had mostly come about from engaging with anarchist texts and attending anarchist organisations and anarchist group meetings. For others, their introduction into British anarcho-punk and transition from a punk identity to a more specific anarcho-punk identity, came about through their initial exposure to a number of bands such as Crass, Poison Girls, Conflict and The Mob. Many of them gained their own initial understanding of anarchism and development of anarchist thoughts, principles and values, from the political and ideological standpoints laid out in the lyrics and practices of those bands they had been exposed to. As Russ states, "Crass set out the template for me politically and ideologically, what was relevant and real in the world. The first wave of punk informed our attitude; anarcho-punk formed our philosophy and politics." This exposure to anarcho-punk bands also introduced them to a number of political ideologies that they may not have otherwise explored:

> Bands like Crass and the lyrics of the songs helped me at the time because I was so fucking angry with nowhere to place the anger and ...they shaped me politically, so I channelled that anger and developed my own thoughts. They made me think a lot, you know? I went out and read political stuff I never would have read if it hadn't been for those songs. (Bob)

From what Bob suggests, not only did British anarcho-punk stir up an interest in politics, but it inspired him to seek out more knowledge and a greater understanding of anarchism and other political doctrines. His investment of time to seek out those political texts and to take meaning from them aided the development and maintenance of his anarcho-punk identity.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, Guy and Simon self-identified as anarchists and were familiar with anarchist politics and ideologies prior to their engagement with British anarcho-punk. Simon had already been a member of an anarchist group when he was at university in the mid-1970s and was familiar with a number of anarchist philosophies. In one of my interviews with him, he said that many of the adherents of British anarcho-punk "learnt their understanding of anarchism from Crass and other such like bands" which he saw as somewhat problematic:

> Crass seemed to know very little about political anarchism and were using the symbols without much understanding of what anarchism was. They were advocating *their* form of anarchism without really coming at it from "we're anarchists first". So yeah there was quite a complicated set of politics going on there, and lots of anarcho-punks invested in Crass's form of anarchism, and just reproduced it without really finding out about anarchy for themselves. (Simon)

Simon's narrative raises interesting issues about the notion of both anarchism and an anarcho-punk identity. He suggests that Crass had set a template which others seemed to follow or reproduce, without necessarily seeking out a deeper understanding of anarchism. This suggests that the signifiers and symbols of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, and what constituted an anarcho-punk identity both individual and collective, were predominantly determined by the beliefs and actions of Crass. As Glasper (2006:8) notes "In the beginning there was Crass" …[who] ... "ushered in a whole new concept of punk as a movement". He goes on to further state that whilst anarcho-punk may well have happened without Crass, they served as a catalyst and a major inspiration to those who followed in their wake. Many of the people I interviewed often cited Crass as their inspiration, introduction and affiliation to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, their initial understanding of anarchism, and their subsequent development of their anarcho-punk identities. Simon's narrative also seems to draw some relationship with Glasper's (2006) comments about Crass's influence and points to the idea that Crass's template of anarchism was actively reproduced by others. As I will show later in this chapter, my participants interpreted, embodied and acted out various alternative manifestations of anarchism through anarcho-punk praxis.

Simon and Guy had a previous understanding of more traditional anarchist ideologies and philosophies. Their attendance at meetings of a number of London-based anarchist organisations and

groups brought them into contact with a number of punk anarchists who were also seeking a deeper understanding of anarchist politics and ideologies and ways that they might practically apply anarchism. Through these various connections, both of them became involved in the Wapping Autonomy Centre[20], also known as the London Anarchy Centre in Wapping, very close to the financial district of the City of London. Bey (1985), Shantz (2012) and Franks & Kinna (2014) argue that these types of community based, multi-purpose, non-hierarchical social centres are often aligned to non-authoritarian anarchist principles based on mutual aid. These types of temporary autonomous zones (Bey, 1985) provide a space for people to act out their non-authoritarian and non-hierarchical values, ideologies and principles. For Guy, and Simon to some extent, the Wapping Autonomy Centre provided a platform for them to engage in anarcho-punk praxis and enact their anarchist principles and ideologies. This is best summed up by Guy:

> What I wanted to do was to create a little bit of practical anarchy right there in the centre of capitalism and put some of what I had read into practice. I wanted to show people that practical anarchy could work in a given situation such as the anarchy centre. So, we had a bar, we had a place to eat, places to stay, we organised stuff like talks, gigs and it was all done on this non-hierarchical and non-profit basis. We weren't making money and some of us put a lot of time into it because we wanted it to succeed and it did succeed for a while. For me it was the halcyon days of anarcho-punk, you could go there and always meet like-minded people.

For Guy, the opportunity to put what he had read and understood into practice seems to suggest that for him anarcho-punk praxis was an important part of not only being able to act out what he had embodied, but also his investment of time and energy to enable this. He was also willing to clearly demonstrate to others that the potential for anarchism could work in a given situation, such as temporary autonomous zones (Bey, 1985) like the Wapping Autonomy Centre and for him there was a will to make practical anarchism demonstrable. This was clearly important to him and he recalls that particular time as one of happiness and positivity. As alluded to in earlier narratives from Guy (see chapter 5), the theoretical approach to anarchism was important, however the actual application of his anarchist principles, in terms of anarcho-punk praxis, was more important. This suggests that anarcho-punk praxis became elemental in reaffirming his anarcho-punk identity. He felt it right to invest identarian meaning into the possibility of creating an alternate structure to that on offer from the

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[20] See Chapter 1 page 30 for further details on the Wapping Autonomy Centre.

culture and society around him. So, whilst Guy acted in part based around notions of the self, working alongside others also suggests his commitment to a shared DiY ethic where group or collective identity is also developed. This is demonstrated in terms of him actively contributing towards the construction and development of a community centred around the Wapping Autonomy Centre. In this way, leading by example through anarcho-punk praxis demonstrated to others that they could potentially envision and experience the possibilities of practical anarchism and anarcho-punk praxis as a way of achieving both individual and group aims.

Anarcho-punk praxis and cultural production

As previously discussed, the interpretations and applications of anarchism that emerged within punk and subsequently, but retrospectively, within British anarcho-punk, was perceived by many of its adherents as being to some degree fluid but broadly based around libertarian ideas of pacifism, anti-authoritarianism, anti-state and all its mechanisms, anti-capital and anti-war. As I discussed in chapter one, this anarchist 'template', that was embodied within British anarcho-punk, was propagated and developed by the emergence of bands such as Crass and Poison Girls in the late 1970s. They had brought with them libertarian, autonomous and anarchist ideologies from their involvement in the 1960s/1970s counterculture. These ideologies were subsequently taken up by other anarcho-punk bands to varying degrees (Glasper, 2006). A number of ways in which anarcho-punk developed, in terms of its politics and ideologies, was through the lyrical content of songs, record sleeve notes and the writings within anarcho-punk 'zines. This form of anarcho-punk praxis created a set of platforms where notions of anarcho-punk politics and ideologies could be stated, argued, negotiated, constructed and disseminated among the listeners and readers. The creation of cultural artefacts allowed a space for anarcho-punk praxis to be enacted and expressed. Returning to Russ' narrative at the beginning of this chapter, his reference to creating a scene he preferred, in contrast to the "established order", suggests that finding a political and ideological motivation to do that was an important step in reaffirming his anarcho-punk identity. His anarcho-punk identity is further reaffirmed by him saying that the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene motivated him to become involved in producing cultural products and artefacts too. These artefacts were produced not only for the benefit of others,

but also to reaffirm his own commitment to that subcultural scene and anarcho-punk identity, a sense of 'becoming' and 'belonging'. With its ideological and musical roots in DiY practices, there were opportunities for members of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene to get involved in producing cultural artefacts in a number of forms and on a number of levels. In doing so, this directly contributed to the development of the subcultural scene from within, and away from the mainstream media and cultural industries. Many of my interviewees became cultural producers in terms of producing and writing for punk and anarcho-punk 'zines, also being in bands and engaging in political activism.

For a number of them, forming an anarcho-punk band presented them with the opportunity of expressing their own particular interpretation and exposition of British anarcho-punk. As Hargreaves et al. (2002: 10) note:

> ..music is a fundamental channel of communication, and we argue that it can act as a medium through which people can construct new identities and shift existing ones in the same way as spoken language. The continual construction and reconstruction of the self through autobiographical narratives can occur in music as well as in language.

Here, my participants' deeper understandings of what for them constituted British anarcho-punk, could be reproduced and disseminated to a wider audience, thus reaffirming and reinforcing some of its ideologies and values. Whilst many of my interviewees, and other anarcho-punk bands, wrote songs around similar themes and topics, there were degrees of variation based on individual interpretations and exposition of those themes and topics. For some of my participants who formed bands, they wrote songs that were pertinent to their own experiences of British anarcho-punk. This is best exemplified by Dave:

> I suppose because of our location in the south west, and we weren't from a big city, so it wasn't all kind of industrial and kind of 'hard-core' punk in inverted commas if you know what I mean. The bands that were local to us were people like the A Heads, The Sub Humans, The Mob, so there seemed to be a little enclave around between Warminster, Gillingham and Yeovil, all the bands that were into punk seemed to be more on the anarcho-punk side than not [...] So we did consider ourselves to be anarcho-punk at that time, especially as the bands we played with, we always seemed to be asked to play with other anarcho-punk bands.

As well as seeing himself and his band as being anarcho-punk, Dave also compares his position and reaffirms his anarcho-punk identity within a local milieu of what he considered to be other British anarcho-punk bands. This suggests that within this local milieu there was a recognition that they were

part of a larger set of subcultural scenes that they often interacted with. Here his anarcho-punk identity

is created in relationship to others, whom hold a similar set of values and shared interests and identify

with the codes and conventions of that particular grouping (DeNora, 2000; Frith, 1996;

Middleton,1990). Drawing on his own personal experiences, he uses his band status as a cultural

resource in the construction of meaning that may resonate with other members of the collective, those

who consume the music, whilst also remaining individual (Vila, 2014).

> So, we started in '83, I was 15 and the guitarist was 15 so we were quite young. When we first started, I tended to write most of the songs, and I suppose we thought of ourselves as an anarcho-punk band because primarily what I was writing about was considered to be anarcho-punk subjects. In the very early days, I think a lot of it was about animal rights, foxhunting, because we lived in a predominantly pro-hunting area, and we all felt from a very young age that it was wrong. It was very close to our hearts that we wanted to sing about. We were all vegetarians, so obviously those issues were very keen to us, so we wanted to sing about those things, but we didn't sing about concrete and city life because we didn't really know about that. What we knew about was being very, very rural. (Dave)

Although he was influenced by broader anarcho-punk subjects that he had encountered through 'zines

and other band lyrics, his song writing reflected the band's own rural experiences and how that

translated into broader British anarcho-punk ideologies and values. So, whilst they didn't sing about

the urban experience of British anarcho-punk, through his interactions with other anarcho-punk

cultural products and drawing on some of the ideologies and politics incumbent in them, he could

relate his own anarcho-punk identity with that of others outside of his particular experience. As Vitale

(2013: 28) states:

> ...the negotiation of identities through music affiliation [......] the performance of musical affiliation becomes inextricably linked to social practices, and through greater symbolic understandings of what it means to participate in a culture, or subcultures.

Being able to reflect on and then write about one's own experiences, and how they relate to wider

British anarcho-punk ideologies and politics, was an important element for the dissemination of

anarcho punk's ideologies and politics, and the construction of Phil's anarcho-punk identity. Many of

them emphasised in their narratives that becoming and being an anarcho-punk was less about the style

and the music, which had originally attracted them to punk rock in their adolescence. So, although the

music played a less central role in the narratives of their experience of being an anarcho-punk, it still

had its place. In my interviews, the discussions around anarcho-punk music always seemed to quickly

shift into a discussion about the song lyrics and the music took second place to the lyrical content of

the songs. Kate, who was in a band, stated; "It [the band] was more about the politics [...], the music was a secondary thing really. It was a way of getting your politics across." In this sense, for her and others I interviewed, music was utilised to position themselves socially, culturally and politically. The way that the politics were put across to the audience and consumers was generally through the lyrical content of the songs.

I previously discussed in chapter five how the lyrics of a number of anarcho-punk songs helped my participants coalesce a number of personal and political ideologies that they were feeling but struggling to articulate in their adolescent selves. As Tarrant et al., (2002: 135) argue, "the appeal of music during adolescence stems from its ability to address salient developmental issues." Similarly, Istvandity (2014: 142) argues that "lyrics can often compensate for an inability to express complex personal feelings…" and "...can also resonate biographically with individuals through their role in shaping personal identity and social attitudes, especially in adolescence." Further narratives of my respondents revealed that the lyrical content of anarcho-punk songs continued to have an influence in developing and reaffirming their anarcho-punk identities beyond that initial attraction and entrance into British anarcho-punk.

Anarcho-punk seemed to attract a broad oeuvre of sounds (Glasper, 2006), whereas earlier manifestations of punk were in some ways defined by the idea of three chord stripped down rock n roll (Laing, 1985). Many British anarcho-punk bands transcended the formal structure of music and incorporated avant-garde and abrasive approaches to making and performing music (Glasper, 2006). A number of my respondents suggested that a proportion of the music was aurally inaccessible and commented on how "some of the music was just terrible to listen to at the time" (Pete). The punk notion that anyone could just go and make music, irrespective of musical ability, was not always appreciated by a number of them. They said that it was the lyrics that were educational and informative and produced lasting memories for the participants. So, whilst they remember the music and attending gigs, what really stands out is that they remember the lyrics more; this is what has had

more of a lasting impact than the music. Istvandity (2014: 141) suggests that whilst music can become an archive for memory:

> Of all the potential musical elements, the poetic form of communication presented by lyrical content appears to provide the most direct connection to aspects of self-identity and autobiographical memory through the use of (ostensibly) comprehensible language.

This relationship with the lyrical content was often aided by the inclusion of lyric sheets with records or cassettes. Some of my respondents expressed how they would pore over the lyrics, reading and re-reading, trying to make sense of the lyrics and then committing them to memory to recount later. This was an investment of time and energy, a commitment to wanting to understand - a commitment to understand what perhaps constituted an anarcho-punk identity, and as Russ recounted: "having that initial knowledge from the lyrics and then going out and exploring particular political or ideological standpoints in more detail was a way of developing a deeper understanding." Many of them commented on how the lyrics functioned in developing and reaffirming their anarcho-punk identities. As John states:

> The lyrics of the songs just really reaffirmed the whole anarcho-punk politics with songs about smashing the state or how you were getting fucked over by the government, and the cruelty of war and against animals, and the audience at gigs would be shouting the lyrics of the songs in unison back at the band as some sort of recognition of those politics and that shared sense of belonging and being part of that anarcho-punk scene.

John's narrative points to a sense of affirmation that the politics and ideologies that were developing or incumbent in British anarcho-punk were understood by and shared among the subcultural scene, though this is not to assert that it was the same for everyone present at anarcho-punk gigs. However, the singing back of the lyrics to the band confirms this 'shared understanding' that Russ alluded to above, and through that understanding reinforces not only the individual's anarcho-punk identity but also that of a collective anarcho-punk identity through interaction with one's peers, where "musical behaviour is guided not only individual identity needs, but also by group identity needs" (Tarrant et al., 2002: 146). Therein, the anarcho-punk identity is constructed, developed and reaffirmed through interconnectedness of music practice, peer interaction and social behaviours which "have crystallized in various kinds of group affiliations for which we have the concept of collectivities" which encompass "everything from the intimate relation between a couple of fans or a band, to communities and scenes" (Holt, 2007: 21). This sense of a collective anarcho-punk identity is something I will

return to later in this chapter, as it was a common narrative among all of my respondents in terms of belonging (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995) and community.

Anarcho-punk 'zines as anarcho-punk praxis

Another form of anarcho-punk praxis some of my interviewees engaged in was through the production and distribution of 'zines, leaflets and treatises. The production and distribution of DiY publications allowed for the dissemination of the voices of some of the participants in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. As one of my participants, Russ, attests:

> I guess from 1981 for me it just exploded. It was almost completely like another universe and there was lots of people thinking the same way. You know people writing more informed articles about their political opinions, or some wild imagery, or producing the stuff themselves and you just *had* to write.

What's interesting here is Russ' emphasis of the point that he felt compelled to write and produce a 'zine. Further discussions with him revealed that 'zines presented him with the inspiration and opportunity to write, which was something he enjoyed. Also having an outlet for his writing and an audience to share his ideas with gave his writing a sense of purpose. What is particularly telling in the reaffirmation of his anarcho-punk identity is the sense that he felt compelled to contribute to the subcultural scene by stating that you just '*had* to write'**,** almost as if there was an expectation to.

> There were as many fanzines as there were bands and that was really interesting. You didn't necessarily have to play a guitar to make a statement in the scene. You could have a typewriter and a copier and you could still make your own statement. In the same way that people were writing lyrics, you could write your own rants and statements and whatever. They were a major and important part of the scene and in some ways they did reinforce certain things. (Phil)

Phil's narrative raises a number of important issues regarding the role of British anarcho-punk 'zine editors. He alludes to the various DiY activities incumbent in British anarcho-punk as I discussed in chapter one and highlighted earlier in this chapter. Firstly, his narrative supports the somewhat problematic notion of DiY in that 'anyone can do it'. Whilst in principle anyone can, Dale (2008, 178) highlights that not everyone 'can' or indeed necessarily 'wants to' "go and do it". Though Dale (2008) does stress that, for those who did, it offered them a glimpse of empowerment. Phil's account however does allow for the idea that within a music-driven subcultural scene, such as British anarcho-punk,

you didn't have to be a musician to make a statement. His narrative stresses the importance of how the 'zine acted as a way of 'reinforcing certain things'. I would suggest those 'things' as being British anarcho-punk politics, ideologies, values and culture. This is exemplified by John:

> The 'zines were like the rule book, the manifesto for anarcho-punk. I used to love reading them as they informed you of what was going on in the various anarcho-punk scenes around the country. I loved all the band interviews most, but also the stuff on anarchism, animal rights etc. was really interesting and informative. The 'zines introduced me to a lot of new ideas and helped me understand them. You know with 'zines it came from the heart of the people that were doing it. *You knew it was genuine, it was like, sincere.* (John)

John's narrative reveals a number of important issues regarding the authoritative and authentic role of the 'zine editors. His use of the terms 'sincere' and 'genuine' suggests that the editors were authentic voices that reflected what was really going on in the subcultural scene and in some ways represented and documented what constituted British anarcho-punk. The importance of those authentic voices in the 'zines featured in several of my participants' narratives, with many of them suggesting that the content of the 'zines were considered more representative of the subcultural scene than the mainstream music press of the time.

I have argued elsewhere (Grimes, 2016), that the role of 'zine producers and editors in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene was important. As I highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, Gramsci's notion of the organic intellectual provides a useful starting point in how we might understand the role of 'zine editors. Their position moves the idea of the 'zine beyond the simple notion that they acted as a means of communication, but places the role of the 'zine editor and producer as key agents in articulating the key tenets, politics, ideology and culture of British anarcho-punk (Grimes, 2016). As one of my interviewees, Sarah, herself a 'zine producer, reinforced:

> When I did my fanzines, the content was very, very important. What you're actually saying is really important, but also the way you present it is important as well, you know? You wanted people to read it, to absorb it and respond to it.

The dissemination of the editors' discursive practices through their 'zines, indicated that their ideas, thoughts and opinions seemed to have been taken up by others in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, as some of my respondents said that they were 'zine producers and editors and many of them avid 'zine readers.

For those who were 'zine producers and editors, some of them produced multiple issues of their 'zine whereas others only produced one or two editions then stopped. However, they all considered themselves to be contributing to a notion of what constituted British anarcho-punk and an anarcho-punk identity, both individual and collective. This is supported by Russ's previous account in that he stated that people were writing more informed political articles, with many of them thinking the same way.

Anarcho-punk cassettes as anarcho-punk praxis

The magnetic tape cassette became a popular and cheap way to record and distribute music, and gained some prominence in punk and post punk subcultural scenes, that promoted and propagated a DiY approach (Cross, 2010; Dale, 2008; 2016; Gordon, 2005; 2012; O'Connor, 2008; Spencer, 2008). This relatively accessible DiY practice was seen as a direct way of gaining and maintaining independence from and circumnavigating the corporate structures of the mainstream record companies. Similar to the production and distribution of 'zines, the DiY production and distribution of magnetic cassette tapes within anarcho-punk and other DiY punk cultures plays an important role in contributing to the construction and development of the subcultural scene. Taking control of the means of production and distribution is central to a DiY ethos., something that was considered to be implicit to some degree within anarcho-punk subcultural scenes. Some anarcho-punk bands such as Crass, Conflict and Subhumans either set up their own independent record labels or released recordings through labels set up by other anarcho-punk bands. This supportive practice was considered to be a way of retaining and maintaining a degree of control, authenticity and empowerment away from the corporate structures of the record industry (Dale, 2008; O'Connor, 2008). However, some bands didn't have access to releasing music on vinyl through a record label, so would sometimes record direct to cassette, often outside of the confines of a recording studio. This was very much supported by the notion that the quality of the recordings was not of paramount importance, whereas the immediacy of releasing your music and the ideas within the lyrics was.

Many of my respondents, who were in anarcho-punk bands, discussed the importance of DiY cassette culture in the production distribution and consumption of their music:

> Oh, massive, yes, yes, fucking massive. I mean, when we started our band we released our own cassette, well I say released our own cassette, we recorded it and then if somebody sent us like £1.50 or whatever we literally put the master tape into a double tape player and recorded a copy of it, you know. We thought we'd sell three or something, but because of fanzines people kept ordering it and fanzines definitely mushroomed the whole thing. (Ian)

We can see that Ian's narrative strongly emphasises the importance of 'zines as a method of distribution of self-produced music. But it also reveals the relative ease in the reproduction of that recording and its low cost to the consumer. The proliferation of home recorded music and 'bootleg' recordings of live performances onto cassette was generally not frowned upon by the majority of anarcho-punk bands and was mostly encouraged. The notion of making profit from your music was not the driving force behind this type of DiY approach to recording and performing, but more about contributing your ideas and opinions to the wider anarcho-punk subcultural scene. A number of my interviewees also took to producing, reproducing and distributing/sharing cassettes, of either their own bands or 'live' performances of other bands that they had recorded. Sometimes, if there was a sound engineer at live performances, those 'live' recordings were captured by the sound engineer for sale and/or exchange. Known as 'tape trading', this relatively cheap and easy reproduction process was also supported in terms of distribution by face to face exchange at gigs, or sales and distribution lists advertised in 'zines or given out at gigs. The practice of tape trading also played a large part in the dissemination of the political ideologies of British anarcho-punk. As Gordon (2005: 79) argues, the trading of tapes "allows existing and established subcultural members to share their taste and knowledge of their chosen subcultural genre with less or equally established peers." Despite its cheap and ease of reproduction and packaging, the time and effort that was put into recording, reproducing and distributing these DiY tapes exemplified a degree of commitment to developing the subcultural scene through a sense of personal contribution.

Anarcho-punk community and collective action as anarcho-punk praxis

I have discussed above how some of my respondents embodied and acted out their anarcho-punk identities through the production of cultural artefacts such as 'zines, cassettes and performing in bands. But this raises a number of questions about those who were not engaged with those types of processes of anarcho-praxis. How did they embody and act out their anarcho-punk identities? Bey (1985), Shantz (2012) and Franks & Kinna (2014) suggest that community based, multi-purpose, non-hierarchical social centres are important in creating spaces for building communities and collective identities around a number of shared experiences, values and ideologies. As I discussed earlier, both Simon and Guy had involved themselves with the Wapping Autonomy Centre. The centre provided a social space and temporary autonomous zone where anarchists and anarcho-punks would congregate, thus creating a space for community building. For Guy and Simon, it was a place where they could engage in anarcho-punk praxis whilst engaging in community based actions, thus reaffirming their anarcho-punk identities as well as that of a collective anarcho-punk identity. For a number of my respondents their way of embodying, acting out and reaffirming their anarcho-punk identities through other activities such as attending demonstrations, protests and music performances. Most of my participants discussed how these activities created a sense of collectivism and community that contributed towards a sense of shared or collective anarcho-punk identity. As Colin states:

> I was going to 2-3 gigs a week and meeting up with other likeminded people who were into anarcho-punk too [...] It wasn't just the music though, I would chat to people about what was going on, other gigs and demos that they had been to or were coming up. You would get to see and talk to bands from other towns across the country. You could buy fanzines, pick up leaflets about animal rights or CND or veganism. I remember I would always leave the gigs with a handful of stuff to read on the bus journey home, or tapes to listen to when I got home. It was sort of educational. I learnt a lot of stuff from those leaflets and fanzines and other people at those gigs. It really felt as if you were part of something, something important where everyone was fighting the same fight.

Colin's narrative reaffirms a sense of community that came from identifying with other anarcho-punks, whilst attending gigs. The fact that he was meeting with "like-minded" people who were "fighting the same fight" strongly suggests that he felt that there was a common set of values and ideologies that were shared among the people at the gigs, though of course that is not suggesting that was the case for all the people who attended. As Tarrant et al; (2002: 144) argue: "the benefits to identity and self-esteem that are derived from interactions with peers, seem in part to be realized

through intergroup behaviour." These interactions with peers occupy a shared social space, and within that social space, narratives are engendered and shared, narratives that are contributing to identity formation and maintenance. These shared social spaces and narratives allow for the sharing of values and beliefs. The notion of communing and sharing information and knowledge within a shared space also points to a sense of a shared or collective anarcho-punk identity, despite Colin being a consumer rather than a producer of those subcultural artefacts. This consumption enabled for him a deeper understanding of anarcho-punk and what it was to embody an anarcho-punk identity through the process of being 'educated' and informed about what, in the minds of the producers of those artefacts, constituted British anarcho-punk, and in a sense constituted an anarcho-punk identity.

> It felt like there was a scene, that you were challenging the established order, or you were creating one that you preferred. And you had that freedom, to some degree, to do that. There was an expectation that you adopted a stance, whether it was through what you wore, or what you listened to, or what you did. For me that was the sting, that was the beauty of that (British anarcho-punk) scene, there was the space to actively establish and define the scene and define yourself. There was an expectation from each other that you had to define that. (Russ)

Russ' narrative reveals a number of salient points regarding the place of the individual within a group or collective affiliation. His comment about challenging the established order suggests that, for him, British anarcho-punk embodied some of the ideological and political characteristics that Huq (2006) likens to new social movements, that develop around ideological, social and cultural objectives which form a new type of politics. Indeed, the notion of collective identity emerged from Melucci's (1980) investigations of social movements, where these movements are mostly collective in action, are anti-authoritarian and focus on the development of new lifestyles and the political and ideological transformation of identities. This is further reaffirmed by Russ' comment about British anarcho-punk creating an active space to define the subcultural scene, but also importantly, to define oneself. Here, the individual sense of self and development of an anarcho-punk identity also contributes towards the shape and ideological boundaries of the subcultural scene, where there was an expectation that others involved were doing likewise. This relates to my earlier discussion around Gramscian notions of the organic intellectual where the adherents of the subcultural scene become key agents in articulating the tenets, politics, ideology and culture of British anarcho-punk.

Turner's (1982) social identity theory model of Referent Informational Influence (RII) conceptualises group or peer pressure as self-stereotyping according to one's beliefs about what constitutes group norms. In this model, the individual is given more agency in adopting the norms of the group, rather than pressure from more influential peers. According to Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995), Turner's (1982) model assumes that the individual defines him or herself as a member of a social grouping, in this particular case British anarcho-punk, and then forms or learns the norms of the group and then adopts them to conform with the attributes which define the group. This suggests that the individual has some sort of personal resonance with at least one of the groups norms to self-ascribe their individual identity with that of the group. Some of my respondents' entrance narratives (see chapter five), clearly showed that they already had a number of personal feelings, beliefs and values that they found hard to articulate. British anarcho-punk provided a space and context for them to do that, and to be understood by others who shared similar feelings, values and beliefs. For example, Kate recounted that she already knew that there were elements of society that were inherently wrong, unjust and unequal but didn't have the necessary available discourses to explore and articulate them. For her, some of the norms of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene provided a space to do that, culminating in her realising that there were other like-minded people who felt the same way and that she was not alone in thinking those things.

Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995) raise concerns over the loss of the self and the authentic self within collective or group affiliations. They argue that "defining the self through group affiliation (and hence conformity) implicates the inauthenticity or shallowness of self-identity" (181) and the problem of making group membership relevant to one's identity raises "issues around the loss of individuality and hence the inauthenticity of self" (180), from the conformity that arises from group affiliation. Some of my interviewees' narratives suggest that being affiliated to a group didn't seem to compromise a sense of an authentic self. John and Phil, for example, both expressed how, for them, the adherents of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene were like their family and offered the support and personal development that they hadn't received elsewhere. John further expressed that during his period of

engagement with British anarcho-punk that it was his 'life'- it became the very core and essence of who he was or saw himself to be. This suggests that it was implicit in his sense of an authentic self.

These narratives show that the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene provided a space for people to realise deeply held personal beliefs, helped them to articulate a number of adolescent feelings, and discover that there were other like-minded people who also shared the same or similar beliefs, ideologies and values as them. Furthermore, group affiliation and interaction provided them the ability to discover and develop new ideologies, values and beliefs, and a sense of a collective identity that fed into the further development of the self. This peer interaction within these spaces also allows for the sharing of personal and collective ideological narratives, values and beliefs that are not only engaging in the construction and maintenance of one's self-identity, but also that of the collective.

For Simon, however, the notion of a collective identity created a paradox. He was active in anarcho-punk praxis but shunned away from the idea that he was a member of a larger collective. He said that he was aware that there was definitely a sense of cohesion among many of those involved in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene and that there was a sense of a community that he played an active part in.

> There were so many different sets of beliefs and politics within anarcho-punk that it would be difficult to say that everyone agreed with them all. Some elements of anarcho-punk, like the politics of anarchism and personal freedom I was really into but other elements like the whole anti-vivisection thing less so. There were definitely a number of common ideas within anarcho-punk that created a sort of community or collective but not everyone subscribed to them, or they just picked the ones that suited their own personal beliefs. (Simon)

Despite a number of common and collective beliefs and politics within the subcultural scene, Simon's account suggests that people would choose those that already resonated with their sense of self and an existing character that better fitted their plot. Crass propagated their take on anarchism by encouraging the idea that "there is no authority but yourself", where critical reflexivity of the self and autonomous thought was important in achieving some of the demands and aims that the British anarcho-punk movement had set itself (Cross, 2010).

Anarcho-punk praxis and animal rights

As I previously discussed, the interpretation and manifestation of anarchism and anarcho-punk praxis within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene was combined with a number of other political and ideological positions. For the majority of my respondents, their engagement with British anarcho-punk allowed them to explore and express personal politics beyond the ideas of anarchism. The subject of animal rights featured heavily within their narratives of being an anarcho-punk. However, they had no definitive recollection of how the subject of animal rights became a popular trope of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, as Simon states:

> I don't remember it to begin with but certainly I do remember by the mid '80s, it was pretty much yes you had to be a vegetarian and if anybody was seen eating meat that was 'eurch!' [laughs], totally out of order.

Some of my respondents alluded to their own reasons for sympathising with and becoming involved in animal rights. Their involvement would range from adopting a vegan or vegetarian diet, to becoming active participants and members of organisations such as the Animal Liberation Front, the Hunt Saboteurs Association and The British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection. At times these would culminate in protest marches, localised support campaigns, being actively involved in the physical disruption of organised fox and deer hunting and, releasing animals from laboratories where animals were used as live test subjects. For Steve, the issue of animal rights has remained a strong part of his memories of being an anarcho-punk:

> Also, with regards to animal rights specifically, I do believe that the anarcho-punk movement advanced animal rights massively. The anarcho-punk stance on eating meat, testing cosmetics on animals and fox hunting swayed many people's opinions that these activities were inherently and morally wrong. (Steve)

Steve's narrative suggests that anarcho-punks' ideological adoption of animal rights as being a tenet of the subcultural scene, was one based on a moral and ethical standpoint. A number of my respondents said that the idea of seeking and achieving personal freedom through their relationship with anarchism and British anarcho-punk was difficult to justify alongside a notion of empathising with or being dismissive of the lack of freedom of animals that were bred for human consumption.

Some of their accounts revealed that a number of British anarcho-punk bands, such as Conflict and Flux of Pink Indians, started to make the subject of animal rights explicit in their songs with their record sleeves showing images of animal cruelty and exploitation (Cross, 2010). "When the Flux single came out that was quite influential to a lot of people. It was a trigger anyway for people to go off and look at things more broadly" (Russ). The bands also provided contact addresses of animal welfare groups and hunt saboteur groups to encourage people to get involved.

> I got into animal rights, but back then there weren't that many bands singing about it. I think…. it was, 'Flux of Pink Indians…. Neu Smell'. And I thought "what's going on here?", you know, I then became a veggie at 14 and then got into it more and more, you know, as I got older. Yep, still a vegan 31 years later, about the only one out of all the people I used to know. They keep telling me to grow up. (Bob)

Bob's narrative is quite telling in how important that sense of commitment to the causes of animal rights was to his anarcho-punk identity. He has remained a committed vegan to this day, as have many of my interviewees, who have remained committed to veganism or vegetarianism and animal welfare some 30-40 years later. Whilst I will explore how my participants adolescent engagement with British anarcho-punk has continued to impact on or influence their current adult identities in chapter eight, the context of his narrative brings forward another pertinent issue. He has remained a vegan for over 30 years, which supports the notion proposed by Conway (1997) that the ideologies we develop in our adolescence are more likely to have a lasting impact on our subsequent lives. Whilst he has remained committed to veganism, his comment about his friends suggesting that he should 'grow up' and let go of what they see as perhaps a youthful ideological commitment is interesting. Whilst I have no evidence to suggest why his friends from that period who were vegan/vegetarian chose to renounce their commitment, it could suggest that either it was of less importance to them as it no longer fitted their plot, especially as time went on and their attachment to British anarcho-punk dissipated; or no longer chimed with their own values and beliefs; or that they had only temporarily adopted a position of veganism/vegetarianism at that time as it was to some degree understood to be a signifier of an anarcho-punk identity within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene.

Cross (2010: 10) makes a pertinent point about the degrees of differentiation that existed within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. He describes how, for some, campaigns against animal

exploitation had more priority and emphasis than for those who were more focussed on disseminating British anarcho-punk culture through 'zine production or setting up tape labels. Although many of my participants were morally and empathically aligned to the ideologies of animal rights, their relationship and commitment to animal rights took less prominence over other pursuits. As John suggests, being a vegetarian was important and part of his anarcho-punk identity, however, for him, it was:

> Not as important as the class issues kind of things, which is why I eventually ended up in Class War[21], I think, and working-class politics. I did come from a working-class background so that's always taken precedence over my politics. The animal rights side of things, yeah, I do feel it is important, but you know [...............] it wasn't top of my agenda. (John)

As the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene developed, narrowness and conformity became more apparent in terms of a collective identity.[22] The sense that everyone should be committed to a set of collective ideologies and beliefs that constituted British anarcho-punk became problematic in itself. I will show in the next chapter how that contributed to a number of my participants exiting from the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene.

Anarcho-punk praxis and class politics

As indicated in John's previous narrative, the notion of class politics and the organisation Class War struck some resonance with many who identified as anarcho-punks. Bone (2006) suggests that when *Class War* was first published in 1983, there was already an audience within the various British anarcho-punk subcultural scenes across the country who at times empathised with Class War's anti-authoritarian stance. A number of anarcho-punks were already questioning the effectiveness of pacifism and moving more towards direct action. As Grimes (2016) notes, Ian Slaughter's 1981 editorial in the 'zine *Pigs For Slaughter*, which was closely aligned to the AYF (Anarchist Youth Federation) of which Ian Slaughter was a leading member, was a "searing critique of Crass and the British anarcho-punk movement that developed in their wake. It highlighted the failures of its pacifist approach, lack of commitment to direct action and confrontation with the system and all its agents"

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[21] See Chapter 1 page 33 for a fuller discussion of Class War
[22] See Cross (2010) for a fuller analysis of some of British anarcho-punk's ultimate shortcomings.

(176). Other anarcho-punk 'zines such as *Fight Back*, *Enigma* and *Scum* "also took a hard-line anarchist approach that promoted and encouraged direct action against the state, the owners of capital, military defence and arms companies, animal laboratories" (Grimes, 2016: 176). For John, the pacifist approach that Crass encouraged and promoted just didn't satisfy his combined anarchist and class politics:

> You know you've got the anarcho-punk pacifists in one corner and the Class War inspired anarcho-punks in the other corner, but lot of anarcho-punks eventually came over to Class War after they rejected the pacifism of Crass. I did as well, yeah. I think Crass were very naïve anyway, you know [...] Pacifism isn't going to save you, it's not going to save you when you're being duffed over by the police or whoever [...] we lived in a ultra-capitalist society and where everything is class driven, working class, middle class, ruling class and there's such a massive divide, well there was back then under Thatcher, and Crass and parts of the anarcho-punk scene seem to, like, totally ignore that. (John)

This lack of direct action and class-based anarchism that Crass and other members of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene espoused, made John reconsider his own anarcho-punk identity. Encouraged by an anarchist friend from Bristol and an ideological division within Class War, he eventually moved from Birmingham to Bristol, and he and his friend started their own Class War-influenced anarchist group in the South West of England. Such was the impact of the group's direct action anarchist activities that it garnered a lot of attention from the police and local press. Along with already available punk 'zines such as the Anarchist Youth Federation's *Pigs For Slaughter,* which also promoted violent direct action (Grimes, 2016), Class War intervened in attracting the less pacifist anarcho-punks to side with and support it and its methods of direct action against the wealthy elite, government, police, royal family, state, church and left and right wing political groups. Class War also gained a lot of traction at ALF (Animal Liberation Front) and Hunt Saboteur events or actions, mainly because members of those groups would also be known to use direct action tactics, rather than Class War having any sympathies with those groups' politics or beliefs (Bone, 2006).

Class War's agenda of often violent direct action created an issue for some self-identified anarcho-punks who followed the more pacifist, non-violent direct action approach to challenging and destroying the mechanisms of the state, church, capital and establishment, propagated by Crass and others within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene.

I think with the emergence of Class War, there was to some degree a change in some anarcho-punks' approaches to pacifism and direct action I am not suggesting that was down to Class War alone, but it did become quite popular in anarcho-punk circles and it seemed to give some impetus to those people who started taking Class War's call for violent direct action as a way forward. For me personally, I wasn't a fan of that type of approach and that was probably the time I started questioning my own relationship with anarcho-punk. (Simon)

Simon's narrative points to a shift in his relationship with British anarcho-punk where he began to have some doubts about continuing his affiliation with the subcultural scene. This more violent direct action approach brought about by Class War's rising popularity amongst some anarcho-punks didn't 'fit' his own anarcho-punk identity, which sowed doubt about his continuing involvement and personal investment in British anarcho-punk and the direction he thought it was taking. So paradoxically, despite the importance of community and collectivism expressed by a number of my participants, there was, within the subcultural scene, a binary opinion between pacifism and direct action. For some, the notion of pacifism seemed to fit with an existing character in their plot, for others it was the opposite.

In the interviews with my participants, they all stated or inferred that they came from what they considered to have been working class backgrounds and so issues of class upbringing played into some narratives of politics and personal politics. Adam, for example, came from a working-class mining village and his parents were both Labour party members and activists, often taking Adam to political meetings and CND demonstrations when he was a child. He said that his experience in growing up in a mining village exposed him to class division:

I was always aware that there was a "them and us" sort of situation. It was, sort of, like, highlighted to me by the Thatcher government, by the rise in unemployment, the greed that was being created by her government and, you know, seeing the privileged living in their little villages around where I lived [...] So, yes, I got a big upbringing in socialist politics anyway, so for me when I did discover Crass and anarchism that made perfect sense that that was the next stage from socialism was anarchism.

Adam's working-class upbringing also resonated with some of the ideologies of anarchism as a political possibility that could accommodate his socialist working-class identities. This enabled an anarcho-punk identity that didn't necessarily compromise his working-class identity, that was an integral part of his childhood and adolescent upbringing. In further conversation, Adam revealed that,

as a self-identified anarcho-punk, he did read *Class War* and had some sympathies with their politics, aims and objectives but never felt compelled to carry out any direct action himself.

John, however, had a more active experience and relationship with Class War after becoming an anarcho-punk;

> I used to go down to Portobello Road on a Saturday afternoon and there'd be *Class War* sellers down there when I was about 15. [...] I started buying the paper off them and it spoke volumes to me, more than Crass did, and there was more anger and it was coming from a more working-class background than Crass was and I come from a working class family.

Class War had such an impact on John that he became actively involved and later took on the National Supporters Secretary role for Class War. This involved collecting and redistributing the membership money for Class War and creating a bulletin that would share information to supporters and members across all the regional Class War groups:

> So I had a position of responsibility in Class War for a few years doing that. Yeah, and that's when I was in Birmingham then and I was 100% committed shall we say. I was so dedicated that I spent my whole time involved with Class War and politics.

Class played a central role in John's exposition of his anarcho-punk identity. His active involvement in Class War suggests that for him the combination of class politics and direct action anarchism allowed engagement in British anarcho-punk and class-based praxis. However, as I will show in the next chapter, his commitment to, and involvement in, Class War, alongside his class-based anarchist politics, eventually superseded his anarcho-punk identity and he eventually exited from his anarcho-punk identity, citing his involvement in class-based anarchist politics as the main reason.

Whilst Crass tried to distance themselves from class politics, the focus on class politics was not ignored by all anarcho-punk bands of that period. Chumbawamba positioned their manifestation of anarchism within the arena of class politics, and Conflict and The Apostles were more sympathetic to Class War's direct-action approach to class politics and the state, often criticising or deriding the pacifist approach taken by Crass and others (Raposo, 2016).

For some of my respondents, whilst class was something that was briefly discussed in terms of personal politics, their engagement with British anarcho-punk wasn't based directly on class, but based more on notions of their interpretations of anarchist politics and ideology, and a mix of ideologies incumbent within British anarcho-punk such as animal rights, gender politics, and anti-capitalism and anti-state politics.

> I wore the [Class War] t-shirt because that's what you did, but I never really went to meetings, I never really went to the rallies and weekends that they had because as much as I'm working-class, you know, I don't wear the banner although I'm really proud of being working class because that's how I was brought up. I just found their single-issue politics to be a bit restricting. Everything was class. Every time there was an issue it came back to class and it was almost, not to me comical, because I agreed with most of the things they were doing, but I was…. I dunno….it didn't fit me. (Mary)

So, whilst being a sympathiser with Class War and their activities, Mary's commitment to Class War's ideologies and restrictive "single issue class politics" didn't "fit" with her own working class and anarcho-punk identities. I suggest that for her, single issue politics was not able to embrace a number of ideological standpoints or views she held. So, whilst her working class identity was important to her, it did not predominantly feature in her anarcho-punk identity because for her the narrowness of class division and class struggle that featured in the forefront of Class War's agenda became too limiting in her own exposition of her anarcho-punk identity.

Anarcho-punk praxis through protest

Many of my respondents reported that they attended a number of political demonstrations and rallies during their affiliation with British anarcho-punk. These rallies would range from animal rights and anti-apartheid, to peace rallies. Crass's alleged reinvigoration of an interest in the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament (CND) (Rimbaud, 1998) brought a number of anarcho-punks into contact with pacifism as an ideological and political standpoint. This was quite pertinent given that the early 1980s was overshadowed by a constant simmering threat of nuclear conflict between the USSR and Europe (McKay, 2019; Worley, 2011). As John and Simon alluded to earlier, the binary notions of pacifism and direct action among adherents of British anarcho-punk created a schism in the subcultural scene, with many rejecting violence as a means of achieving some of British anarcho-punk's collective aims. Despite some of my participants' rejection of Class War and their policy of sometimes violent direct

action, the relationship between British anarcho-punk and class was always a personal and fluid manifestation within the individual's anarcho-punk identity. So, whilst some of them were not involved in class struggle directly, they often came into contact with Class War members and sympathisers at various protest rallies and demonstrations, where anarcho-punks shared the same or similar political and ideological positions. One such example was the Stop The City (STC) demonstration that took place between 1983 and 1984. These were a series of demonstrations/protests by a number of political and ideological groups and organisations with a common purpose of disrupting the financial district of the City of London and its financial institutions who were seen as profiteering from the exploitation of people and animals and profiteering from militarisation and the arms trade (Cross, 2016). Whilst not directly organised by any particular or singular group the demonstrations attracted thousands of people who embarked on a day-long series of autonomous direct action events to hopefully bring the business of the city to a standstill (Cross, 2016). Some of my respondents said that attending the STC demonstrations was an opportunity to overtly demonstrate their individual and collective political and ideological standpoints. This could be understood as them engaging in anarcho-praxis through protest and direct action against capitalism, the city, the state, its mechanisms and agents.

> It just seemed that everything about the system was wrong and at times you felt quite powerless to challenge it or make any changes. I remember spending a lot of time talking with others about anarchy and how we were going to change things for the better. Looking back, it did seem quite idealistic and utopian. I think for me what Stop The City did was focus my frustrations and actually channel my beliefs into something tangible, where it felt like I was directly making an impact. (Phil)

Along with Phil's account, attending demonstrations and protests featured heavily in several of my respondent's narratives. Many of them said that it was one of the ways in which they could put some of their anarcho-punk ideologies and politics into practice, thus reaffirming and reinforcing their anarcho-punk identities. What is interesting about Phil's account is that his affiliation with British anarcho-punk was a period in his adolescence where life seemed to be full of possibilities, idealism and a degree of naivety. On reflection though, he now sees those possibilities being somewhat utopian. This is perhaps brought on by age and adult responsibilities such as family and career, that have in some ways contained and constrained his idealism over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that anarcho-punk identities are developed and reaffirmed through my introduction and application of the concept of anarcho-punk praxis. This concept allowed me to draw on Gramsci's theory of the 'organic intellectual' as a starting point to explore anarcho-punk praxis. In doing so, I extended his concept to demonstrate the relationship between the performers, 'zine editors and activists- the people who defined the ideological boundaries of the subcultural scene. By according agency to the performers, 'zine editors and activists, their narratives help us understand in a more specific and contemporary way some of the abstract ideas that Gramsci was working with.

My respondents accounts demonstrate that for many of them British anarcho-punk offered a number of possibilities for change and that by engaging in anarcho-punk praxis they could potentially enable that change. British anarcho-punk offered them a framework in which they could organise and articulate their dissent thus allowing them to exercise some of those ideologies and politics. By doing so, this created a sense of community and collectivism, the notions of which appeared frequently in their reflective narratives of being an anarcho-punk.

Chapter 7
Exit narratives of anarcho-punks

In the previous chapter, I discussed my respondent's experiences of being an anarcho-punk. I argued that the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene created a space wherein my research participants could develop, refine and reaffirm their individual and collective anarcho-punk identities. I argued that this identity work came about through the notion anarcho-punk praxis; the embodiment, practical application and exercising of political, ideological and cultural ideas, through the processes of participation, engagement, cultural production and dissemination amongst a subcultural scene. In this chapter, I seek to understand the reasons for, and specific situations that led to my participants' exit or disaffiliation from British anarcho-punk. I argue that disaffiliation from a subcultural scene is important in understanding the transitions and development of one's identity. As Decker, et al. (2014: 270) state "Two elements of identity have received considerable attention: *exploration* of new identity alternatives and *commitment* to activities related to a given identity (e.g., Marcia, 1966). These identities may be salient for extended periods of time (van Hoof, 1999), or temporary placeholders in the broader process of identity development (Waterman, 1999)".

As I have previously discussed, the identities we develop during our adolescence tend to have the most influential and lasting impact on our identity development and subsequent identities (Arnett, 1997; 2000, cited in Decker et al., 2014; Meeus et al., 1999; Waterman, 1982). As we move through life, we construct multiple identities often based around roles that we engage with and those we disengage from, or as Ebaugh (1988) suggests, roles or identities we *exit* from. Whilst research into ageing within subcultures and scenes has gained some traction, research around individuals' exit or disaffiliation from a subculture and scene is relatively understudied. Academics and researchers in the field of subcultural and post-subcultural studies have, as the lack of literature in this field suggests, tended to focus on continuing participation in a subculture and scene. After an individual leaves a subcultural scene, interest in what subsequently becomes of them, and what lasting influence that past affiliation might continue to have, seems to have garnered little research attention.

Some research has been conducted around gang culture and gang member exiting or disaffiliation from gangs (Decker et al., 2014; Pyrooz and Decker, 2011; Sweeten et al., 2013; Weerman et al., 2015). In most of these studies around gangs, disaffiliation and exiting tended to be conceptualised as both an event and a process (Sweeten et al., 2013). Reasons most often cited for disaffiliation and exiting gangs in those studies centred around notions of tiring of gang violence; ageing which manifested itself in limited physical ability to participate in gang activities; or acquiring more responsibilities that were not seen to be congruent with gang life such as such as parenting and employment. In many of these situations or scenarios, engagement with competing social groups and institutions creates an "ongoing contest between gang life and conformity" (Decker et al., 2014: 25), finally resulting in exit for many, though for some ex-members, loose ties to the gang remain, based on family relationships, friendships and geography.

In similarly limited studies around exiting graffiti subculture (Dar, 2013; MacDonald, 2001; and MacDiarmid and Downing, 2012), ageing out of the subculture is a common exiting motif. Generally, graffiti artists leave the subculture once they acquire a number of responsibilities commensurate with the process of transition into adulthood and adult lifestyles, such as parenting or full-time employment, and, for some, employment as professional artists, where the duality of legal /illegal painting or spraying is difficult to maintain alongside the anonymity a graffiti artist needs to avoid arrest (Dar, 2013). Dar (2013) also notes that exiting from graffiti subculture was also a process similar to exiting gangs; at times this involved a transition where graffiti artists would cyclically disengage and re-engage with the subculture.

There seems to be limited literature around exiting or disaffiliation from music-driven subcultures or scenes. Early work by Bennett (2006) and Davis (2006) on ageing and continuing participation within musical subcultures and scenes has led to an increased interest in this field. An edited collection from Bennett and Hodkinson (2012) captures a number of insightful works in the field of ageing within music-driven subcultures and scenes (Davis, 2012; Gibson, 2012; Haenfler, 2012; Hodkinson, 2012; Tsitsos, 2012) and Bennett (2013). However, my literature search revealed very little published work

with a few examples such as Wilson (2007), Gregory (2012) and, specific to punk, Gordon (u.p). In other work around punk subculture, the notion of disaffiliation or exiting generally merits a mention rather than an investigation (Bennett, 2013; Debies-Carl, 2014; Fogarty, 2012; Liptrot, 2012). As I have already argued, and noted by Wilson (2007), the processes of affiliation and disaffiliation, whilst omitted from accounts of youth cultures, is important in fully understanding subcultural and scene involvement and how subcultural and post-subcultural identities are developed and then relinquished.

Exit Theory

Utilising role theories (Mead, 1934; Merton, 1957) as the basis for her investigations, Ebaugh (1988) is one of the few scholars to examine identity exit or relinquishment. Ebaugh (1988) argues that we construct our identities through our engagement and disengagement with different roles. Disengagement from a role that is central to one's self-identity is a process where individuals cease engaging with and practicing those socially expected and normative behaviours associated with that role. She argues that, following on from the external role disengagement, an internal process of disidentification takes place when individuals "begin to shift their identities in a new direction, that is, they begin to think of themselves apart from the people they were in previous roles" (4). Lastly there is a process of re-establishing an identity in a new role that takes into account one's former role. This is not to suggest that one completely does away with one's identity, but it is recreated to fit in with the change or shift in circumstances.

Ebaugh's work provides some useful conceptual insights into the various stages that she considers lead to disengagement and disidentification. She provides a sequential typology of stages that deal with exiting social identities such as when a person begins to doubt their role commitments. Within this stage, physical, mental and emotional burnout, that was sometimes tied up with work, relationships, parental responsibilities, was often cited by Ebaugh's respondents as creating first doubts about their roles and identity. What often follows is a process in which the individual looks for an alternative role. Various turning points, which can be brought on by either a major or insignificant event, in terms of role relevance, help focus the individual's awareness that the old roles are no longer

desirable. This leads to creating an ex-role, where individual behaviour signals to others that a change has taken place, and at the same time, presents a new identity. Some shake off their identification after they have exited, whereas others maintain some identification with the prior role as residual or 'hangover identity' (Ebaugh, 1988). This notion of a hangover or residual identity is pertinent to my study because I seek to understand if indeed any of my participants have shaken off their anarcho-punk identities or whether some residual anarcho-punk identity remains 30 plus years later.

Particular to punk, Gordon (u.p) has investigated exit-practices of those involved in the DiY punk scenes of Bradford and Leeds. His ethnographic research centres around 'scene exit practices,' where exit is interpreted as the opposite of authentic involvement in a scene. Gordon's analysis brings forward a useful typology in how exit and disaffiliation is enabled and achieved. Reasons for exit and disaffiliation focus around subjects such as physical, subcultural and social limitations of ageing, adult responsibilities such as career and parenting, burnout, and death which Gordon notes is clearly the ultimate form of scene exit. Personal and political issues within the two localised DiY punk scenes was another commonly cited reason for scene exit, which often manifested in the lack of rewards from scene input and activities, and when participation resulted in more negative than positive feelings. Additionally, the notion of scene members *selling out* their DIY scene principles and values came with the view that they lacked notions of scene authenticity.

Whilst Ebaugh and Gordon's work have different starting points, there are a number of similarities and commonalities in individuals' reasons or motivations for exit disaffiliation. Similarly, these motivations for exiting a musical subculture and scene resonate with some of the reasons cited by respondents in the research on gangs and graffiti artists cited above. In his study of Northern Soul, Wilson (2007) highlights how the notion of commitment to the scene and changes in individuals' lives have an impact on continuing involvement that leads to eventual disaffiliation. Similar to Ebaugh's and Gordon's typologies, Wilson (2007) argues that this creates a degree of disillusionment within the scene that is impacted upon by changes in personal circumstances, including drug addiction and incarceration; changes in musical style; loss of friendship groups and loss of community followed by a

subsequent loss of subcultural and scene belonging; and also responsibilities attributed to ageing and adulthood.

As the reflective narratives of my respondents will show, there were a number of common changes or shifts within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, both personal and collective, that led to their disaffiliation with, and finally exit from, the subcultural scene. These changes and shifts are attributed to changes in music style, individuals' perceptions of British anarcho-punk, and loss of community. These serve as explanatory narrative devices for why my respondents exited or disengaged from British anarcho-punk.

Yeah that's right anarcho-punk is dead: Crass and the 1984 'myth'

> My sense is that a lot of people who had been into that [British anarcho-punk] scene for a few years suddenly realised that well actually there's only so much travel in this anyway and that there's only so many bands and so many questions to ask. (Russ)

Russ' narrative is somewhat revealing as a summary of what eventually became of British anarcho-punk during the 1980s. While many punk-related subcultures and scenes continued throughout the eighties and into the nineties, his narrative suggests that British anarcho-punk had reached a point where it had seemingly begun to run out of impetus. When Crass formed, they made a commitment to disband in 1984 as a sort of Orwellian homage and portent. "So it was finally upon us - the mythical 1984 - the year of the Orwell book and the year that Crass had been counting down to almost from their inception" (Berger 2006, 249). Reasons for Crass retiring as a performing band seem to vary between each member (Berger, 2006; Ignorant with Pottinger, 2010; Rimbaud, 1998) with some even disputing that it was a planned cessation that warranted any significance (Ignorant with Pottinger, 2010: 186). Whilst this notion of a planned cessation is questionable, it seemed to have created a myth within some of my respondents' memories which became part of their remembered narrative. Whilst not wholly attributing the cessation of British anarcho-punk as a subcultural scene to Crass, the 'myth' of Crass planning to disband in 1984 forms part of Sarah's narrative, and her reflective narrative questions the validity of that myth, and her memory of the significance of it;

It (anarcho-punk) kind of just frittered out. I mean, especially after Crass and the 1984 thing. I never understood what happened there because it was all about 1984, 1984 and then 1984 came and went [chuckle] and it was an anti-climax. Yes, but I mean it was all about 1984, wasn't it? (Sarah)

Conversely, John's narrative suggests that the cessation of Crass had little impact in the decline of British anarcho-punk, in fact it points to the opposite. He attributes the importance of the cessation to a slightly older group of anarcho-punks who were perhaps more involved with the subcultural scene at an earlier stage than him when Crass were seen to be the seminal British anarcho-punk band.

It's funny because it's an age thing as well, because a lot of the anarcho-punks at that time were older than me. I never saw Crass, I was just too young, I just missed out. People that were around in '81/82 that were involved in anarcho-punk then, they say anarcho-punk died when Crass split up but for me you had Conflict, Icons of Filth. It was massive in London after Crass split up. I think it got bigger for a while. (John)

For John, the disbanding of Crass seemed to herald an increase in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene with a number of bands rising to the fore in the wake of Crass. Crass's influential role positioned them at the forefront of the subcultural scene, and their cessation perhaps allowed other anarcho-punk bands to gain more recognition and prominence. Paul's narrative points to an opposite position in relation to what followed in Crass's wake.

I really hated the earnestness of many of the bands who came along to basically to sort of steal Crass's throne, you know, who was gonna be the top anarcho-punk band once Crass obviously had split up? I basically sort of lost interest in anarcho-punk by the time that Crass split up. I just didn't really identify with it anymore. (Paul)

There is an emphasis in his narrative on the seemingly hierarchical position that Crass held within the subcultural scene. This canonical position became a paradoxical issue for Crass themselves as they had been portrayed as leaders of a new movement that rejected any notion of leadership (Rimbaud, 1998). In the period leading up to disbanding, Rimbaud and other members of Crass felt that they had reached a point where they were questioning their positions and whether they had indeed become the very thing that they set out to challenge (Rimbaud, 1998). Paul also states that at that point he no longer identified with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene as he had lost interest. Here the significance of a British anarcho-punk to his identity was becoming less important and held less relevance to his daily life. He points to a diminishment in his anarcho-punk identity that led to his eventual disaffiliation from the subcultural scene. A number of my respondents discussed how the disbanding of Crass seemed to have an impact on the overall cohesiveness of the British anarcho-punk

subcultural scene, and consequently how they then began to view it and perceive themselves in it. This is also echoed by Steve:

> By 1985 or so, things had gone very crusty/heavy metal influenced, and whilst I enjoyed the music, something of the spirit of the thing had moved on. Maybe we became more cynical? Maybe we realised that society wasn't capable of the sort of earth-shattering change that we required of it? Maybe there wasn't enough cohesion within the movement once Crass had disbanded and stopped putting out records?" (Steve)

For Steve, there is a suggestion that this shift in musical style within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene was only part of a much wider issue linked to Crass. This lack of 'cohesion', he suggests, was part of a wider issue for him, where he questions the efficacy of the subcultural scene in trying to achieve some of its ideological and political aims. As previously discussed, politics and ideology played a central role in British anarcho-punk and in my participants' entrance narratives and affiliation in their adolescence. So, as well as being central to the subcultural scene these political and ideological beliefs and their individual positioning also played an important role in the construction of their anarcho-punk identities.

Steve's questioning of political and ideological achievements, or the lack of them, also calls into question his own anarcho-punk identity. His narrative is articulated from a group position in that he uses the term 'we' rather than I. This suggests that his own anarcho-punk identity was implicitly developed within the collective. In nostalgic terms, his narrative suggests that the original impetus of the subcultural scene had passed, or in his words, 'moved on'. With this he indicates a shift in his affiliation and anarcho-punk identity. This is tied into his acceptance that perhaps British anarcho-punk, and subsequently his own ideological and political goals, were to some degree utopian and unachievable. Wilson (2007) notes that not being able to fully live up to a set of commitments can create tensions, both internal and external, that lead to disillusionment and eventual disaffiliation. Wilson (2007) argues that individuals often construct "get-out clauses" (167) as a means to avoid the burden of personal failings, thus making it less problematic in their disillusionment of the subcultural scene, and I would further argue more accepting of their first doubts about their roles within the scene. Similarly, in terms of the collective or community, Steve's account lessens his sense of personal responsibility for the inability of the subcultural scene to remain cohesive in the wake of Crass

disbanding by attributing it to the subcultural scene's adherents more generally. So, whilst Wilson's (2007) notions of get-out clauses points to the individual and personal failings, I argue it can be extended in that the individual can apportion the responsibility of failings to the group, in an act of partial admonishment.

Collective and individual commitment

Wilson (2007) also argues that one of the reasons for a person's disaffiliation from a scene is based around levels of commitment. Their decision was more than "simply…a change of heart" (Wilson, 2007:171), but rather, it was framed by the expectations and obligations of the role they were committed to. As Wilson (2007) notes, the process of disaffiliation often came about from individuals questioning their commitment, frequently based on stronger external commitments such as relationships, employment obligations and parenting. Gordon (u.p) also notes in his work on DiY punk, that those on the periphery of the scene, with a less 'authentic' commitment, tended to be the first to disaffiliate, as their lack of active involvement and commitment made it easier for them to disengage or exit. It could be argued that the level of commitment to a subcultural scene would be manifested in the behaviours and activities of its members, where active input to the subcultural scene is associated with one's level of commitment and authenticity. This commitment could be perceived as evidence of following the British anarcho-punk political and ideological dogma.

> My involvement was more about the band you were in and the 'zine you wrote and the letters you wrote to other people and the tapes you exchanged, and I'd say there was a subculture within anarcho-punk as well. There was another group of people, like myself, that felt they had to do something to define that scene. So, you would go to a gig with a fanzine to sell or a tape to sell or you would set up a squat gig and you would get all the fans together to play at a gig, so that became to me more than just turning up to go and see bands. (Russ)

As noted by Ebaugh (1988) and Gordon (u.p), 'burnout' was often cited as a common reason for individuals to raise first doubts about their role identities and subsequently reassess their engagement and commitment. Often burnout was attributed to one's personal commitment (Decker et al., 2014; Wilson, 2007), as indicated in the narrative above from Russ. All of my respondents suggested that there was always a level of personal commitment to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, which may have involved performance, organising gigs or recording gigs for tape swaps; producing 'zines,

pamphlets, badges; attending or organising protests or sabotaging hunts or animal laboratories; organising squats and creating community-based centres that were run on a voluntary basis. Each demanded significant effort and commitment to a wider sense of a cohesive subcultural scene. For the majority of my participants this notion of community and collectivism was integral to the ethos of what constituted British anarcho-punk and offered a collective opportunity to realise a number of its aims and ideologies. This expression of shared collective memory, through the similarity of my respondent's narratives, points to a wider issue. Actively engaging in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene was integral to their own identity, and what they saw as a sense of a collective identity and community which had the potential to achieve the aims that, as Steve discussed earlier, didn't materialise in the way that they had hoped. The reason for this might lie in the fact that the high levels of commitment demonstrated by some went unnoticed and unrecognised. For some of my respondents, this led to the beginnings of doubt as to the worthwhileness of their efforts in actively maintaining and developing the subcultural scene.

As Mary states:

> I wanted to do something and there was an anarchist vegan/vegetarian café and co-op so I started volunteering there…I naively thought that everyone would be pulling in the same direction, whereas some people were using it as a doss. Some had a second income and some were anarchists who ironically wanted to be in control and set the agenda. I found it just burnt me out really quickly, it burnt me out within a year and a half, and it made me question everything I was doing at that point. (Mary)

Her experience of being able to actively engage with the ideals that she considered an important reflection of her anarcho-punk identity eventually led her to question her own, and others', sense of commitment to notions of collectivism, community and some of the anarchist values and principles behind the co-operative. Her commitment to these values and principles, it seems, was not shared by everyone involved. Paradoxically the anarchist principles of no one taking leadership and control didn't seem to hold any sway within the cooperative and through questioning the collective identity this eventually led her to 'burnout', and subsequently to her first doubts about her anarcho-punk identity.

The notion of community and collectivism and its importance to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene featured heavily in my respondent's discourses and was mostly positive. I discuss the positive aspects of community in other parts of my research in terms of support systems, sense of common purpose and values and shared spaces. Nearly all of my respondents narrated a strong sense of remembering the importance of the collective and community spirit. They often spoke of a sense of camaraderie, common purposes, ideals and values. This is not to suggest that it was like that for everyone involved in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. My respondents were originally involved in different geographically located regional anarcho-punk scenes that were connected by a national network of gigs, 'zines and other events. However, as things progressed, many of my respondents narrated how this sense of community and collectivism started to fracture and because of this they began to feel a sense of first doubt about their affiliation to the subcultural scene. As Debies-Carl (2014) notes, sometimes participants who no longer affiliate with a punk identity attribute their departure from the scene and subculture in part to losing that sense of community.

Not anarcho enough

My research shows that for many of my respondents, their attraction to, and their entrance into the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene was because of the notion that it offered and embraced a number of politically focussed set of values and ideologies that resonated with their sense of self. Part of the appeal of British anarcho-punk was the personal responsibility and freedom to conduct oneself in whichever way one deemed appropriate, without having to conform to a particular set of group standards or identities. Paradoxically, some of the political and ideological beliefs that either attracted them to British anarcho-punk, or that they developed during their period of engagement with it, became partly complicit in their reasons for exiting from it. The very things that they had first identified with, such as a sense of personal freedom without being judged, that also spoke to their sense of self and were central in developing their anarcho-punk identities, became problematic for them.

Many discussed how they witnessed the emergence of a far more partisan ideological manifestation of British anarcho-punk by some adherents. They began to perceive British anarcho-punk as developing into quite a narrow, hard-line and partisan subcultural scene, where expression of personal freedoms, views and values became problematic and contrary to what they understood as their anarcho-punk identity. They referenced a sense that during that time they were being "watched and judged by this sort of internal anarcho-police, which in itself was ironically hilarious in that anarcho-punk was so anti-authoritarian and anti-police" (Kate). Some interviewees commented on how the original sense of freedom of expression encouraged by the ideologies of the early scene started to become stifled by "the fucking self-righteous anarcho-punks who seemed to take great pleasure in shaming you if you didn't follow what they considered to be the party line" (Pete) and that "the freedom and openness that anarcho-punk originally offered had been side-lined in a quest for perfection" (Sarah).

Here it seems that for some of my respondents, certain elements of the community and collective that formed an important part of their anarcho-punk identities started to take on an authoritarian and controlling approach. For Adam, this sense of community was integral to the subcultural scene and subsequently his anarcho-punk identity, however, he started to doubt whether that level of commitment and community was the case for others. He discussed how there were some really good people in the subcultural scene doing some great stuff but "they didn't wear the 'uniform' so to speak and they got criticised and ostracised for not being anarcho-punk enough by people who looked the part but did fuck all" (Adam). Many respondents echoed Adam's account, suggesting that they had many positive gains from affiliating with British anarcho-punk, but these began to lessen.

This commitment to the subcultural scene, and what that personally meant to some of them, is best summed up by Pete in his narrative below, which also suggests that the development of a more partisan approach within the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene led to him becoming disillusioned with it. The very ideologies and values of British anarcho-punk had been something he had personally invested in, and even now, nearly 40 years later, the importance of that to his identity is reflected in his narrative.

Anarcho sort of generally was, you can't be seen to be saying this that and the other unless you're prepared to back it up. And that's part of the reason that it became tired and stale, that it became if you put a foot wrong then you're ostracised. You know, it became just like being moaned at all the time as opposed to being like this kind of positive, well to me…I suppose I'm a bit jaundiced to it now because it was so important to me and it was so brilliant and then when it went sour the bad things about it make me sort of groan inwardly, even now. Just because it very quickly became a kind of list of things that you're not allowed to do…and you'd get harangued by these fucking puritan arseholes. (Pete)

This recounting of that period, where the thought of how the subcultural scene began to fragment through a sense of overt and partisan political correctness, still creates an emotive feeling for Pete today. His narrative indicates a nostalgic longing or loss of something important to his anarcho-punk identity that still emotionally resonates with him. He stresses the importance of belonging to that subcultural scene for his own anarcho-punk identity and sense of self. This nostalgic view of the past is further exemplified by that disillusionment from investing so much of himself into British anarcho-punk in his adolescence.

That doesn't sound like anarcho-punk!

The issue of a gradual change in the style of British anarcho-punk music featured in nearly every narrative of my participants. For those who did discuss it, it became apparent that for many, this was one of the issues that raised their first doubts (Ebaugh, 1988) about their commitment to and involvement in British anarcho-punk (Decker et al., 2014; Gordon, u.p; Wilson, 2007). It is fair to say that changes or developments in specific musical styles or genres, within most if not all musical subcultures and scenes, is not an unusual occurrence. The narratives of my respondents who discussed stylistic changes commented on how British anarcho-punk's musical oeuvre was quite broad, taking in a range of musical influences and styles. However, as it developed, many of my respondents remember there being an emergence of a heavier, thrashier and faster sound, that later spawned several associated musical genres such as Grindcore, UK Hardcore and Crust Punk. Indeed Liptrot (2012) argues that British anarcho-punk seemed to have either ceased or fragmented and been subsumed into a number of other developing subsets of punk, such as d-beat, crust punk and DiY hardcore punk.

> My step off point from anarcho-punk was probably around '85. The music was changing, it was getting heavier...... I remember not an exodus as such, but you'd go to some gigs '84/85 and you'd have people in leathers and cut off denims and displaying Motorhead patches and you knew it was a different crowd. That started to change and that came with a different style of music, and even bands that were strangely flowing around between it all, like Discharge or whatever, were becoming sort of metal […] So I think that created some kind of schism that came at a particular time. My sense was more that I need to see something new. (Russ)

Russ' narrative suggests that the style of music took on more of a heavy metal influence by drawing attention to the fact that within the subcultural scene a different crowd started to appear at anarcho-punk gigs. This indicated a slow change in the identities of the people attending those gigs, and a move towards the fragmentation and cessation of the subcultural scene. Interestingly for Russ, this change was also brought about at a time when he had become tired of seeing the same bands and was looking for something new himself. He suggests that this desire to experience a different type of music and performance indicates rising doubts about the subcultural scene and a conscious process of seeking alternatives (Ebaugh, 1988). This process also points to a shift in his own anarcho-punk identity and questioning of his commitment and role, where the bands he was experiencing were not offering anything new or moving the subcultural scene forward. This sense of musical homogeneity appeared in several of my respondents' accounts. When I asked them to describe the style of music, along with some of the terms expressed in the quotes above, other terms such as 'boring', 'repetitive', 'sameness' and 'uninteresting' revealed their concerns regarding a lack of diversity within anarcho-punk music. In its early development, British anarcho-punk embraced a number of different styles of music, where the music was less important than the ideological messages contained within the lyrics of the songs. This differentiation was seen as important to some of my participants as they did not want to identify with a particular anarcho-punk 'sound' that seemed to be developing within the scene. This differentiation could be seen as important to a sense of their own identities whilst still remaining part of a 'group'. However, at the same time, the 'group' identification that had developed, and the music that came from that, was one of the reasons for their eventual exit. In a similar vein, Wilson (2007) notes how a change in the style of music in the Northern Soul scene, brought about by new and younger members, created disillusionment for a number of its core established members who then started to disaffiliate.

Seeking alternatives and turning away from British anarcho-punk

Some of my respondents previously highlighted that the development of a generic sound which created a point where they first began to doubt their commitment to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. For them, other forms of music became a route for seeking alternatives to the subcultural scene and subsequently their anarcho-punk identities. When I asked Paul about his earlier comment about how he lost interest in British anarcho-punk, due to this shift in musical style and sound, he added that "by 1984, my interest in electronic music superseded my interest in punk and that's what I ended up listening to." It is interesting to note that this engagement with electronic music developed into a predominant part of his post anarcho-punk identity as he immersed himself in electronic/industrial music and subsequently late 1980's acid house and techno music culture, becoming a DJ and creating the ex-role and the presentation of a new identity (Ebaugh, 1988). Other respondents discussed how they started to seek out and listen to other types of music, especially some of the post-punk and hardcore bands that were emerging from America during the mid-eighties such as Sonic Youth and Husker Du. Simon and Russ both discussed how a number of bands that were on the periphery of British anarcho-punk were starting to explore and introduce more esoteric themes into their music and that a far more interesting development, both musically and culturally, was emerging. For both Simon and Russ, this would partly lead to them seeking alternatives outside of the subcultural scene.

Travelling out of British anarcho-punk

As I discussed earlier in this dissertation, there was a lineage of association between British anarcho-punk and 1970's counterculture through what McKay (1996:6) calls 'cultures of resistance' or "the range of subcultural movements from hippy through punk through rave and others [which] contributes to the increasingly resistant lifestyle or perspective of counterculture." McKay argues that these anarchic cultures of resistance, or radical cultures, form themselves around the construction of autonomous spaces where "autonomy and anarcho-punk, transitoriness and New Age Travellers go hand in hand" (1996:9). Therefore, it could be argued that for British anarcho-punk, this connection to the counterculture was initially through Crass member Penny Rimbaud's close association with the

1970's counterculture and Phil Russell (aka Wally Hope), protagonist and co-organiser of the Windsor Free Festivals and Stonehenge Free Festivals (Rimbaud, 1998). A number of people who attended the UK summer free festivals moved between festivals in converted trucks and buses, with some living that nomadic lifestyle all year round. These nomadic 'hippies' would later be come to be referred to as The Peace Convoy and New Age Travellers (Hetherington, 1999; McKay, 1996). During the late 1970s and early 1980s it was not unusual to see bands from the mid to late 1970s counterculture sharing the same musical stage with British anarcho-punk bands. This became more prevalent as British anarcho-punk bands started to play at free festivals and attract punk audiences. Several of my respondents discussed how they first encountered this alternative nomadic lifestyle at festivals such as Stonehenge Free Festival, Elephant Fayre, Glastonbury Festival, Nostell Priory festival and at anti-nuclear protest sites such as RAF Molesworth and RAF Greenham Common, where a number of the New Age Travellers had congregated. For a number of my respondents, these encounters presented them with an alternative to their anarcho-identities, moving them beyond their first doubts about the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, to seeking an alternative and for some to what Ebaugh (1988) refers to as the *turning point* in one's role identity. As Ebaugh argues, this turning point can be a major or insignificant event or set of events that focuses awareness that the old roles are no longer desirable.

> Well, I was in the anarcho-punk scene and we discovered the whole travellers' scene..
> And so I went from being an anarcho-punk to a festival goer...and it was right, what am I
> doing sat in a town pretending to be an anarchist when these people [travellers]are being
> out in the world being anarchists? At least that's how I saw it at the time (Kate)

I asked Kate what it was about the traveller lifestyle that for her seemed anarchic and compelled her, and her then partner to leave their squat in Bristol, buy a vehicle and live that nomadic lifestyle:

> It was outside society. It was living closer to nature and being off-grid as we say, although
> I don't think we had that term back then. So yeah, it was a much more truly back to basics
> lifestyle without all the trappings of society, which was what we anarcho-punks were sort
> of against. It just really appealed to me, the fact I could exercise some of my values and
> beliefs in a more meaningful way. (Kate)

For Kate, this turning point wasn't so much a complete shift in her anarcho-punk identity but an extension where she felt she could live out some of the ideals and values that she associated with British anarcho-punk and her anarcho-punk identity. She identified as being a traveller but maintained some residual parts of her anarcho-punk identity. So, whilst presenting a new identity, she still found

some of her anarcho-punk identity desirable to hold onto. In further discussions, Kate said that her nomadic lifestyle was sporadic in terms of times 'on the road' as a traveller followed by times in housing and vice-versa. This type of yo-yo behaviour of disengaging and re-engaging with a subculture and scene was also noted in the examinations of exiting gang and graffiti subcultures and scenes (Dar, 2013; Decker et al., 2014). Similarly, Ebaugh (1988) discusses the challenges faced by dealing with *hangover identity*; the remnants of the previous identity that still resides after moving towards the new role. Kate revealed that it was when her first child was born and the desire for him to start school that she ceased her travelling lifestyle. Here, as in other work around role exit highlighted earlier in this chapter, parental responsibility was cited as being a prime motivation for exiting and disaffiliating.

As Gordon (u.p) notes in his investigation of DiY scene exit, although having children had some impact on scene commitment and involvement, this was not always perceived as being permanent, but more of a hiatus. Similarly, in his investigation of Goth subculture, Hodkinson (2011) argues that Goth parents maintained their connectivity and commitment to the Goth subculture in ways, that would also accommodate the responsibilities of being a parent. Contrary to those previous works, only one other of my respondents, Sarah, cited parenting responsibilities as the trigger for her exit of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. She suggested that having children started to distance her further from the culture, as her responsibilities restricted her ability to go out and socialise with her peers. Her exit was also linked to her then partner relocating to a new job out of London. As a result of the family unit moving to a new place, she found herself located where she didn't know anyone, especially people connected to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. She further went on to say that this move brought about for her a loss of community and support that she had from other anarcho-punks when she lived in London. This loss of community started to bring about a loss of anarcho-punk identity, in as much as she had no one around her to share those like-minded ideas and experiences. For the majority of my respondents, parenting was not a role they had yet acquired, perhaps due to their relative youth (late teens and early twenties). Ageing out was a prominent motivation for role exit cited in the work of Dar (2013), Decker et al. (2014), Gregory (2012), Pyrooz and Decker (2011),

and Sweeten et al. (2013). My respondents' age demographic at that time explains why none of them discussed the notion that they had become too old or aged out of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene.

The notion of what Ebaugh refers to as the *turning point* in one's role, usually brought on by an event or series of events leading to creating the ex-role, came up in a quite revealing discussion during one of my interviews with Russ. He discussed how a number of different events had snowballed and culminated in a significant event that lead to his disaffiliation from the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene:

> I think it was a mixture of different things… and then Rosebery Avenue[23] was shut and that changed things in a way and I remember going there after a protest march in London and stayed there after the original anarchists had moved out and it was, you know, people were shooting up[24] there and it was a mess. That really done it for me. I was glad to get out in the morning and that was the end of an era for me. (Russ)

The issue of drugs within the subcultural scene came up in a number of the narratives of my respondents. It seems that whilst drug use was not frowned upon per se, there was a sense from some of those narratives that the aims and ideals of the subcultural scene were important. Certain drugs such as heroin, that seemed to increase in popularity as the music got more thrashier and darker, were frowned upon by many of those committed to the core values and ideologies of British anarcho-punk. Rather than mind expanding drugs that would benefit an individual's personal exploration and perception of themselves and their freedom, mind numbing drugs were considered by some as limiting. Although the subcultural scene did not necessarily espouse any formal rules and that one's responsibility and authority was with the self, some personal freedoms, such as heavy drug use, were often criticised within the subcultural scene.

During the period when he self-identified as an anarcho-punk, Russ was active in the local hunt saboteur group and also the Animal Liberation Front.[25] Both these organisations had gained sympathy

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[23] A squatted building in London that was a temporary autonomy/anarchy centre.

[24] A slang term for injecting heroin.

[25] Formed in 1976, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) is an international direct-action group that carries out actions against businesses and institutions that engage in animal exploitation. and the property of

and support from a large section of the subcultural scene as animal rights became part of the political and ideological tenets of British Anarcho-punk. What the conversation did reveal was that through his animal rights activities, a significant event created a turning point for him:

> There were a few things that happened at the same time. It was a pivotal year '85, because a lot of these actions took place ……and it really felt like things were closing in and it was stand there and get squashed or skilfully move away and do something else and I guess in a way it enabled me to then think back over those preceding years and some of the actions that we took because I'd literally spent four to five years going to protest after protest after protest. Going to hunt sabs every Saturday morning and then getting involved in other activities that were more secretive. (Russ)

It was after an incident at an anarcho-punk gig he had organised in a local squat, that he was confronted by the police under suspicion of theft and taken to the local police station for questioning.

> I was taken to the top floor and they brought a file out on me. I remember that really clearly and that really worried me...... and that gave me a signal that actually the authorities were watching people that were taking actions, were taking over buildings, taking part in campaigns. They had some knowledge and you thought well, where does this end? How close are we getting to whatever it was? So, I started to entertain other ideas and other ways to approach some of these things that I find highly disagreeable, but I can still retain some liberty. You know, I saw that the system was prepared to make an example of certain individuals… and you start to think in your mind how much of this stuff has this linked to that and they understood who particular people are. And they had collected this information together, and that's what I reflected on quite a lot and understandably became a bit paranoid. (Russ)

Although that particular event made him reconsider his involvement with British anarcho-punk and other activities associated with his anarcho-punk identity, elements of his affiliation, such as his animal rights activities, were core to his identity, values and beliefs, so he resolved to find strategies to continue with those activities in a more subtle and clandestine way. Further discussion on this point revealed that this was partly enabled by later eschewing the visual identifiers of his anarcho-punk identity and retreating from British anarcho-punk activities, to enable him to mostly 'vanish' from the observations of the authorities, and enable him to continue with his other ideological and political practices. However, some of that residual or hangover identity continued into his subsequent disaffiliation from British anarcho-punk. In this sense, his hangover or residual identity helped in informing his new identity.

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those who support or work for such businesses and institutions. They have a strict ethical policy of not harming sentient beings, including humans. In many countries, they are considered to be militant (eco)terrorists.

As previously discussed in this thesis, British anarcho-punk bands such as Crass promoted pacifist ideologies and actions, and pacifism as an ideology featured prominently in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. Whilst pacifism had some popularity within the subcultural scene, not all of my interviewees considered themselves pacifists. Along with other anarcho-punks, John felt the need to use more direct action to confront what was perceived as the 'system' and the authoritative institutions associated with them. As was highlighted earlier by Steve, there was a sense that British anarcho-punk didn't achieve the ideological aims that it had initially set out to, and the class-based politics espoused by Class War seemed to resonate with John's working-class identity as much as his anarcho-punk identity. His disillusionment with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene led him to become more involved with Class War. Class War would often join various protests as well as creating their own anarchic demonstrations and acts of dissent, and it was not unusual for their representatives to sell Class War's 'newspaper' at anarcho-punk gigs and events.

> I was so demoralised with the anarcho-punk scene that one day I just thought right, I'm just gonna go into town and buy a pair of jeans, a normal T-shirt, cut all my hair off, because I had spikes and all that. I felt very, erm, uneasy about it all because anarcho-punk was my life, but I just couldn't be bothered with anarcho-punk anymore. And it's because of my involvement with Class War, trying to distance ourselves a bit from the anarcho-punk pacifists at that time. I thought the working-class people were not gonna take me and the Class War message seriously with me dressed like a punk…. I had become demoralised with the whole anarcho-punk scene and now I had something else to do. (John)

Ebaugh (1988) conceptualises an individual's final disaffiliation with a role as the process of creating an ex-role. This is where individual behaviour signals to others that a change has taken place, and with it the presentation of a new identity. Some exes maintain some identification with the prior role whereas others shake off their identification after they have exited.

John's narrative demonstrates the point at which he purposely created the ex-role, by eschewing the visual identifiers that for him constituted part of his anarcho-identity. His initial unease with his actions is an emotional response that Ebaugh highlights in her work. She argues that the self-acceptance and acceptance of those around the person exiting a social group are problematic in the early stages of settling into a new role. This is further impacted by the sense of residual or *hangover identity* (Ebaugh, 1988) from the role one is exiting from. However, I suggest that John could see

himself in this new role, and this character seemed to fit more comfortably into his new Class War identity, making that identarian transition easier. Alongside his overall disillusionment of the failings of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, his new identity was for him directly connected to his outward appearance. The eschewing of the visual signifiers of anarcho-punk demonstrated the level of commitment that he was prepared to put into the new identity that he wanted to move towards. During our discussions, he also revealed that he subsequently became very involved in Class War, both regionally and nationally, holding a number of positions of responsibility.

Conclusion

I began this chapter by suggesting that whilst research into people's engagement with subcultures and scenes is prevalent across a wide range of subcultural and post-subcultural studies, research into reasons why people exit subcultures and scenes is limited. This seems to suggest that subculturists and post-subculturalists have little interest in what happens to people once they exit a subculture and scene. Research into why people exit music, and more specifically punk subcultures and scenes is even more limited.

For my participants, there were a number of common issues or situations that led to their departure, such as a shift in musical direction or preferences; a shift in personal and subcultural scene politics and ideology; personal circumstances outside of the subcultural scene, and the taking on of other responsibilities such as employment/careers and, for a few, parenting and family responsibilities. This suggests that a number of reasons for exiting a subcultural scene are not unique to these individual groups. The transition into adulthood, or a shift in responsibilities such as parenting, or the acquisition of a job, applies to many people and across a number of identities in many contemporary societies. My respondents' narratives seem to concur with a number of recurrent issues or themes that follow one's departure or disaffiliation from a subcultural grouping or scene as noted in work by Gordon (u.p.), Wilson (2007), Dar (2012) and Gregory (2012). These exit narratives serve as explanatory narrative devices for why they left the subcultural scene, however, I am not suggesting that exiting a subcultural scene necessarily infers that participants wholly abandon the wider subcultural scene or indeed let go

of some of its core values, politics and ideologies, or cease to listen to or be influenced by the music. For some, their past anarcho-punk beliefs and values had been revised and refashioned in ways that they considered to be more compatible with their current lives and identities.

My findings suggest that, for some of them, they started to become disillusioned with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene or attracted to other subcultural scenes that seemed to speak to their sense of self more than anarcho-punk, or they moved on to new interests and activities. The sense that anarcho-punk had become too partisan in terms of its ethos of freedom of expression was for many a turning point. Ebaugh's (1988) role exit theory argues that disengagement leads to disidentification, but the narratives of my participants challenges that to some degree and further complicates the relationship between disengagement and disidentification that Ebaugh suggests. My respondent's narratives suggest that, for many of them, they began deidentifying with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene before actually disengaging from it. Many of them said that it was a protracted process rather than a sudden disengagement. Here there is a sense that, for them, their anarcho-punk identities diminished over time as values and ideologies that had previously engendered community and collective cohesiveness were also diminishing and becoming less significant in their lives, which eventually led to disaffiliation from the subcultural scene.

I have demonstrated that for all of my participants, this residual identity continued beyond their associations with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. Ebaugh (1988) and others (Gordon, u.p; Dar, 2012; Gregory, 2012) have suggested that when we exit a role or identity that mattered to us, or one we have invested identarian meaning into it, we take with us a "hangover identity" into the new role or identity (1988: 5). In terms of self-identity and how others see and understand us, this "hangover identity" pulls into focus the tension between the past and present. I argue that when we exit an identity, it doesn't cease to be a part of us, or who we are, as we recognise and understand ourselves in that context whilst simultaneously being seen by others as having been associated with that identity at one time. Throughout my research, I have considered my respondents narratives in terms of how, in hindsight, their engagement with British anarcho-punk became meaningful in terms

of their anarcho-punk identities. In the next chapter, I investigate their present relationship with their past, as former adherents of British anarcho-punk, and to what extent they may be residually impacted by their former involvement and engagement with British anarcho-punk.

Chapter 8

Residual affiliation, identity, nostalgia and the continuing legacy of British anarcho-punk

> Once you become part of a scene or the subculture, even if you stop being an active participant, your life is changed forever. You just see things in a totally different way [....] It leaks into every aspect of your life (Brian, research participant cited in Moran, 2011: 62)

In the previous chapter, I explored the various motivations that led my participants to exit the British anarcho-punk subculture and scene in the 1980s by utilising Ebaugh's (1988) typology of role exit, Gordon's (u.p) typology of scene exit, and work by Wilson (2007) and Gibson (2012) on exiting scenes and scene identities. My findings challenge and, to some degree, further complicate the relationship between disengagement and disidentification where Ebaugh (1988) argues that disengagement leads to disidentification. The narratives of my respondents show that many of them began deidentifying with the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene before actually disengaging from it. This chapter explores the context of what ways their past anarcho-punk identities, or what Ebaugh refers to as "hangover identity" (1988: 5), continues to influence and feature in their current lives and identities. Whilst their identities have developed and changed over time, and been impacted by various life course events, in what ways have their residual anarcho-punk identities remained? Here, residual identity, a coalescence of Ebaugh's hangover identity and role residual, is conceptualised as the ways in which an identarian affiliation to a subcultural scene, such as British anarcho-punk, can impact on the reflexive framework through which their subsequent life course and experiences are presented and understood. What residual ideologies, principles and values do they take from that identity and affiliation with a subcultural scene in their adolescence into their subsequent lives after exiting or disaffiliating from that subcultural scene?

I begin this chapter by exploring my participants' relationship with the political and ideological; values and beliefs they held during their affiliation with British anarcho-punk. I interrogate in what

ways some of the themes that were identified and investigated in chapter six, such as the values and beliefs they developed during their affiliation with British anarcho-punk, have continued to influence their current identities and how, if at all, that manifests in their current lives. I then investigate how some of the themes associated with adult responsibilities, such as parenting and careers, feature in their current lives and identities. Next, I investigate how ageing has impacted on their residual anarcho-punk identities and how they have negotiated ageing in line with their residual anarcho-punk ideologies, values and beliefs. Lastly, I examine how notions of nostalgia impact on their reflexive memories of their affiliation with British anarcho-punk and how that features in their present identities. It is worth noting that not all of them fit into the themes that I have identified, however the majority of their narratives demonstrated aspects of residual identity though to varying degrees.

Anarcho-punk legacy

As I have previously discussed, British anarcho-punk was considered to be a more overtly political exposition of earlier punk rock, where many of the values and ideologies were central to the subcultural scene. As was shown in chapters five and six, for some those political and ideological values played a central role in developing and affirming their anarcho-punk identities. Transition into adulthood can involve taking on a number of responsibilities, and that can often bring a change in values, beliefs and ideologies. As people mature, their political and ideological beliefs and values can change with their identities. As my participants have moved through the life course, they more than likely would have moved through a number of identities, taking with them some of those values and beliefs as residual identity into each one. I was interested to find out if, and how, the political and ideological values and beliefs that were part of their adolescent anarcho-punk identity, had in some ways remained with them. All of them stated that reflecting back on their time being an anarcho-punk during their adolescence had mostly a number of positive impacts on their lives then and introduced them to a number of beliefs, ideologies and values that they still hold on to now. These include anarchism, animal rights, and personal politics. As I have previously discussed, whilst anarchism was connected to a common set of ideologies, my interviewees' interpretation and manifestation of those beliefs varied. I asked those who stated they were anarchists then whether they still considered

themselves to be anarchists now. Most said they did, but the few who no longer consider themselves to be anarchists still retained some of their anarchist values, beliefs and principles, though to what degree varied between them:

> But if someone was to say "are you still an anarchist?" and I was to have to answer that, one of the things which I would probably say in response is, er... no, but there are a lot of tenets to anarchism which I think are basically just fairly, you know sensical and nice things to believe in and I still do to some degree. (Paul)

What seems to have changed is Paul's perception of anarchism through time, age and experience, which is impacted by memory and reflection on a past idealised self and current self:

> Basically, I'm an anarchist and I'm not someone who calls himself an anarchist, *I am* an anarchist and I do believe in these things [...] If anything, I am more committed to the idea than I was then. Fundamentally, I believe it's in what you do, actions you take. The reason I think I'm attracted to the ideology is that it fits well with my personality. You know it's not something I struggle with, it's ideas that I sort of thought all of that stuff but didn't have a name to call it [..] it kind of, it imbues every decision I make, but not in a conscious way. I don't go, "what would an anarchist do in this situation?" It's just like, if something is unfair you just don't do it, if it's taking advantage of people, you don't do it. If there's a way to do something that includes people, you do it that way. Yeah, because it's just second nature. Essentially what it's down to is you treat people with respect. (Pete)

> Yes, I do (consider myself an anarchist). What kind of anarchist? I'm still working on that. It's alright talking about theoretical stuff, but you've got to get off your backside. If you want it to work, you've got to try to make it work. I still think it's workable. I think it's doable in a practical way, which I've tried to do in my jobs and through other things I've done. (Guy)

What is of particular interest in both Guy and Pete's narratives is that, for them, anarchism is still made meaningful by action or practices. For them, the notion of anarcho-punk praxis, as I discussed in the previous chapter, has remained as part of a residual anarcho-punk identity. Pete, in particular, states that he is more committed to the idea of anarchism now than he was then. Further discussion with Pete revealed that maturity and understanding anarchism in more nuanced ways, as a result of maturation, enabled him to appreciate and apply anarchism more cohesively in his daily life.

For some, their past anarcho-punk beliefs and values had been revised and refashioned in ways that they considered to be more compatible with their current lives and identities. In the previous chapter about exiting anarcho-punk, Kate exited to live a nomadic lifestyle as a new age traveller because she

perceived them to be living a more anarchic lifestyle "without the trappings of society which was what we were sort of against" (Kate). After living a nomadic lifestyle for a number of years, she finally settled within a community of others who have chosen to live to some degree outside of mainstream society. When I asked her if this was a continuation of her anarchist beliefs and her commitment to anarchism, she stated that she still considers herself an anarchist and that for her:

> Anarchy still means self-rule, it's about living and let living, it's about having respect for other people and it's about being responsible for your own actions. It's incredibly difficult to do and it doesn't always work. I mean living in a community like this, we like to think we can police ourselves, but it doesn't always work and sometimes you have to go to the outside world to get it sorted out. It goes against the grain big time, it goes against the grain really badly because we have no trust for the police, we have no trust for the authorities because we know how corrupt they are. We are having to actually get the authorities in to come and sort somebody out and it's horrendous. The one good thing is that we are actually all coming together, all of us as a community and standing together and saying, look, we can't deal with this person and we need you to take him away and deal with him. (Kate)

Her narrative pulls into focus the difficulty in attempting to live by a set of principles and values that are part of her residual anarcho-punk identity, but are at times at odds with the society outside of the community she lives in. Having to call on those representatives of authority that she disapproves of to intervene in this specific case creates an interesting paradox, where her anarchist principles are challenged and she herself questions the difficulty in wanting to uphold them and live by them. For some of my respondents, the sense of paradox and tension between wanting to uphold anarcho-punk values and ideologies into later life as residual identity is seen as problematic. Davis (2012: 118) argues that "Coming to embrace change and paradox seems to be central to the experience of becoming an adult and therefore resistance must be reframed as a way of being not necessarily a clear-cut rebellion against some nameable force." Since their introduction to anarchism, as anarcho-punks in their adolescence, some of my participants still self-identify as being anarchists. It seems that this particular element of their residual identities has remained prominent. What has shifted for them is the way in which they manifest their anarcho-punk or anarchist identarian values, beliefs and ideologies. A common type of response to how some of them resolved paradoxes between their beliefs, values and ideologies, adulthood, ageing and society is best summed up by Phil:

It's about being realistic. I recognise that I don't live in an anarchist society and at times I have to compromise, well let's say adjust (laughs), my anarchist beliefs and just try to change people's outlook and hope that by adjusting my anarchist take on things I can find more, shall we say, *subtle* ways of exercising my anarchist beliefs whenever and wherever possible. Most of the people I know, including my work colleagues, know I am an anarchist and they know I have remained committed to anarchism since I was a teenage anarcho-punk. It does make for some interesting conversations and I often get the piss taken out of me for being idealistic, unrealistic and living in some utopian dream, and that's fine by me, they are entitled to their opinion. I say to them just because I don't act as they think an anarchist might, it doesn't mean I'm not an anarchist, it's just as much about the ways in which I think and conduct myself. I suppose, in a nutshell, I do what I can when I can, whilst living in this capitalist system. (Phil)

His account suggests that his current manifestation of an anarchist identity still focuses on the doing, as highlighted by Guy and Pete's narratives on anarchism. Phil highlights that the way he thinks and conducts himself is important in the daily manifestation of his anarchist beliefs and values. Davis (2012: 118) states that within the punk scenes that she investigated, "the meaning of punk is reconfigured to make sense with the realities that come with adulthood" and punk is "more broadly defined to accommodate adulthood- punk becomes compatible with the lifelong endeavour; it becomes a philosophical approach to living." So, we can see from the narratives presented that the exposition of anarchist beliefs and values is exercised through notions of praxis and also through a sense of it becoming a philosophical approach to living and functioning within the real world. From the majority of my respondents' narratives, it seems that over time their interpretation of anarchism has remained, and the notion of respecting others and allowing people autonomy in their lives still remains at the forefront of those narratives. However, it seems that over time how that manifests itself has shifted. In Bennett's (2013: 170) analysis of ageing punks, he argues that many older punks "articulated a highly reflexive awareness of the naïveté inherent in their earlier music-inspired political beliefs." Likewise, for my participants, some expressed that in hindsight there was a degree of youthful naivety and utopian idealism in their engagement with anarcho-punk and their anarcho-punk identities. This is best demonstrated by Adam:

At the time, yes, we thought anarchy was a big, big possibility. Like every 18 and 19-year-old at the time, you wanted to smash the system and change the world for the better, to the way you believe it should be. I still believe in anarchism. I still believe it's the right way to go [...] I'm, sort of, like, more of a social anarchist now. I believe that before we have anarchism we have to live in a socialist society as it's too much to expect anybody to change overnight into anarchism. It's a long, long, long term ideal...so it would have to be

a gradual progression through socialism first.

For others, their attachment to anarchism over time had waned to varying degrees. So, whilst some of them still considered themselves to be anarchists, others I interviewed did not explicitly identify as anarchists but still empathised and incorporated some of those anarchist values and ideologies in their current political lives. Most of them expressed having left-leaning libertarian politics and green politics and were highly critical of mainstream politics, the norms and expectations of mainstream society and considered themselves to have a set of alternative views that often conflicted with or challenged traditional mainstream values. Many of them said that their political awakening and education was during their adolescence when they were anarcho-punks, so whilst not wholly attributing that to their political views now, they expressed that anarcho-punk had a marked influence on their current adult political leanings. Herein the notion of a residual anarcho-punk identity is seen to permeate into their current identities.

They also discussed how their affiliation with British anarcho-punk introduced them to new ideologies and beliefs that have continued to be lasting identarian characteristics. One such set of ideologies, animal rights, featured in a large number of my participants' accounts presented in chapter six. Many of those who were introduced to vegetarianism and veganism continue to follow a meat and cruelty-free lifestyle. Others are still committed to supporting or attending hunt saboteur meetings and demonstrations. For example, this is best demonstrated by Liz's account of her continued commitment to animal rights, which have remained part of her residual anarcho-punk identity and continue to inform her current identity:

> Well, I mean when I saw the images of the cruelty and horrors of the animal experiments and animals being slaughtered in abattoirs in the anarcho-punk fanzines and on the anti-vivisection protest marches I went on, I couldn't go back. I couldn't be anything but an animal rights person and that's what turned me vegetarian. I have been a vegetarian since I was 17, so its 33 years of vegetarianism and I've always stuck with it. I went to a hunt sabbing association meeting recently and it seems that young people are becoming radical again which is really good to see. (Liz)

Ageing and adult responsibilities

Ageing and musical subcultures has been an area of increasing interest over the past decade. This is often positioned in terms of ageing within music subcultures and scenes (Bennett, 2006; 2012; 2013; Bennett and Hodkinson, 2012; Davis, 2006; 2012; Haenfler, 2012; Holland, 2012) or ageing as a reason for exiting or disassociating from music-driven subcultures and scenes (Gordon, u.p; Gregory, 2012). None of my participants' exit narratives in chapter seven discussed age as a reason or motivation for exiting from the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. As I previously discussed in chapter one, British anarcho-punk fragmented into a number of subsets of DiY punk whilst many of my subjects were still in their late adolescence or early adulthood. So, for them, their affiliation with British anarcho-punk ceased during late adolescence and early adulthood. In this section, I investigate how ageing has featured in their reflexive narratives of their affiliation with British anarcho-punk in their adolescence, and beyond.

> We're getting on, aren't we? And perhaps it's a mortality thing? It's like you go through your 20s and 30s and then you come out the other side and you see your body is starting to fall apart and you look ahead and you think, right where do I go now? Or how much is there left? What happened to me and where am I? Who am I? So, you go back to your teens to reconnect with yourself. You go back and listen to the music of your teens. And the whole midlife crisis thing, that's what you do. When people hit midlife, they go back. (Kate)

Kate's account raises some interesting points regarding identity and the self, especially as one ages and takes on perceived adult responsibilities. She poses a number of existential, and in some ways rhetorical questions about her current sense of self and self-identity. Giddens (1991) argue that these anxieties over our sense of self are rudimentary to our existence and they cannot be abolished or ignored, but we develop strategies to manage those existential intrusions to enable continuation in everyday life. However, that sense of vulnerability and fragility that often comes from existential crisis can lead to a fear of losing the self (Laing, 2010). As with narrative identity, there is the unfolding story of who we have been, who we are, and who we are yet to become (Lawler, 2014; Somers, 1994). A lack of a coherent sense of identity will lead to uncertainty about what one wants to do in life. The paradox here is that Kate cannot go back in time physically but can draw on memory

and nostalgia to help locate the self over time and space (King, 2000) and bring some sense of purpose to her current sense of self.

> When you was 18 or early 20s you've got no responsibilities in the world and you could be active. I was doing loads of stuff with Class War and the anti-fascist lot. Sometimes I look back and think, yeah, I've done my bit, and sometimes I still get angry about stuff. I still do some anti-fascist stuff, not as much as 20 or so years ago, but I'm not a spring chicken anymore. It doesn't make me depressed or anything like that, but I just think I wish I had more 'get up and go' in me. I wish I could go to these anti-fash meetings, anarchist meetings, and punk gigs in the week but I'm getting older and I am so tired from daily physical work, I am in bed by 8pm. You know when you was younger, if you got arrested for doing something, you didn't care because we had no responsibilities. But now I shit myself if I go on a demo or something and the first thing you think of is I don't want to get arrested, I cannot afford to lose my job, my house, and I've got a child as well, you know? It snowballs and it's very frustrating. I don't take pleasure in it, but we're sort of forced into a corner. Our choices are less and less. I'm getting old so I like my home comforts as well and I don't want to squat anymore, so you either rent or get a mortgage, and renting in ******* is so damned expensive, it really is, it's extortionate. So now we've got a mortgage which is cheaper than renting, so now you've got to have a job and you've got all these responsibilities but then you are part of that system. You're tied to the bank for ever, you're tied to the system because the capitalist system just sucks you in and makes it harder and harder to be outside of it. I don't earn a lot of money, but the system has finally got me, you know. (John)

John's narrative, although quite lengthy, echoes many of the issues expressed by a large number of my participants associated with ageing and the responsibilities and normative expectations of adulthood (Gregory, 2009). He expresses a desire to have a youthful body again (Fogarty, 2012), to enable a sense of praxis in his continuation of being politically active, but also recognises that ageing has created a tension between the ageing body and his inner youth (Gibson, 2012). The commitments of work and other financial and parenting responsibilities (Davis, 2012) have limited his choices. However, the ageing body and the physical limitations it has brought to bear on him doesn't mean that his commitment to continuing his political and ideological beliefs and values ceases. As Fogarty (2012) argues, one has to realise that the constraints of ageing and the ageing body require adaptation and compromise. John's residual anarcho-punk identity, in terms of his political values and beliefs, have continued to remain as an important part of his current sense of self. Whilst he relates those choice limitations to factors outside of his anarchist beliefs, and having to engage with *'the system',* it is apparent from his narrative that age and personal choices also play a part in this limitation. Despite feeling frustrated by what he perceives as a set of enforced limitations, a number of personal choices

such as 'liking his home comforts' and not being 'a spring chicken anymore' suggests that this lack of active praxis is justified and dismissed in his narrative through his connection with his politically active past anarcho-punk identity. So, the sensibilities of ageing become apparent in John's discourse where there is a nostalgic recognition of the possibilities of the past, and past identifications, when he was younger and didn't have so many responsibilities. This is set against his current situation where his residual anarcho-punk identity allows him to deal with the frustrations of adult responsibilities such as a sense of acceptance that "the system has finally got" him.

For some of my participants, the responsibilities of adulthood involved parenting. In their discussions around parenting they said that whilst a number of their ideologies, values and beliefs remained consistent throughout adulthood, parenting made a number of them reassess their approaches to how they manifested their residual anarcho-punk identities. Work by other authors around the subject of ageing within and out of music-driven subcultures explores how people find ways to 'resist' some of the conformity that is socially and culturally expectant of adulthood and adult responsibilities. Terms such as 'accommodating' responsibilities alongside continuing resistance to normative behaviour (Davis, 2012); 'toning down' appearance (Bennett, 2006; 2013); processes of 'negotiation' (Gregory, 2009; 2012), 'adaptation'' (Hodkinson, 2012) are deployed by subcultural and scene participants and post-participants. Kate said that after having children she tried to be:

> ...normal for the sake of my children. Living in a rural community, you've got to get on with people and so, yeah, I just tried to fit in with the mums from school, tried to fit in with the mums at the stables and yeah, and I thought the way I dressed might help with that. Then I got involved with my daughter's school and I tried to be as normal looking as I could, but I never quite got it right, this is the thing. I'd try, and people would still look at me strangely, but I'm still only wearing a pair of jeans and a sweatshirt like you, but I didn't quite get it right. It lasted a couple of years, probably because it didn't sit right, and it didn't make any difference. I was still who I was, and I didn't feel any more comfortable in those situations. I basically tried to be something that I wasn't. (Kate)

For Kate, there was an inner conflict between her perception of self, and an identity she thought she might need to present to fit in with the local community. Her account points to a sense that, through parenting, there was the potential to realise a different possible self through modifying her outward appearance. Holland (2012) discusses the willingness of two of her research participants to tone down

their appearance for the sake of their children. This was a conscious decision "in order to be taken seriously by the school and other parents" (Holland, 2012: 122). Despite Kate's best efforts, her ability to present herself as 'normal', and trying to conform to what she thought was normative behaviour, was in conflict with her authentic self. She further discussed how her values and beliefs were again challenged when her eldest son decided to join the armed forces.

> It was horrendous. I mean he talked about joining the police force at one point which I think would have been a lot worse actually. "Disown him" was the usual response I got from people around me. It did take me a while to get my head round it but it's one of those battles that you have within yourself when you have these other ideas of how things should be. (Kate)

Kate's account reveals that, despite her own personal values and beliefs, she accommodated her son's decision to join the armed forces by positioning it against what she considers could have been a worse decision or situation for her son. This correlates with the literature, highlighted above, around how ageing and continuing resistance to normative behaviour and adult expectations is internally negotiated and accommodated.

Dave, who has two young children, said that parenting became a very busy and time-consuming responsibility. Despite this, he said that his anarcho-punk values and beliefs remained, but he didn't have the time to enact them in the ways that he previously had. I asked him if he felt like those beliefs and values had tempered at all since becoming a parent.

> Oh no, I am still passionate about all the things I was when I was an 18-year-old punk. I cannot stand the hunt, seeing those people who are just vile. My children know how I feel about it. I would go on an anti-hunt demo but actively interjecting in a hunt, probably not. I think physically I am not so much up to running across fields, what with old age and knees and all that (laughs). But vehemently, I would stand there and tell them what I thought and give them a right talking to. One thing I always do is I always talk to my children about what I believe in and why I believe in it. It's important that they know who I am. They are very aware of how I think and what I think, and that's important to me and hopefully to them. (Dave)

Features of Dave's residual anarcho-punk identity are not hidden from his family as he indicates that this is an important part of his sense of self. Those particular beliefs and values have remained with him throughout his adult life, suggesting that they have played an important part of how he understands who he is today.

Work and careers

For many people, one of the signifying transitions from adolescent identity to adult identity, and a result of ageing or 'growing up', is taking on the responsibility of work or a career. The responsibility of a job or career can, at times, create a situation of having to compromise one's political and personal ideologies, or at best separate them from the workplace. Some of my interviewees discussed how they have drawn on the skills, values and beliefs they had obtained through their affiliation with British anarcho-punk in their adolescence as resources they have used in their subsequent working lives.

What emerged from the narratives of my participants was that a large number of them had moved towards careers where they were in a role of supporting others. Many have ended up working in public service careers, whilst some have become entrepreneurs in so much as they have more control over their livelihoods, freedom to work in a way that they consider to be more DiY influenced, and manage their time between work, family and other personal projects. Kate, for example, had set up her own business upcycling second-hand clothes into new pieces of fashion that reflected a punk style. Ian set up his own web design business but also runs holistic self-development programmes. Adam has moved abroad and works as an environmentalist. Pete has lived in and worked for a housing co-operative for many years as it suited his ethical and moral approach to housing and sense of community. This is also exemplified through Russ' narrative of his 30-year career in supported housing, a career he started whilst still affiliated to and identifying as an anarcho-punk:

> During that period of squatting, I got a job in a government funded community
> programme, which gave me an opportunity to work in residential care working with
> disabled kids and autistic children. And that was a line to the broader principle that I had
> that people are equal and sometimes extra effort needs to be made to enable people to
> flourish. That link was really important. I was living in a community (squat) so for me it
> was better to engage in something that had a community principle and I guess I was
> becoming more inspired by a broader view about people who were exploited and
> disenfranchised. I had that realisation very quickly, so it was reinforced by my politics at
> that time in a way that it was less about power and more about people and that has
> continued to this day. I had to be doing that work, doing that career in in order to remain
> real and true to myself. For me, it does connect back to anarcho-punk, single issue
> politics. It's about what you can get involved in, what positive changes you can effect, and
> I can see the product of my labours in front of me every day. To afford housing to
> someone makes me feel good on every level. It becomes who you are, and if you're not

what you say you are, then what are you? (Russ)

For Russ, his 30-plus year career in the same line of work very much speaks to a sense of what is important to him and his sense of self. The notion that people come before power and that community is central to his ethics, values and beliefs, has remained with him throughout his life and is core to his sense of self and identity. Whilst many of them do not directly cite their affiliation with British anarcho-punk as a direct reason for their career choices, they all expressed that some of the ideologies, values and beliefs they developed during that period of adolescent affiliation have informed some of those career choices. For them, it seemed natural to utilise some of the values that they had developed during their affiliation with British anarcho-punk in their working lives.

Similarly, Dave discussed how he went from producing 'zines in the eighties to producing high quality DVD and fan publications. As an art teacher, he now uses a number of those skills, methods and ideas he gained from previously producing 'zines in his classes with his students, where he endeavours to get students off computers and back to designing on paper. He has also become involved with producing the design work for a 1980s punk record label that has recently re-emerged. He does the design work for free partly because it's a group of friends behind the label but also because it keeps alive that DiY/anarcho-punk ethos of supporting others where you can.

> I thought back then I could change things, working for the cooperative cafe, and that I could make a difference. Now I work for a charity that's been going for 35 years. It's got a school that's got all the kids that nobody else wants to educate. The worst hateful little kids you've seen, with massive stories behind why they behave like that. Then there is a little city farm. they have got a couple of goats and sheep. They grow their own veg, they pick it, bring it to me and I cook it for the kids. Sometimes it's the only meal a day that the kids eat and it's a nice supportive environment. We've got no money, its hanging on by a thread but it provides a service and the kids get good healthy food. There's a couple of ex-punks working there too. It was fun setting it up, putting all the things in place, getting the gardening side of things moving and planting and all that sort of stuff. As soon as I saw the job ad for it I thought "yeah, I want to work there". I dropped five thousand pounds in wages, but I didn't have to get up at 5am and get home at 9pm and chase a profit all the time. (Mary)

Mary had worked most of her adult life in catering since working in an anarchist/cooperative cafe in the 1980s when she was an anarcho-punk. When she worked at the cafe, she did so in some ways to try to make a difference by working cooperatively and not for profit. After many years working in

corporate catering she felt the desire to be able to "make a difference" to the lives of others less fortunate. Discourses of community, working together, and helping others featured in the narratives of my participants when remembering being an anarcho-punk in their adolescence, and these values seemed to have remained as part of a residual anarcho-punk identity for many in their subsequent lives.

There is no going back. British anarcho-punk and nostalgic narratives

When I asked my interviewees their thoughts on how their engagement with British anarcho-punk, might bring forth a sense of nostalgia, they put forward a variety of responses. For some, it is a way of positively connecting with the past, bringing forward happy and positive memories. Sometimes their responses were regretful in terms of not involving themselves more directly and contributing towards achieving some of the objectives that the ideologies and values of anarcho-punk inferred; for others it incorporated a sense of loss of youth but not wanting or desiring to be young again. So, whilst I recognise that their accounts relating to memories of the past will, in some way, be informed and influenced by notions of nostalgia, their narratives relating to nostalgia are used to position their past identities, and how they perceive themselves in the present.

> But those were better times for me, better physically and better personally, and even if my life was absolutely fantastic and I have everything I ever want, which is pretty unlikely, but even if it was, I would still think, "yes, that was a good time." I'd keep the memories, but the fact that it is still to me sort of quite authentic, it means that it's something I've kept of my youth that I need in later life because it's been tough. I think the fact that my life's been so tough, so very, very tough it means it's even more important to me that I can escape back into a safe space. It takes me back into a safe place and it takes me back into a place of hope, both personally and physically. (Liz)

Liz's commentary suggests that she has used her past affiliation to, and memories of, British anarcho-punk as a resource for dealing with difficult moments in her life. These memories help with both past and present, and also any future difficulties she may face. As Davis (1979: 18) argues, 'simple' nostalgia is a "positively toned evocation of a lived past in the context of some negative feeling towards the present or impending circumstance, whereby the individual harbours some belief that things were better and happier for them then than now." Furthermore, Pickering and Keightley (2006: 3) argue that nostalgia should be understood as "distinction between the desire to return to an

idealized past and the desire not to return, but to be aware of the features of the past as the basis for renewal and satisfaction in the future." I am not suggesting that this is the only resource Liz is using to enable her to deal with those difficulties but is one that she utilises to take her to an emotional space where she feels safe. I argue that this 'safe space' is a 'nostalgic' space where she has positive evocations of her own past self, when times were better. Liz's account also points to the notion of reflective nostalgia as discussed by Boym (2001) where reflective nostalgia offers up some sense of stability and reassurance in a period of personal difficulty and grief. Davis (1979) argues that nostalgia reminds us of past times that were not only better but serves as a form of reassurance of past happiness and positive accomplishments that present us with a sense of worthiness in the present. This positive evocation of her memories of that period in her life allows the continuity of her current identity by reassuring herself that her present self is as deserving of dealing with the present and the uncertainties and fears of the future.

However, Liz's narrative is paradoxical; whilst she recognises that the emotionally safe space is a way of dealing with present difficulties, she raises the interesting point that even if her life was *"absolutely fantastic and I have everything that I want"* those memories of that time were still positive. However, I argue this is narrated from the perspective of present yearning for something she no longer has or doesn't think she will attain. As King (2000: 23) suggests this is "the idea that events might have turned out differently, and if interpreted differently, might still be capable of changing the subject's understanding of her life and herself. Liz's transposition of her present self to a nostalgic 'place and space' suggests that the nostalgic place in her narrative creates a *"place of hope"* for the future, where perhaps there is still the potential for positive change in her life.

> You've also got people who do look back on anarcho-punk. You see this on Facebook all the time, people going "oh, you know, the best years of my life." Well, they weren't the best years of my life at all, so again that doesn't chime with me. I found they were very dark years. What I remember is not the joy of going on protest marches, it's the darkness of what we were protesting about, so again this is the question of focus, isn't it? But, yes, as far as I'm concerned, nostalgia in that respect is a bit weird for me to deal with. (Ian)

For Ian, the notion that nostalgic reflection draws attention to the past as being positive does not in some respects ring true. Where nostalgia is often perceived as experiencing the emotions of the past

through rose-tinted lenses, his memories dwell on the more negative aspects of his affiliation with British anarcho-punk. This is not to say that he only experienced negative aspects during his affiliation but suggests the link between memory and nostalgia, as a positive invocation of the past to mask the negative memories of the past, is challenged. As Davis (1979) contends, one of the positive uses of nostalgia is that it enables us to continue through life by being reflexive about who and where we once were in our lives and how and where we are now - a sense of how far we have come and as a means of moving forward in life.

> Yes, but we were all young, you know, and we were all trying to find out who we were. Like I said, there's some people I'm still friends with now after all that. I'd love to get together with a lot of those people. I'd like a reunion of people from back then, you know, because I lost touch with so many people [...] I'd just like to see how people's lives…because, you know, have they moved on and what changed and what hadn't? (Sarah)

Sarah suggests that her nostalgic interest is rooted in the present, where she is particularly interested in the current lives (and identities) of her past acquaintances. She is articulating less of a longing for the past and a sense of loss, but more an interest in the recapitulation of her past in the present. Involved in this is a sense of social connectedness where she has remained friends with some of the people she associated with through her past affiliation to the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. The idea of having "a reunion of people from back then", after losing touch with many of them, suggests that connecting to that part of her life is a way of also nostalgically revisiting her anarcho-punk identity. Zhou et al. (2008) argue that nostalgia serves a restorative function for individuals regarding their social connectedness, and similarly Wildschut et al. (2006) argue that nostalgic thoughts can help reignite meaningful relational bonds and re-establish a symbolic connection with past others. Sarah's nostalgic reference to memories of past events suggests a possible affirmation of a residual anarcho-punk identity, especially as her interests lie in wanting to know what has changed in the lives of her previous acquaintances, and perhaps whether they still maintained some residual anarcho-punk identity too.

> Well, since our first interview I have been thinking about this more. I often remember those times as being happy and exciting, but now I'm remembering some of the things that weren't quite so pleasant and a bit depressing. It's sort of weird because one minute I

think of something from back then that makes me smile, and then that leads to a less than happy memory that I had forgotten for years [...] In the past, when I have just casually thought of that time it has always been the happier memories. Now I am thinking about it more, it's a mixture of good and bad and then I wonder what made me forget the bad things - maybe that's an age thing? [...] Maybe I'm just remembering the good times as I get older, ya know? Hanging on to my youth or something like that (laughs). (Phil)

Phil's narrative raises a number of issues related to time and memory. As I previously stated in my methodology, I sent my respondents audio copies of each interview I had with them prior to the next interview. The purpose was for them to listen back to see if this stimulated any further memories or the further development of any of the themes or past events they narrated to me. Interestingly, for Phil, and for others I interviewed, this process led to him thinking more about his past affiliation with British anarcho-punk and repositioning his narrative in light of reflecting on the past in the present. In doing so, his narrative of the past is challenged and then a process is undertaken of reconstructing his narrative to include the new memories. Williams (1995: 16) argues that the material or content of past events are gradually inserted into one's narrative or coherent picture as it is actively reworked in memory, wherein a reinterpretation and inscription of the event takes place over time in the development of the subject. It would seem that Phil's memory narratives have constructed British anarcho-punk in his mind as being a positive experience and questions why his memories have masked the negative over time. He cites the possibility of age contributing to poor memory, which is a well-documented reason for memory decay in some people, and the notion of hanging on to a positive memory of his youth as a way of managing ageing and the responsibilities of adulthood (Bennett, 2013). I would argue, however, that there is also something else at work. Ricœur's (1991a; 1991b; 2004) work on narrative, identity and memory argues that through emplotment we narrate the organization of our lives both past, present and future. These include changes that have taken place in our lives over time. Ricœur (2004) argues that the process of forgetting draws a narratological parallel to the process of remembering. It may be that Phil has forgotten or alternatively he has left past memories untold, as they have not contributed to, or fit with his plot or current identities. Additionally, nostalgia may also be playing a part in Phil's autobiographical narrative, inasmuch as the link between memory and nostalgia has been documented previously in this thesis. In this sense, nostalgia involves a negative evaluation of the present set against a positive evaluation of the past.

Some of them discussed their memories in terms of nostalgic hindsight. For example, Simon suggested that anarcho-punk presented him with a number of possibilities that now looking back he wished he had maybe pursued further. He was very active within the anarcho-punk subcultural scene in London setting up squats, housing cooperatives, producing 'zines and attending political protest rallies:

> I was losing a bit of faith and optimism that I might have had, say at the beginning of the early sort of anarcho punk gigs and things, by the mid '80s that was, I was sort of losing faith in that and therefore was, you know, giving up on it. Whereas nowadays I would say, "no, no, you should have stuck with it mate" [laughs]. It's easier to be wise after the event. (Simon)

When I asked him what he meant by saying he "should have stuck with it", he went on to say:

> Looking back at the political landscape then, and where we are now or since then, it's as if nothing has shifted that much, certainly not for the better. We are still faced with similar issues as we were then, though that's capitalism isn't it, protecting wealth and power. If anything, it has got harder now to resist authority, or live outside of the control of authority. Squatting is practically non-existent, unions have all but disappeared and the general public just seem apathetic to resist or unable to resist. Perhaps if I had continued within the anarcho-punk scene and helped enable that to grow and develop further, perhaps we wouldn't be where we are now? It's hard to know, isn't it? But I suppose there is a bit of me that in hindsight regrets taking a step away from all of that. But even back then it was hard work trying to effect the sort of changes we were wanting to achieve. (Simon)

This sense of lack of achievement from affiliation to, and engagement with, British anarcho-punk is also echoed by Adam.

> It's just maybe feelings of what could have been, you know? We all had big ideas back in the eighties, but I don't know if we really achieved anything, politically anyway. Politically, for sure, I don't think we did. Nothing was achieved. It doesn't seem to be anyway. We are still dealing with the same oppressive shit now as we were then. (Adam)

Dickinson and Erben (2006) argue that nostalgia, in terms of the autobiographical self, is a mixture of both hope and regret. Adam's narrative highlights some of the underlying emotional elements of the type of nostalgia Dickinson and Erben discuss. Their memories of the past seem to display and offer a continuing sense of nostalgic hope in the present and, paradoxically, a sense of regret that some of what they considered to be important to their anarcho-punk identity, and what they hoped for, was not achieved or realised over time. As King (2000: 22) states: "Autobiographical narratives reconstruct the events of a life in the light of 'what wasn't known then', highlighting the events which are now,

with hindsight, seen to be significant." This may also be set against a sense of perceived frustration with what was potentially a missed and underachieving opportunity for societal change. This frustration is cast in the light of that opportunity being less likely to manifest itself again in the present, especially with the responsibilities that are sometimes attributable to adulthood. This was similarly expressed in John's narrative about not being in a position to effect change, compared to when he potentially could in his adolescence.

Music, memory and nostalgia

As discussed in chapter three, music is often utilised as a mnemonic device for accessing memories and remembered experiences. The association between music, memory and nostalgia has been well documented (Barret et al., 2010; Cartwright et al., 2013; Edgar et al., 2019; Krumhansl & Zupnick, 2013; Pickering, 2018). Pickering (2018) argues that as well as acting as a stimulus for accessing our memories, music is a stimulus for accessing nostalgic feelings. Whilst their identities have changed or shifted over time, I was interested to discover if my respondents still listened to anarcho-punk music from the 1970s and 1980s? If so, why? And what memories or nostalgic feelings does listening to that music evoke? Many of them commented that they did still listen but with varying degrees of regularity. For example, Kate stated that she liked to listen to her old anarcho-punk records when alone in the house because her partner didn't particularly like that sort of music. John expressed a nostalgic preference for listening to old anarcho-punk rather than contemporary anarcho-punk, indicating that trying to keep up with contemporary anarcho-punk rock is harder because of the proliferation of music on the internet. However it could be argued that his emblematic collection of old punk records serves as a 'lifetime soundtrack' (Istvandity, 2014; 2017; 2019) where there is a connection between his music, memory and emotion that, as Istvandity argues, aligns with "peak periods of music consumption and identity development" (2018: 202)

> It's hard because you've got other things going on in your life, more commitments and
> stuff like that, so it's tough, really harder to keep tabs on what's going on in all these new
> punk rock scenes. So, when I listen to the old stuff, I know everything about them bands,
> I know about the music, so it's easier for me to connect with. Most of that music I have
> on vinyl. I don't buy CDs or downloads. Vinyl's still very important to me and I like to

read the sleeve notes whilst I'm listening to it. I must have read them a hundred times, but it reminds me of good times and happy times and stuff like that, you know? (John)

Listening to old anarcho-punk records is a comfort for John in asserting his own identity. His narrative suggests that his nostalgic familiarity with older anarcho-punk music allows him to be secure in his knowledge of those bands, and one could surmise that this knowledge is a form of cultural capital that reassures him and his present identifications within less familiar contemporary punk rock music scenes. As Pickering (2018: 193) notes, as adolescents our most ardent identification with popular music takes place and it is:

then that our musical tastes and values are at their most vibrant point of formation, with this being closely intertwined with the effort to attain and maintain a sense of self-identity as a crucial step in the transition into adulthood. Little surprise then, that the music we associate with this time becomes a source of nostalgia later in life.

I further argue that this moves beyond just the music we listen to and includes the subcultures and scenes that we associate with that music. The lived experience of those subcultures and scenes also becomes a source of nostalgia later in our lives.

Blanc and Huault (2014) argue that connectedness to the physicality of recorded music formats is associated with the memory of the routines and rituals associated with using physical formats. Therefore, for John, the ritual of listening to the music of his past and reading the sleeve notes contributes to a sense of nostalgia, and with that a restorative nostalgic desire (Boym, 2001) to return to that time and place through past memories of conducting those rituals of listening as an anarcho-punk in his adolescence. He further went on to say that he did not download music in a digital format, for him the physical use and routines surrounding the listening to music in a physical form plays a more pertinent role in his nostalgic desire of returning to a particular time and place.

As I previously discussed in chapters five and six, the reading of sleeve notes that mostly incorporated song lyrics, ideological statements and images, played an important role for the majority of my respondents in developing and reaffirming their anarcho-punk identities. Therefore, this physical (re) engagement also creates a sense of reality and tangibility that is connected through the (re)enactment

of past routines that were committed to memory, and those routines and past connections to an

anarcho-punk identity cannot be as effectively replicated by engaging with digital downloads. As

Baudrillard states: "When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning"

(1985: 257). Other artefacts and ephemera such as 'zines, posters, flyers, and cassette tapes of bands

were also still retained by some of my participants:

> And a lot of the music was on tapes, because it was a cheap way of getting the music out
> there and there were so many bands [….] And I've still got loads of my tapes now. I won't
> ever part with them. I must have moved houses loads of times and many years ago I
> nearly threw them out, but I don't want to. I know it sounds a bit cliched (laughs) but they
> are part of who I was and who I am. (Sarah)

This retaining of physical ephemera and artefacts associated with particular music-driven subcultures

and scenes points to a connection with one's past. Bennett (2013) notes that for ageing audiences, their

investment in and engagement with a scene may manifest itself in more individualistic, introspective

and private ways where they use various media, such as retro music magazines or privately listening

to music, to "affectively situate themselves within a community of like-minded people" (Bennett,

2013: 60). Similar to Istvandity's (2014; 2017; 2019) 'lifetime soundtrack' where people assemble

emblematic collections of music, Bennett and Rogers (2016: 45) also argue that, "a musical artefact

becomes a key means of preserving and promoting an attachment to music at both a personal and

collective level." They further argue that this attachment is not only to a form of music, but also an

attachment of a previous youthful affiliation to a subculture and scene. I further argue that the

retaining of these personal artefacts and ephemera by my respondents, and the effort involved in doing

so, points to both an autobiographical representation of how one has produced the self over time and

an attachment to one's residual identities. Many of them also discussed how they were now sharing

digital reproductions of these artefacts with other interested parties on various social media platforms

and websites, whilst at the same time consuming those that have been uploaded and shared by others.

The collecting and displaying of these artefacts becomes a form of user generated or 'amateur'

archival practice and preservation (Collins & Carter, 2015). Many of my participants also commented

on how the sharing and consumption of these online artefacts have stimulated their memories of

particular past events and generated nostalgic feelings. Engaging in online discussions via social media and forums has also increased a sense of social connectivity amongst former anarcho-punks who still show a deep interest in their adolescent anarcho-punk affiliation and, I argue, a sense of their residual anarcho-punk identities. Chaney (1996) and Bennett and Rogers (2016: 45) contend that, the collecting and accumulation of specific cultural artefacts are long term articulators of a cultural self and props for the support and display of both personal and collective identities from the past into the present. These artefacts are inscribed with symbolic value and biographical meaning and significance as a situating strategy for the current lifestyles of ageing fans and audiences of music (Bennett and Rogers (2016: 45).

One of the other music and nostalgia themes that arose from my interviews was the subject of anarcho-punk bands from the 1970s and 1980s reforming and performing again, after either a lengthy hiatus or a split in the 1980s. As Bennett (2013) argues, music and musicians that helped define particular moments in popular music history have continued to record and perform, and in doing so serve a useful purpose in maintaining a temporal link from the past to the present for ageing music fans. So, whilst most of my respondents continued to listen to anarcho-punk from that era many of them also welcomed the reformation of some of their favourite bands. This suggests that the reformation of these bands provides an example of how these performers and their fans can age whilst still "retaining elements of anti-hegemonic identity that many deem to be a significant element of their cultural being" (Bennett and Rogers, 2016 :48). A number of my participants were in some ways cynical about the reasons for bands reforming, whether it was for money or whether the bands still believed in the messages behind the lyrics of songs written 40 years ago.

> It's like saying it would be good if The Jam reformed and I would say no, but for the anarcho bands I'd actually say yes, because the message still needs to be heard. But it's whether they still actually believe in what they are actually saying, you know? That's what anarcho-punk was all about for me [...] because if people are doing it just for the money or some sort of fame, for me that would be horrendous because that's not what it was about. It was about the message and the community and bringing people together and changing the world, you know? (Sarah)

The importance of Sarah's affiliation with British anarcho-punk is very present in her comments about bands reforming and performing again. For her, the ideological and political messages that were present in the past are still important to her now because she feels that anarcho-punk's ideologies and politics still need to be heard, and that if bands reform they have a responsibility to continue to do this. The perceived importance of that responsibility suggests that her residual anarcho-punk identity is present in her narrative and she feels a need to represent memories of the past in the present. The importance of the continuation of these ideological messages suggests a nostalgic attachment to her past anarcho-punk identity and a sense of validating her past as still being significant in her adult life. It also points to notions of authenticity. The fact that Sarah highlights the point that if bands are reforming for the money or fame, this suggests that for her there is a loss of authenticity in the ideological purpose and performance of anarcho-punk in the present. Connected to the importance of authenticity is also her residual anarcho-punk identity in terms of an authentic self. The very values she took from her anarcho-punk affiliation are still important to her in the present.

Gibson (2012: 82) argues, the live performance space "provides a cultural space within which older fans are able to engage in performances of the ageing self." Whilst Gibson's focus is on fans and audiences, I would extend her argument to include performers as well. A number of my interviewees were in anarcho-punk bands in the 1980s and some of them had taken steps to reforming and performing again. For the majority of them, the reforming and performing came about from a combination of being persistently asked by people at gigs or via the internet and social media to do so. Alongside this was a personal desire to perform again, combined with a responsibility to put some of the issues such as animal rights, sexuality, anti-authoritarianism, anti-capitalism and anti-corporate globalisation back into the public arena. For many of them their political and ideological views on those issues had remained a passionate part of their present identities, and they felt that those issues were still as relevant now as before. In that respect they felt a desire to revisit and continue that part of their anarcho-punk identities and share that among a contemporary audience.

> Things like anti-fox hunting I am still passionate about and it still makes me really angry
> to see it continuing, so yeah, we do benefit gigs when we can. If it's an issue that's
> important to us, then we want to do our bit and it's one way that we can support these

organisations like the hunt sabs and still get their message across to old and new audiences. (Dave)

In further discussion, Dave said that reforming the band was as much about continuing where they had left off rather than nostalgically revisiting the past. The process of song writing is still important to the band, rather than just relying on old songs to perform at gigs. He said that a number of political and social issues the band write about now draw some close parallels with the political and social situation in the 1980s. A number of my interviewees expressed that the first few times they performed again it was all very nostalgic and reminded them of when they were adolescents again. This sense of nostalgia was reinforced by the age range of the audiences that came to see them, who were predominantly middle aged. Some of them only perform(ed) at specific punk rock festivals or punk weekenders, which tend to focus on the nostalgic by booking punk bands from the 1970s and 1980s that have either continued to perform or reformed, sometimes for that particular event only. However, as some of them have continued to perform, they have attracted a younger audience too. John, whilst not a performer, had remained in some ways committed to his local punk scene and had set up a collective that put on punk gigs and punk festivals. Whilst he said it was great putting on gigs of reformed anarcho-punk bands, he enjoyed using his experiences as "an elder statesman of punk" to help local young punk bands get live gigs, sometimes as support acts for more well-known punk bands whom he booked. He also said that many of the political and social issues he faced as an adolescent punk are the same that face young people today. Hence, he felt the desire to support and help the local punk scene.

I want to finish this section with a narrative from Kate that exemplifies and, in many ways, sums up the paradox of reforming a band and the difficulties it can sometimes present alongside the realities of ageing and adult responsibilities. Kate's narrative points to a sense of future hope and a desire to still affect some change in the world; a desire that seems to come from a residual anarcho-punk identity, because as many of them have demonstrated in their narratives, anarcho-punk was something meaningful they invested in. In terms of identity development, those past experiences continue to give critical meaning to their adult lives (Kortarba, 2002), so it is not surprising to find there is a continued connection to it (Bennett, 2006).

We briefly chatted about a reunion as there was some interest from other musicians and an interest on the internet. Someone in Preston wanted to put on a gig so we did it and it went really well. The five or six songs we had written back then were still relevant. Doing that gig I found my anger again [...] it was like getting up on my soapbox, I was in my element, it was great. It made me want to go out there and do something and it gave me the oomph to go and do stuff and that lasted for a bit. But then you get back to the daily grind and your stroppy teenager and it sort of dies back a bit. Yes, I still want to change the world, but I'd like to do it with a smile on my face this time (laughs). (Kate)

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that for most of my respondents, their affiliation to anarcho-punk in their adolescence had provided a number of avenues of personal growth and identity development, linked to a number of values, ideologies and personal philosophies they developed during their affiliation with anarcho-punk. What the narratives have shown is that even after exiting anarcho-punk, and in some ways relinquishing their anarcho-punk identities, they have taken with them a number of those ideologies, values and beliefs as resources to draw from in their subsequent and current lives which are present or embedded within their current identities. These ideologies, values and beliefs are not necessarily exact replications of their ideological and identarian position 30-plus years ago, as they have been impacted by various life course events. So, whilst, in some examples, individuals held onto some aspects of their past anarcho-punk identities as passionately as when they originally identified as anarcho-punks, most have reassessed, revised and refashioned their present involvements in a number of ways that they consider to be more compatible with their current adult lives and identities, and the varying responsibilities that ageing and adulthood brings. Their autobiographical accounts suggest that for many of them, the notion of anarcho-punk praxis still continues and manifests in a number of differing ways, but importantly what it does is it keeps them in some ways connected to that past sense of self and their past anarcho-punk identities through their narrative memories. Their narratives demonstrate that their formative affiliation with anarcho-punk in adolescence has filtered through into their current lives. This shows that not only were those experiences important to them whilst they were anarcho-punks, it also shows that some of those elements of their previous anarcho-punk identities continue to have some significance and impact as a form of residual identity. This indicates that traces of a residual anarcho-punk identity and its impact continue long after exiting that

subcultural scene. Additionally, their nostalgic narratives show how the concept of nostalgia serves the purpose for many as a way of remaining connected to the ideologies, beliefs and values that they acquired during their affiliation with anarcho-punk during their adolescence. As Davis (1979) argues, nostalgia is a way to benchmark our lives in terms of our previous and current identities and a resource for continuation in the face of current life challenges. Their nostalgic narratives show that their memories represent, in some ways, an idealised past and how they have utilised nostalgia as a resource for continuation through the connection between their residual anarcho-punk identities and their past anarcho-punk identities.

Concluding remarks

In my introduction to this study, I set out a personal narrative of my own identarian journey through the 1970s/1980s British anarcho-punk subcultural scene. Such was its influence during my adolescence and into early adulthood, that it set out a 'template' for the way I have lived my life ever since. It has remained a constant touchstone for many of the decisions I have made and continue to make in my life, despite relinquishing my affiliation with that subcultural scene over 30 years ago. I still feel very strongly about and committed to many of the ideologies and political viewpoints I was exposed to and I developed during this period. Was I really an anarchist or am I still one? I like to think I am, and despite being subsumed into the very system I rallied against in my youth, British anarcho-punk was, and still is, an important and significant period of my life that still offers me some moral and political guidance. This led me to consider that if my past affiliation and engagement with British anarcho-punk had such a meaningful impact on my life, was it the same for other people who also affiliated and engaged with British anarcho-punk in the 1970s and 1980s?

Therefore, the aim of this study was to investigate how ex-adherents of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene of the late 1970s to late 1980s reflexively narrated their affiliation to, and engagement with, that subcultural scene. It set out to address the lack of scholarly investigation into the long tail of subcultural scene affiliation, and how youthful engagement with a music-driven subcultural scene continue to inform those who have relinquished that affiliation in later adult life. It sought to address a number of salient questions: What happens to someone in terms of their sense of self and anarcho- punk identification when they relinquish their affiliation? How long, and in what ways, does a sense of belonging and acquired ideologies, values and beliefs persist and reside in the self beyond that youthful affiliation? How do the notions of ageing and adult responsibilities constrain those ideologies, values and beliefs? What role does narrative memory and nostalgia play in how one understands that past affiliation and residual identity?

Subcultural and post-subcultural studies tend to ignore those ex-adherents and have not overtly considered life beyond the relinquishing of an individual's affiliation to a subculture or post-

subculture. This thesis moves beyond more prevalent academic studies and approaches to investigating continuing participation and engagement in subcultural and post subcultural groupings. It, therefore, presents new insights and draws attention to the potential for further academic enquiry into the continuing impact of past affiliation to a subculture or post-subculture on the subsequent lives of its ex-adherents. My respondents' narratives show that the values, beliefs and ideologies they acquired and developed through an adolescent affiliation to British anarcho-punk are, for many, sustained through their life course. This thesis shows that the identarian practices, beliefs and ideologies formed and developed during that period of adolescent affiliation can be extended, repositioned and reworked into adult life and later identities. Therefore, this could be understood as evidence of identarian continuity in relation to subcultural and post-subcultural affiliation, and the opportunity to conduct more research in this field would help expand on this developing theoretical approach.

This thesis has made an original contribution to the fields of sociological and cultural studies relating to popular music, subcultures and post-subcultures, identity, ageing, memory and nostalgia. Affiliation to subcultures and post-subcultures are often seen, understood or experienced as a long-term identity project through either continuing affiliation, or temporary stages within the life course, where any identity arising from that affiliation is relinquished upon disaffiliation. This thesis has shown that although it may be a temporary affiliation, the residual identarian impact on an individual when they have relinquished their affiliation, in many cases, remains. Here, previous identarian affiliation to a subcultural scene in one's adolescence informs and shapes subsequent lives and identities after disaffiliation not just in the immediate period of relinquishing one's affiliation, but over a long period of time. This suggests that attachment to a popular music subculture or post-subculture during adolescence remains consistent across the life course in various ways.

This illustrates the importance, meaning and long-term impact on ex-adherents of a subcultural scene, connected to what is generally considered a youthful phenomenon or experience, beyond their

adolescence and into their later lives. In doing so this research responds to research observations made in studies of ageing within a subculture or post-subculture by authors such as Bennett (2006; 2012; 2013), Bennett and Hodkinson (2012), Bennett and Taylor (2012), Davis (2006; 2012), Gibson (2012), Haenfler (2012), Hodkinson (2011; 2013), Smith (2009) and Tsitsos (2012) but provides a more inclusive and holistic approach to studying ageing and its connections to subcultural and post subcultural groupings and identarian legacy after affiliation has been relinquished. Whilst this is the first study of its kind in terms of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, there are future opportunities to apply this approach to illuminate the long tail of identarian affiliation/disaffiliation within other subcultural and post subcultural groupings.

Whereas many studies of subcultural and post-subcultural groupings tend to be dependent on the subjective interpretations of the researcher, my qualitative narrative approach to studying my research participants has sought to put their voices at the forefront of this thesis. In doing so, this has helped in guiding the theoretical study of their identarian development, affiliation, disaffiliation, identarian relinquishment and the continuing significance that has had on their subsequent lives. For example, in chapter three I outlined the problematic nature of terminologies such as subculture, scene, neo-tribe and movement and how they have created an impasse within academia in regard to how we should conceptualise such groupings. Those singular terms seem to point to a level of rigidity that doesn't necessarily allow for the various levels of participation that individuals may have within such groupings. Having the voices of the participants at the forefront of the research allowed them to position themselves within a grouping using their common parlances. Additionally, those terminologies could also be considered redundant when referring to ageing ex-adherents of a music-driven youth grouping, as those individuals now sit outside of the membership of those particular groupings.

One of the challenges I faced in documenting the voices of others is the extent to which one is accurately articulating their feelings, ideas, beliefs and values regarding their affiliation with British anarcho-punk during their adolescence and its significance in their subsequent lives. This process

demanded a degree of trust and, as I discussed in chapter four, as someone who was an adherent of the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, that status afforded me a number of advantages. My status was invaluable in being able to connect with people who were willing to participate in the research, though this was not without its issues as discussed in chapter four. It was also productive in establishing a rapport with my participants and creating a relaxed and comfortable environment in which they felt willing and able to share their ideas and, at times, very personal experiences. Additionally, being an ex-adherent, there was a level of understanding and appreciation of my participants' affiliation with British anarcho-punk. As someone who has experienced and continues to experience the lasting significance of that affiliation, I was able to empathise with my participants' articulation of its continued resonance in their lives. However, during the process I was always mindful to keep a critical distance to enable a balanced and objective analysis of their narratives. As Taylor (2019) insightfully notes, as an insider, there are many advantages to conducting and analysing one's research, however, maintaining a critical distance and occupying the objective space between insider and outsider is complex but essential.

However, my study, whilst revealing in a number of ways, cannot be generalised due to its limited scope, reach, and the number of participants who took part. Additionally, another limitation is that I have not addressed issues of race and gender because they were not my focus, and were not prominent in my respondents' narratives, though I recognise these elements play an important part in one's identity and sense of self. However, this then presents the opportunity for further study in this area where the role of race and gender can be further explored in relationship with one's identarian affiliation and post affiliation. It would be remiss to suggest that these outcomes of relinquished affiliation and residual identity are found in all previous adherents of British anarcho-punk. Indeed, as Bestley (2016) suggests, we have to be mindful that although British anarcho-punk politics, values and ideologies resonated with individual's personal values and beliefs, we have to allow distinctions to be made between cause and effect, and the lasting influence it may have on subsequent lives.

My participants' retrospective narratives have allowed them to reflect on their affiliation with British anarcho-punk and their anarcho-punk identities during their adolescence and reframe some of those memories through a set of discourses that were not accessible to them at that time. Changes in their narrative accounts of the past come from various personal and other related changes in their perception of self in and over time, place and space that structured their lifeworld. Narrative identity is about piecing together the life story and chronology in a particular way to present to oneself and others a coherent and authentic self. Chapter eight showed how the revisiting of that period, through what I term post-memory narratives, extends for them the meanings of that period of identarian and subcultural scene affiliation. These changes in narrative accounts have been positioned within a sense of hindsight and the residual influences they value and continue to draw upon were often only understood to come into being and be recognised as influential once they had relinquished their affiliation with British anarcho-punk.

The majority of my participants considered that, during their adolescence, British anarcho-punk provided a context and cultural space for the development of the self. Their time spent in that subcultural scene has shaped who they are and forever changed their sense of self because, upon reflection, they recognise how they have used that to assess other parts of their subsequent lives and identities. Their adolescent affiliation with British anarcho-punk has had a potentially significant impact on their subsequent lives as they still retain residual identarian elements of that affiliation. These residual identarian elements are interesting in that they keep the individual connected to their past affiliation to a subcultural scene. Some have taken that residual identarian affiliation further in their present lives by continuing to re-engage with that period through reforming bands, archival practices etc. Their past affiliation is not physically present but is present in their memories and their residual identities. This allows for a more nuanced exploration of the self through their narratives. Being affiliated to British anarcho-punk made them think about life and their sense of self in a particular set of ways, but this has not constrained them as a result of no longer being affiliated with that subcultural scene.

The relationship to their current identities is foregrounded in their narratives of how they became involved in British anarcho-punk and their activities during that period of affiliation, both of which I have discussed at various points in this thesis. I expected that those who were more 'active' in the British anarcho-punk subcultural scene, in terms of anarcho-praxis as discussed in chapter six, to have more prominent residual anarcho-punk identities, and this was found to be the case. But what of those who were not active but peripheral participants and whose anarcho-punk identity might not overtly manifest in terms of praxis? My data shows that for my research participants who were not so active in terms of praxis, their residual anarcho-punk identities were still present in their current lives. I conclude that, for my participants, their affiliation with British anarcho-punk in adolescence has contributed towards a lasting impact and influence on their current identities and sense of self.

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Appendix 1: Interviews

Below in table 1 are the dates of the interviews conducted with each of the research participants. Pseudonyms have been used throughout this thesis as agreed in the statement of informed consent (see appendix 2)

Name of Interviewee (Pseudonym)	Method of data capture	Dates of Interviews
Simon	VOIP (Voice Over Internet Protocol)	14/4/14; 24/4/14; 24/11/14;
Mary	Face to face-Birmingham City University	21/5/14; 10/12/14;
Kate	Face to face-interviewees private residence	9/4/14; 2/12/14;
Pete	VOIP	14/4/14; 21/4/14; 28/11/14;
John	Face to face- interviewees private residence	26/4/14; 15/3/15; 04/05/15;
Paul	VOIP	18/4/14;
Adam	VOIP	02/08/15; 01/09/15;
Bob	VOIP	10/4/14; 17/05/14;
Sarah	VOIP	02/07/15; 12/09/15;
Liz	VOIP	02/07/15; 11/09/15
Guy	VOIP	11/07/15;
Russ	Face to Face-interviewees private residence	11/4/14; 25/4/14; 12/12/14;
Steve	E-mail	22/6/15;
Robin	VOIP	6/12/14;
Ian	VOIP	27/6/15;
Colin	Face to face interviewees private residence	20/4/14; 17/5/14;
Phil	Face to face-interviewees private residence	21/9/14; 15/11/14
Dave	VOIP	17/4/14; 15/12/14;

Table 1

Appendix 2:

The continuing significance of past affiliation to the 1970s/1980s British anarcho-punk subcultural scene in the later lives of its ex-adherents

Statement of informed consent

This research project seeks to explore how a group of ageing fans/scene participants construct British anarcho–punk as a cultural object within their everyday lives through their memories and discursive practices as fans/ scene participants. Part of this research involves exploring the ways in which the sub cultural movement of British anarcho-punk is constructed in the memories of those fans/ scene participants and what impact it has had in negotiating and shaping their life course.

People will be interviewed to gain an understanding of their views and experiences. A principle of anonymity will be applied throughout and it will not be possible to identify participants in the public outputs of this project. We will give you the right to edit the transcript of your interview before it is stored in the project database.

The anonymous transcript will be archived on Birmingham City University's main computer server. Data will be collected, stored and managed in line with the Data Protection Act (1998) and at no point will personal information about respondents be divulged to any third party without the consent of the participant concerned.

Participation is entirely voluntary and participants can ask at any time for the transcripts of their interviews to be excluded from the project and all copies destroyed. If you have any questions about how the research is being conducted, please get in touch with the principal researcher or research supervisors.

Principal researcher
Matt Grimes
Birmingham School of Media
Birmingham City University
Birmingham
B4 7BD
0121 331 6642

Research Supervisors.
Dr Nicholas Gebhardt
Dr Simon Barber
Birmingham School of Media
Birmingham City University
Birmingham
B4 7BD

I have read the above and consent to take part in the research project described.

Name (Print)

Signature

Date

Principal researcher: *Matthew Ames*

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Name of Researcher(s)
Matt Grimes
Title of study
The continuing significance of past affiliation to the 1970s/1980s British anarcho-punk subcultural scene in the later lives of its ex-adherents

Please read and complete this form carefully. If you are willing to participate in this study, ring the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask.

- I have had the research satisfactorily explained to me in verbal and / or written form by the researcher. **YES / NO**

- I understand that the research will involve: a questionnaire and *a series of interviews either face to face, by phone or over the internet via Skype (or similar) and e-mail. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed.* **YES / NO**

- I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time without having to give an explanation. This will not affect my future care or treatment. **YES / NO**

- I understand that all information about me will be treated in strict confidence and that I will not be named in any written work arising from this study. **YES / NO**

- I understand that any audio recordings of me will be used solely for research purposes and will be destroyed on completion of your research. **YES / NO**

- I understand that you will be discussing the progress of your research with others at Birmingham City University **YES / NO**

I freely give my consent to participate in this research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.

Print Name:
Signature:
Date:

Principal Researcher:

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Appendix 3:

Project outline Information for Participants.

Thanks for getting in touch and showing an interest in this project, it is appreciated and apologies for the long e-mail. Firstly, I should properly introduce myself. I am Matt Grimes, a 50-year-old popular music scholar at the Birmingham School of Media, Birmingham City University lecturing in popular music studies, with a focus on anarcho-punk and punk rock. Here is a brief outline of my PhD project;

Much has been written about punk rock in general but very little specifically about 1980's British anarcho-punk as it seems to get overlooked by many music historians. On a personal level British anarcho-punk was/is a music scene and way of life that played a significant part in my youth and subsequent adulthood and was influential in my personal development, musically, socially, politically and ideologically. With this in mind I wish to contribute to ongoing punk histories with the inclusion of British anarcho-punk as an important part of those punk histories.

Ian Glasper, amongst others, has written widely on British anarcho-punk, documenting it from the perspective of the bands that were involved. (The Day The Country Died and Burning Britain). My particular interest is in the memories of the scene participants/ audience/ fans that were not necessarily band members though they are not at all ruled out of this project.

The project aims are multi layered:

- Firstly, the research focuses on the memories of the projects participants involvement with/in British anarcho-punk, musically, aesthetically, politically and ideologically
  and
- Secondly how that involvement has (or has not) influenced and/or impacted on their subsequent lives, life choices and decisions, past and present, and shaped their lives (or similarly perhaps not). What also interests me here is the role of memory, how people remember and the ways they reflect on and embed those memories in the present.

 I will be gathering information during 2015, in the form of (semi-structured) interviews either via Skype or by e-mail, whichever is your preferred method.

The research is centred on my ongoing PhD and as such is governed by a strict set of ethical procedures and guidelines that ensure that the research is carried out professionally and that all participants are treated with fairness, respect and integrity.

To move this forward I have attached a couple of documents regarding research ethics, consent to take part in the project and a release form to agree to me using any data that comes out of the interviews. Of course, anonymity will be maintained when the work gets published so your name will not be connected to any direct quotes etc.

So in the short term and to get the process started, if you could copy and paste and complete the statement below and e-mail back to me with your preferred method of interview, and any contact details pertaining to that (such as Skype id) I would be most grateful. This will act as a temporary form of consent until I receive the completed forms from you to say that you have read the attached consent forms, agree to the conditions, or not and need further clarification, and are happy for us to proceed.

I have signed the consent forms and I need you to sign 2 copies of each-one for you to keep and one that you can either scan and e-mail back to me; or post to my Birmingham City University address. The copy you return to me will be scanned, digitised and stored on an encrypted server at Birmingham City University, though as you can see from the form it holds no other personal details apart from your name. Any physical documents you return will be destroyed once digitised.

To put this in some context, I am conducting this research whilst holding down a full-time job as a lecturer so there are times when the day job takes priority and I have to focus on that for a time. Therefore, there may be times when you may not hear from me but please do not take this as an indication that I have lost interest or momentum for this project and your contribution. I am afraid that this sometimes is the very nature of the beast.

I hope this gives you some more detail and context for this project. As I mentioned before I am loathe taking up valuable space on the 'Pay No More Than Nowt: The Anarcho Punk Years' Facebook group page with long threads of conversation that can be annoying for other users of the Facebook group. The Facebook page is a brilliant space for a multitude of reasons and purposes and should remain that way. Of course, please tag me, or point me in the direction of posts and comments on the Facebook page, or anywhere else, that you think will be of interest to the project or me. It will always be appreciated.

I look forward to your response and additional contact details or any further questions you may have regarding the project.
Best wishes
Matt Grimes