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Consolidating the music scenes perspective

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The concept of scene has long been used by musicians and music journalists to describe the clusters of musicians, promoters and fans, etc., who grow up around particular genres of music. Typically, this everyday usage of scene has referred to a particular local setting, usually a city or district, where a particular style of music has either originated, or has been appropriated and locally adapted. Examples here would include Chicago blues, New Orleans jazz and Nashville Country music, as well as numerous lesser known instances of local musical innovation and production.

Since the early 1990s, the concept of scene has also begun to acquire currency as an academic model of analysis. Scene's significance in this respect has resulted partly from the criticism and rejection of prior theoretical frameworks used in research on music, and the local, notably subcultural theory (see, for example, Clarke, 1981; Bennett, 1999), and also due to the influential work on ''art worlds'' and cultural industries (Becker, 1982). Peterson and Bennett (2004) observe as an academic research model that the concept of scene can usefully be subdivided into three categories: local (Cohen, 1991; Shank, 1994), trans-local (Kruse, 1993; Hodkinson, 2002) and virtual (Kibby, 2000; Bennett, 2002). The purpose of this paper is to assess the different ways that scene has been conceptualised in academic research as a means of understanding music as a 'resource' in contemporary everyday life.

1. Music and the everyday

The application of the scenes perspective in academic work on music is inherently linked with attempts over the past 25 years to map the socio-cultural significance of music in the context of everyday life. Prior to the adoption of the scenes perspective by academic music researchers, several other theoretical models were generally used by researchers.

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1.1. Community

A forerunner of scene as a means of explaining the significance of music in everyday contexts was 'community'. Community has been applied to music in two main ways. First, as a means of accounting for the way in which locally produced musics become a means through which individuals are able to situate themselves within a particular city, town or region. As Lewis (1992) notes: 'People look to specific musics as symbolic anchors in regions, as signs of community, belonging, and a shared past' (1992: 144). This point is reinforced by Dawe and Bennett (2001), who suggest that: 'Music is a particularly potent representational resource . . . a means by which communities are able to identify themselves and present this identity to others' (2001: 4). From this point of view, a shared connection with a locally created musical style becomes a metaphor for community, a means through which people articulate their sense of togetherness through a particular juxtaposition of music, identity and place.

The second application of community to musical life focuses on the significance of community as a romantic construct, that is, as a means through which individuals who lack the commonality of shared local experience can cast music itself as a 'way of life' and a basis for community. For example, the hippie movement of the late 1960s attempted to forge a sense of community through its commitment to political rock music as a source of social change. As Frith (1981) observes: 'Community became something that was created by the music, that described the musical experience. This was the ideology that became central to rock' (1981: 167). A similar sensibility of community is apparent in the use of music as a bonding device for followers of indie (independent) music. According to Fonarow (1997), central to indie music is 'an emotional feeling of community and connectedness' between musicians and their audiences (1997: 364).

1.2. Subculture

Another term widely used by music researchers prior to the introduction of the scenes perspective was 'subculture'. Originally introduced by the Chicago School as a means of providing sociological explanations of crime and deviance (see, for example, Matza and Sykes, 1961; Merton, 1957) in the early 1970s, subculture was adopted and adapted by cultural theorists based at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). The CCCS used subculture as a means of explaining the significance of post-war British youth cultural groups, such as teddy boys, mods and punks (Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Hebdige, 1979). While the CCCS applied subculture more directly to youth style rather than music (see Laing, 1985), post-CCCS work has used subculture as a means of understanding the collective appropriation and use of music itself. In a study of heavy metal, Weinstein (2000), for example, argues that the collective consumption of heavy metal music in the context of live concerts functions to affirm the metal subculture, its collective values and sense of community. Thus, according to Weinstein:

> The songs performed by the band embody the values of the subculture. The ones that the band selects are not randomly chosen from its repertoire, particularly if it has

released several albums. Concert favorites are those giving voice to subcultural themes by idealizing them (2000: 218).

The concept of subculture has been widely criticised, not least of all because it implies a relatively fixed relationship between specific aspects of post-war style and music with the class background of those who appropriate it (see Bennett, 1999). For example, in the case of heavy metal, there is a broad assumption on the part of theorists that its fanbase is almost exclusively working class (see, for example, Arnett, 1995). Such an argument is closely linked with the original work of the Birmingham CCCS who argued that subcultures represented pockets of resistance on the part of British working class youth to the structural circumstances of their existence (Hall and Jefferson, 1976).

This position has been variously contested. For example, Clarke (1981) argues that there is little basis for the belief that all subcultural memberships are of the same class origin, particularly in the case of later subcultures, such as punk, where there is clear evidence that many punks were from middle-class backgrounds (see Frith, 1980). Similarly, it has been pointed out that subculture, both in terms of its academic application and the groups it is used to describe, is an ethnically 'white' construct (Bennett and Kahn Harris, 2004).

The relative inflexibility of subculture as an analytical tool has resulted in a series of attempts to offer alternative models for understanding music's everyday significance during recent years. It is within the context of such attempts to rethink, both theoretically and empirically, the relationship between music and everyday life that 'scene', as an academic concept, must be located.

2. Origins of the scenes perspective

The cornerstone for the scenes perspective is an essay published by Straw (1991) in the journal *Cultural Studies*. Although the term scene had previously been used in a loose sense by academic researchers of music (see, for example, Laing, 1985), Straw's essay constituted the first attempt to present the concept of scene as a theoretically grounded model of analysis. Straw describes 'scenes' as 'actualiz[ing] a particular state of relations between various populations and social groups, as these coalesce around specific coalitions of musical style' (1991: 379). Straw further argues that scenes may be both local and trans-local phenomena, a cultural space which may orientate as much around stylistic and/or musicalized association as face-to-face contact in a venue, club or other urban setting.

As Straw's description suggests, scene constitutes a far broader and more dynamic series of social relationships than those considered in the context of subculture. According to Straw, scene memberships are not necessarily restricted according to class, gender or ethnicity, but may cut across all of these. Similarly, as Stahl (2004) observes, scene encompasses a much more diverse range of sensibilities and practices than subculture, or indeed, other popular alternative terminologies to subculture, notably post-subculture (Muggleton, 2000), or neo-tribe (Bennett, 1999; Malbon, 1999),[1] which refer largely to

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[1] Bennett and Malbon are drawing here on Maffesoli's (Maffesoli, 1996) concept of tribus (tribes).

sensibilities of music consumption and the possibilities for the construction of identity that emerge from this.

Scene, on the other hand, offers the possibility of examining musical life in its myriad forms, both production- and consumption-orientated, and the various, often locally specific ways in which these cross-cut each other. Indeed, as Peterson and Bennett (2004) note, the current diversification of the academic research on scenes makes it useful to present the scenes perspective as a trichotomy, comprising local, trans-local and virtual readings of 'scene'. That academic work on scenes is developing in such a multifaceted way constitutes both an acknowledgement of, and a systematic attempt to address, the highly specific merging of music production and consumption practices with everyday sensibilities within and across a range of local, trans-local and virtually mediated contexts.

3. Local scenes

A pivotal study in terms of both its introduction to and exploration of the concept of a local music scene is Sara Cohen's groundbreaking *Rock Culture in Liverpool*. As Cohen points out, prior to her own work, little attention had been devoted to small-scale, local music-making practices,[2] the popular music literature at that time focusing primarily on the music industry and the latter's packaging of rock and pop performers for global consumption. Cohen goes on to present a rich, ethnographically informed account of the micro-social worlds of two local Liverpool groups. In doing so, she illustrates how the merging of locally specific social sensibilities with the artistic ambitions of these groups functioned to create a particular outlook on the part of the individual group members. A range of collective values held by the group members, for example, the fear and distrust of women as a potential threat to a band's unity and the emphasis placed on music-making as a 'real job' are shown to be firmly rooted in the 'local' socio-economic environment of Liverpool. This aspect of Cohen's work is typified in the following observation drawn from her ethnographic data:

> ... in a city where the attitude of many young people was that you might as well pick up a guitar as take exams, since your chances of finding full-time occupation from either were just the same, being in a band was an accepted way of life and could provide a means of justifying one's existence. 'It's an alternative to walking around the town all day', said one band member, while another asked, 'What else is there to do?' (1991: 3).

Cohen's findings are reinforced by Shank's study of the local music scene in Austin, Texas. In a similar fashion to Cohen, Shank effectively illustrates the continuities between local networks of social relationships, and the building and maintenance of the local music scene. However, Shank advances the perspective by demonstrating how, even in the context of a specific local space, a music scene may take on a plurality of simultaneously overlapping and contradictory dimensions. Shank illustrates this by comparing the local significance of punk and cowboy song. According to Shank, each of these genres, despite

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[2] Exceptions here include Becker (1957) and Bennett (1980).

their very different socio-historical connections to Austin, have achieved equal standing as *authentic* local musics because of the common forms of vernacular knowledge underpinning their performance and reception. Cowboy Song, suggests Shank, has become a 'musicalized performance of Texan identity', the 'image of the authentic cowboy [as] autonomous, strong, independent' depicted in such music continuing to inform the 'cultural practice' of the Texan male (1994: 20, 31). Such issues of Texan masculinity also feature in music by local punk rock groups. Here, however, the emphasis is placed upon self-mockery and satirical reflection as demonstrated, for example, in the Re * Cords song 'Big Penis Envy', where the local stress upon masculinity and male superiority becomes a subject of laughter and ridicule for local punk groups and their audiences (ibid.: 112–13).

Mitchell's (1996) *Popular Music and Local Identity* provides a further series of insights into the significance of popular music production and performance in specific local spaces. Focusing on four countries – Italy, the Czech Republic, Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand – Mitchell examines how locally produced rock, pop and rap music deals with a variety of local issues such as racism, unemployment and political extremism as these are experienced in particular localities. A significant contribution of Mitchell's work to the scenes perspective is its illustration of how globally established popular musical styles can be readily plucked from their global context and reworked in ways that make them more culturally significant to musicians and fans in particular local contexts. This transformation includes the reinscription of musical styles with local meanings, a process achieved, for example, through the introduction of local musical influences or lyrics sung in a local language or accent. The localisation of musical styles in this way is further examined by Bennett (2000) in his book *Popular Music and Youth Culture*. Presenting four ethnographic case studies focusing on dance music, bhangra, rap and rock, Bennett examines how these contemporary youth musics have been variously appropriated and locally transformed in UK and German cities. This is exemplified in the case study focusing on hip hop culture in Frankfurt, Germany, where, as Bennett explains, young people from Moroccan and Turkish families living in the city have adapted African–American rap's concern with racism and inequality to suit a German context, adding German language lyrics to reflect the everyday experience of such social problems at a local level. As Bennett observes:

> Two thematic issues which appear regularly in German language rap songs concentrate respectively upon the fear and anger instilled in ethnic minority groups by racism and the insecurity experienced by many young members of such groups over issues of nationality. The first theme has in recent years become one of national concern in Germany. Since the German reunification in October 1990 there has been a steady rise in neo-Fascist attacks against Gastarbeiter and refugees in Germany (2000: 142).[3]

Stahl's (Stahl, 2004) work on the local music scene in Montreal demonstrates something of the depth and diversity of activities that comprise a scene in any given place. As Stahl explains, in addition to the musicians and the punters, a rich and complex network of entrepreneurs and enthusiasts – promoters, designers, producers, DJs, sound engineers,

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[3] For a German translation of some of this work, see Bennett (2003).

critics and the like – play a crucial role in keeping the scene alive, even as the predominant styles change from decade to decade.

A similar scenario is described by Spring (2004) in his study of the local dance club scene in Toledo. As Spring illustrates, although this relatively small scene turned largely on the entrepreneurial skills of one promoter, the ability of this individual to draw on the resources and influence of other persons in the local community, and to gain their confidence in the economic value of his pursuits for the community, was crucial to the survival of the scene.

As a number of researchers have demonstrated, local music scenes can also benefit cities and communities in other ways, notably through the creation of tourism. Cohen (1997), for example, has examined the impact of Beatles tours and other Beatles-themed tourist attractions on the local economy in Liverpool. Similarly, objects and memorabilia associated with Elvis Presley provide the basis for a thriving tourist industry in Memphis in the US, and in a parallel way, country music and jazz draw thousands of tourists to Nashville and New Orleans, respectively, each year. Grazian's (Grazian, 2004) work on the Chicago blues scene illustrates a further aspect of this relationship between music and place from the point of view of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990). Thus, according to Grazian, the many blues clubs and bars in Chicago help to assert and maintain the image of Chicago as the blues capital of the world. This air of authenticity persists, even though, according to blues purists, many such venues have been created purely to satisfy the tourists' desire for what they define as an 'authentic' blues experience.

4. Trans-local scenes

In many ways, the concept of trans-local scenes is a response to criticisms made of studies focusing on local music scenes. Thus, a number of theorists claim that the conceptualisation of the local as a social and culturally bounded space can no longer be said to have currency in an age of global media. This position is argued by Thornton in relation to the work of Cohen (1991) et al.:

> Ethnographies of music scenes . . . tend to see the media as outside authentic culture. They depict internally generated culture, disclose local creativity and give positive valuation to the 'culture of the people' but only at the cost of removing the media from their pictures of the cultural process (1995: 120).

In truth, it is highly doubtful that those who have studied local music scenes have been ignorant of the interplay between local and global music-making processes in the way Thornton implies. Nevertheless, such criticisms of the local have resulted in a series of attempts on the part of music researchers 'to re-address the relationship between the global and the local using a range of terms designed to recast the parameters of the collective appropriations and localised innovations which take place within a stream of globally available media products and information' (Bennett, 2000: 195–6).

Slobin (1993), for example, has coined the term *trans-regionalism* as a means of recognizing that local appropriations and innovations of musical styles may occur simultaneously across a range of globally diffuse sites. According to Slobin:

Trans-regional musics have a very high energy that spills across regional boundaries, perhaps even becoming global. This category of music is increasing rapidly due to the mediascape, which at any moment can push a music forward so that a large number of audiences can make the choice of domesticating it (1993: 19).

Focusing more specifically on youth-orientated musics and attendant styles, Kruse (1993) uses the term *trans-local* to describe the way in which young people appropriate music and stylistic resources in particular local contexts while retaining a sense of their connectedness with parallel expressions of musical taste and stylistic preference occurring in other regions, countries and continents.

Hodkinson (2002) develops Kruse's perspective in an empirical study of Goth, a youth cultural movement that originated from the midland region of the UK, characterised by the wearing of black clothing, silver jewellery in gothic design, black lipstick and nail varnish, and dyed-black hair. As Hodkinson observes, although Goths of a city orientate strongly around a local infrastructure of shops, clubs and other facilities, given their relatively small and underground scene, they also have contacts with other groups of goths in the UK and overseas. In this sense, Hodkinson illustrates how goths mutually reinforce each other through their highly distinctive symbols of goth identity, willingness to travel to distant goth events, compilation and collective discussion of goth records, fanzines, and through their use of mail order speciality stores. Moreover, according to Hodkinson, this trans-local character of the goth scene has been enhanced in recent years through the use of new technologies, notably the Internet, which has given rise to a large number of dedicated goth websites. Such websites allow those involved in the scene to communicate trans-locally with other goths and to trade information on, for example, goth groups, records, gigs, venues, and record and clothes shops.

A similar account is provided by Schilt (2004) in her study of the development of the Riot Grrrl scene during the early 1990s. As Schilt explains, in addition to intensive tours by Riot Grrrl groups such as Bikini Kill, crucial to the development of the scene was the production and distribution of dedicated fanzines. These generated vibrant trans-local discussion regarding both the significance and definition of the Riot Grrrl movement. Fans from various local Riot Grrrl scenes across the US became involved in a variety of issues relating to Riot Grrrl, including issues of musical authenticity and integrity, and the political dimensions of the scene.

Another example of a trans-local scene is offered in Harris's (2000) study of Extreme Metal, a faster and more musically aggressive sounding version of the heavy metal music made popular during the 1970s by groups such as Black Sabbath and Led Zeppelin (see Weinstein, 2000). As Harris notes, although Extreme Metal is characterised by a series of distinctive local scenes, whose reliance on small venues and close contact between band and audience during performances is similar to the punk aesthetic discussed by Laing (1985), such local scenes are bonded globally through a vibrant exchange of musical styles and influences. Thus, as Harris observes:

Local scenes have been particularly important in pioneering new styles that have gone on to be popular throughout the global scene. In the 1980s, the San Francisco 'Bay Area' scene was crucial in the development of Thrash (involving bands such as Exodus and Metallica). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Death Metal was

popularised via strong local scenes in Stockholm (involving bands such as Dismember and Entombed) and Tampa, Florida (involving bands such as Obituary and Deicide). In the mid-1990s, Black Metal was popularised through the Norwegian scene (involving bands such as Burzum and Emperor) (2000: 16).

However, the trans-local quality of a music scene may not rest exclusively on the global mobility of particular local styles, nor the ability of scene members to communicate with each other across time and distance using new technologies. Indeed, as recent work on contemporary dance music illustrates, trans-local scenes are also increasingly characterised by global flows of people – DJs, promoters and fans. For example, Laing (1997) points to the large trans-national networks which now exist for the production and marketing of dance music, a global flow which also facilitates extensive touring for DJs and their particular brand of club event. Similarly, Carrington and Wilson (2002) discuss how the relative ease of long-distance travel, combined with a desire to go clubbing in new and exotic locations, has engendered a growing culture of 'dance tourism' among contemporary youth.

5. Virtual scenes

Since the mid-1990s, the Internet has played an increasingly important role in the context of everyday life. In particular, the Internet has had a significant impact on the time-space compression process (Harvey, 1989) associated with developments in global communication systems, further displacing the boundedness of social interaction within the restrictions of time and space, and opening up new, relatively instantaneous channels of trans-local and trans-temporal communication (Foster, 1997). Such developments have had a notable effect on the formation of music scenes. While previously music scenes had been a local or a trans-local phenomena, the Internet created the possibility for the formation of 'virtual' scenes, which, like the virtual communities examined by Rheingold (1994), are formed not in the physical spaces of cities and towns, but in the virtual spaces of the Internet so that scene members need never meet face-to-face.

Currently, work on virtual music scenes is in its infancy, yet already there are clear signs of the difference between scenes centred around the Internet and those based around the physical territory of clubs, bars, record shops and associated spaces. Thus, while an attachment to locally based scenes will often depend upon more visual displays of involvement, for example, attendance at gigs (Fonarow, 1997), personal image (Thornton, 1995), competence in posturing and dance (Malbon, 1999), virtual scenes, by virtue of their non-face to face quality, depend upon other displays of competence, notably articulation and musical knowledge and information. Kibby's (2000) study of the Internet-based music scene devoted to a particular folk artist, John Prine, is a case in point. As Kibby illustrates, this scene functioned as a space in which globally diffuse fans of John Prine could communicate with each other and trade knowledge and information. Participants in Internet chat rooms were delighted by finding others scattered across the world with whom they could exchange information and opinions. According to Kibby, this 'ritual sharing of information' online was a source of 'commonality between chatters' (2000: 95).

Another example of a virtual music scene is offered in Bennett's (Bennett, 2004; Bennett and Kahn Harris, 2004) work on the 'Canterbury Sound'. The term 'Canterbury Sound' was originally coined by journalists during the late 1960s to describe London-based groups such as Soft Machine and Caravan, whose memberships each contained one or more individuals from defunct Canterbury-based jazz rock band, the Wilde Flowers. A number of musicians involved in these groups, for example, Robert Wyatt and Hugh Hopper, have denounced the notion of a Canterbury Sound as little more than a journalistic tag. Similarly, for the most part, the citizens of Canterbury remain blissfully unaware that their city was apparently the centre of a major music scene of the late 1960s. Nevertheless, the myth of a Canterbury Sound has been revived when in 1996, Calyx, anointing itself the "official" Canterbury Sound website, was established by a French fan. As with Kibby's example of online fandom, Calyx became a forum for debate between fans concerning various aspects of the Canterbury Sound and those groups who were deemed to centrally define it. The website also facilitated a series of discussions and debates about the role of Canterbury itself in the creation of the musical style, thus giving rise to a series of collective myths concerning how the experience of growing up in Canterbury had imbued Canterbury musicians with artistic influences and 'a certain Englishness' which, it was argued, they brought to their music.

As Bennett observes, although initially limited to such on-line discussions between fans, this Canterbury Sound revival soon started to generate entrepreneurial interest, particularly in the Canterbury region, where a small-scale 'cultural industry' based around the Canterbury Sound began to take shape. This was signalled by the appearance in local record shops of the *Canterburied Sounds*, a four-volume CD set featuring tracks by the Wilde Flowers and Caravan, as well as musical liaisons between members of these groups and other, often unidentified, local musicians. While for the most part, little more than a series of rough and ready demo tapes and rehearsal sessions recorded on domestic reel-to-reel tape recorders, the Canterburied Sounds CDs have played a significant part in bringing the myth of a Canterbury scene alive for fans around the world. This perceived link between the Canterbury Sound and the city of Canterbury has been further forged through subsequent local entrepreneurial activities, notably the 'Canterbury Sound Festival', an event that took place in the summer of 2000. In addition to 'Canterbury groups' Caravan and Gong, the line up for the 3-day event also included a wealth of other late sixties British rock favourites, including Coliseum, Man and The Crazy World of Arthur Brown.

Virtual scenes can also facilitate on-going communication and collectivity between fans of artists who have either stopped touring or tour infrequently. For such fans, the Internet offers an alternative possibility for articulating their fandom in a public sphere. This point is made effectively by Vroomen (2004) in her study of fans of Kate Bush, an artist who retired from live performance in 1979 and whose last studio album was released in 1993. As Vroomen notes, Kate Bush fansites such as the Hounds of Love provide one of the few available means for the Kate Bush fanbase to maintain itself at a collective level, chat rooms and other web-based facilities allowing fans to communicate and share views and opinions on Kate Bush and her music. Significantly, however, Vroomen suggests that such communication is also, and perhaps crucially, facilitated through other means, notably Kate Bush conventions and 'Katemas', gatherings of fans held each year on the singer's birthday.

Finally, Lee and Peterson (2004) consider some of the differences and similarities between virtual and physical local scenes using the example of 'Postcard Two' (P2), a list-serve devoted to alternative country music. As Lee and Peterson observe, while interaction in physical local scenes is at the face-to-face level, thus allowing for the exchange of both verbal and non-verbal communication, interaction in virtual scenes is based entirely around the exchange of written words, and occasionally images to support particular points made. As such, Lee and Peterson argue that gaining access to a virtual scene is often easier than to a local scene. Local scenes are clearly bounded in terms of physical location, but they are often small and quite select too. Virtual scenes on the other hand are open to all those who know how to use a networked computer and can write in the language used by the scene. At the same time, however, Lee and Peterson note that in order to become fully integrated into a virtual scene, many of the same rules apply as with a local scene. Ultimately, a person must show commitment, both through regular contributions to on-line discussions, and also through the display of musical and associated knowledges relevant to such discussion.

Lee and Peterson suggest that one notable difference between virtual and physical scenes is their demographic composition. While most local scenes are characterised by a narrow age range, body type, sexual orientation, recreational drug use and world view, the demographic composition of virtual scenes is generally much broader. They found that P2 members ranged in age from their teens to their 70s and about evenly split between those who are single and those who are married or partnered. As Lee and Peterson observe, such a varied demographic spread may well be due to the possibilities that virtual scenes offer the individual for remaining anonymous or using a pseudonym. Clearly, this kind of masking does not apply in the case of local, physical scenes where membership also turns on the physical appearance and personal attributes of individuals. Even so, Lee and Peterson noted that most of the active members of the P2 list-serve use their real names, and their address line often includes their place of employment. In a sense then, those who become members of virtual music scenes often observe the same rules of membership and sociality as those involved in physical, local scenes.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined the developing scenes perspective and its value as a means of understanding and theorising the various forms of significance that musical activity, both production- and consumption-orientated, assumes in specific everyday contexts. Using the trichotomy of 'local', 'trans-local' and 'virtual' scenes introduced by Peterson and Bennett (2004), the paper has examined a range of existing studies on music scenes and the insights they reveal into the highly specific ways that music, creativity, identity, leisure, economic activity and productivity intersect in a variety of physical and mediated contexts.

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A complex relationship exists between music scenes and the infrastructure in which they are located. This article focuses on the rise and fall of the Oxford Tavern, a live music venue in the Australian city of Wollongong. It looks at the pub rock scene and the barriers this presents for female rock musicians. It also looks at how music: fits into youth culture: the creation of pop music in the 1950s and 1960s, the punk scene of the early 1980s and the recent phenomenon of the dance party. Consolidating the Music Scenes Perspective. June 2004 · Poetics. Andy Bennett.

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The application of the scenes perspective in academic work on music is inherently linked with attempts over the past 25 years to map the socio-cultural signicance of music in the context of everyday life. Prior to the adoption of the scenes perspective by academic music researchers, several other theoretical models were generally used by researchers.

1.1. Community. A forerunner of scene a