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Culture

BAC

The Place I Wanted to Live In

Alise Tifentāle

*Exit light
Enter night
Take my hand
Off to never never land*

James Hetfield, Metallica, "Enter Sandman" (1991)

On the very first moment it seems like the mental and spatial structures of the 80s and 90s Western rock music videos cannot have much in common with the everyday life environment of the late Soviet and early post-Soviet Latvian music fans. America's vast landscapes, never-ending highways to be raced on a motorbike, city skyscrapers, and stage designs of rock concerts among other things illustrate the promise of freedom that rock music gives. Our guide,¹ who spent his childhood and teenage years in a small town of Latvia in the late 80s and early 90s juxtaposes this promise to his everyday environment: an off-white silicate brick school building and a changing room next to the gym with glass block windows always smelling like sweaty sneakers, modest and badly kept one- or two-storey private houses along the main street of the village, an equally grey 5-storey and 9-storey block housing area with its brightest and the most elegant object – a bookshop with large shop windows arranged on the ground floor of a multi-storey building, where to queue for yet another volume of the "Sprīdīša bibliotēka" ("Sprīdītis Library") and "Gone with the Wind" with the charming Latvian actress Regīna Rezuma painted by Maija Tabaka on the cover.

In the course of our journey we will call this small town Neverland, just like in the lyrics of Metallica's song. According to our guide, this used to be a place where streets had names but where there was no hope – a place that gave nobody a reason to dream of anything. Getting as far away as possible from this place was a precondition for our guide. To fly away, even if only metaphorically, just like in the installation by Ilya Kabakov "The Man Who Flew into Space from His Apartment" (1985). Or else to initially resist it and to only then fly away, by lying under a patterned wool blanket and, just before falling asleep, in an internal monologue constructing scenes from Ken Kesey's novel "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" (1962).

Our guide remembers the Bon Jovi video of the song "Livin' on a Prayer" (1986), in which the musicians levitated above the stage and back in the time that made a lasting impression. It is therefore the motif of flying or, to be exact, the flying away that we start this journey with. Ken Kesey is in fact indirectly responsible for our guide actually having this motif available for his life. In the Western world Kesey's novel became the 'countercultural sacred text' even before the release of Milos Forman's movie (1975), and Kesey himself became a cult personality, successfully combining rock music (friendship with the Grateful Dead), motorbikes (his association with the Hell's Angels), and an all-encompassing individualism, rebellion and protest against the conformity of Western consumer culture.² Soon there followed the song by Steppenwolf "Born to Be Wild" (1967) later featured in the movie *Easy Rider* (1969), fortifying the

ideological trinity "rock music – motorbike – freedom".

Rock music of the 80s, which then used to be called *hard rock* or *heavy metal* gained extraordinary popularity (in spite of the existing beliefs that rock had been dead ever since 1976 and the emergence of Sex Pistols³). The lyrical heroes and visual codes of 80s rock lyrics from the West have grown on the foundations laid by Kesey and his contemporaries. Our guide knew nothing about it at the time. But he truly wished to fly away and he found rock to be the perfect means for this. After 1991 nobody would stop him from flying away physically either.

Lawrence Grossberg, one of the cultural theorists, who established the tradition of academic research of popular music, including rock, has pointed out that "any reading of rock and roll must begin by identifying the context within which it is to be located and its relations identified."⁴ Listening to the memories of our guide, at first it seems unexplainable what sort of a coincidence could encourage a person who spent his teenage years in Neverland to escape for the homeland of rock on the very first occasion – to start a rock band, have iron teeth, grow long hair and dye it black, have every possible body part tattooed, wear a watchdog collar and, moreover, even manage to secure his life with this. He succeeded in flying into space straight from his room in the outskirts of Neverland.

Nothing from the direct environment of his childhood could have encouraged this. All the girls at school were wearing sliding down cotton tights and a blue Soviet school uniform, and the boys were not interested in absolutely anything. Before Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, the public space was dominated by regular news on the death of yet another Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party being reported during the political information lessons.⁵ Music on the national radio and television largely consisted of local, Russian and Communist block pop stars popular among the previous generations – Žoržs Siksna, Viktors Lapčēnoks, Alla Pugacheva, Karel Gott, and the like, as well as the local musical chart "Mikrofons". During school dance nights they would play such compositions as "Uzsnīga sniedziņš balts" ("White Snow Has Fallen"), and it is reasonable to assume that our guide was the only one within a radius of one hundred kilometres around Neverland to from the very first chords distinguish between Steelheart and Skid Row, Danzig and The Cult, Cinderella and Poison, and the guitar styles of Yngwie Malmsteen and Steve Vai.

Only rattle-trapped bicycles, Moskviches, tractors, and a few Ladas (and the village's only Volga owned by the kolkhoz chairman) were to be found on the peaceful and quiet streets of Neverland – no sign of electric guitars, Harley Davidsons, good-looking and energetic dancers in shiny mini dresses, and any

¹Our guide chose to remain anonymous.

²Leerom Medovoi, "Mapping the Rebel Image: Postmodernism and the Masculinist Politics of Rock in the U. S. A.," *Cultural Critique*, no. 20 (1991), 175-76.

³ See for example Robert Miklitsch, "Rock 'N' Theory: Autobiography, Cultural Studies, and the "Death of Rock", " *Postmodern Culture* 9, no. 2 (1999).

⁴ Lawrence Grossberg, "Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life," *Popular Music* 4, no. Issue Title: Performers and Audiences (1984), 228.

⁵Leonid Brezhnev died in 1982, Yuri Andropov – in 1984 and Konstantin Chernenko – in 1985

kind of rebellion at all. Neverland was always quiet (except for the traditional fight at the open-air dance) and people did not differ one from another. Most of our guide's classmates had as their goal to pull through and stay at school until they reach grade 8 to finally do the exact same thing their moms and dads did – work at a kolkhoz, at school or in a shop and wait for retirement by regularly playing the household appliances lottery and reading the newspaper “Cīņa” (“The Struggle”)

The emotional and mental space of our guide seemed to sharply contrast the physical space. Most likely, however, he did not even notice it. Moreover, in the course of our journey we will come to a few conclusions leading to an assumption that the difference between the spaces was not even as big. The musical, lyrical and visual space of rock music was echoed in the perception of separate individuals despite the very fact that its history and motivation was unfamiliar to the everyday environment of post-Soviet Union and its regulating mechanisms, mass culture, and public space.

*She's got a smile it seems to me
Reminds me of childhood memories
Where everything
Was as fresh as the bright blue sky*

Axl Rose, Guns N'Roses, “Sweet Child o' Mine” (1988)

“All of that had no reference to the surrounding environment. By listening to music I wanted to get somewhere else – where all of this would be real. Although I now understand that no such place exists and it is all in my head,” our guide tells us. Jacques Attali has pointed out that “music is more than an object of study: it is a way of perceiving the world. A tool of understanding.”⁶ Grossberg believes rock music to be something more than electric guitar reefs, intensive drum rhythm, and a primitive melody: “The rock and roll apparatus includes not only musical texts and practices

but also economic determinations, technological possibilities, images (of performers and fans), social relations, aesthetic conventions, styles of language, movement, appearance and dance, media practices, ideological commitments and media representations of the apparatus itself. The apparatus describes 'cartographies of taste' which are both synchronic and diachronic and which encompass both musical and non-musical registers of everyday life.”⁷

According to Attali, “the cardinal importance of music in announcing a vision of the world is nothing new. For Marx, music is the ‘mirror or reality;’ for Nietzsche, the ‘expression of truth;’ for Freud, a ‘text to decipher.’ (. . .) It is all of that, even if it is only a detour on the way to addressing man about the works of man, to hearing and making audible his alienation, to sensing the unacceptable immensity of his future silence and the wide expanse of his fallowed creativity.”⁸ Right after music became a fetishized commodity, through the development of technologies for sound recording, playing and commercial reproduction of records, it “participated in the growth and creation of capital and the spectacle.”⁹

We will come back to the oracular function of music, however the late Soviet and early post-Soviet environment explored in this article does not allow seriously addressing the commercial aspect of Western rock music – it could only have had a purely aesthetic and emotional value. Records from the West were often brought into the territory of the Soviet Union and copied without any remorse. Art belongs to the people. In late 80s our guide and his peers were consuming Western entertainment industry goods without actually participating in the Western market (with a few exceptions – the Soviet record company “Melodija” produced licensed Western records, for the editions of which music authors and performers most likely would have received royalties).

In 1981 MTV, the first television channel devoted solely to popular music, started to broadcast in the USA. Later on our guide would become very familiar with the new unit of visual communication – the music video, as he used to watch the musical programme “Varavīksne” (“The Rainbow”) on the official Latvian SSR television channel. Pirated videos by Michael Jackson, Prince, Madonna, Queen and others on the black and white television screen belonging to our guide's family were the first chance to become intoxicated by the sounds of popular Western music and the fascinating stage characters of stars. In this aspect Neverland had significant advantages: “Latvian television was the only one in the Soviet Union with a foreign music programme. Nowhere else would they show videos from abroad,” remembers the host of “Varavīksne” Aldis Ermanbriks.¹⁰ MTV, which was intended as a commercial solution to the development of popular music industry, meant to increase the sales of records and concert tickets, performed its propaganda function on this side of the Iron Curtain as well.¹¹ Yet the ideological indoctrination was not followed by album sales.

However it was not just the fragments of music videos viewed once a week that created the wish to escape to the rock and roll fairy tale kingdom. Susan Fast remembers the first impressions of listening to the “Immigrant Song” by Led Zeppelin (1970) at the age of fourteen: “that song was where I wanted to live.”¹² Music became a physical space and “it was such a powerful, liberating, intellectual, sexual, and spiritual experience for me.”¹³ Our guide excitedly agreed.

⁶ Jacques Attali, *Noise: the political economy of music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009 [1985]), 4.

⁷ Grossberg, “Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life,” 236.

⁸ Attali, *Noise: the political economy of music*, 6.

⁹ Attali, *Noise: the political economy of music*, 5.

¹⁰ Andris Bernāts, “Ārzenju klipi „Varavīksnē”. Alda Ermanbrika leģendas” (*Foreign Videos on “Varavīksnē”. Legends of Aldis Ermanbriks*), *Kasjauns.lv*, October 1, 2011. In the interview the TV show host shares his memories of the method of getting hold of Western videos for broadcasting on Latvian Television: “The manner of attaining these videos was quite unusual. I was in friendly relations with the Estonian video engineers, who would copy foreign videos from the Finnish television on large rolls. Given the possibility to receive Finnish television in Tallinn, there were no technical difficulties. Estonians would pay for it from their own pocket, because it would be unthinkable for the state to grant funding for this occasion. What is interesting, they did not dare showing these videos on Estonian television, because their channels could be viewed in Finland and that might have caused a scandal due to copyright issues.”

¹¹ See for example Will Straw, “Music Video in Its Contexts: Popular Music and Post-Modernism in the 1980s,” *Popular Music* 7, no. 3 (1988), 252.

¹² Susan Fast, “Rethinking Issues of Gender and Sexuality in Led Zeppelin: A Woman's View of Pleasure and Power in Hard Rock,” *American Music* 17, no. 3 (1999), 258.

¹³ Fast, “Rethinking Issues of Gender and Sexuality in Led Zeppelin,” 258.

The shots seen on the black and white screen and the sound coming from the creaking radio and the primitive tape recorder in his mind created a perfect world, in the realness of which he believed.

*You got to bleed a little while you sing
Lest the words don't mean nothing*

Ian Astbury, The Cult, "Heart of Soul" (1991)

Among the rock music elements that allowed overcoming the obvious contradictions between the everyday reality and the Western music ideology and the audiovisual impulses, we should first mention the emotional and affective impact. Without hesitation, Nietzsche would describe it as an excellent example of Dionysian art. We may agree with Simon Frith's statement that rock music cultivates "fantasies about the possibilities of a life constituted entirely as leisure."¹⁴ Desire for pleasure is sublimed by being compassionate with the music and allowing it to awaken new desires.¹⁵ This process looks like an innocent cycle of emotional self-satisfaction, until the moment when real life is involved. Grossberg indicates that "rock and roll structures the space within which desire is invested and pleasures produced. It is thus immediately implicated in relations of power and a politics of pleasure."¹⁶

This politics of desire is largely constituted by a certain escapism: "Frequently, rock has been taken to project forms of fantasy and escape, which are in turn considered to be major constituents of leisure, given certain established but varying relations of work and leisure-time in modern Western societies."¹⁷ It is notable that projection of fantasies and escape stories refer both to a teenager in the Neverland of the 80s and to one in San Francisco, Seattle or Birmingham. This music became a place where all fans would like to live – a place equally unreachable for everybody, just like a terrestrial paradise depicted in medieval *mappae mundi*. Therefore the contradiction between the actual living space and this musical paradise was nothing extraordinary or characteristic exclusively to the Soviet Union.

Pleasure gaining strategies in 80s rock often have to do with an egoistic serving to own feelings, desires, and experiences,

which encourage neither individual productivity in industrial relations nor socialization. It does not lead to the longed for pleasure either, which is why there is a lot more suffering in the music of this time. The lyrical hero of many rock songs reaches the ultimate border of suffering – the consideration of death.¹⁸ Dramatics and pathos could be overdone and heightened to suicidal tendencies.¹⁹ An egoistic attitude and cultivation of a meaningless melancholy was actively combated by the conservative part of the society, and the USA in particular "objected to what it regarded as sexism, profanity, satanic influences and drug glorification in heavy metal music. But the most powerful weapon in this rhetoric arsenal was the claim that song lyrics became the reason for teenage suicides."²⁰ However, a scientific justification of such claims was never found. Otherwise they would have to ban Goethe's "The Sorrows of Young Werther" and the majority of operas and theatre plays, leaving only "Cosi fan tutte" and "Skroderdienas Silmačios" in the repertoire.

The notions of libido and thanatos obtained a format of longing and grieving in late 80s and early 90s rock – with an opera-like (or, rather, operetta-like) amplitude in cases when the lead singer's voice range would allow it. An example of this could be the Guns N'Roses songs "Sweet Child o' Mine" (1987) and "Don't Cry" (1991), the internationally popular singles by Steelheart "I'll Never Let You Go" and "She's Gone" (1990), "Angel" (1987) by Aerosmith, "Is This Love" (1987) by Whitesnake and The Cult song "Sweet Salvation" (1991). Aspects of sorrow, regret, and suffering are also revealed in the compositions of Metallica "Enter Sandman," "Sad But True" and "Nothing Else Matters" (1991), Mötley Crüe "Home Sweet Home" (1985), Cinderella "Don't Know What You Got (Till It's Gone)" (1988) and Poison "Every Rose Has Its Thorn" (1988). Videos, too, could make the link between love and death dramatically obvious and explicit. A typical example to this according to our guide would be the Guns N'Roses single "November Rain" (1991).

Our guide remembers the compositions of Bon Jovi "I'll Be There for You" and "Living in Sin" (1988) with great excitement. "Bon Jovi was my first real obsession in the world of rock and roll," reveals the guide. "My first record, purchased in the record store on Barona Street in Riga was the album by Bon Jovi "New Jersey" released by "Melodija". I had also managed to find a poster of the band somehow. The only thing missing for complete happiness was a t-shirt with the band logo, but where would I get one of those? Certainly not in Neverland. I used a black marker to copy the band name from the record cover onto an old yellow t-shirt, which then became my favourite piece of summer clothing. I remember as if it was today – to be allowed to spoil the t-shirt I had to take part in the big laundry day at the backyard, repelling mosquitoes and annoying flies with a brown piece of soap on a hot summer day, but it was definitely worth it."

Where could we find refuge from the suffering expressed in rock music? Although critics in the West have accused this musical genre of blasphemy, amorality, and popularization of Satanism, the music and videos frequently depict symbols of Christianity aiming at making music or its performer more sublime. For instance, in the video by The Cult titled "Heart of Soul" (1991) the lead singer Ian Astbury both aggressively brandishes a revolver and poses as a crucified Saviour with a crown of thorns.

¹⁴ See: Grossberg, "Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life," 226.

¹⁵ *Permanent Vacation* – this is also the 1987 Aerosmith album title.

¹⁶ Grossberg, "Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life," 227.

¹⁷ Alan Durant, "Rock Revolution or Time-No-Changes: Visions of Change and Continuity in Rock Music," *Popular Music* 5, no. Continuity and Change (1985), 115.

¹⁸ At the end of the 20th century this motif became the ground for an exceptionally successful career of the Finnish rock group *HIM*, sentimentalizing and romanticizing superlative love and death motifs in such compositions as "Join me in Death" (1999).

¹⁹ *Suicidal Tendencies* is the title of the American rock group formed in 1981.

²⁰ Robert Wright, "I'd Sell You Suicide: Pop Music and Moral Panic in the Age of Marilyn Manson," *Popular Music* 19, no. 3 (2000), 370.

of Christian or generally religious lexicon and/or symbolism in rock music.²¹ More so, the popular music industry as such can be interpreted as a substitute for religion or rather a surrogate, providing quick satisfaction and self-abandonment in emotionally compelling music and an image gallery giving a choice of role models for admiration and imitation. Thus, for example, Rupert Till, studying the career of Prince, claims that it is the successful combination of sacral and profane notions and images that lies at the ground of his fame and commercial accomplishments.²²

In Till's generalizations of the quasi-religious nature of popular music and the personality cult of rock stars everything starts out with a "catharsis or purification, the emptying out of self, (. . .) so that the "divine" popular icon can indwell the empty vessel. The process is also similar to the concept of theosis in Christian theology, the transformation of believers into the likeness of God, including transforming the mind, character and self, as well as the imitation of, or union with, God (Final and Kharlamov 2006). The performer is filled, inspired and sustained by the projected adulation of the fans (. . .). As members of the audience imagine themselves being or possessing a pop star, they are then embodied as larger than life characters, godlike beings, possessing the star as they consume them and become possessed themselves by the character of the star."²³

A rock star is a messiah, a prophet, a preacher, a creator of a new mental space (or at least a critique of the existing one), who furthermore is considered a threat to society's mental and physical health. The most extreme achievement to this point has been made by Marilyn Manson and his lyrical hero Antichrist Superstar.²⁴ Manson interprets the pedagogical and therapeutic role of a court jester in a contemporary manner, acting in that same tradition of tragicomedy and grotesque that can be found in the modernist visual arts as well.²⁵ Manson's "engagement with death, disease, violence, betrayal and disillusionment does not translate into an unambiguous nihilism but, rather, into a prophetic urge to *redemption*. In short, like all modernists, Manson wants not merely to destroy but to liberate."²⁶ [Emphasis in the original – A.T.] Karen Halnon refers to Mikhail Bakhtin and his research on medieval carnival and suggests interpreting the carnivalistic aspect of rock music, which is also Manson's general means of expression, as 'grotesque realism'. This "rebellious against potentially everything that is moral, sacred, decent, or civilized" can conjure up a certain utopia of freedom and equality for the participants of this carnival.²⁷ Besides Manson's mission excels in a well-developed self-irony uncommon to the majority of his colleagues (see, for instance, the video for "Long Hard Road Out Of Hell", 1999).

The prophecies of Manson's clownishness could be taken seriously if we agree with Jacques Attali, who has emphasized that any "music is prophecy. Its styles and economic organization are ahead of the rest of society because it explores, much faster than material reality can, the entire range of possibilities in a given code. It makes audible the new world that will gradually become visible, that will impose itself and regulate the order of things (. . .). For this reason musicians, even when officially recognized, are dangerous, disturbing, and subversive; for this reason it is impossible to separate their history from that of repression and surveillance."²⁸ It

seems that at least Manson himself would agree with this.

*white trash get down on your knees, time for cake and sodomy
time for cake and sodomy
I am the god of fuck, I am the god of fuck*

Marilyn Manson, "Cake and Sodomy" (1994)

Since the origins of rock and roll it often has been viewed as a pure protest – protest against the existing regime, against injustice, good taste, mass culture, conformism, values and lifestyle of the previous generation, etc. Scholars have acknowledged that in the Western world the background for this music was formed by dissatisfaction of workers with the miserable role given to them within the capitalist system and the brainwashing done by consumption, with the fact that the American dream after all turned out to be boring and frustrating. Grossberg refers to the general aesthetical practice of deconstruction within the US youth culture in the mood of the Cold War and rightist domestic policy.²⁹ Leerom Medovoi finds parallels between rock music and modernist art at least in one aspect, which is "the strategic use of shock value. Like the avant-garde, rock is characterized by its intention to offend the bourgeoisie. (. . .) . . . rock is to mass culture what the avant-garde was to art: the historical emergence of its self-criticism."³⁰ Medovoi brings out the fact that the avant-garde of modernism – just like the avant-garde of rock – was led by strong personalities, individualists, white males, often real machos whose ambitious and confident gestures literally swept away the existing conventions of what visual art was. Grossberg, however, links the subversive nature of rock with the tradition of Symbolism, Dadaism and Surrealism.³¹ According to Medovoi, "rock's project becomes historically possible only after the failure of the avant-garde's. Only

²¹ See for example, Kathy B. McKee and Carol J. Pardun, "Mixed Messages: The relationship between sexual and religious imagery in rock, country, and Christian videos," *Communication Reports* 9, no. 2 (1996).

²² Rupert Till, "The Personality Cult of Prince: Purple Rain, Sex and the Sacred, and the Implicit Religion Surrounding a Popular Icon," *Implicit Religion* 13, no. 2 (2010), 142

²³ Till, "The Personality Cult of Prince," 144.

²⁴ *Antichrist Superstar* is both a reference to the title of the Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1971) and an album by Marilyn Manson (1996).

²⁵ For example, for the parallels between the work of James Ensor and Marilyn Manson, see: Alise Tifentāle, "Ielūdz uz cirku!," *Studija* 39, no. 6 (2004). <http://www.studija.lv/?parent=1403>

²⁶ Wright, "I'd Sell You Suicide": Pop Music and Moral Panic in the Age of Marilyn Manson," 379.

²⁷ Karen Bettez Halnon, "Heavy Metal Carnival and Dis-alienation: The Politics of Grotesque Realism," *Symbolic Interaction* 29, no. 1 (2006), 35.

²⁸ Attali, *Noise: the political economy of music*, 11.

²⁹ Grossberg, "Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life."

³⁰ Medovoi, "Mapping the Rebel Image: Postmodernism and the Masculinist Politics of Rock in the U.S.A.," 159. . .

³¹ Grossberg, "Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life," 232.

³² Medovoi, "Mapping the Rebel Image: Postmodernism and the Masculinist Politics of Rock in the U.S.A.," 160.

when it has become clear that deconstructing the autonomy of elite culture has nothing to offer politically does it make any sense to shift the locale of cultural politics to the arena of mass culture, with an appropriate emphasis on the popularization of adversarial lifestyles.”³²

Part of the Western society criticized rock music largely for amorality and for the “expressing and reinforcing adolescent alienation.”³³ The exact same criticism was addressed to rock in the Soviet system, in which any kind of art, at least theoretically, was intended to have an educational role. Really, rock was educational, but in absolutely another direction – it taught to question and criticise authorities, had certain radicalism in the choice of musical means of expression, song texts, the stage image and lifestyle of musicians.

Although our guide confesses of being completely indifferent to the local music and political events of the time, it is worth mentioning that the exact spirit of rebellion and resistance, which in the West was expressing exclusively the attitude of the younger generation towards the ultraconservative, hypocritical, and conformist lifestyle, in separate cases became a phenomenon uniting all generations in Latvia. For instance, the rock ballade “Dzimtā valoda” (“Mother Tongue”) by Līvi with patriotic and nationalistic lyrics won the 1986 “Mikrofons” chart and became one of the unofficial hymns of the Latvian National Awakening.³⁴ In case of the local rock bands like Līvi and Pērkonis, the rebellion potential was targeted at that very same direction as the political thought of the Awakening movement. The music of several rock bands therefore had directly to do with the collapse of the Soviet system, although these bands were sustained by and to a certain extent monitored by that very same system (the groups could exist as vocally instrumental groups under the shelter of a kolkhoz, a sovkhos or a factory). The situation was also similar in other European countries in the Communist bloc. Had the rock music in this part of the world become a prophet as indicated by Attali – a real, clean political power, which would stir a revolution – the fall of the Berlin Wall, the breaking of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union? However, musicologist and historian Jolanta Pekacz concludes that “East European rock music in the 1980s *accompanied* a final state of the process that inevitably led to the political change, rather than that it played a somewhat more significant role.” [Emphasis in the original – A.T.].³⁵

While the role of the local rock in the political events of the 80s is still to be analysed, the criticism present in the Western rock music remained simply a rhetorical gesture with no real action to follow. Even the most furious protest was fitted into the system that it was targeted against. The records and merchandise of musicians preaching anarchy and freethinking as radically as Manson, are commodities just like a Barbie doll or a Big Mac, making their career just ‘another brick in the wall’ of the building of the unjust capitalist ideology.³⁶ Grossberg aptly captures this inner contradiction: “Rock and roll’s resistance - its politics - is neither a direct rejection of the dominant culture nor a utopian negation (fantasy) of the structures of power. It plays with the very practice that the dominant culture uses to resist its resistance: incorporation and expropriation in a continuous dialectic that reproduces the very boundary of existence. Because its resistance remains, however, within the political and economic space of the dominant culture, its revolution is only a ‘simulacrum’.”³⁷ By studying the functions of rock music and its significance in the countries of the

Communist bloc, Pekacz arrived at a similar conclusion: many rock musicians were more interested in ‘adapting’ to the *status quo*, than in destroying it (e.g. the GDR); rock ‘revolt’ was not *against* the dominant culture, but *within* it. “[Emphasis in the original – A.T.].”³⁸

Jacques Attali is even harsher in his reasoning. He refers to the arresting of the 80s rock star prototype Jim Morrison, the poet and lead singer of The Doors for ‘misbehaviour’ during a concert in Miami in 1969. This misunderstanding (in 2010 the State of Florida exonerated Morrison due to lack of sufficient proof) put an end to Morrison’s career and to The Doors. Since then, according to Attali, Western rock music has been castrated, domesticated, and bound to the rules of the mass market and “thus a degraded, censored, artificial music took center stage. Mass music for an anesthetized market.”³⁹ Yet such personalities as Manson often are capable of at least *épater le bourgeois*, following the honourable tradition of Charles Baudelaire or Arthur Rimbaud and generating an illusion of an alternative living and thinking space, letting someone believe in the chance to escape the fatality of all the Neverlands in the world.

*Pull my trigger, I get bigger
Then I'm lots of fun
I'm your gun*

Alice Cooper, “I’m Your Gun”
(1989)

“Rock music of the 80s was largely composed of an electric guitar, long hair, tight leather pants, and tattoos”, our guide believes. Plus the commonsensical argument – it had the energy one only has in their youth. The widely accepted belief is that rock music expresses a generational conflict, an uprising of the youth against the values and principles of their parents. Grossberg believes that the music industry “produced a ‘generational politics’, which can be described structurally as a politics of difference and exclusion, and substantively as a politics of boredom.”⁴⁰ Attali offers another paradox – it was not the youth who chose rock and roll, but rock and roll as a product of the mass music market constructed the youth. The economy generated a specific target audience with “its own culture different from that of the adults”, besides “the youth see it as the expression of their revolts, the mouthpiece of their dreams and needs,

³³ Halnon, “Heavy Metal Carnival and Dis-alienation: The Politics of Grotesque Realism,” 34.

³⁴ The record of this song was issued only in 1994, in a CD titled “Karogi” (“Banners”).

³⁵ Jolanta Pekacz, “Did Rock Smash the Wall? The Role of Rock in Political Transition,” *Popular Music* 13, no. 1 (1994), 47.

³⁶ Reference to Pink Floyd composition “Another Brick in the Wall” from the album *The Wall* (1979).

³⁷ Grossberg, “Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life,” 232.

³⁸ Pekacz, “Did Rock Smash the Wall? The Role of Rock in Political Transition,” 48.

³⁹ Attali, *Noise: the political economy of music*, 105.

⁴⁰ Grossberg, “Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life,” 238

Researchers have revealed a rather paradoxical presence of general confinement of social relations in the commodity.⁴¹

Whatever it is, rock music is only possible when you are young. Rock stars on stage would jump and sweat through some kind of Dionysian rituals, compatible with the energetic, emotionally uplifting sound of this music. Lead singers learn gestures and movements from such stars of the previous generation as Robert Plant, Jim Morrison, Mick Jagger, Freddie Mercury, and in some cases compensate the lack of unique talent with enthusiasm. The concert recordings made up a large part of the 80s music video materials and the ecstatic atmosphere in these videos was often underlined by shots of excited fan crowds. For example, such videos as "You Give Love a Bad Name" (1986) by Bon Jovi, "Final Countdown" (1986) by Europe, "Love Removal Machine", "Lil'Devil" (1987) and "Wild Hearted Son" (1991) by The Cult, "Everybody Loves Eileen" and "I'll Never Let You Go" (1990) by Steelheart, "Monkey Business" (1991) by Skid Row, etc. manifest this tendency.⁴²

In separate cases the charisma of the lead singers is based on an astonishing combination of an astounding voice and an angelic face of a twenty-something. Our guide mentions Miljenko Matijevic, the lead singer of Steelheart, and Sebastian Bach, the lead singer of Skid Row, who announced his surprising vocal skills with the hit song "I Remember You" (1989). If many other singers of the decade had no similar vocal gifts, then definitely all of them did have the long hair and the skinny leather pants mentioned by the guide. Writers sometimes use the disdainful notion of cock rock to denote rock with characteristically aggressive displays of male sexuality. In line with Grossberg, this is "music of bodily desire."⁴³ Yet it does not at once become clear who has desire for whom.

A certain sexual ambiguity or at least uncertainty could be referred to men using make-up and having female hairdos, simultaneously focusing the attention of the audience on their chest hair and genitals and "performing the outdated narratives of phallic guitar heroism."⁴⁴ Even more so, because of the traditional belief that rock music consumers predominantly were younger men, more homoerotic motifs seem to be present. Yet in this case the lyrical hero of rock and roll still is a heterosexual male, which is confusing: he can be either the world conqueror or a dumped lover, but most certainly not gay.⁴⁵ Behaviour and image elements, which could be deemed feminine in the context of the fashion and lifestyle of our time, paradoxically are being fused into the general masculine ideology of this music. Tights, eyeliners, and perm rather paradoxically functioned as attributes of masculinity.⁴⁶

Manifestation of androgyny or at least of an uncertain gender identity in the cock rock world is the proletarian offspring of the aristocratic dandyism of the 18th and 19th centuries. The aesthetic refinement of George Byron, Oscar Wilde, and Aubrey Beardsley was recaptured by David Bowie in the 70s, who "was perhaps the pioneer of androgyny in his incarnation as Ziggy Stardust"⁴⁷ characterized by "sexual undecidability, thereby avoiding the modernist gender strategy".⁴⁸ In the 80s this sexual undecidability was reduced to the standard of long hair and leather pants combined with the kind of un-masculine manifestations of weakness in the popular rock ballades. Yet, as Lauren Goodlad

concludes, "art is androgynous, but the artist is presumptively male."⁴⁹ If rock music of this era had any true macho hero at all, it could only have been the demonic Glenn Danzig, who at the time had the most athletic torso, the most menacing look, and who could easily tame an alligator with his bare hands (see the video for "I'm the One," 1990).

The lyrical heroes of cock rock songs – men, who suffer, cry, and endure – often "feminized themselves through painful mourning for a lost female partner."⁵⁰ At the same time the suffering was balanced out by expressions of traditional and victorious masculinity: "ultimate triumph and ultimate despair – often within the same song – that may be understood as modern expressions of masculine individualism. (. . .) As is reflected in heavy metal songs, suffering and domination exist in a dialectical relationship, where the former often gives rise to the latter."⁵¹ Therefore the feminization of the masculine hero in 80s rock music was not consciously linked to any homoerotic motives. Susan Fast has found that the rock music phenomenon overthrows the feminist theory of Laura Mulvey of the dominant and active male gaze. In rock music – quite the opposite – the male body is displayed as an object controlled by the female gaze, her erotic desires and pleasures.⁵²

In his turn our Neverland guide admits: "Back then I had no idea about all of this. I had no clue what homosexuality, feminism, or psychoanalysis was. I should have grown up and become a tractor driver, an engineer, or a sports teacher, but at the age of fourteen it dawned on me that I wanted to be a rock star on stage, to shake my hair, and make noise with an electric guitar. The only major disappointment of my life – I had no idea that rock and roll was not an ongoing party, but essentially the same tough labour of the sawmill. I am where I wanted to be, but nothing in here is like what I once imagined."

⁴¹ Attali, *Noise: the political economy of music*, 109-110.

⁴² Only in separate cases have there been short films levelling up to Michael Jackson's *Thriller* (1984) and having a considerable narrative. Among the exceptions there is "Runaway" (1984) by Bon Jovi, "Cradle of Love" (1990) by Billy Idol and "November Rain" (1991) by Guns N'Roses.

⁴³ Grossberg, "Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life," 238.

⁴⁴ Medovoi, "Mapping the Rebel Image: Postmodernism and the Masculinist Politics of Rock in the U.S.A.," 180.

⁴⁵ See for example, Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: power, gender, and madness in heavy metal music* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993).

⁴⁶ For example, on hair as symbolic for sexuality and ideology, see Anthony Synnott, "Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair," *The British Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 3 (1987). 381, 394.

⁴⁷ Synnott, "Shame and Glory: A Sociology of Hair," 399-400.

⁴⁸ Medovoi, "Mapping the Rebel Image: Postmodernism and the Masculinist Politics of Rock in the U.S.A.," 181.

⁴⁹ Lauren M. E. Goodlad, "Looking for Something Forever Gone: Gothic Masculinity, Androgyny, and Ethics at the Turn of the Millennium," *Cultural Critique*, no. 66 (2007), 107.

⁵⁰ Goodlad, "Looking for Something Forever Gone," 110.

⁵¹ Adam Rafalovich, "Broken and Becoming God-Sized: Contemporary Metal Music and Masculine Individualism," *Symbolic Interaction* 29, no. 1 (2006), 20.

⁵² Fast, "Rethinking Issues of Gender and Sexuality in Led Zeppelin: A Woman's View of Pleasure and Power in Hard Rock," 277.

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