

THE SUBCULTURAL GROUP OF HARDCOREPUNK
Sociological research of the group members' social origin and their
attitudes to nation, religion and the consumer society values

UDC 316.723 (497.11)

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Abstract. *The aim of this essay is re-actualizing the issue of subcultures in our sociological studies, as well as defining a new sub-cultural group, which has not been studied so far. For this purpose, here we interpret the results of an empirical research of the hardcore-punk subcultural group members' social origin and their attitudes to nation, religion and the consumer society values. The research was carried out in Belgrade and Nis in the period July-October 2005, as a part of the undergraduate honours thesis.*

After defining the notions of culture and subculture, and presenting the most important characteristics of the already mentioned subcultural group, we examine the group members' social origin and their attitudes to nation, religion and the values of the consumer society. The general conclusion is that members of the hardcore-punk subculture have clearly defined attitudes expressed in terms of explicit non-nationalism, atheistic orientation followed by taking a negative stance towards the church as an institution, together with the non-acceptance of the consumer mentality. These attitudes point to the fact that hardcore-punk has preserved and built on its identity as a sub-cultural group, regardless of the pervasive inclinations of the past fifteen years in our environment, the ones concerning the Nation and the Church. These inclinations include taking a positive stance towards religion, "returning" to the church, and world globalizing trends concerning the imposition of the values of the consumer mentality.

Key words: *subculture, the subcultural group of hardcore-punk, values, nation, religion, consumer mentality.*

PUNK AND HARDCORE-PUNK

The subcultural group of hardcore-punk appeared within the movement and the sub-cultural group of punk, but there were some significant differences and disputes which set up the viewpoints of hardcore-punk against those which had started to alter in punk, resulting in hardcore-punk becoming a separate entity.

Punk movement arose in Great Britain in 1976, as a reaction to the poor social conditions (growing rate of unemployment among the young, inadequate housing conditions etc.). Deprived of the chance to get a job and surrounded by the atmosphere of complete lack of any perspective, young people of mainly working-class origin initiated the rise of punk-rock music and punk movement in general. They began to shape their discontent and revolt against the general status quo in the society through "punk", which itself was a unity of punk music and a peculiar style. Punk did not bring many novelties in terms of music, which was a combination of several distinct musical styles varying from rock to reggae. However, the enthusiasm and socially-critical lyrics which characterized it clearly indicated the level of dissatisfaction, but also consciousness of the poor situation in which the youth of that time appeared to be. Alienation became tangible in punk, one could practically touch it (Hebdidž 1980:9). This alienation was expressed through the punk style, and members of this movement often tended to deliberately violate and voluntarily accept the status of exiles. These were the tactics that, as Levi-Strauss put it, "*could make the mothers' hair go grey*". The punk style implied a distorted reflection of all the major subcultures after WWII: it included heavy boots, neckties, chains, leather jackets, raincoats, bright colors, clothes pegs, clothespins, classical trousers, T-shirts written all over, slippers etc.

Such a style, which could well be called "*the aesthetics of the ugly*", was more often than not equated with kitsch, a pointless accumulation of banal objects, a bizarre combination of colours, as well as an attempt of putting together things which could never be put together. Punk definitely is not kitsch - it should rather be described as a conscious and deliberate violation of the values which automatically get generally-accepted. The purpose of this rejection is to clearly show punks' refusal of and confrontation with the hypocritical world in which they live. In this sense, Nikola Božilović says: "...a deliberate ridicule of the meaning and disclosure of the insincere relations attracts a punk more than anything else." (Božilović 2002:32).

Concerning the meaning of the subculture and its style, in the introduction to the book entitled "*Subculture: The Meaning of Style*" Dick Hebdige has written: "The meaning of the subculture [...] is always disputable, and the style is the field where the opposed definitions dramatically clash". He describes the process through which the objects were assigned the sense of a subcultural "style". In line with this, he says:

This process begins by violating the natural order, although the turning may [...] seemingly be insignificant – the care about the curls on the forehead, obtaining [...] the records or a particular type of clothes. However, it ends up with the construction of a style, the act of defiance or contempt, the smile or the grin. It points out to the rejection. In a way, I consider this rejection valuable, the acts meaningful, the smile and the grin somehow subversive [...] (1980:9).

Owing to its directness and prominence, punk movement has been attracting the attention of the general public practically from the beginning. The press and TV programs were full of shocking articles and reports on the activities of the punks. Punk bands found themselves in the focus of major labels, and this is how punk was commercialized while it was still developing; it got involved in the machinery of spectacle and, what is more, became a part of it. As early as 1977, a few punk bands had already experienced commercial "success": *The Clash*, *The Stranglers*, *The Jam* and *The Sex Pistols* of course (all of them had been signed by major labels). As a reaction to this turn of events, some punk maga-

zines (fanzines) openly criticized such bands, as well as the commercialization of punk in general. This criticism could be understood as a foreshadowing of certain divisions that would soon take place within punk movement. Here we present a quote from the fanzine "*Sniffin' Glue*", which lucidly criticizes the commercialization of punk and, in addition, suggests how to fight it:

Punk has lost a great deal of its strength, and the media showed us their power again. Well, the time has come for us to show them what we can. I think it would be best if we should stop buying the records. Yeah, stop buying the records! You better go and watch a band live, as I'm pretty much convinced that the moment they get the contract with a major label, they can no longer decide on what's acceptable and what's not. If we should stop buying the records, it means that the fat agents could squeeze not a single penny from us anymore. If the reverse is true, we are nothing but to become home-punks, and all the small bands are to be absorbed by some new super bands. What we need is communication. If you want to say something, don't wait for a record which will speak on your behalf to appear. Instead, visit some gigs, no matter where and when, dance, sing, yell. Don't let them sell you out! (Stjuart 1985:48).

These were the very reasons why hardcore-punk separated from punk and became a fraction on its own, somewhere at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's when bands such as *Black Flag*, *Minor Threat* etc. appeared. Just as the name itself suggests, it is the most solid (hard core) fraction of punk. The basis, concerning both the music and the lyrics, was drawn from the original punk, and represents a well known and thoroughly studied topic in sociology (See: Hebdidž 1980:67-74). Nonetheless, what would in Marxist terminology be called "superstructure," here possesses certain (important) distinctive features. The hardcore fraction within punk movement appeared at the moment when a number of punk bands became TV attractions, the emphasis was put on their superficiality and appearance, and the essence was pushed into the background. Such bands are assigned the label "major" and a number of punks consider these "the traitors" of the original ideas of punk movement. These ideas are in most cases well known: the idea of the free individual, the individual who cannot have a "price", anti-militarism, a certain level of ecological consciousness, fighting discrimination in all its forms etc. The aim of the hardcore fraction of punk was to protect these fundamental values, and for this purpose punk served as a basis for its superstructure – hardcore punk, which at the same time divorced itself from a part of punk practice.

The main characteristics of hardcore punk subculture members are:

- 1) hardcore punk music
- 2) independent hardcore punk scene
- 3) DIY (do it yourself) culture
- 4) fanzines
- 5) straight edge
- 6) vegetarianism
- 7) sexual liberties and anti-sexism
- 8) atheism
- 9) non-nationalism
- 10) anti-consumerism
- 11) anti-globalism

1) Hardcore punk music is the main characteristic of the hardcore punk subculture. The music is the basis for a great deal of other activities in this subculture: it is a means of expressing the attitudes, spreading the ideas and communicating among the members of the subculture.

From its beginning until nowadays, several distinct sub-genres have been derived from hardcore punk: old school hardcore punk, new school hardcore punk, emo (emotional) hardcore punk, crust hardcore punk, pop punk or melodic hardcore etc. Each of these is peculiar in its own way, both in terms of the music and the lyrics. For instance, emo hardcore is characterized by very intensive vocals and introspective lyrics which usually express the feelings of love, sorrow, hope, suffering, whereas crust hardcore implies extremely loud, fast and robust music and the lyrics which are almost exclusively socio-political.

2) Independent hardcore punk scene implies an entire system based on the creation and the distribution of musical and written material (fanzines, bulletins, brochures), organizing concerts, promoting new issues etc. Small independent labels are also a structural part of the scene. The interesting fact about these labels is that they usually deal with a limited number of bands of a particular hardcore punk sub-genre. The system of the distribution of the material is significantly based on the exchange principle, and if a product (CD, cassette, fanzine...) has a price, then it usually equals the costs of the production.

3) DIY is the abbreviation of "do it yourself". Most of hardcore punk bands accept this stance and both prepare their recordings for the distribution and distribute them on their own. DIY stance is also valid for fanzine-making, concert-organizing and so on. It should be underlined that DIY spirit is not restricted to hardcore punk scene only, but plays a significant role in the private lives of the subculture members, even in dealing with everyday problems.

4) Fanzines are the commonest written form of expression within hardcore punk subculture. The content of fanzines can vary from assorted scene information, concert reports, reviews of the musical releases or other fanzines, over interviews and columns to poetry and drawings. Fanzines usually have one or two authors (and very rarely more than two) and this is what makes them a distinctly personal read. They are distributed in the DIY manner, and some of the reasons for their appearance are the reinforcing of the scene, improving the communication, the need for the expression of personal views and opinions. Beside standard fanzines in paper format, there also exist web-fanzines, available on the internet.

5) Straight edge is the movement which first appeared in North America. It urges an absolutely healthy way of life, free of vices (drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, promiscuity etc.). Fast and robust music is the substitution for all the vices, and very often vegetarianism is a part of this movement, too. The symbol of the movement is a sign "X", taken from the early 1970's, when it was a practice to mark the upper part of the juveniles' hands on entering nightclubs, as a sign of prohibiting them from buying alcohol. Later, this sign was massively used as a symbol of the voluntary renunciation of alcohol taking. The most important straight edge bands are *Minor Threat*, *Youth of Today*, *Earth Crisis*...

6) Vegetarianism, as a part of the hardcore punk subculture, appeared as a direct consequence of two factors: the idea of animal liberation and the rights of the animals to live,

and the growing consciousness of the existence of an alternative to the mainstream way of life, including the diet.

7) Sexual liberties and anti-sexism are inherent parts of the hardcore punk movement's starting points: freedom of the individual and the right of personal choice.

8) Atheism is another characteristic of the subculture which reflects the rejection of the imposed authority, in this case the church as an institution of control over the individual.

9) Non-nationalism is one of the most evident characteristics of the subculture. It reflects the belief that identification with a nation has more negative than positive effects. It is believed that all people are absolutely equal, so the divisions into nations and races are unneeded.

10) Anti-consumerism is another form of resistance to the imposed needs of the modern society and the consumer spirit which is permanently being implanted into people's minds starting from the early childhood, with the generous help of mass media (through advertising, fashion etc.) This is how individuals unconsciously become alienated, and the contest for objects and their possession becomes the essence of one's living.

11) Anti-globalism is above all the opposition to the neo-liberal concept of modern society and the economic and political globalization where big multinational corporations do their businesses with monopolies on the global level, and where a few (economically advanced) countries decide on the global politics, with disastrous consequences for the poor and small countries. This negative stance towards globalization excludes cultural contacts and merging of cultures since, in the opinion of the subculture members, such contacts and merging can only be mutually beneficial.

The great division within punk movement and the separation of hardcore punk in this part of Europe (the territory of the Former Yugoslavia) happened somewhere in 1983-1984, at the moment when the media lost their interest in punk, and instead focused upon the socio-political turbulence which clearly signaled the upcoming crisis of the entire society. The crisis of the Yugoslav society, which spanned the 1980's and reached its climax at the beginning of the 1990's greatly influenced the cultural development of the country, including the creation and development of certain subcultures. Hardcore punk emerged, I dare say, as a logical phase in the evolution of punk movement which took place at the moment when a whole set of fundamental values of a society started being questioned. The punk of the beginnings, which was characterized by clumsily channeled revolt and explicit nihilism, was directed through hardcore punk to the actual needs of the individual for personal enlightenment and the authentic comprehension of the world. We can deduce this by analyzing either the lyrics of the hardcore punk bands' songs or the content of the fanzines of that time. The most commonly covered issues were: false representation of reality, dark and disappointing future, the individual captured in the gap between needs and duties, the repressive society disguised as the great protector. Some of the ideas they proposed were the care about nature, vegetarianism, ridiculing masculine chauvinism and the forthcoming trend of "the national awakening". The representatives of the first generation of hardcore punk bands of the 1980's were: *U.B.R.*, *Odpatki civilizacije*, *Stres državnog aparata*, *Tožibabe*, *Epidemija*, *Kontejner A.D.*, *Solunski front*, *Herpes distres* (later *Distres*), *Dva minuta mržnje*, *Civili*, *Arhivska zabava*, *Pogrebni zavod*, *Patareni*, *Ženevski dekret*, *Heler*, *Nekrofilija*, *KBO!*, *Proces*, *Pasmaters*, *Progres*, *Mentalni nered*

etc. As far as the fanzines are concerned, their titles were mainly in tune with their content, but also with the dominant social atmosphere, viewed from the position of the disaffected youth. The most prominent ones were: *Predskazanje*, *Korpus delikti*, *Epitaf*, *Vrnitev opisanih*, *Ples slomljenog dupeta na vetru*, *Oprem dobro*, *600 000 razloga da odustanete* etc.

The break-up of the Former Yugoslavia and the conflicts that took place on its territory had a great effect on the hardcore punk scene. It was disintegrated into Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian scenes. On the other hand, all the catastrophes that followed these events further encouraged the hardcore punk nucleus to stick to its beliefs and the seemingly respective scenes have continued to successfully coordinate to these days.

THE RESEARCH AND THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

The subject of the research is focused on studying the characteristics of the subcultural group of hardcore punk, as a phenomenon which has practically never been discussed in our sociological analyses.

The **aim** of the research was examining the social characteristics of the subcultural group of hardcore punk, principally the social origin and the attitudes to nation, religion and the values of the consumer society of the group members, but also testing whether the profile of their attitudes is actually in accordance with the declared value choices.

The research had several **tasks** to accomplish:

- 1) Establishing the social origin of the group members, as the primary task
- 2) Examining the group members' attitudes to their own and other nations, and nationalism in general
- 3) Testing the examinees' attitudes to religion, as well as their religious affiliation, the aim of which was to prove the hypothesis concerning the majority of the group members declaring as atheists
- 4) Checking the examinees' attitudes to the values of the consumer society, concerning the hypothesis about the group members categorical anti-consumerist orientation

The hypotheses which we have tested through the research were set up as following:

- 1) The first assumption concerns the social origin (we assumed that the majority of the hardcore punk subcultural group members belonged to the working class)
- 2) According to the second assumption, non-nationalism is highly evident among the group's members. Such an attitude is based on one of the fundamental ideas of hardcore punk movement, namely, the idea of the absolute equality of all the people
- 3) The next assumption concerns the group members' views about religion, and here we assume atheism as a dominant orientation of practically all the examinees. They are particularly explicit in taking a negative stance to the institution of church, which they experience as another mechanism for controlling people
- 4) The last assumption concerns the widespread anti-consumerist attitude among the members of hardcore punk movement

As far as the spatial-temporal framework is concerned, the research was carried out in Nis and Belgrade, both in urban areas and in suburbia, taking a sample of sixty examinees – members of the given subcultural group, in the period July-October 2005.

The **results** of the research were obtained empirically, using the method of the interview, for which we applied a firmly structuralized pattern which included the following segments:

- 1) The questions belonging to the first segment of the questionnaire inform us about the rudimentary socio-demographic characteristics of the examinees
- 2) The second segment includes questions about the national affiliation, and the attitude to nationalism tested through the examinees views to their own, as well as to other nations
- 3) The third part consists of the questions informing us about the examinees' attitudes to religion in general, as well as to the church as an institution
- 4) The last segment of the questionnaire provides us with information concerning the examinees' attitudes to the values of the consumer mentality, which tends to be more and more present in the modern society

The analysis of the obtained data was performed according to a hypothetical framework, and the presentation of the results is given with respect to each hypothesis.

Our first hypothesis concerns social origin. Here we assumed that the members of the hardcore punk subculture belong to the working class. We will first refer to Table 1, which displays the level of fathers' education, and the table 2, which displays the examinees fathers' occupation:

Table 1. Distribution of the examinees' frequencies concerning father's education

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid ES	16	26.7	26.7	26.7
SSS	33	55.0	55.0	81.7
HE	4	6.7	6.7	88.3
ULST	7	11.7	11.7	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 2. Distribution of the examinees' frequencies concerning father's occupation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Unemployed	3	5.0	5.0	5.0
Worker	35	58.3	58.3	63.3
Clerk	10	16.7	16.7	80.0
Artisan	2	3.3	3.3	83.3
Private entrepreneur	2	3.3	3.3	86.7
Other	5	8.3	8.3	95.0
8	3	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Judging by the results in these two tables, we can conclude that the hypothesis concerning the subculture members' social origin proved to be valid.

In the second hypothesis, we assumed that non-nationalism is highly evident among the group members, that is to say, there is no national affiliation developed, nor is there any intolerance of other nations noticed.

The second set of questions from the questionnaire deals with testing this hypothesis. We will look at some frequencies of the answers in Tables 3, 4 and 5:

Table 3. Distribution of the examinees' frequencies concerning national affiliation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Serb	23	38.3	38.3	38.3
Yugoslav	6	10.0	10.0	48.3
Other	22	36.7	36.7	85.0
Not assigned	9	15.0	15.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 4. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Would you mind your neighbor belonging to another nation?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid				
No, I would not mind that at all	60	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Would you marry a person of another nationality?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Yes	53	88.3	88.3	88.3
No	4	6.7	6.7	95.0
Never gave it a thought	3	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 3 clearly illustrates that only 38.3% of the examinees declared themselves as Serbs, 15% did not want to declare anyhow, and 36.7% belonged to the category of "other" where the answers were: cosmopolitan, declaring by personal name and surname etc. This suggests that over two thirds of the examinees do not consider themselves the representatives of the major nation in the country they live in.

Table 4, which considers the question about the examinees' attitudes to the coexistence with the members of other nationalities, shows that 100% of the answers confirm a readiness to accept this way of life, which is itself telling enough of the openness to the members of other ethnicities.

Table 5 includes the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question about marrying a member of another nationality, and we can see that 88.3% of the examinees would marry such a person, while 5.0% had never actually given it a serious thought. We suspected that, if there had been any distrust of other nations, then it would have surely been registered, as the question was rather personal. Considering the fact that only 6.7% of the answers to the question were negative, we can conclude that the examinees have practically no prejudice against other nations, nor are there any traces of positive stereotypes concerning their own ethnicity.

From this set of questions, which tests the examinees' attitudes to the issue of nationalism, we will choose the one concerning the civil war in the Former Yugoslavia, and see the answers to the questions on the crimes committed:

Table 6. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Do you think the Serbs committed crimes in the civil war?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Yes	48	80.0	80.0	80.0
Probably yes	12	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

The table, as well as the results which follow, provides us with the answers which validate our second hypothesis, about the highly evident non-nationalism among the group members.

Here we can see that the majority of the examinees would enjoy a visit to Croatia, whereas a small portion of them was not sure. However, it should be emphasized that there were no negative answers, which confirms our hypothesis about the evident non-nationalism in the hardcore punk subculture.

The third hypothesis of the research refers to religion and church, and here we assumed that the majority of the subculture members would declare themselves to be atheists, and be taking a negative stance to church as an institution. In accord with this hypothesis we formulated the third set of questions, which covers several aspects of religiousness.

We will now present the distribution and the comments from some of the answers:

Table 7. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Do you think that people need religion?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid They do	3	5.0	5.0	5.0
They do not	57	95.0	95.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. Distribution of the examinees' frequencies concerning religiousness

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid A believer	1	1.7	1.7	1.7
Non-aligned	5	8.3	8.3	10.0
Not a believer	18	30.0	30.0	40.0
An atheist	36	60.0	60.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 9. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Do you think that religion is harmful to people?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Yes	51	85.0	85.0	85.0
No particular attitude on this issue	8	13.3	13.3	98.3
No	1	1.7	1.7	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

As the data presented in the previous tables clearly illustrate, the answers to the questions about religiousness are decided. Thus, judging from Table 7, we can conclude that actually 95% of the examinees do not think that people need religion, whereas there are only 5% of those who agree with the statement.

Table 8 includes a question which directly tested our assumption from the third hypothesis. There we could see that 60% of the examinees declared themselves to be atheists, 30% chose "not a believer", 8,3% were "undecided", and only 1,7% affirmed being believers. Taking all these data into consideration, we can conclude that this hypothesis is valid, too.

In Table 9 we can see that 85% of the interviewees think religion is harmful to people. The reason for such a high percentage of positive answers concerning the question about the harmfulness of religion can be found in the answers obtained to the question *Why do (not) people need religion?*, as this question allowed enough room for the two fundamental reasons explaining why people do not need religion to crystallize.

The first of the reasons listed was the restriction of the individuals' freedom, which coincides with one of the subculture's major characteristics we mentioned in the theoretical part- the idea of a free individual.

The second reason explaining why religion is unnecessary is that it incites hatred. This view is most likely based on the fact that religion played a significant role in a great number of conflicts throughout history, as well as the fact that the church was directly involved in the civil war which took place in the Former Yugoslavia.

The answer belonging to either of these two categories was provided by 46.7% of the interviewees in total, whereas 53.3% of them either did not give any particular answer, or did not want to answer the question at all.

In the second part of the third hypothesis we presupposed that the examinees would take a negative stance to church as an institution. These are the results obtained:

Table 10. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
What is your general attitude to church as an institution?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid No particular attitude on this issue	7	11.7	11.7	11.7
Negative one	53	88.3	88.3	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

In fact, 88.3% of the interviewees took a negative stance to church as an institution, 11.7% of them had no particular opinion on this issue. There were no answers which would express a positive stance. This also clearly validates the second part of our hypothesis, where we presupposed atheistic orientation as the dominant one among members of the hardcore punk subculture. Taking a negative stance to the church is confirmed as well.

The fourth hypothesis implies the supposition about the evident anti-consumerist attitude cherished by the members of the hardcore punk subculture, which we tested through asking a set of questions concerning the specific values of the modern consumer society. Here is the distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to some of these questions:

Table 11. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Do commercials generally attract your attention?

	Frequency	percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Yes	2	3.3	3.4	3.4
Sometimes	16	26.7	27.1	30.5
No	41	68.3	69.5	100.0
Total	59	98.3	100.0	
Missing System	1	1.7		
Total	60	100.0		

Table 12. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Do you buy products which are advertised intensively?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid No	55	91.7	91.7	91.7
Yes	5	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

The advertisement, as a very important and powerful medium of the consumer society, greatly influences the need for commodities and the habit of selecting goods when doing the shopping. The first two analyzed questions from this set are concerned precisely with advertising. Table 11 illustrates the following: when asked *Do commercials generally attract your attention?* 68.3% of the interviewees replied "no", 26.7% of them replied "sometimes", whereas only a small portion – 3.3% replied "yes".

The frequency of the examinees' answers from Table 12 relates to the question *Do you buy products which are advertised intensively?* As 91.0% of the answers are negative, it is obvious that members of the hardcore punk subculture are not affected by the values of the consumer society.

Table 13. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
Do you drive a car?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Yes	6	10.0	10.0	10.0
No	54	90.0	90.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Table 14. Distribution of the frequencies of the examinees' answers to the question:
When did you last go on holiday?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid This summer/winter	7	11.7	11.9	11.9
Last summer/winter	7	11.7	11.9	23.7
Summer/ winter before last	1	1.7	1.7	25.4
Three years ago	6	10.0	10.2	35.6
Four years ago	3	5.0	5.1	40.7
Five years ago	11	18.3	18.6	59.3
More than five years ago	24	40.0	40.7	100.0
Total	59	98.3	100.0	
Missing System	1	1.7		
Total	60	100.0		

Tables 13 and 14 display the distribution of answers to the set of questions which we used to directly test some of the interviewees' additional attitudes to a few important values of the consumer mentality.

These tables show the distribution of the examinees' answers to the questions concerning driving a car and going on a holiday, as two inherent characteristics of modern consumerism. When asked the question *Do you drive a car?* 90.0% of the answers were negative, and when asked *When did you last time go on holiday*, actually 40.0% of the interviewees replied with *More than five years ago*, whereas only 11.7% of the examinees answered *This winter/ summer*.

At the end of this set about the values of the consumer mentality, we can conclude that the assumption concerning the evident presence of an anti-consumerist spirit among members of the hardcore punk subculture proved to be completely valid, which was confirmed through checking the examinees' attitudes to the major characteristics of modern consumer society.

CONCLUSION

As a result of the research undertaken on the hardcore punk subculture in Nis and Belgrade, the scale of the fundamental values of the subculture has been formed.

Within the hypothetical framework of the research, we posted several hypotheses concerning the subculture members' most important attitudes, which we tested empirically and, by analyzing the obtained results, we concluded that all the hypotheses proved to be valid.

- 1) The first hypothesis relates to the subculture members' social origin. It was presupposed that the majority of the interviewees belonged to the working class, and this was proven by checking the fathers' education and occupation. However, it should be mentioned that beside a working class origin, which is a dominant one, a number of subculture members belongs to higher social classes.
- 2) The hypothesis concerning the evident non-nationalism within the subculture was validated as well. By this hypothesis we wanted to check whether the hardcore punk subculture still cherished the atmosphere of equality of all the people, regardless of their national, religious or any other affiliation, as nowadays we are experiencing the re-establishment of the traditional values concerning national affiliation and nationalism in general. It was proven that this trend did not influence the subculture members' attitudes, and that the belief in the ultimate equality of all the people was preserved.
- 3) With the third hypothesis, we presumed non-religiousness, i.e. atheism as well as taking a negative stance to church as an institution to be the choice of the majority of the subculture members. This hypothesis was also validated, and we conclude that even in this case the trend of re-establishing religiousness and reinforcing the role of the church in the society (a process which has been actively taking place throughout the last decade), did not have a major influence on the given subculture members.
- 4) Our last hypothesis has to do with the assumption about the presence of anti-consumerist spirit within the hardcore punk subculture, specifically the rejection of the achievements of the consumer mentality in modern society. Through testing their attitudes to fashion, advertisements, holidays, fast food etc. this hypothesis was confirmed, too. This suggests that the given subculture members are fully aware of the actual and the imposed needs of the individual in the modern society; furthermore, it elucidates the rejection of the consumer mentality.

The aim of this research of the hardcore-punk subcultural group was to determine some of its fundamental and general characteristics since, as it has already been mentioned, until now it has never been the subject of scientific-methodological studies.

Through analyzing some of the chief attitudes of its members, we intended to indicate that the hardcore-punk subcultural group indeed is a separate social group, with characteristics, peculiarities, needs and activities on its own, and thus prepare the ground for further research on this issue.

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HARDCOREPUNK POTKULTURNA GRUPA

Sociološko istraživanje socijalnog porekla i stavova prema naciji, religiji i vrednostima potrošačkog društva kod pripadnika ove potkulturne grupe

Dario Milenković

Ovaj tekst je pokušaj da se reaktuelizuje tema potkultura u sociološkim istraživanjima kod nas, kao i da se definiše jedna do sada neobrađivana potkulturna grupa. U tu svrhu interpretiramo rezultate empirijskog istraživanja socijalnog porekla i stavova prema naciji, religiji i vrednostima potrošačkog društva kod pripadnika hardcorepunk potkulturne grupe u Nišu i Beogradu, koje je sprovedeno u okviru diplomskog rada u periodu jul-oktobar 2005.

Nakon definisanja pojmova kulture i potkulture, i prikazivanja osnovnih karakteristika pomenute potkulturne grupe, proverava se socijalno poreklo i stavovi kod njenih pripadnika prema naciji, religiji i vrednostima potrošačkog društva. Opšti zaključak je da ova potkulturna grupa ima čvrsto izdiferencirane stavove u smislu izrazitog nenacionalizma, ateističkog opredeljenja, uz negativan stav prema crkvi kao instituciji, i neprihvatanja potrošačkog mentaliteta. Ovakvi stavovi ukazuju na činjenicu da je hardcorepunk potkulturna grupa sačuvala i dalje nadgradila svoj grupni identitet bez obzira na opštevažeće trendove u poslednjoj deceniji i po na našim prostorima vezanim za Naciju i Crkvu, koji se kreću u smeru pozitivnog odnosa prema religiji, "vraćanju" Crkvi, kao i svetske globalizacijske trendove vezane za nametanje vrednosti potrošačkog mentaliteta.

Ključne reči: *potkultura, hardcorepunk potkulturna grupa, vrednost, nacija, religija, potrošački mentalitet*