

Subcultures, Bodies and Spaces

EMERALD STUDIES IN ALTERNATIVITY AND MARGINALIZATION

Series Editors: Samantha Holland, Leeds Beckett University, UK and Karl Spracklen, Leeds Beckett University, UK

There is growing interest in work on transgression, liminality and subcultural capital within cultural studies, sociology and the social sciences more broadly. However, there is a lack of understanding of the problem of alternativity: what it means to be alternative in culture and society in modernity. What 'alternative' looks like is often left unexplored. The alternative is either assumed un-problematically, or stands in for some other form of social and cultural exclusion.

Alternativity delineates those spaces, scenes, subcultures, objects and practices in modern society that are actively designed to be counter or resistive to mainstream popular culture. Alternativity is associated with marginalization, both actively pursued by individuals, and imposed on individuals and subcultures. Alternativity was originally represented and constructed through acts of transgression and through shared subcultural capital. In contemporary society, alternative music scenes such as heavy metal, goth and punk have spread around the world; and alternative fashions and embodiment practices are now adopted by footballers and fashion models. The nature of alternativity as a communicative lifeworld is now questioned in an age of globalization and hyper-commodification.

This book series provides a stimulus to new research and new theorising on alternativity and marginalization. It provides a focus for scholars interested in sociological and cultural research that expands our understanding of the ontological status of spaces, scenes, subcultures, objects and practices defined as alternative, liminal or transgressive. In turn, the book series enables scholars to theorise about the status of the alternative in contemporary culture and society.

Titles in this series

Amanda DiGioia, *Childbirth and Parenting in Horror Texts: The Marginalized and the Monstrous*

Stephen Brown and Marie-Cécile Cervellon, *Revolutionary Nostalgia: Neo-Burlesque, Retromania and Social Change*

Karl Spracklen and Beverley Spracklen, *The Evolution of Goth Culture: The Origins and Deeds of the New Goths*

SUBCULTURES, BODIES AND SPACES: ESSAYS ON ALTERNATIVITY AND MARGINALIZATION

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Introduction

Samantha Holland and Karl Spracklen

The chapter begins with an introduction to the concepts of alternativity and marginalisation. Alternativity is associated with marginalisation (and, by definition, with the mainstream), both actively pursued by individuals, *and* imposed on individuals and subcultures. The idea of the alternative and the transgressive has a long history in the field of academic subjects, from psychology through sociology to cultural studies. In recent years, there have been several key studies that demonstrated the importance of the problem of being alternative, and being transgressive. Holland (2004), Winge (2012) and Yuen Thompson (2015) have been at the forefront of this growing body of work, using queer theory and gender theory to make sense of bodies as sites of alternativity and marginalisation. However, it is not only in the sociology of gender and sexuality that authors have explored alternativity and marginalisation; these concepts have been explored to a greater or lesser extent in a wide range of subject fields all interested in the problem of youth, belonging, leisure or music subcultures (Bennett, 2000; Blackman, 2007; Cohen, 1991; Hodkinson, 2002; Rojek, 2000, 2010). These different explorations of alternativity and marginalisation demonstrate the salience of this edited collection and the book series it launches, and its continuing relevance to scholars. We hope this book and the series serve as a signpost for how we theorise and research alternativity, because we believe the existing body of work falls short in defining alternativity ethically, culturally, politically, historically and sociologically. The alternative in much of the work cited above is all too often introduced without thinking through the meaning and purpose of being alternative, of transgressing. That is, alternativity is all-too often taken for granted to be something that is merely a practice of exclusion. This is where the book series will intercede.

The alternative became itself a mainstream idea—that is, something that was understood and recognised as something not mainstream by the hegemonic powers of popular culture—with the rise of the counterculture in the West in the post-war period, but especially in the problematic decade of the 1960s. That does not mean that alternativity appeared *ex nihilo* in America at that time. Being alternative was something that has a long history, and multiple spaces could be seen to be alternative since the rise of modernity. But America's 1960s particularly fixed the idea of counterculture in popular culture; we return to ideas about the

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counterculture in the Conclusion. Alternativity became defined as something that is related to the idea and practice of transgression. That is, alternativity came to be understood as being something associated with community, belonging and identity expressed through shared fashions, collective memories, shared interests and tastes and politics. All these concepts are explored in the chapters that follow, where they crystalise around the idea of subcultural capital—what is it that different subcultures share that make them alternative or transgressive? Alternative music such as heavy metal has been globalised and made part of the global mainstream; and alternative fashions and embodiment practices have become mainstream, now adopted across all walks of life including the rich and famous, and not just alternative people or Instagram ‘influencers’. If alternativity was a communicative lifeworld, a space for people to resist the rise of instrumentality, commodification and capitalism, its existence now is under threat, if it survives at all (Spracklen, 2014).

Despite that pessimism about the future, alternativity now is still associated with marginalisation, as this book will show. Being alternative is still something that individuals choose to be, and it is still something that is used to *label* (by the actors, authorities and academics) individuals and subcultures. We use alternativity here in a broad sense. Alternativity represents the people and places, the practices and objects and ideologies, which are actively designed to resist mainstream popular culture and mainstream society. This edited collection and its attendant book series Emerald Studies in Alternativity and Marginalisation aim to map the landscape, to provide new theory and methods in an area currently under-theorised, setting out issues, questions, concerns and directions for scholarship and debate. The book brings together some of the key scholars working in the field today and we aim to offer a strong and exciting start to enable a long and varied conversation to unfold. It is consciously feminist in its approach and composition with women authors, unusually, in the majority; we saw this decision as important historically and socially (because women are still routinely talked-over or silenced) as well as politically; and because many edited collections about subcultures/alternativity tend to have more male contributors than female. The book has 14 chapters written by a blend of international, established scholars and early career researchers, all of them producing world-class and cutting-edge work. The authors were briefed to open the debate around the terms alternativity and marginalisation, on issues of their choosing, with chapters acting as a springboard for future discussions. The content ranges from critiques of theory and new theoretical developments to case studies of alternativity and marginalisation in practice, and in performance. We, the editors, hope to see future work that expands on many of the themes presented here including questions about disabilities, mental health, age, belonging, regionalism, misogyny, gender roles and the commodification of bodies – but this list is not exhaustive. Much more work is needed on class and ethnicities in relation to alternativity and marginalisation, in order to engage fully with how those terms become the basis for everyday meanings and practices. In this way, the book (and the series) offers a focus for scholars interested in sociological and cultural research that expands our understanding of that defined as alternative, liminal or transgressive; theorising the status of

the alternative in contemporary culture and society. This edited collection demonstrates the theoretical richness and empirical diversity of the interdisciplinary subject field it encompasses. Across three subsections focussed on subcultures, bodies and spaces, the authors individually and collectively construct a case for the book's contribution, which is summarised in the Conclusion; the Conclusion is also where Spracklen addresses arguments about the use of the terms subculture and post-subculture, and our rationale in returning to the term 'subculture' in relation to the concepts of alternativity and marginalisation.

Part 1, *Subcultures*, begins with Theresa M. Winge's chapter 'Do androids dream of electric sheep dressed in street fashions?: Investigating virtually constructed fashion subcultures'. In May 2016, Aleks Eror's op-ed article, 'Dear Fashion Industry: Stop Making up Bogus Subcultures' on the HighSnobiety website accuses the fashion industry of creating 'quasi-subcultures', such as Normcore, Seapunk and Health Goth to promote specific fashion trends via the Internet. Eror argues that these fashion subcultures do not exist in resistance to mainstream culture (as he understands subcultures), but instead offer the specific fashions and their designers cache for being associated with a counterculture and connecting with alternative trends. Setting aside Eror's narrow understanding of subcultures, he raises questions of authenticity and the current state of virtual fashion subcultures.

Still, there is evidence of these subcultures online and growing in substantial numbers regardless of their inception. Furthermore, persons identifying themselves with these groups practice alternativity, which delineates their scenes, artefacts and practices from those of mainstream Western society. Winge pursues questions of authenticity regarding these recent fashion subcultures who appear to emerge in close proximity to the launch of specific fashions. She explores the ways these fashion subcultural experiences differ from known subcultures. The chapter investigates notions of constructed resistance and perceived alternativity and marginalisation, as well as how that positionality manifests into a fashion subculture identity.

Chapter 2, 'Cursed is the fruit of thy womb: Inversion/subversion and the inscribing of morality on women's bodies in heavy metal' by Amanda DiGioia and Charlotte Naylor Davis focuses on the problematic relationship between heavy metal and gender politics. The authors argue that while metal may be deemed as being an 'alternative' subculture, metal still 'uses' women in the same way as 'normal' society. Despite the nature of metal as counterculture, women's images and morality often inverted but not subverted and it is this nuance that they explore: for example, the use of Mary, Mother of God in 'Amen' by black metal band Behemoth, where though her image is a challenge to convention, she is still 'used' as emblems for male political ideology. In the textuality of heavy metal music, women appear as mothers (both good and bad), fetishised whores, mother earth, and sexualised virgins. Where modern open sexuality is 'praised', anything less so is mocked. Though this 'praise' may come across as positive, it is nevertheless still ascribing morality/immorality/virtue to women's bodies in a way that is not done with men. DiGioia and Naylor Davis use examples of texts from metal bands who reference women, imagery associated with band merchandise as

well as comments from the performers themselves (such as Dee Snider's approval of the lyrics of 'We're Not Gonna Take It' being associated with the Women's March on Washington) to investigate the place of the female body in this cultural representation. By using textual critical analysis, they show that women in metal are still having morality written on their bodies, bringing to light the debatable nature of metal being deemed as 'alternative' when it comes to gender.

The fourth chapter by Gareth Heritage offers a converse approach to that of DiGioia and Naylor Davis, and can safely be described as polemic. We anticipate that some readers will find much to debate in his analysis. The chapter 'Torment[Her] (Misogyny as an Artistic Device): Alternative Perspectives on the Misogynist Aesthetic of W.A.S.P.'s 'The Rack' argues that Glam metal of the 1980s represented a notable development in popular music at this time. A sub-genre of the 1980s heavy metal, glam metal combined elements of late 1960s and 1970s heavy rock, glam rock and punk rock (Doolin, 2003), enriching both the visual and aural aesthetic diversity of 1980s heavy metal as a result. Moreover, 1980s glam metal bands such as Guns N' Roses and Poison, Cinderella and Mötley Crüe, Ratt and Warrant, dominated the music video airwaves and sold out venues across the United States (Popoff, 2014). Yet, for all its comparative individuality and widespread popularity, the vast majority of mainstream glam metal bands were marginalised by social action groups mainly, but not exclusively, because of misogynist-type themes that the bands represented in their aesthetics.

During the 1990s, scholars began scrutinising 1980s glam metal's misogynist aesthetics, for example, Lisa Sloat's (1998) analysis of glam metal's sexist and misogynist themed song lyrics concludes: 'if exploiting women for sex sells, [glam metal] musicians will [continue] record[ing] songs which do so' (Sloat, 1998, p. 299). Yet none of these accounts seem to be able to sufficiently unpack the idea that 1980s glam metal's representation of misogyny was fundamentally egregious. An alternative reading of the aesthetics shows us how many of the bands creatively *appropriated* misogyny to idiomatically hallmark metal glam, thusly differentiating the style from the broadly homogenous displays of machismo that generally defined the aesthetics of other 1980s heavy metal subgenres. In response then, this chapter should be thought of as a doctrine proactive, intended to elicit a debate about the need to look alternatively at how misogyny is/was used as an artistic aesthetic device, not only in 1980s glam metal, but throughout culture more widely.

In Chapter 3, 'Japanophilia in Kuwait: How far does international culture penetrate?' by Thorsten Botz-Bornstein, begins by noting that Japanese culture is present in Kuwait in many different shapes. Universities have manga clubs, Japanese conventions like Q8con or PlamoQ8 draw thousands of people, cosplay competitions take place several times per year, and the Japanese and Korean embassies organise cultural events for young people. Universities invite specialists of Japan for well-attended talks. Of course, it would be wrong, naïve and—paradoxically—orientalist to find this surprising. All over the world young people are attracted by Japanese popular culture, so why should young Kuwaitis be different? Kuwait is a 'normal' country in terms of Internet access and communication, and by far the largest part of Japanese culture is not concerned with censorship.

While in the past, ‘Westernized’ Kuwaitis went most typically to a Western country to study, today young people can get ‘globalized’ on their own, mainly through the Internet. Most will approach both American and Japanese mass culture. However, because of the individual way in which the Internet functions as a medium, many people will mix their own cocktail of globalisation and develop a subculture that is opposed to consumer culture. Globalisation through the Internet functions in a very personal way since they receive new ideas from foreign online friends.

In the final chapter of this part, M. Selim Yavuz develops the theme of ‘regionalism’ in Reight Mardy Tykes: Northernness, Peaceville Three, and Death/Doom Music World’. After the extreme turn of late 1980s and early 1990s of metal music, three northern England-based bands—My Dying Bride and Paradise Lost from Bradford, and Anathema from Liverpool, commonly referred to as ‘the Peaceville Three’—went on to pioneer the musical style which came to be known as death/doom. The mid-1990s saw these bands’ shift into a more gothic rock-influenced sound. This Paradise Lost-led shift gave birth to the style gothic/doom. Around this deviation, these bands also started to employ a different sense, or rather *a* sense, of locality in their music: Paradise Lost started calling themselves a Yorkshire band, instead of specifically Bradford; Anathema shot a video for their 1995 song ‘The Silent Enigma’ in Saddleworth Moor (historically part of West Riding of Yorkshire) in Manchester; and later, My Dying Bride became more and more ingrained in the Goth culture of Whitby, including releasing an extended play titled *The Barghest o’ Whitby* (2011), a Dracula-inspired trail guide, and frequently appearing in festivals in Whitby. Yavuz’s extensive ethnographic research with both musicians and fans interrogates the involvement of the North of England in the making and perception of gothic/doom. Applying Michel de Certeau’s idea stating that ‘every story is a spacial practice’ within the context of northern England landscape, gothic/doom metal style emerges as an act of northernness. Yavuz discusses how this act is performed within these bands’ oeuvre and how it is perceived from the listener perspective using interviews with people from around the world, and musicological analyses of significant songs from the repertoire of the three bands.

Part 2, entitled *Bodies*, begins with Charlotte Dann’s chapter ‘Unwritten rules and societal norms of tattooed female bodies’. In it she argues that over the last decade, there has been a substantial rise in the popularity of tattooing in the United Kingdom, and a subsequent increase in tattooed female bodies. As explored by Walter (2010), key for the women of today is that they have a choice, to conform to stereotypical constructions of femininity, or resist them. However, tension lies in the ways in which these choices are already constrained by socially imposed boundaries. In exploring constructions of tattooed female bodies, a stratified sample of 14 tattooed women were interviewed, with the transcripts being analysed using a discursive–narrative approach. Reflexivity forms a key part of Dann’s analysis, as a tattooed woman, with some of the insider–outsider intersections informing the analysis. Here, the discourse of unwritten rules and social norms is explored, with a specific focus on how tattooed women construct ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ choices in respect to the tattoos they and others get,

the expectation and the normalisation of the pain of getting and having a tattoo, and finally, the generational difference in respect to how tattoos are accepted and understood.

Chapter 7, 'Heavily Tattooed and Beautiful?': Tattoo Collecting, Gender, and Self-Expression' by Beverly Yuen Thompson continues the focus on women and tattoos, and demonstrates the continued significance of female tattooed bodies to the discourses around alternativity and gender. Yuen Thompson argues that the act of becoming 'heavily tattooed', with its historical association with deviant subcultures, continues to carry a social stigma and evoke negative sanctions. This is especially so for women, who must also contend with gender norms within the highly masculinised tattoo subculture. For women, the experience of becoming heavily tattooed comes to represent an embodied resistance to normative ideals of beauty, against which the participants construct their own alternative gender and beauty philosophies. Besides gender norms, the tattoo world has specific ethos which divides the serious subcultural member from those more casually connected to it. The physical parameter of the subculture finds people gathering in tattoo studios and at tattoo conventions, as well as consuming tattoo-oriented media, such as magazines and television shows. Yuen Thompson's study draws on in-depth interviews with 36 participants across the United States who consider themselves serious tattoo collectors. From their stories, we learn about the importance of participating in this leisure activity and how becoming heavily tattooed impacts their sense of self, gender and identity.

Chapter 8, 'The Spectacle of Russian Feminism: Questioning Visibility and the Western Gaze' by M. Katharina Wiedlack analyses the presence of Russian feminists and female LGBTIQ+ activists within US-American mainstream media. In the course of a multimedia discourse analysis, she briefly raises the question of who becomes featured and how, to argue that current debates marginalise Russian queer female, trans*gender and intersex voices, compared to those of male queers. One exception to this trend is the case of the journalist and activist Masha Gessen. Together with Nadya Tolokonnikova of the protest group Pussy Riot, Gessen seems to represent Russian queers and feminists within US media. Although marginal, compared to the presence of US feminisms, especially popular culture figures such as Beyoncé Knowles-Carter or Lady Gaga, the two women become frequently featured within US-news media and beyond. Frequently, those articles, interviews and discussions of their work open up a debate, or rather comparisons, between US values and Russian values, questions of modernity, progress and civilisation. Equally often, the female Russian dissidents are pictured as 'Putin's victims'—the female versions of David fighting against Goliath—by focussing especially on their physical vulnerability and their female bodies. In this vain, feminism is constructed as inherently 'western', while the bodies that carry out such feminisms and most of all their country of origin is entirely 'othered'. Comparing the (self-)representations to other voices of female Russian dissent within US-media, Wiedlack critically discusses the western gaze of US mainstream media, its victimising strategies, and homonationalistic construction of US-identity and US-nation in rejection of a 'backward' homophobic Russia. Most importantly, by highlighting Russian feminists such as the author

and graphic novelist Anya Ulinich or graphic journalist Victoria Lomasko, and their work within the US context, Wiedlack draws attention to the possibility of alternative discourse on the issue of Russian homophobia, misogyny and sexism, that is possibly more critical to contemporary US-culture and more willing to recognise the agency of female and gender*queer Russian dissidents.

Chapter 9, ‘Out of Time: Anohni and transgendered/transage transgression’ is by Abigail Gardner. Anohni is a transgender musician whose recent 2016 and 2017 musical work and artistic collaborations emphasise intersectionality and feminism’s relationship with ecology. This chapter uses the music videos for *Hopelessness* and *Paradise* as a springboard from which to argue the complexity of transgressive potential in relation to ageing and ‘othered’ femininities. All except one of the videos use a similar method of inserting Anohni’s transgendered voice into the mouths of Black, ageing, non-normative women in what Gardner argues is a strategy of displacement that doubles up the transgressive potential of Anohni’s work. Gardner argues that Anohni upsets a singular subjectivity through this process and also, if we think of her voice and its vocalisation as being somehow out of sync, in so far as it is displaced, then her work also prioritises a sense of being ‘out of time’.

The chapter works primarily with two of Judith Halberstam’s concepts from her 2005 writing on ‘Queer temporality’ where she argues for the concept of a ‘queer time’ that lies beyond the logics of heteronormative and capitalist temporal certitude and trajectory and for the ‘patina of transgression’ (p.19) that transgendered bodies suggest. It formulates how the audio-visual contributions of one transgendered artist ushers into popular culture versions of liminal and flexible subjectivities in relation to gender and age that also encompass race and sexuality. This is a lot to deal with but it uses O’Grady’s work on miscegenation ‘When Margins become Centers’ (CCVA exhibition, 10/2015–01/2016) and work on TimeSpace and ageing (Baars, 2012; Hawkins, 2016; May & Thrift, 2001; Moglen, 2008) to ask questions about the transgressive potential of both transgendered voices and of ageing bodies, whose presence is emblematic of a ‘queer time’ (p.4), a kind of temporality that is ‘wilfully eccentric’ (p.1) and subject to a non-normative life-course.

In ‘Irrational perspectives and untenable positions: Sociology, “mental illness” and ‘disability’ Kay Inckle critically examines the relationship between sociology and the identities/experiences of disability and ‘mental illness’ (referred to throughout as distress). Inckle argues that despite sociology having an ethos of social justice and frequently producing critical accounts of inequalities—such as anti-racism and gender equality—it nonetheless uncritically reiterates the marginalisation of disability and distress. As such, sociology not only reflects the increasing ‘medicalisation of everyday life’ and shores up the essentialist discourses of genetics and neuroscience, but it also consigns research and knowledge production about disability and distress to the medical sciences. She challenges these sociological conventions and highlight the ways in which both disability and distress are socially structured, embodied experiences. Inckle also argues that a sociological account of distress and disability are important not only in and of themselves, but also because they highlight the ways and means to challenge

essentialism, inequality and the ever-narrowing definition of what is considered a normal or acceptable part of human experience. Furthermore, vibrant streams of user-led research, activism and practice-interventions—resulting in widespread social, legal and identity transformations—have emerged from the experiences of disability and distress. These user-led perspectives highlight the importance and potential of knowledge produced from the margins, not only for those experiencing disability and/or distress but also for the ways in which we perceive, theorise and research the social world more broadly.

Part III, *Spaces*, begins with ‘Ageing alternative women: Discourses of authenticity, resistance and “coolness”’ by Samantha Holland. Like Winge, Holland examines issues about authenticity which remains a key issue in any study of subcultures or groups who define themselves as alternative. She draws on three stages of data collection, spanning almost two decades, with a group of ageing ‘alternative’ women, interviewed in the late 1990s, 2010 and 2018. Holland asked the women how they felt about ageing, what had changed for them, and how they viewed their own alternativity and authenticity; in the context of older alternative women facing double marginalisation, within and outside the subculture. The participants placed themselves as being still authentic because of subcultural capital they had amassed when younger, with people they termed as part-timers, newbies, tourists and weekenders existing on the periphery and at the margins. How did they measure their place in the hierarchy, and whose hierarchy is it? Holland’s chapter asks about the space allowed for ageing women in subcultures, and how the women themselves respond to the narrowing options facing them.

Chapter 12, ‘Girls to the front! Gender and alternative spaces’ by Laura Way discusses that for some, gender remains a mechanism of marginalisation within mainstream popular culture because of expectations concerning what femininity and masculinity entail. This marginalisation refers both broadly to the way girls/women are marginalised as well as the marginalisation of those boys/men who fail to conform to societal gendered expectations. If alternativity is synonymous with resistance to this mainstream popular culture it would be logical to then assume that alternative spaces could provide opportunities for pursuing alternative understandings of gender. But to what extent does empirical work support this proposition? Are alternative spaces created or used in ways which envision gender differently to hegemonic discourses concerning femininity/masculinity? Or do normative gendered beliefs and practices prevail? This chapter critically explores these questions through a number of alternative spaces, drawing out key themes and emerging gaps. This exploration will take the subcultural work of the BCCCS as its starting point, acknowledging the limitations of such work in theorising gender within alternative spaces, before exploring what empirical work across a number of subcultural spaces ‘offers’ in relation to gender. Before concluding, the chapter more briefly, considers a relatively more recent consideration of online alternative spaces.

Chapter 13, ‘In the land of grey and pink’*: Popular music alternativity in the lived and imagined city of Canterbury 2017’, Asya Draganova and Shane Blackman reflect on their study on popular music scenes and the cultural economy of

the heritage city of Canterbury, UK. Drawing on our ethnographic fieldwork, particularly observations and interviews with music artists and cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1983), they explore the alterity within the contemporary meaning of the so-called ‘Canterbury Sound’.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the terms ‘Canterbury scene’ and ‘Canterbury sound’ were used to refer to psychedelic and progressive rock styles developed by artists such as Caravan and Soft Machine (Bennett, 2002). The authors argue that the ‘legacies’ of these aesthetic approaches to rock music are significant to the local cultural heritage and are the engine for formulating an ‘imagined’, mythologised Canterbury: a source of cultural continuity and inspiration for creating new music. While exploring the ‘legacies’ of the Canterbury psychedelic sound, they focus on contemporary developments in local music scenes and the ways through which they take part in cultural practices. This chapter puts an emphasis on the argument that Canterbury is interpreted by musicians as both metaphor and alternative ‘micro music’ scene reality (Slobin, 1992): it has created a symbolic space whose ‘aura’ (Benjamin, 1999) shapes music identities in the struggle for attaining artistic distinctiveness and legitimacy.

The final chapter is the Conclusion, ‘Making sense of alterity in leisure and culture: Back to subculture?’ by Karl Spracklen who asks, what does it mean to be alternative? What is alterity, and how does it relate to other attempts to make sense of those on the margins? In the first part of this chapter, Spracklen maps a history and philosophy of alterity, from deviance through subcultures to neo-tribes. This will focus partly on popular notions of alterity, and partly on academic attempts to understand it in various disciplines and subject fields. In the second part of the chapter, he focuses on how alterity has been explored in two specific subject fields—leisure studies and popular cultural studies—to make the claim that both subject fields have failed through different means to get to groups with the idea of the alternative: leisure studies have failed through a lack of theory, and cultural studies has failed through a lack of empirical research. In the final part of the chapter, Spracklen attempts to reconcile leisure and culture, and sketches out a new theory and empirical programme of alternative leisure that returns to the idea of subculture as counterculture.

Several chapters echo others, with themes recurring or analyses being developed differently by different authors. The chapters can be approached individually, as well as collectively as part of a broader narrative. Either way, the chapters function as an opening to further scholarship in the area of alterity and marginalisation.

Note

*The title contains a reference to Caravan’s (1971) album *In the Land of Grey and Pink* (Deram Records).

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