

From the fanzine to the magazine: an analysis of punk rock representations by advertising¹

Da fanzine à magazine: uma análise das representações do punk pela publicidade

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Abstract *The objective is to analyze the social representations of punk rock in the media from two icons of this movement: Johnny Rotten (former lead singer of the late 1970's punk band The Sex Pistols) and João Gordo (former lead singer of the Brazilian hardcore punk band Ratos de Porão). It starts with the premise that the punk rock subculture is likely to be, through advertising, retransmitted to the general audience within “politically correct” standards in comparison to what it is in its ideological essence. To try to understand the concept of “social representations” and also how the process of assigning meanings to certain elements that are “foreigners” to a culture is, a reflection shall be developed from Moscovici’s (2003) theory of social representations, among others authors.*

Keywords: *Media representations; Advertising; Punk rock*

Resumo *O objetivo é analisar as representações sociais do punk na mídia a partir de dois ícones deste movimento: Johnny Rotten (ex-vocalista da banda Sex Pistols) e João Gordo (ex-vocalista da banda Ratos de Porão). Parte-se da premissa de que a subcultura punk é passível de ser, através da publicidade, retransmitida*

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ao público em geral dentro de padrões “politicamente corretos” em comparação ao que ele é em sua essência ideológica. Para tentar compreender o conceito de “representações sociais” e também como se dá o processo de atribuição de significados a determinados elementos “estrangeiros” a uma cultura, será desenvolvida uma reflexão a partir da teoria das Representações Sociais de Moscovici (2003), dentre outros autores.

Palavras-chave: *Representações midiáticas; Publicidade; Punk*

It starts with the premise that advertising acts, in particular, as a space of signification in society that contributes to the maintenance of what (Romanian-born French social psychologist Serge) Moscovici (2003) calls “consensual universes,” in which what is outside the established standards gains new meanings, becoming a current portion of common sense. In order to discuss, in a way, the limits of the role of advertising in the construction of these conciliatory media representations, turning the “non-familiar” into “familiar” (Moscovici, 2003), we take punk rock as an object of reflection.

Punk rock is a subculture that was built as absolutely transgressive and countercultural, which appropriated everyday elements, shifting goods from their original meaning, giving new meaning and inventing an unconventional lifestyle embodied by the dominant culture. Even it, we propose to state, is likely to be, through advertising, retransmitted to the general audience within “politically correct” standards in comparison to what it is in its ideological essence. For that, it shall be necessary to understand the concept of subculture, dialoguing with theories of the field of British Cultural Studies, and resort to the sociological theories of deviance (Becker, 2009) and impurity (Douglas, 2012). The punk phenomenon shall be explored beyond the musical genre as a kind of subculture endowed with rites and symbols, politics and as an element of criticism of the “mother culture” or “mainstream culture,” using the studies by Hodkinson (2007) and Hebdige (2008) about the topic.

The punk subculture gained strength in the 1970s among young people from the British working class due to economic and political crises of the postwar as a way to challenge and deny everything that would come from the conventional culture or mainstream (Hebdige, 2008). Nevertheless, punk is frequently used as a reference related to a given youth ethos, serving as a symbolic marker for the entertainment industry – fashion and pop music – and advertising. The media, in general, intensively works with social, collective and consensual representations, and therefore friendlier, to strengthen its traditional paradigms and values, to communicate more clearly and quickly. Thus, it is possible to

generate a process of identification and recognition from the audience with what is being presented and communicated, labeling different cultures, stereotyping characters.

In order to understand the concept of “social representations” and also how the process of assigning meanings to certain elements that are “foreigners” to a culture is, a reflection shall be developed from Moscovici’s (2003) theory of social representations, which addresses issues surrounding this phenomenon. Moscovici conceptualizes social representations as products of an interactional force to familiarize what is “non-familiar” or unknown in order to avoid what is foreign to the common sense of that society. It is possible to see, in this way, the author’s speech proximity to the subject matter covered in this research: how the media, particularly the advertising discourse, appropriates certain concepts to deal with what looks strange and unexpected. According to the theorist, social representations have a mobile character. They are as supports for words or ideas. Their meanings and structures are dynamic and can be moved to others that are completely opposite to the previous ones, or even disappear. According to Moscovici, there is a continuing need for reestablishing any breakages on common sense, that is, the social representations are ways to recreate reality without which no community would operate.

As for Durkheim (1970), to whom Moscovici attributes the basis of his theory, the concept encompasses the collective, because a single individual could not create such circumstances and beliefs alone. It is an “actual phenomenon” collectively created and imposed on individuals. Collective representations are therefore coercive. The collective then prevails on the individual. According to the sociologist, the less they are perceived, the greater the power of influence of collective representations.

Also according to Moscovici’s ideas, the representation systems are different ways to classify concepts and add certain features. A culture can be seen from the massive sharing of conceptual maps, that is, a huge amount of people understands the same meanings from the same

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social representations, sharing the same identity. In short, the representation is the process that connects things, concepts and signs. Similarly, reinforcing common sense, inserting an idea massively shared by a social representation and enabling the creation of an identity that brings people together to share the same set of ideas is what makes the media.

Subcultures, deviation and danger

The discussions on the terms used to define cultures that arise within other cultures are numerous.

According to Morin (2006), the subculture belongs to the wider system of mass culture, thus participating in the cultural industry, sharing “market laws, production techniques and mass diffusion” (MORIN, 2006, p.133). The subcultural media conveys messages that are not focused only in entertainment, but in political ideals that refuse integration in the consumer society, taking on marginality. For Morin (2006), subculture is a phenomenon that fits “between” culture and counterculture. On the one hand, the counterculture is opposed to what is established; on the other, the subculture “coexists” with it. Subcultures propose innovations, changes in values, review of precepts and practices, in short, the strength of the market is higher than its transgressive effect – they are quickly merged into the industry and commodified (Morin, 2006).

Clarke (2003) says in a detailed study of the concept of subcultures that movements that go against the mainstream culture are segregated, treated by the media as evil and marginalized by the mainstream society, because they work hard to not belong to it. Their efforts translate into ownership of unusual everyday goods and reframing them. There is the imposition of a lifestyle that is different from the one in previous generations, being totally opposite and confronting it in the literal sense, if necessary.

Punk is, by its characteristics, a subculture. Also, by its marginal characteristic and its existence in pathways parallel to mainstream, the punk subculture sets a detour (Becker, 2009), that is, everything that is not expected or foreseen by society and the dominant culture. The deviant

or outsider is the individual who deviates from the set of rules, “someone to whom that label has been successfully applied; a deviant behavior is the one that people label as such” (Becker, 2009, p. 22). The deviation is an ambiguous category, according to the author, since it shall be determined from the perspective of the group’s rules that judges them in this way. For example, a person can be part of several groups of the same society and their actions can be considered conventional in one of these groups and deviant in another. This ambiguity is relative in relation to the “distinctive rules of one or another group in society; there are some rules that are generally accepted by all.” There are other rules to which there is no consensus, “the difference is, among other things, a consequence of the reactions of others to a person’s action” (Becker, 2009, p.21).

It is by the characteristic ambiguity of not fitting in conventional rules or standards that the deviant represents great danger to society and therefore must have its deviation opposed and corrected, still according to Becker. The ambiguity and danger posed by them lead to the marginalization of this deviant person. Since there are no group or dominant rule in which the deviant is able to fit precisely, that is, since there is no single label able to define them, they are disowned, segregated and set aside from what is the main and official axis of the mainstream.

In order to understand the process of the deviants’ marginalization, we shall use the classic study undertaken by British anthropologist (Mary) Douglas (2012) when she theorizes that in the case of “shifting impressions” (Douglas, 2012, p. 51) of the symbolic universe we tend to classify certain things with labels: on the one hand, those who, although ambiguous, tend to be classified as a standard due to somehow harmonizing with the rule; others, due to being discordant, are rejected. “Once labeled, [the objects] are soon stuck in their due places in future” (Douglas, 2012, p. 53). It is worth remembering that this process of labeling is similar to social representations, as the objective of both is to generalize to classify and categorize. The labels, as well as the social representations, are personal classification systems, influenced by the

collective. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the two categories, label and social representation, is that the latter is a phenomenon motivated by harmonization and inclusion while the first one is motivated by exclusion of what is strange, out of standard or non-familiar.

Proceeding with the theory (Douglas, 2012, p. 53), the categories “anomaly” (an element that does not fit the rule) and “ambiguity” (a type of statement subject to two interpretations) can not be separated or isolated because they are largely complementary. The author states that societies have provisions to deal with ambiguous or anomalous events: (1) by labeling them in a special category; (2) by physically controlling them, eliminating them; (3) by avoiding them; (4) by classifying them as dangerous as “assigning danger is a way to put an issue above discussion” (Douglas, 2012, p. 55); by leaving no doubt about its potentially offensive character from its inadequacy to the current rules; (5) by using them in a ritual in order to enrich the meanings of a narrative. Douglas defines as “impurity” or “dirt” what can not be included when one intends to maintain a certain standard.

The punk movement

The punk movement gains momentum in the early 1970s in the United States and its values are manifested with greater intensity in England: as a culture of challenging and denying of all that was part of the mainstream. Besides the mohawk hairstyle, boots, chains and scream three-chord songs, the punk subculture emerged in neighborhoods inhabited mainly by the working classes. Originating from a disaffected youth who did not conform to their parents’ lifestyles, cultures and professions, the punk movement was not limited to one type of music and criticism. According to Hebdige (2008), the punk subculture was built on a process of bricolage, that is, cutting and pasting, appropriating and giving new meaning (Hodkinson, 2007) to various elements of culture, fashion, music, history and politics, giving them new forms of interpretations.

Criticism and challenging opposed to mainstream were the new uses proposed for everyday objects such as metal chains, taken as security objects and acquiring new meanings as clothing props; jackets being deliberately used in a state that would configure garbage: ripped, worn, stained; boots, previously restricted to industry workers, appropriated as casual shoes; shaved or colored hair, defying gravity, in opposition to the typical military hairstyle or to the Beatles good boys'. In the newspapers and magazines photos their attitude would show, besides an intention to challenge and criticize, mockery.

The mass media, however, explored the punk movement as something created by violent, untalented, frustrated people. A subculture movement⁴, in general, aims to go against the “mother culture” (Clarke; Hall; Jefferson; Roberts, 2003), despite bringing, in some way, elements of this cultural context in which it appears. Thus, even if there is something in common between the subculture and the mother culture, the individuals who belong to that one are presented and interpreted by the mainstream as potentially dangerous, precisely because they do not fit in what is established in relation to behavior in a conventional society. Therefore, these individuals were stigmatized as “vandals,” protagonists of violence, who practiced the “cult of ugliness, self-flagellation and sound indigence,” according to a report broadcast in Brazilian magazine VEJA⁵ under the title “Rotten Fashion” (Figure 1). Finally, to the members of this movement were assigned several “categories of charges,” an expression used by Velho (1999) from Becker’s theories, reinforcing the stigma of being “violent” and “wild” in the sense of not following the “normal” rules of behavior and attitude expected by conventional society.

⁴ Despite the term used by Morin (2006) featuring the punk movement as counterculture, here we shall use the most common nomenclature, the subculture. In order to not generate terminological confusion. These concepts are mutually exclusive. Therefore, it is understood that there are countercultures within subcultures.

⁵ Brazilian magazine VEJA, p. 69. Issue of September 28, 1977.



Figure 1. First report page of Brazilian magazine *Veja* of 9/28/1977 on the punk movement

Source: Digital collection of Brazilian magazine *Veja*

As another example of the treatment given by the media to the punk movement there is the following excerpt from the report by Earl Berger “Punk Rock? Eu chamo de Rock Nauseabundo”⁶ conveyed in the American newspaper *The Examiner*⁷: “Uma nova onda adolescente está vareando a Europa. E acredito que não devemos deixá-la entrar na

⁶ Punk Rock? I call it Puke Rock [...] A new teenage craze is sweeping Europe. And it musn't be allowed to reach America. It's called Punk Rock. And it's built on Horror and Hate. Free translation.

⁷ Newspaper clip published in KUGELBERG, 2012

América. Chama-se Punk Rock. E é baseada no Horror e no Ódio.” In order to delegitimize the movement, the mainstream media would often use the term “new wave,” aiming to treat it as something temporary, a passing fad, which should not be taken seriously (Kugelberg; Savage, 2012).

As for the fanzines, magazines independently printed and written by subculture participants, they were a great means of communication for the punk subculture, having been responsible for the spread of ideas, bands, important concerts and events schedules (Kugelberg; Savage, 2012). In these magazines, the unique and purposeful formatting and typography style (erasures, cutting and pasting letters from several newspapers and the smudged types, written as in stencilling) would already reveal the materialization of the meaning of the punk movement ideal for homology (Hebdige, 2008). Punk means chaos at all levels, but there is still some unity in its style – always chaotic in different ways, according to Hebdige (2008), and this is only possible because the style is perfectly ordered. The homology of the symbolic objects is absolutely consistent, embodied in goods that are appropriated and reinterpreted by these subculture individuals, in the lyrics, in the fanzine layout or in the attitude and punk world view, they all have a meaning in common that gives meaning to life: absolute chaos.

When a punk person uses a swastika, for Hebdige (2008) this is not intended to indicate that they are nazi, but only that they are so subversive to the laws, morals and the existing order that they wear a shirt with the most feared symbol of the twentieth century to break and shake all the structures of the “boxes” that format categories of right and wrong in society, trivializing it by saying “it’s just a stupid design, it does not mean anything.” The goal of the punk movement is to explode categories, concepts and labels imposed by a dominant speech, picking up the smithereens that remain, appropriating them as part of their image, entirely changing their symbolic meanings (Hebdidge, 2008). Therefore, it is at least intriguing that advertising, the medium understood as the main arm of the capitalist system, would use two characters, Brazilian

musician, reporter and television presenter João Gordo (João Francisco Benedan's stage name) and English singer, songwriter, and musician Johnny Rotten (John Joseph Lydon's stage name) who were, for decades, voices of absolute subversion to the "system." Therefore, we shall use ads to analyze the punk subculture representation. Let us then see how this transformation of meaning took place.

Under control: punk in advertisement

Advertising usually works with stereotypical social representations, that is, figures that show common sense, in order to generate a more rapid and efficient identification by the consumer. For this, advertisers need to "squeeze in little boxes" certain social groups, subcultural or not. There is the "perfect mother" from the margarine ads; the "rational man" in the car ads; the "flirtatious young man" in beer ads. Anyway. Due to being a medium where the message should be transmitted, decoded, understood and absorbed by the audience on a page of a newspaper or in a few seconds on television, advertising needs to smooth out the rough edges of personalities with whom it works in order to succeed in making understood the message it wants to convey.

Thus, advertisers produce more obvious features to simplify the understanding of the message, even if this caricature does not exist in real life as created by the advertising media. As an example, a US advertising campaign for a line of cell phones from (South Korean multinational conglomerate company) Samsung, which aims to reach a young audience but also to establish a dialogue with an older crowd who has some difficulty to use it. English singer, songwriter, and television personality Ozzy Osbourne (John Michael "Ozzy" Osbourne's stage name) – the emblematic lead singer of the American heavy metal rock music genre – has starred a series of television commercials and the rocker's almost incomprehensible manner of speech was raised to extremes: Ozzy appears in everyday conversations, as babbling to a taxi driver, to a coffee shop attendant or to a psychologist. Since his grumblings are incomprehensible, the singer, for ease of understanding, in a good-natured way,

pulls out a cell phone and sends a quick text message to the person he wants to communicate with, which is possible only due to the simplicity of use and the product differentiated keyboard. At the end the narrator says, “Make yourself heard with the full QWERTY keyboard Samsung Propel.”⁸

As for a commercial for the purchase service of used gadgets, turning them into credit for buying new electronic equipment from Best Buy, a US chain store, Ozzy, this time, appears as a “decrepit old man” screaming the name of his wife, Sharon (Rachel Osbourne), at the slightest hint of trouble. Nothing different from what can be seen in the American reality television program *The Osbournes*, which showed the supposedly spontaneous multimillionaire everyday life⁹ of the Osbourne family. In this commercial, Ozzy is treated, again, pathetically, with limited speech and motor skills, showing difficulty to advertise a certain product that changes all the time, being soon replaced by the then teen Canadian pop music star Justin Bieber, alluding to the speed with which electronics are obsolete, being replaced all the time.

Ozzy Osbourne, as well as another unique figure of American rock, Iggy Pop (James Newell Osterberg, Jr.’s stage name), who appeared in a series of ads for brands such as beverage brand Schweppes, the Swift Cover insurance company and French fashion designer of Spanish origin Paco Rabanne perfumes (Figure 2), are more accustomed to the media. Both starred in advertising campaigns and broadcasted their music videos on the TV channel reference to the pop music world, the US MTV. In addition, their contracts with major record labels inserted them in the world music circuit, touring for crowds that ran and still run the world. As for the punk rockers, they tried their best to stay out of the media and politically correct circuit for years. However, decades later, two symbols of the punk movement appeared in advertising campaigns.

⁸ *Make yourself heard with the full QWERTY keyboard Samsung Propel* – Free translation.

⁹ *The Osbournes*. An American basic cable and satellite television channel MTV coproduction that aired between 2002 – 2005 at the station and was transmitted around the world. Available on: www.imdb.com/title/tt0306370/ Access on 5/10/2015.



Figure 2. Advertisement starred by Iggy Pop for Paco Rabanne's perfume *Black XS L'Excès*

Source: tenerclase.com

The ad (Figure 3), from the Brazilian fast food chain of tea house stores Rei do Mate that circulated in national magazines and banners in stores, shows the image of the presenter and lead singer of the Brazilian hardcore punk band Ratos de Porão, one of the oldest Brazilian punk rock bands, João Gordo. The singer appears openmouthed and scowling, showing all his teeth, holding, with his tattooed hands, a sandwich of the brand, as if he were going to fiercely bite it. The artist wears a T-shirt, sunglasses and a black cap, ear reamers and several piercings on his face. At the bottom, the following text appears already between quotation marks, like it were a quote from the pitchman himself: "The new Rei sandwiches are as good as... caraMBA!" where "mba" is a kind of patch over the original text, in order to hide a possible Brazilian Portuguese swearword, João Gordo's trademark. This stratagem refers to two quite characteristic aspects of the punk movement ethos: the swearword, hidden beneath the amendment simulated by the ad, the cutting and pasting, the hallmark of fanzines, LP records covers, among other elements of this counterculture, indicating the practice of DIY (*Do It Yourself*).



Figure 3. Advertisement of the Brazilian fast food chain of tea house stores Rei do Mate line of sandwiches, starred by João Gordo

Source: Rei do Mate

Currently, the musician has a video channel on the Web, where he receives guests and prepares dishes based on his current diet, *vegan*¹⁰. In social networks, in addition to publicizing his programs and issues related to his band, João Gordo campaigns, criticizes capitalism and non-vegans. The singer's lifestyle reveals, in a way, a current subversion to "healthy" diets recommended¹¹ where there is consumer indication of animal products.

¹⁰ Veganism is a way of life that proposes the non-instrumentalism of animals, going radically against all forms of animal exploitation or any other relations of subservience. Available on www.vegansociety.com/try-vegan/definition-veganism. Access on 4/27/2015.

¹¹ Although preaching a lower consumption of animal products, the "Food Guide for the Brazilian Population," developed by the Government Department of Health does not provide the total exclusion of this type of food.

In the *Rei do Mate* ad, João Gordo appears as a person without formalities, having a lewd language vocabulary, whose behavior goes against everything that is said by the manuals of rules and etiquettes at the table¹². The punk movement subversion element is then kept as it has been widespread by the media over the past few years: aggression, wildness, ungracious and confrontational behavior, being shown, however, in a more appropriate way regarding the rules.

In a post by Brazilian journalist and adman Adonis Alonso on his blog that deals with market backstage, the professional details:

Instead of Brazilian models Luize Altenhofen, Maryeva and Ana Luiza Castro, João Gordo! The TV presenter is the new pitchman for O Rei do Mate, the brand that has already had those models as campaigns protagonists. [...] “Using the presenter seeks to impact the consumer audience, accustomed to beautiful women in posters at the stores,” explains Antonio Carlos Nasraui, commercial director at Rei do Mate. “He is irreverent, young and appeals to our target audience,” he adds. Blog do Adonis – “João Gordo substitui Top Models” (João Gordo substitutes Top Models), 4/11/2012¹³.

In this sense, the choice of João Gordo allows a dialogue among the consumer audience, as well as impacting, since the delicate female models were replaced by a man wearing sunglasses, cap and piercing, snapping up a sandwich. Even though he was described as “young” by the company’s commercial director, João Gordo is in his fifties; still, the model generates an identification relationship with the audience by a characteristic commonly attributed to youth: irreverence.

The next advertisement to be analyzed is the first in a British television commercial campaign for English butter “Country Life.” Starred by Johnny Rotten, the ad shows the former punk band The Sex Pistols lead singer wearing patterned suits, always with earrings, tousled hair, and listing possible reasons why he would buy the “Country Life” butter.

¹² <http://chic.uol.com.br/boa-vida/noticia/evite-micos-a-mesa-gloria-tira-suas-duvidas-sobre-situacoes-embarcosas-em-restaurantes-e-jantares-entre-amigos> Access on 4/27/2015.

¹³ Available on: www.blogdoadonis.com.br/2012/04/11/joao-gordo-substitui-top-models/ Access on 5/10/2015.

The first scene begins with the cover of a newspaper open with the headline “A Great British Occasion”¹⁴ accompanied by a photo of people on the streets with several nation flags. Very mockingly, Rotten appears as the newspaper reader. Pulling his bowler hat and putting his reading aside, he begins a series of rhetorical questions, “Do I buy Country Life Butter because it’s British?”¹⁵ in a highly aristocratic salon, with simple decor, dark and with gentlemen reading newspapers in leather armchairs while, in the background, a butler prepares some tea. The next scene shows an English crowd saluting the British Royal Family car with flags and nods – Rotten is among the people. He stands out from the happy crowd, swinging in an ironically frustrated way, but with energy, a tiny English flag. Then, in a rural setting, the second rhetorical question is asked on a classic model of English car, surrounded by a flock of sheep, while the singer appears out of the vehicle through the window: “Eu compro a manteiga Country Life porque anseio pela zona rural britânica?”¹⁶ Rotten, again in a mustard suit, tries to chew some grass root and reacts with disgust, throwing the weeds away, denying the deed. Then he finds himself confused in the middle of a typical rural folk celebration, also denying it. The last question takes place in the midst of pasture and a cattle herd: “Ou eu compro porque ela é feita apenas de leite britânico?”¹⁷ Cut to the final scene, the artist appears in pajamas and a red plaid pattern robe, while removing toasts from a toaster and concludes: “Que nada! I buy Country Life because I think it tastes the best!”¹⁸, spreading a generous portion of the product on the hot toast, which makes the butter melt. The ad ends with the brand logo and a voice-over: “It is not about Great Britain, it’s about great butter!”, punning on the word great¹⁹.

The second ad campaign (Figure 4) follows the same quick, ironic and mocking style as in the previous one. In a muddy road, holding

¹⁴ *Great British Occasion* – Free translation.

¹⁵ *Do I buy Country Life Butter because it’s British?* – Free translation.

¹⁶ *Do I buy Country Life Butter because I yearn for the countryside?* – Free translation.

¹⁷ *Or because it’s made only of British milk?* – Free translation.

¹⁸ *Nah! I buy Country Life because I think it tastes the best!* – Free translation.

¹⁹ *It is not about Great Britain, it’s about great butter!* – Free translation.

an umbrella, walking beside a farmer as he accompanies a cattle on a dirt road, Rotten asks, “Do I buy *Country Life* butter to support the hard working British dairy farmers?”²⁰, and as they passed in front of a house, Rotten goes on: “Não! It is their career choice.”²¹, entering the property, leaving in the rain the farmer and the livestock. In the next scene, in a dining room, there is a woman spreading butter on a *crumpet*²², then serving it to the singer who is sitting in an armchair, legs and feet stretched on a bean bag chair, concluding: “I buy *Country Life* because I love to savour it with *crumpets*! Thank you, farmer’s wife.”²³, the following scene is a closeup of Rotten eating hastily, making noise and savoring his crumpet with butter. The ad ends with the logo and slogan, the same as in the first one.



Figure 4. Screenshot of the second ad starring Rotten for *Country Life*

Source: YouTube

²⁰ Do I buy *Country Life* butter to support the hard working British dairy farmers? – Free translation.

²¹ No, it is their career choice. – Free translation.

²² A traditional type of English bread.

²³ I buy *Country Life* because I love the taste of me crumpids. Thank you, farmer’s wife. – Free translation.

In an article published in British national daily newspaper *The Guardian*²⁴, the use of the emblematic former Sex Pistols lead singer in the *Country Life* butter ad was due to the symbology that Johnny Rotten represents for his nation as a typical product that is part of English pride. Adams (2008) discusses the character of Englishness of the Sex Pistols, assigning the band an important role in building a national identity, regardless of what it represents as the biggest name of a movement sustained by refusing to what is established. As a symbol of jingoism, the figure of a domesticated punk person, with no swearing, no intention to scandalize the conventions is the big brand strategy to combat the main competitor, butter Anchor from New Zealand, confused as being also English. Ironically, Rotten, who has already cried against his country, accusing the English monarchy of being the cause of the woes in the 1970s, is now the greatest symbol of the nation and is able to be as representative in his authenticity to belong to the territory of Queen Elizabeth II as the monarch herself.

Ruth Adams (2008), when investigating how the English band became the symbol of the feeling of being English, showed that Rotten argued that there was a misunderstanding, since his goal when singing *God save the Queen / She ain't no human being / There is no future / For England's dreaming*²⁵ was not to declare hatred to the nation, but a criticism due to being tired of seeing his country being mistreated. Despite severe criticism by the British and world mediae, according to Adams (2008) the punk movement in England was not *creating* boredom, rebellion, unemployment and other factors common to a time of economic crisis that affected mainly the working-class youth, but *dramatizing them*. The crisis already existed, what the punk movement did was to show, materialize their anger and feelings in a social, cultural and musical movement. Decades after littered hotels, untuned shows, and swearing to the British Crown, the band is now remembered as a

²⁴ Available on: www.theguardian.com/media/2009/may/15/john-lydon-country-life-butter-advertising Access on 5/10/2015.

²⁵ The Sex Pistols – God Save the Queen in: Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's Sex Pistols. Virgin: 1977. Digital format.

friendly and mocking resistance icon. The Sex Pistols became a reason for pride of the authentic English feeling, besides the flag and the friendly queen wearing a hat and waving, as the author states. Nothing more right than having a former member starring an advertising campaign for a butter brand that wanted to be seen by the public as a true national product.

Conclusion

Regardless of them having proposed questions to society and the capitalist system years ago, the punk movement stars, unlike other rockers, are still shown as irreverent, ironic and mocking in the ad campaigns analyzed. However, to become “palatable” to the public, the punk rockers are presented by advertising in a version without cursing, devoid of the attitudes considered “immoral” and “dangerous” that made up the main features of the movement in the eyes of the great media. The punk movement is cut from its context, its inadequacy rough edges are smoothed out, it is “tamed” so that its appearance and language are made adequate again in order to be positively accepted by the consumers. The values that remain after the transformation are of irony, mocking and irreverence. The punk movement is then metamorphosed into a commercial format, young and incapable of causing damage to existing power narratives. Advertising then appropriates what is irreverent and rebellious in it, since these are the values to be related to the advertised brands, subject to social harmony, critical for the familiarization of social representation, as Moscovici (2003) teaches us.

What this article sought to discuss is how, under the harmony of social interactions and, consequently, social cohesion, social representations tend to embrace even what is, ultimately, made impossible for representation. Advertising, the place of perfect worlds and of what is pleasing to the common sense points of view, is an important space for the phenomenon of social representations: so much so that it can, albeit belatedly and with rare daring, incorporate the punk movement in its persuasive messages. Moreover, it sanitizes what is impure and restores

what is deviant. Punk, the anti-capitalist movement opposed to the commodification of things, and also the controversial personalities of Ozzy Osbourne and Iggy Pop, become signs endowed with positive values: youth, authenticity, originality, good humor. Emptied of their original meanings, like the swastika stamped on the dirty and torn shirt, the transgression icons mean nothing – advertising also appropriates, gives new meaning and rearranges them, like a bricoleur, like the young man who listens to three-chord songs and dances, adorned with piercings and colored hair, to the Sex Pistols' sound.

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