

## Youth cultures, identities and lifestyle: meanings of the “alternative” in Baixo Augusta/São Paulo<sup>1</sup>

### Culturas juvenis, identidades e estilo de vida: sentidos do “alternativo” no Baixo Augusta/São Paulo

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**Abstract:** *We present in this article aspects of the research that has been carried out on processes of identity construction linked to an “alternative ethos” among young people in Baixo Augusta region in São Paulo. Articulating consumer practices (in their production and reception logics), music scenes, fashion and lifestyles, we seek to understand these juvenile experiences and imaginaries (through ethnography) that build identities and ways of consuming alternatives to mainstream and to hegemonic culture. Thus, notions of youth resistance are re-established and resemantized, which are outlined not only by confrontation, but by negotiations between the dominant logics and everyday astuteness, demonstrated in political aesthetic and performative actions.*

**Keywords:** *alternative; youth cultures; lifestyle; consumption; Baixo Augusta*

**Resumo:** *Apresentamos neste artigo aspectos da pesquisa que vem sendo realizada sobre a construção de identidades ligadas a um “ethos alternativo” entre jovens frequentadores da região do Baixo Augusta em São Paulo. Articulando práticas de consumo (em suas lógicas de produção e recepção), cenas musicais,*

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*moda e estilos de vida, buscamos compreender estas experiências e imaginários juvenis (por meio de etnografia) que compõem identidades e formas de consumir alternativas ao mainstream e à cultura hegemônica. Com isso, reposicionam-se e ressemantizam-se noções de resistência juvenil que se esboçam não apenas pelo enfrentamento mas por negociações entre as lógicas dominantes e as astúcias cotidianas, perfazendo-se em ações de teor político, estético e performativo.*

**Palavras-chave:** *alternativo; culturas juvenis; estilo de vida; consumo; Baixo Augusta*

The contributions coming from the debates about urban culture, consumption practices, youth and lifestyle help us understand about juvenile identities that are made and remade in the cities, where territorialities are built around day to day practices, distinctive lifestyles, uses of the urban space and ways of consumption.

If on a certain period (70's until 80's) the discussion around these axes was concentrated in notions of subculture, resistance and counter-hegemony, emphasizing issues of class and race (HEBDIGE, 2004; HALL; JEFFERSON, 1993), from the 90's onwards, this debate had incorporated the theme of consumption (in its material and symbolic aspects) as a fundamental element for the understanding of youthful culture, as well as fashion, style and urban territorialities involved in musical practices consistent with the concept of scene (STRAW, 1991), repositioning notions of resistance (FREIRE FILHO, 2005, 2007) that come into play when we reflect about urban youth in its daily actions inserted in the mediatic and consumption culture. Other meanings of resistance, thus, begin to get attention and be analyzed, expanding the scope to think not only the direct and explicit forms of facing the mainstream or the hegemony, but also the subtle and negotiated forms that conjugate diverse and contradictory logics of incorporation and repulse.

This study presents aspects of a research that is being performed in Baixo Augusta<sup>4</sup> (São Paulo/SP) in which we prioritize aspects of an “alternative culture” or an “alternative ethos” that seems to be one of the main characteristics of part of the goers of this region of the city that is being studied. To understand the senses of this “alternative” is the main objective of this text, that also presents a theoretic/conceptual discussion about the youth, lifestyle and consumption practices, as well as data from the ethnography that is being performed in Baixo Augusta's nightlife.

4 Part of Rua Augusta located between the crossing of Avenida Paulista and downtown São Paulo. This area is known as Baixo Augusta by its goers and residents because it is different from the other parts of the same street, in which the emphasis lies on the bohemian, juvenile, alternative, underground nature. We use in this research the notion of territoriality (HAESBERT, 2002) to approach this area in the city.

The investigation works through three main axes that help to explain and understand how this “alternative culture” came to be in this region. The first one is fashion, that comprises clothing, uses and appropriations of different styles, mixing and matching or creating new meanings for objects, concepts and trends in clothing, accessories, hairstyles and other symbols that help building identities that are present in these groups. The second axe is around the scene (JANOTTI; SÁ, 2013) and musical scene (HERSCHMANN, 2013), that seem to be a fundamental element helping define styles and sense of belonging of these groups, showing matches, confluences and conflicts between different music genres. This axe is also important when we analyze music being capable of putting together (or apart) groups of people that listen and consume the same genre/music style, being a strong reference that helps defining styles, tastes, alliances and identities, articulating it to clothing, attitude, places.

The third axe that holds the other two together is based on the notion of “lifestyle” (GIDDENS, 2002; FEATHERSTONE, 1995), talking about choices that individuals and groups must perform facing the variety of possibilities opened by (Post-)Modernity linked to consumption and to the constitution of an identity. Add that to the notion of distinction (BOURDIEU, 2007) that guarantees symbolic capital and shows itself as an important aspect when we think about these groups that are constituted in Baixo Augusta by being what constitutes characteristics that bring prestige and differentiation from the others in a social environment. This intricate construction of identities linked to the consumption of clothes, accessories and music in specific scenes and places is that we perceive the conformity of a way of being and living or an “alternative-ethos” that is outlines in the confluence of different lifestyles also as a form of resisting to the mainstream culture at the same time it embodies elements of it giving different uses, with an ability of negotiation that we will explore later. Even if we have as main focus to analyze the clothing and musical consumption of these youngsters, we understand this “alternative ethos” as something wider that incorporates

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forms of consumption (food, information, leisure, etc.), political and behavioral postures that are considered alternative to the norm and the hegemonic.

We remember that, along with the notion of lifestyle and distinction that reflect on this “alternative ethos” that we researched, there is what Feixa (1996) calls “juvenile culture”, that is, the way in which the social experiences of young people are expressed collectively through the construction of distinctive lifestyles, located fundamentally in their free time and or in interstitial spaces of institutional life, putting on the center of the debate questions of identity, daily life and protagonisms of these actors. We add that the notions of youth and juvenile culture must be thought of taking into consideration the fluid and permeable character of the groups, in which we highlight the diversity and plurality of social experiences.

We seek to understand the existing articulation between these three axes (fashion, music scene and lifestyle) in juvenile culture, not separately or autonomously, but in their processes of articulation and conflict that conform this alternative ethos in their way of experiencing the city and the consumption culture (materially and symbolically).

### **Subcultural, resistant, alternative**

Bastos (2016) thinks of Rua Augusta as an urban referential pole analyzing their construction of imaginary for their residents and goers and the mutual influences between subjects and the imaginary of Rua Augusta: consuming references coming from Rua Augusta feeds the imaginary about this urban region. The author perceives the expressive presence of signs and materials related to vintage and retro as something being exploited by the mass culture to supplement an existential deficit of representation of the “alternative” imaginary.

Although we recognize that there is market strategies of fashion, gastronomy and music feeding from this desire of distinction that is present in the logic of juvenile and urban culture currently, we postulate an understanding of these cultural and consumption practices without our

will. That is, without disregarding the strategic logic of production in the formation of niche markets outside the culture of masses, we seek to understand the ways of appropriation that young users of this universe elaborate in the logic of uses giving a new meaning for these element from above. In this logic of uses, identities and lifestyles are drafted outside the pattern of mainstream and of the massive hegemonic culture, creating non-hegemonic habits of cultural and material consumption, ways of experiencing the city, forms of diversified socialities and aesthetics, created or appropriated by these goers of Baixo Augusta's nightlife. When thinking about fashion, music and lifestyle of these groups, it is possible to perceive the existence of a diversity that allows a constant flow of exchanges and matches between a variety of references. We obviously don't ignore the action of a market that is modified and adequate constantly to fill the need present there. However, there are forms of negotiation, in which these youngsters are appropriating products, services and imaginaries offered to this market through different uses.

We guide ourselves through the Gramscian perspective of culture as battlefield, disputes, appropriations and negotiations present in the consideration of British Cultural Studies (ESCOSTEGUY, 2001). Such concept helps us realize and analyze the conflicted negotiations that exist between different social groups and the hegemonic/mainstream culture. In this notion of negotiation, notions of cultural resistance are repositioned, seen as something autonomous or as a pure battle against the hegemonic to give space to a notion of resistance that is done daily, in the details, in the unexpected and non-programmed appropriations of the juvenile groups facing the logics of production, as we have perceived among the youngsters analyzed.

Freire Filho (2007) understands the concept of resistance in his historical dynamic and in the search for reflecting on how this notion can be thought about when we deal with young cultural groups. As an ever-changing concept, for the tradition of British Cultural Studies to resist, it would mean a frontal and explicit contestation of the British young worker class (such as punks) and other subcultural formations

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against the hegemony; for the young post-subcultural studies, on the other hand (FREIRE FILHO, 2005), the notion of resistance was expanded to incorporate ways of negotiation of identities linked to the culture of consumption. A notion of resistance, thus, that can handle the volatility of styles, fashion and identities, as well as the sensibilities and multiplicities of references involved in juvenile practices, evaluating once again the relationship between youngsters, music, fashion, lifestyle, identity and media.

The Certeauian notions of tactics and strategies (CERTEAU, 1994) are useful for the analysis of cultural processes and consumption logics. As outlined plans by/in the market and/or social institutions, strategies are rational actions for those who detain power. Tactics, in turn, are the daily astuteness of social groups and individuals that break the rules that are imposed to them in a sub-ruthless and subliminal way. The relation among the young groups analyzed in Baixo Augusta and the market that care for them is a constant negotiation between marketing strategies that try to fit these groups into a market niche and the uses and tactics created by these groups to break, subvert or resist to this system, constantly creating new trends to be explored by the market, giving different uses and appropriating in new ways. Beyond that, there is the diverse logic of incorporations, seductions and different ways of resistance, without reducing these practices to dichotomic oppositions of “integration” or “confrontation”.

This constant conflict is what creates negotiations that compose this scene of Baixo Augusta in fashion, music and lifestyle of these young groups, being present in products and services offered by this market in constant change: in bars, restaurants, food trucks, night clubs, clothing stores, accessories, objects of decoration and design, beauty parlors, among other many possible segments that the market in Baixo Augusta creates for those who go there.

In this sense, aligned with the Bourdian concept of distinction, the notion of cultural omnivorism (PETERSON; KERN, 1996) helps us understand the consumption practices of the youth in Baixo Augusta.

This omnivorism refers to an eclecticism of tastes articulated with global cultural logics that value tastes and consumption of what is exotic and different, and not only what is considered classic in occidental patterns, in an assimilation of the new and different that is gaining space and legitimacy.

### **An alternative ethos?**

A debate about the “alternative” in culture and in the means of communication has its history in discussions about press and “alternative” communication in the 70’s, when it was a synonym of “popular”, “engaged”, “communitarian”, “independent”. In the dictatorial context lived in Brazil at that time, the alternative gained strong colors of autonomy and contesting status quo, being a channel of info-communicative expression to the commercial or state-owned hegemonic media groups and to institutions in general. With the redemocratization of the country, in the late 80’s, the “alternative” linked to communication becomes communitarian, linked to the social movements, NGOs, radio-schools, university press, etc. (PERUZZO, 2008).

However, the notion of “alternative” that we work here through the studied group deals with lifestyles and consumption that aspire to be alternative as a possibility of being another – suggested by the own etymology of the word. In this perspective, an alternative ethics of life would be, as we’ve observed, in conscious and critic consumption, in a way of acting around the massifying mainstream in fashion and musical tastes, in more tolerant and inclusive ways in behavior. Anyway, a notion of invention and performativity of identities in juvenile cultures.

A way of being and living in the alternative, however, that is not necessarily autonomous and independent from the massive media and logic of production, but which negotiates and creates its ethos in the daily subtexts. We take into account here the prestige that the minority and the exclusive have to those who consume it, something that belongs to dynamics present in juvenile subcultures linked to the aesthetic and performative in fashion and music (THORNTON, 1995). Another



aspect to be considered, at least in terms of music and contemporary musical scene is that, if even in the 90's it was easier to perceive a vivid separation between majors and indies, this separation is not so clear today, with a big net that involves differently the big and small producers and musicians (HERSCHMANN, 2011). The notion of “alternative” (PEREIRA; BORELLI, 2015) arises as a nomination for these mediatic, cultural and consumption practices that involve contemporary juvenile culture made of negotiation and present in identities that the youngsters that frequent Baixo Augusta seem to have.

This way, the “alternative” is admitted here as a concept “under erasure”, as Stuart Hall (2000) suggests when thinking about identities. “Under erasure” is a denomination given to a process that is maintained always under construction or re-structuration, without making it static. We admit this “alternative” as something of contingency and always relational, not having the same meaning in any group that is analyzed. Hall (2000) thinks of identity in a process of constant fluidity and, along with the author, we see this “alternative ethos” as a way of dynamic representation that is maintained by a “suture point” (HALL, 2000) between hegemonic elements in negotiation with other forms of consuming and experiencing culture. An “alternative”, thus, that becomes a cultural manifestation articulating distinctive lifestyles that build their identities in a selective and architected way, bringing multiple shapes of socialities and ways of being and living built by these juvenile groups.

Being the identities a “suture point” and in constant negotiation between normative, institutional and hegemonic elements in conflict and seam with more inventive ways of being, aestheticizing and subjectivating, the elaboration and articulation of juvenile identities in Baixo Augusta becomes a complex and important task, once their outlines are not uniform and are very dynamic, always in a process of change. We see there a constant search for building an “alternative” imaginary identity; an imaginary that aspire to be non-hegemonic, minoritarian,

non-massive, but which dialogues with symbols and aesthetics of hegemonic and market culture<sup>5</sup>.

When we comprehend them as alternative, we seek to reflect about the meanings of this name in Baixo Augusta in multiple forms of tactical resistance in negotiation with mainstream elements and not only by pure coping. Furthermore, we highlight here the political meanings of such “alternative” actions and imaginaries either in ways of appropriating and experiencing the city, or in the astute use of elements of fashion and mass culture, or creating lifestyles that other corporalities and socialities are articulated. An alternative, thus, that is created in negotiation and building non-hegemonic forms (not necessarily counter-hegemonic) of consuming, living and socializing. An analytical challenge, that way, when we perceive that the alternative is not totally separated from the market and institution, but dialogues and negotiates with these elements, giving them other meanings.

### **In the streets of Baixo Augusta**

The field research performed with ethnographic background involved participation observation and interviews with people who frequent the area and workers of Baixo Augusta. We had as focus the nightlife of the region, its main circuits of alternative music practices, bars, restaurants, nightclubs, shopping centers and stores seeking to articulate the possible relations between their consumption habits of fashion, music, food to a certain “alternative ethos” that we seek to interpret.

Magnani (2002) considers Urban Anthropology a field of research directed towards the study of social groups present in the circuits of urban centers and their practices. In an approximation of the complexity of these dynamics. An investigation that seeks to interpret “from within” the reality of a group, trying to access the values, symbolic brands,

5 We perceive this, for example, in the nightclubs that were widely analysed in this research: the Espaço Desmanche, Inferno Club and Beco 203. In these three clubs, there is the mix of elements of pop culture with symbols and sounds linked to kitsch, exotic or underground, in a negotiation of references, styles and identities expressed in parties, clothing of goers and music genre used by live groups or DJs.

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classification and distinctive systems, tastes, habits, world view, feelings of belonging and the way this is lived in the day to day life. Thus, one of the areas of research that seems to be the most important in the urban anthropology is the study of neighborhoods, streets, locations, regions and areas of the city, where the socialities of the urban groups take place (VELHO, 2009). In a dialogue with this field of studies we have as a method an analysis of practices of sociality and the construction of identity of the groups studied.

We remind you, however, that this research was observation participation with an engaged hearing and seeing in the perception of field and in free conversations with people who frequent that region, without making formal interviews. Nunes (2016) suggest the *flânerie* as a methodology (inspired in the propositions of Peter McLaren) and the *flâneur* as a post-modern ethnographer that, escaping the fixed categories of analysis, dives into the hectic and dynamic city in search for “capturing narratives through reading human and special conformation, fixating them more freely in acts of writing, following the narrative engagement” (NUNES, 2016, p. 145). This methodologic proposal was very adequate to capture these signs and indications of an alternative lifestyle that we try to interpret in urban juvenile cultures as dynamic and without specific or neo-tribal outlines. Without a previous delimitation of number of interviewees or even a structured script for questions, we followed the “sensual flows and energies of the space and the subjective configurations” (NUNES, 2016, p. 145) on the streets, stores, bars and night clubs, paying attention to gestures, clothing, attitude, narratives and performances that were present in these spaces.

In addition to these main circuits of the night in Baixo Augusta, other spaces of the region were important by concentrating this spirit of the streets, in form of dynamic and multiple socialities: the streets by the *Shopping Center 3* and the streets of Rua Peixoto Gomide; the *Espaço Itaú de Cinema* and the street vendors selling pirated alternative movies; the stores in *Village, De tudo um Pouco* and the *Espaço Endossa*; the food truck *Calçadão Urbanoide*; the restaurants that range from gourmet

cooking and different nationalities; to the typical “casa do norte” with food from the northeast regions of Brazil.

The research incursions at Baixo Augusta were made between the years of 2015 and 2017, mostly at night, always on the weekends (usually Fridays and Saturdays) that are the days which the region receives a bigger influx of people. As one of the main axes of the research dealt with the mapping of diverse musical scene/circuit that composes the region, we had as focus the perception of sound landscape that constitutes sounds that are present and echo in a certain environment. The sound landscape becomes something to be sensorially perceived, contemplating each and every sound/noise that composes a certain “urban orchestra” (that does not aspire to be harmonious, but rather conflictive and dissonant) formed by every audible manifestation. Thus, the objective was to walk around the streets and perceive the different sound references beyond music, incorporating environmental sounds and what is commonly identified as noise.

One of the main characteristics that we could observe/listen, thinking about the sound present when walking around Baixo Augusta and its vicinities was the constant change of musical genres. When walking from one street to another, the rock that we heard became ambient sound to a Brazilian funk that was predominant in that space, and if we kept walking, the predominant music we would hear was not funk anymore, but indie. The sounds came from different sources: from a bar, a nightclub, a passing car, someone’s cellphone.

When thinking about the space as an urban territory symbolically delimited beyond its material existence, we have the presence of a circuit constituted by many elements that transmit meanings that can be read and interpreted in many ways. The processes of territorialization and re-territorialization (ROLNIK, 1992; HAESBERT, 2002) from the urban scene through the daily life of the groups that experience the environment in question becomes an important element in the comprehension of uses of the space – becoming an appropriate and lived territory – articulated to the identities and lifestyles that the material and symbolic

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consumption are created. That way, the territory that contemplates the vicinities of Baixo Augusta in its diverse cultural references in coexistence, starts composing a mosaic of superpositions and intertwining that conceive multiple/hybrid identities in confluence and conflict.

In addition to these aspects, the sounds that echoes on the streets of the region sometimes surprises us, taking us to different times through the sounds found in nightclubs specialized in a certain type of music, for instance, classic rock that is not a musical genre that is present in the massive means of communication. This characteristic of Baixo Augusta of mixing different temporalities is also present in the clothing/style of the people that go there, in the objects that décor the many places of stores, bars, nightclubs, etc. The different temporalities existing in each cultural formation proposed by Williams (1979) are present here. Dominant, residual and emergent arise as temporal elements in fight for the hegemony and in a constant dynamic inside the cultural circles like the ones we analyzed. According to Williams, among the residual elements, we verify that these elements of the past, recognized as old, but that also are present in the contemporaneity; among the emergent we have what is new or potentially new in a culture, pointing to innovative or even counter-hegemonic shapes, values, aesthetics; and between the dominance we have what is hegemonic in a culture with elements with strong predominance. These three elements are found in constant dynamic and struggle for space, bringing the diachronic component of culture and exchanging positions of dominance at every time. In this fluidity that articulates elements of the mass culture until those more innovative and outside the norm (in fashion, in lifestyle or in music) creates the “alternative ethos” among the juvenile groups of Baixo Augusta.

In fashion and music present in the region, there are many influences of vintage and retro, mixed and matched with current elements that allude a consumption of the past and a seduction to the old in contemporary juvenile groups as a clue of a certain presentist and nostalgic regime of temporality (PEREIRA; BORELLI, 2015). In this mixture of references so diverse is where Baixo Augusta’s “alternative ethos” comes

to be, which maintains a conflicting relationship with market logics and mass culture in form of incorporation and resistance.

Such characteristic mentions something that seems to motivate that “ethos”: a desire to be one of a kind and to build unique identities, which, even though they may become a trend and be appropriated by the mass culture, are re-elaborated in a dynamic matter by these groups, changing them again and taking aside certain trends, appropriating new ones, and, many times, creating new meanings to old trends in order to differentiating themselves from the hegemonic culture when creating new and multiple senses that come from the masses, performing their bodies and identities. These superpositions of new styles present in forms of dressing up and even in attitudes can be seen in many goers of the region.

This way, it is possible to understand that the fashion market formed around the region of Baixo Augusta is favored by these characteristics and matches, seeking to fulfill desires and trying to segment them into niches of market. A dynamic of the marketing logics of production built constantly molding themselves through marketing strategies to better provide for their audience, renewing strategies in dialogue with the tactical appropriation of the users in a constant and conflicting functioning of cultural and consumption processes linked to juvenile and urban cultures<sup>6</sup>.

These characteristics are more explicit when we observe the stores that sell a variety of clothes/accessories and decoration with an inspiration in vintage, retro, avant-garde, classic and modern styles, mixing these references together that compose the styles of these consumers. Another point of reference are the restaurants and food trucks specialized in foods of different origins in the world, always with a gourmet

6 An aspect to be explored is the fact that these youngsters who go to Baixo Augusta are also actors of the fashion and music market of this place, where the fixed divisions between production and reception need to be resized and reconceptualized. Young entrepreneurs of culture (“trendys” or “trendsetters”) (GARCIA CANCLINI et al, 2012), in many cities across the globe, they are actors of alternative circuits in which they have protagonism in setting trends in fashion and styles, producing and receiving in different moments.

aspect that adds monetary value to the market and distinctive value to the consumer.

On another hand, even though alternative groups that consume this market built to fill their diverse lifestyles make use of these services and products, they do not absorb and assume completely this type of fabricated alternative “mold”. Even though markets are protected with all types of strategies and constant changes in order to adapt and adequate themselves to groups and services destined to these consumers, such groups reinforce their “alternative” characteristics giving new uses and appropriating in different ways to what the market offers them, trying to get away and break standardized models to what is “alternative” in music, fashion, consumption habits and lifestyles.

A young visitor of the region told us she does not see herself as “alternative” because she sees that the market tries to build an alternative lifestyle through the segmentation of indie music, standardized to be sold as a music genre. We can perceive that the constant market strategies of trying to fit these groups are so clear to some youngsters that are aware of these processes that, therefore, end up creating tactics of constant negotiations and articulations on both sides.

Other youngsters we talked to in the field research also did not call themselves as alternative, even though they have a non-hegemonic lifestyle and fit in many of the definitions of what can be understood as an “alternative-*ethos*” in Baixo Augusta. When they do not define themselves in that label, they always use the same reason: the conviction that that would be a lifestyle molded by the market, losing, thus, its prestige, legitimacy and distinction.

However, many youngsters that visit the region call themselves alternative. They ignore the attempts of the market to standardize them and they aim only at the characteristics which they want to have, either with the intention of creating alternative identities from the hegemonic standards, or by the simple fact of absorbing references of different styles/concepts/tendencies and add them to their lifestyles (materialized in

their fashion strategy and musical consumption), having as criteria their personal and shared tastes.

## Final Considerations

The narratives of these youngsters, along with the field observation, helps us understand the meanings drafted by this identity category of “alternative” as something made in the fabric of hegemonic elements, market and also identity and subjective, where young people use the category “alternative” (even those who shun away from this label) as a way of seeking building lifestyles that are critical and with a high degree of performativity through the anesthetization of the body, of life, of experiences and affection. Well, political senses are drafted there in these forms of consumption and identity building (ROCHA, 2012), in juvenile narratives that build some meanings to their trajectories and from what they want and seem to be.

García Canclini (2010) suggests that the notions of resistance are often emptied in meaning or impoverished when they are located in fixed and excluding dichotomies as resistance versus domestication, given the diversity of behaviors that arise seeking alternatives. It becomes important, thus, to interrogate about the meanings of political and resistance in times where change and alternative forms of living and acting are found diffused in diverse forms of action. In the multiple, reflexive and dynamic relation in which young people deal with many modalities of media are constituted new subcultural or alternative groups that have nuances and diverse internal contradictions, being impossible to reduce them to one narrative of “integration to the system” or, antagonistically, univocal “resistance”.

The intercultural negotiations become one of the bases that contribute to the formation of groups in modern days. Janotti Jr. (2003) proposes to think of sociality as a part of the process of producing meanings in groups/subjects and their interactions, which are also present in the territorialities and imaginaries involved in the communities of meaning. Thinking of the socialities built by the “alternative” groups of Baixo



Augusta, it is important to remember that there is a constant exchange of references, concepts and styles. Such exchanges can be observed, for example, in the mix of different music genres that these youngsters begin to consume, going to places linked to very distinct genres, in a mix of pop and versions of indie. This mix and match are manifested in their identity characteristics, projecting themselves in the aesthetic created in fashion and in attitudes and habits present in their lifestyles and driven by the musical consumption. In uses and appropriations of this constant flow of different references of identity is where different styles are created, through hybridisms and new meanings.

For this reason, we seek to reflect about the ways in which young groups signal forms of sociality and ways of being together, creating other ways to use and give meaning to the city, build identities and belonging in tactics that can have political meanings in so far as they create other forms of living, consuming and existing.

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